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COLLECTION
AGAINST GENDER VIOLENCE.
DOCUMENTS



SECOND ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE SPANISH OBSERVATORY
FOR VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
2009



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DE ESPAÑA

MINISTERIO
DE IGUALDAD

**SECOND ANNUAL
REPORT OF
THE SPANISH
OBSERVATORY
FOR VIOLENCE
AGAINST WOMEN
2009**

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INTRODUCTION

In compliance with the terms of Article 30 of Organic Law 1/2004 of 28 December on Comprehensive Protection Measures against Gender-Based Violence, on 12 May 2009 the Plenum of the State Observatory on Violence against Women discussed and adopted its Second Annual Report.

The Observatory's First Report had previously stated:

“Combating gender violence requires a proper understanding of the extent of the phenomenon and of the characteristics of the women affected, in order to identify key risks and provide victims with adequate protection.

“However, the information currently available in Spain is seriously lacking and, on many occasions, the data at our disposal suffers from shortcomings that inhibit proper monitoring, comparison and analysis.

“In any case, it is essential to approach the matter from a statistical perspective that will allow us to monitor the extent and progress of the phenomenon, at least in some of its manifestations.”

In this regard, the Government Delegation for Gender-Based Violence has worked to identify relevant sources of information, mining data and drawing up statistical series, offering our systematised findings in Chapter One of this Second Report, along with a descriptive analysis of the principal data.

We are grateful for the cooperation and support of many of the major public bodies who compile and maintain information on the matter, many of which form part of the State Observatory on Violence against Women.

In practically all sections, we have mined microdata not containing information which could identify the persons involved, giving a level of disaggregation not formerly possible in statistics on gender-based violence. Whenever the base data is available, the Second Annual Report gives

demographic information on victims and perpetrators, disaggregated by age group, nationality, etc.

The data in all sections of the chapter on statistics are disaggregated by Autonomous Community and the Report contains an Annex summarising the statistics on gender-based violence for each.

This Report quantifies not only the reality of abuse, but also the evidence that the institutional resources available to victims are being used.

We should point out that the 2008 data, given in the first section of the chapter on statistics and referring to mortal victims of gender-based violence, take account of 75 cases, i.e. those which had been recorded up to May 2009, when this Second Report was approved. However, at the time of publishing, the total of victims for 2008 had risen to 76, taking into account a woman who had disappeared and been murdered in 2008 but whose case was only recorded in July 2009.

We consider it of the utmost importance to maintain and further improve available statistical information, supplementing it with data from other sources, particularly with consistent overall figures on comprehensive social resources which contribute to the recuperation of the victims of gender-based violence.

We also consider it essential, in order to combat this scourge, to acquire a deeper understanding of the problem, through qualitative and quantitative surveys and studies.

The second chapter gives the findings of a study on Processes and realities of women with disabilities due to gender-based violence (*Procesos y realidades de las mujeres con discapacidad a causa de la violencia de género*), carried out by CIMOP and led by Cristina Santamarina. The study was promoted by the Special Government Delegation on Violence against Women (Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs), pursuant to one of the specific measures laid down in the National Gender-based Violence Awareness and Prevention Plan, approved by the Cabinet in December 2006.

The study was completed in 2007 and is the result of complex, difficult and, at times, horrifying field work, performed beyond the margins of standard social research networks and without access to institutional means which, due to logical data-protection concerns, could not be used as a source of information.

The study is based on in-depth interviews on a reduced empirical basis, with an intensive approach through the life-stories of women suffering from severe disabilities due to gender-based aggression. It deals with the profiles of these women, their aggressors, their relationship with their children, the structure and de-structuring of family groups, along with the relationship and social inclusion or exclusion status of women with disabilities.

The study does not attempt to be statistically representative, but it is meaningful, as it reports on a reality often overshadowed by gender-based murders, on the one hand, and the consideration of gender-based violence as a minor problem, on the other.

As this Report concludes, the main tools available to a democratic society in order to combat, defeat and eradicate gender-based violence are social and institutional support for all victims of gender-based violence, along with education, prevention and awareness; and we need to continue to develop and strengthen these measures.

Gender-based violence is threatening and variable in all its manifestations, much like the Greek god Proteus. The essence is always the same – violence, but the manner in which violence is manifested is decided by the aggressor in each case, and adapted to the way in which they decide to achieve their goals. Accordingly, knowledge is a key tool in identifying the characteristics of gender-based violence and in detecting its variations and the way it adapts to context - and also in deciding the best measures to be taken to tackle it.

One of the aims of the State Observatory on Violence against Women is to create a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of gender-based violence, sharing this understanding with society, as the agent of change for the prevention of gender-based violence. The reports issued by the Observatory are one example of this work and reflect the variations and circumstances that impinge on the manifestations of gender-based violence. Accordingly, they are an essential tool in raising critical awareness in a society which has already said no to violence and to its perpetrators, and which needs to advance from this commitment towards taking action to eradicate gender-based violence.

Miguel Lorente Acosta
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Government Delegate for Gender-based Violence

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CHAPTER 1

STATISTICAL DATA ON GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

NOTES ON METHODOLOGY

1. DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE. 1 JANUARY 2003 TO 31 DECEMBER 2008

The data contained in this report by the Government Agency on Gender-Based Violence draws from individual reports of deaths caused by gender-based violence as defined in the Comprehensive Act (women killed by their partners or ex-partners) since 2003.

The data from 2003 to 2005 were compiled by the Women's Institute from information published in the media. The data from 2006, 2007 and 2008 are from the Government Agency on Gender-Based Violence itself, which records each case based on reports issued by Regional and Provincial Offices of the Central Government and, since their creation and implementation, by Coordination Units and Units for Violence against Women. These units, now functionally subordinate to the Ministry of Equality, gather data on each occurrence from national law enforcement agencies or regional police departments, as well as from courts and Prosecution Offices. More information was collected in recent years than in previous ones, as specified in each section.

The heterogeneity of the criteria and their variation over time in information-gathering systems, as well as the limited statistical significance of the figures for crimes of gender-based violence, mean that the data included in this report must be used judiciously, even though the report is intended to be exhaustive. Not unexpectedly, the more disaggregated the data, the less significant. Each case refers to the circumstances of a specific offence; all have the same social value, but each one impacts the analysis that follows.

Whenever a gender-based violent death occurs, as well as in the event of especially significant non-lethal violence, where warranted by the severity of the injuries or the public alarm generated, the National Legal Service files charges as private prosecutor on behalf of the Government Agency on

Gender-Based Violence to defend the rights and interests of the victims by virtue of the powers conferred on it by the Comprehensive Act.

This makes it possible to track each case and to obtain first-hand information about the judgements delivered in the proceedings. Some of the cases included in this report are provisional, as the perpetrators of the events are being prosecuted but a final, unappealable judgement has not yet been forthcoming.

Moreover, the Government Agency on Gender-Based Violence has been engaged in a major effort since 2007 to compare information with the Office of Prosecutions and the General Council of the Judiciary to standardize criteria and to avoid using different parameters to classify cases.

2. REPORTING OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE. 1 JANUARY 2007 TO 31 DECEMBER 2008

The figures on the reports filed for gender-based violence are drawn from questionnaires containing quarterly aggregate data filled in by court secretaries and furnished by the General Council of the Judiciary, also on a quarterly basis.

These figures refer to cases that reach the courts after being reported to national law enforcement agencies and to regional and local police departments, as well as charges filed on the basis of medical reports of injuries or lodged directly with the court by the victims, their relatives or third parties.

The data available are scantily disaggregated and the General Council of the Judiciary only began to compile them in the first quarter of 2007. Therefore, whereas their variation over time can be analyzed from quarter to quarter, neither the profile (age, marital status, educational level, employment situation, nationality and so forth) of the victims nor of the reported perpetrators can be determined because of the characteristics of the data obtained, the origin of the reports and their geographic distribution.

3. COURT CASES INVOLVING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE. 29 JUNE 2005 TO 31 DECEMBER 2008

The statistics on trials brought for gender-based violence provide insight into one aspect of this social bane and the institutional response to it.

The Central Registry for the Protection of Victims of Domestic Violence was created under Royal Decree 355/2004 of 5 March. According to the provisions of Article 8 of the Decree and Article 27 of Royal Decree 95/2009 of 6 February, which regulates the administrative registries designed to enhance the administration of justice, the government may compile statistics from the data contained in the Registry, providing they contain no reference to personal data. Royal Decree 95/2009 also states that, “in particular, the Central Registry for the Protection of Victims of Domestic Violence will provide the Government Agency on Gender-Based Violence with the information necessary to ensure suitably analyse and evaluate gender-based violence”.

For the preparation of this report, the Ministry of Justice furnished statistical data from the Registry. Although aggregated, these data could nonetheless be used to conduct an analysis that yielded findings of interest. The figures refer specifically to gender-based violence as described in Article 1 of the Comprehensive Act.

The information relates to court cases brought and trials concluded from the date the legal protection provided for in the Comprehensive Act entered into force, 29 June 2005, through 31 December 2008, as well as to the number of women with court-ordered protection in effect as of 31 December 2008.

The following considerations are relevant to the data used:

- The number of cases brought for gender-based violence does not concur with the number of reports lodged.
- The total figures for victims and perpetrators involved in gender-based violence cases do not concur, as the ratio of victims to perpetrators is not necessarily one-to-one.
- Similarly, an unquantifiable number of proceedings concluded during the period studied were not actually instituted in that period.
- One case of a woman with court-ordered protection in effect was excluded from the analysis because her nationality was not specified.

The differences between the figures furnished by the General Council of the Judiciary and the Ministry of Justice have prompted efforts to streamline and systematize the information collection procedures in place in these two bodies.

4. 016: INFORMATION AND LEGAL ADVICE HOTLINE FOR GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE. 3 SEPTEMBER 2007 TO 31 DECEMBER 2008

On 15 December 2006, the Council of Ministers approved the National Plan for Sensitisation and Prevention of Gender-Based Violence, as well as a Catalogue of Urgent Measures in this area. Both instruments were designed as tools to help achieve the aims pursued by the Comprehensive Act as quickly as possible.

One of the foremost measures adopted consists in the implementation of a new national hotline for information and legal advice geared to the personal situation of victims of gender-based violence, regardless of their place of residence, to guarantee the right to information laid down in Article 18 of the Comprehensive Act for victims of gender-based violence. This right is vital to ensuring that they receive proper care, can exercise their rights and access the resources available to them.

This free hotline, operational since 3 September 2007, provides specialized 24/7 service. Its distinguishing features are:

- Speedy access thanks to the use (as a public service) of an easily remembered three-digit phone number, 016.
- Universal service, as calls can be handled in Spanish, English, French and Spain's vernacular languages (Catalan, Galician and Basque).
- Constant updated information on the rights of victims of gender-based violence and the specialized resources available in the areas of employment, social services, financial aid, legal information and support services or cost-free legal aid, to be able to deal immediately with abuse.
- Information provided by a team of university graduates with specialized training in gender-based violence.
- Legal advice provided by a team of attorneys specializing in gender-based violence (from 9:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. Monday to Friday and from 12:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays).
- Guaranteed confidentiality of the personal data of hotline callers.

- Automatic routing of emergency and urgent calls to regional 112 emergency call centres.

To prevent overlaps with existing services, and in accordance with the consensus reached at the Autonomous Communities' Conference on Women's Issues held on 23 August 2007, cooperation agreements were signed with the Autonomous Communities of Andalusia, Aragon, Asturias, Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, Cantabria, Castile-La Mancha, Ceuta, Community of Valencia, Extremadura, Melilla, Navarre and Basque Country. An agreement is being negotiated with Catalonia, a community to which calls have been routed since the hotline became operational. The aim of these agreements is to ensure that calls are forwarded to the appropriate telephone information lines in each autonomous community, providing 016 callers with the most appropriate support for their particular situation with a single call.

The data used to prepare this report, furnished by Qualytel, cover the incoming calls prompted by gender-based violence between 3 September 2007 and 31 December 2008.

5. MOBILE PHONE SUPPORT FOR VICTIMS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE. DECEMBER 2005 TO DECEMBER 2008

Under the Plan for Urgent Measures to Prevent Gender-Based Violence of 7 May 2004, the responsibility for providing mobile phone support for victims of gender-based violence with court-ordered protection was attributed to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs' Secretariat of State for Social Services, Families and Disabilities, through the Institute for the Elderly and Social Services (Spanish acronym IMSERSO). This expanded the coverage provided through the Telephone Support Agreement between IMSERSO and the Spanish Federation of Municipalities and Provinces (FEMP).

On 4 October 2004, IMSERSO and FEMP signed an addendum to the Framework Agreement concluded on 20 April 1993, through which an in-home telephone support service was created for the elderly and disabled. This addendum covered the implementation, by IMSERSO, of mobile phone support for victims of gender-based violence. The Spanish Red Cross and Eulen Servicios Sociosanitarios were awarded the contract for this service, which has been operational since 2005.

The Spanish Red Cross is the service provider in northern Spain (Autonomous Communities of Aragon, Asturias, Balearic Islands, Cantabria, Castile-Leon, Catalonia, Madrid, Galicia, La Rioja, Navarre and Basque Country), whereas Eulen Servicios Sociosanitarios covers southern Spain (Autonomous Communities of Andalusia, Canary Islands, Castile-La Mancha, Extremadura, Valencia, Murcia and the Autonomous Cities of Ceuta and Melilla).

The data contained in this report, furnished by IMSERSO, cover the period December 2005 to December 2008. The 2005 data were provided by the Red Cross as of 8 December and by Eulen as of 16 December.

6. EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE VICTIMS: SUBSIDIZED PAYROLL TAX. 1 JANUARY 2003 TO 31 DECEMBER 2008

The specific employment rights for victims of gender-based violence introduced by the Comprehensive Act, along with certain Social Security benefits (although prior to the Act, domestic violence victims were entitled to some of these rights), were designed to enable these women to reconcile their working lives with their personal needs and circumstances and thereby contribute to their overall protection.

In addition to these rights, the Comprehensive Act envisaged an employment plan under which payroll tax is subsidized for all temporary or permanent contracts concluded with women who prove they are victims of gender-based violence as defined in the Act, or victims of domestic violence, whether they had been unemployed or not. It also provided for the same subsidies for new hires contracted to replace workers who are victims of gender-based violence and who have suspended their employment contracts or exercised their right to geographic mobility or to a change of workplace. Royal Decree-Act 5/2006 of 9 June on increasing growth and employment regulates these subsidized contracts.

The data presented in this report refer to the periods from January 2003 to December 2008 for subsidized contracts, and January 2005 to December 2008 for replacement contracts. The source of the information is the Ministry of Labour and Immigration's Public State Employment Service (Spanish acronym SPEE).

Even though data on subsidized contracts are available as far back as 2003, until December 2006, there was no specific statistical code for subsidized contracts for victims of gender-based violence. Therefore, the data analyzed here refer to female victims of gender-based and domestic violence both to be able to use the results for the earlier years.

Although data by provinces are available, no information is at hand for the Autonomous Cities of Ceuta and Melilla.

A number of important issues should be borne in mind in this section:

- In the breakdown of subsidized contracts by educational level, the groupings defined by SPEE were as follows:
 - No education: Illiterate group.
 - Primary education: Primary education group (incomplete or completed).
 - Secondary education: Groups with a first or second phase secondary education, or with over 300 hours of employability training (whether or not a secondary diploma [primary/secondary education] is a prerequisite for admission).
 - Higher education: Higher education groups comprising equivalent vocational training, art and design, university degrees, over 300 hours of comprehensive training and education (Spanish acronym FEI), 3- and 5-year university courses, official specialization and Ph. D. programmes.
- In the analysis of subsidized contracts by occupational category, the duties of the positions were grouped together as follows, further to National Occupation Codes (Spanish acronym CNO):
 - Armed Forces.
 - Management: Public and private sector management positions.
 - Professionals and engineers: Engineers, scientists and intellectuals, and junior professional positions.

- Administrative: Employees performing administrative tasks.
- Skilled workers: Workers in food service, personal and protection services, retail sales assistants, skilled farmers and fishermen, craftsmen and skilled workers in manufacturing, construction and mining, except facility and machine operators.
- Operators: Facility and machine operators.
- Unskilled: Unskilled workers.

7. FEMALE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE RECEIVING ACTIVE JOB PLACEMENT INCOME (RENTA ACTIVA DE INSERCIÓN – RAI). 1 JANUARY 2006 TO 31 DECEMBER 2008

Active Job Placement Income (RAI) forms part of the protective measures for unemployment provided by the public Social Security system and encompasses not only the payment of a benefit, but also specific training, improvement, guidance, retraining or employability services.

Royal Decree 1369/2006 of 24 November regulates the Active Job Placement Income programme. The beneficiaries of the programme include unemployed female workers under the age of 65 who, as of the date of the application to join the programme, are considered by the competent authority to be victims of gender-based or domestic violence (unless they live with the perpetrator), are registered job seekers, are not entitled to unemployment benefits or subsidies or to agricultural income and have no income of any type greater than 75% of the national minimum wage, computed monthly excluding the respective fraction of the two statutory annual bonuses, as stipulated in the Royal Decree.

In return, these workers must request and sign a pledge to undertake any actions specified by the Public Employment Service in their personal job placement plans, which are to be performed while they are taking part in the programme. Furthermore, they must meet other obligations, such as accepting any suitable placement offered to them, re-registering as a job seeker as necessary, actively seeking employment, etc.

Active Job Placement Income is 80% of the monthly multi-purpose public income index (Spanish acronym IPREM) at the time, and may be collected for a maximum of 11 months.

In addition, beneficiaries having to move due to gender-based violence-related circumstances in the 12 months prior to applying for admission to the programme or while participating in the programme are eligible for a one-off additional payment equal to three months of the RAI salary. This payment does not impact the duration of the income. This benefit may be received only once for each circumstance that entitles the individual to admission to the Active Job Placement Income programme.

RAI recipients are not eligible for the financial aid regulated by Article 27 of the Comprehensive Act, which is summarized in the following section. This financial aid is intended for women whose circumstances make it particularly difficult to find a job, and who therefore do not participate in employability schemes such as the RAI programme. That notwithstanding, they may take part in the RAI programme after their circumstances change or no longer apply.

The source of the data used in preparing this report was the Ministry of Labour and Immigration's Public State Employment Service (SPEE), and the data refer to the period from 1 January 2006 to 31 December 2008.

The following should be borne in mind when reviewing the data analyzed, which include both domestic and gender-based violence:

- As in the case of subsidized contracts, no specific code for victims of gender-based violence was in place until December 2006; therefore, the analysis refers to female victims of violence.
- The analysis by nationality identified four stateless women among all the RAI beneficiaries in 2006 because of violence, one in 2007 and one in 2008. Some of the recipients' nationalities changed during the three-year period analyzed. In these cases, their nationality at the end of the period was used for statistical purposes, to ensure they would not be counted twice in the year the change took place.
- For the analysis by age group, the women's age when they began to receive RAI was used.
- In some cases, women may have been counted more than once, for they may conceivably have received RAI in more than one province if they moved.

Workers who are victims of gender-based violence can temporarily suspend their employment contract with the right to return to their position, or terminate their employment. Both cases are considered to be situations of involuntary unemployment, entitling them to a contributory benefit or a subsidy, depending on how long they had been on the payroll. This section includes a reference to the figures for women who received this benefit or subsidy between 2006 and 2008, after terminating or suspending their employment contract.

8. RECIPIENTS OF THE FINANCIAL AID PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE 27 OF THE ACT ON COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES. 2006 TO 2008

The economic rights regulated in Article 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures and in Royal Decree 1452/2005 of 2 December, elaborating thereon, are intended to guarantee victims of gender-based violence a minimum means of subsistence in the form of social assistance, aimed at ensuring their financial independence from the perpetrator. This aid consists of a one-time payment, as long as they meet two conditions: a) their income does not exceed 75% of the national minimum wage, computed monthly excluding the respective fraction of the two statutory annual bonuses, and b) they are able to furnish a report from the competent Public Employment Service certifying that they have special difficulties in finding employment.

In general terms, the amount of the aid is equivalent to six months of unemployment benefits. This amount may be equivalent to twelve, eighteen or twenty-four months of benefits if the beneficiary lives with dependent family members or children in foster care, or if the beneficiary or her dependents have a disability rating of 33% or higher.

This aid is compatible with any of the types provided for in Act 35/1995 of 11 December on Aid and Assistance to Victims of Crimes of Violence or against Sexual Freedom. It is granted to the beneficiary in the form of a one-time payment by the governments responsible for social services, i.e., the autonomous communities, in accordance with regional procedures for approving such assistance. It is funded by the central government, however; therefore, the Ministry of Equality reimburses the autonomous communities for their outlays under this item, as established at the 2005 Autonomous Communities' Conference on Women's Issues.

The Government Agency on Gender-Based Violence is in the process of gathering, analyzing and processing data regarding the financial aid granted under Article 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. The data, which are available from 2006 to December 2008, were drawn from the reimbursement applications submitted by the autonomous communities to the Agency on a bimonthly basis. This report gives the data in the Agency's possession as of 31 December 2008. No information was available for the Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Murcia, Navarre, Basque Country, Melilla or Ceuta. Neither Navarre nor the Basque Country are subject to the general reimbursement procedure because of their respective Economic Agreements with the State.

9. TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF A HUMANITARIAN NATURE FOR FOREIGN VICTIMS OF OFFENCES INVOLVING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE. DATA AS OF 31 DECEMBER 2008

Article 17 of the Constitutional Act on Comprehensive Measures guarantees victims of gender-based violence their rights regardless of their origin, religion or any other personal or social condition or circumstance.

Furthermore, Article 31.3 of Constitutional Act 4/2000 on the Rights, Freedoms and Social Integration of Foreigners in Spain provides for the granting of temporary residence permits for humanitarian reasons. The regulations elaborating on the Act, enacted under Royal Decree 2393/2005, establish that exceptional temporary residence permits may be granted for humanitarian reasons to foreign victims of offences involving violent behaviour in the family environment. In these cases, foreign nationals may submit an application for a temporary residence permit when a protective order has been issued for them as victims, and the permit may be granted after a judgement has been handed down for the offences in question.

Instruction 14/2005 from the State Secretariat for Security on procedures at police stations regarding undocumented foreign women who are victims of domestic or gender-based violence specifies the steps to be followed until the victims obtain a protective order.

The report includes all residence permits granted and included in the computer records for foreigners as of 31 December 2008. The source of the data is the Ministry of Public Administration.

Even though no information is available regarding the link between victims of family violence who received temporary residence permits and the person from whom they were protected, nearly all of the former are regarded to be victims of gender-based violence.

10. SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN SPAIN. SEPTEMBER 2000 TO DECEMBER 2008

The report on the social perception of gender-based violence was prepared from data collected by the Centre for Sociological Research (Spanish acronym CIS) in its monthly barometer surveys from September 2000 to December 2008. The subject of violence against women came up for the first time in September 2000, and was mentioned spontaneously by some of the respondents.

The analysis discussed in the report on the social perception of gender violence was based on the microdata from interviews with respondents who stated that violence against women was one of Spain's top three problems or one of their own top three personal problems.

Fact sheet on the monthly barometer surveys:

- National scale.
- Spanish population, male and female, of legal age.
- Sample size: 2 500 people a month.
- Sampling points: 237 municipalities and 50 provinces (the Autonomous Cities of Ceuta and Melilla are not included).
- Collection of data through in-home interviews.
- Confidence level of 95,5 % (two sigma), $P = Q$, margin of error $\pm 2\%$ for the sample as a whole assuming simple random sampling.

Surveys used: 2398, 2400, 2402, 2405, 2406, 2409, 2411, 2415, 2419, 2423, 2428, 2429, 2439, 2441, 2444, 2448, 2452, 2454, 2457, 2459, 2463, 2466, 2468, 2471, 2474, 2477, 2481, 2483, 2508, 2511, 2528, 2531, 2535, 2541, 2545, 2548, 2554, 2556, 2558, 2561, 2565, 2568, 2570, 2573, 2577,

2581, 2584, 2589, 2594, 2597, 2602, 2607, 2612, 2616, 2618, 2622, 2625, 2630, 2633, 2635, 2636, 2640, 2644, 2649, 2651, 2654, 2657, 2662, 2666, 2672, 2677, 2681, 2700, 2705, 2724, 2728, 2732, 2735, 2742, 2746, 2749, 2754, 2758, 2761, 2763, 2766, 2769, 2771, 2775, 2778, 2781.

The October 2001 study (number 2433) was not taken into consideration because it contained no question on Spain's three most important problems or the respondents' most pressing personal problems.

In the statistical analysis, all of the questionnaires filled out every month were taken into account, regardless of their final result (correct, incorrect or invalid, with fewer than 0,2 % of the surveys being incorrect or invalid every month).

* * *

Maintaining and continually improving the statistical information available is an essential task, which includes supplementing that information with data drawn from other sources and in particular with overall, consistent figures relating to the comprehensive social assistance resources that help victims of gender-based violence recover.

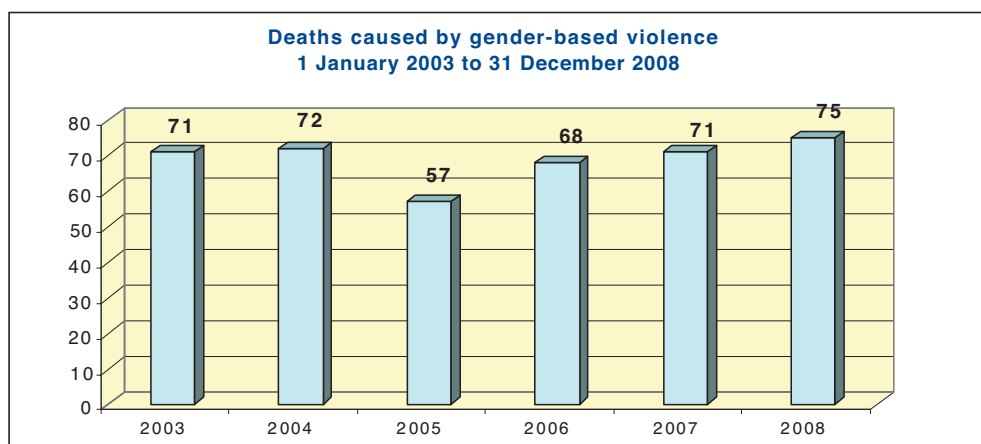
A deeper understanding of this serious social problem must also be sought through surveys and quantitative and qualitative research, the better to fight against it.

1 DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1.1. YEARLY DEATH TOLL FROM GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008

A total of 414 women were killed by their partners or ex-partners from 1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008. The chart below shows the variation in yearly figures during this period.



On average, there were 5,8 homicides resulting from gender-based violence per month in the entire period; however, there were significant variations from one year to the next with regard to the month in which the offences were committed.

	TOTAL	YEAR					
		2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	414	71	72	57	68	71	75
January	37	8	2	6	9	5	7
February	35	4	5	5	4	9	8
March	32	6	6	3	9	4	4
April	30	5	6	5	5	4	5
May	33	6	8	4	5	7	3
June	37	8	6	6	2	10	5
July	40	8	7	4	8	8	5
August	44	8	6	6	9	7	8
September	29	4	7	4	3	4	7
October	31	2	7	5	6	5	6
November	34	9	4	6	2	7	6
December	32	3	8	3	6	1	11

By year, 2005 had the lowest monthly average (4,8), whereas the highest average corresponded to 2008 (6,3).

A month-by-month analysis of the total offences from 2003 to 2008 reveals that the month with the most offences was August, with 44 (average of 7,3 in the six years studied), followed by July (40 offences and an average Of 6,7), then by January and June (37 offences in each case, with an average of 6,2).

An analysis comparing monthly figures to the yearly average showed that the month that most often exceeded this average was also August (the mean was higher than the yearly average in five of the six years studied, and virtually the same in the remaining year). August was followed by January and July, each of which exceeded the yearly average on four occasions, whilst April was at the other end of the spectrum, with a mean lower than the yearly average except in 2005 when it was higher, and in 2004 when it was the same. These data are tabled below. The months where the yearly average was exceeded are shown in green, and the ones with values equal to the average in orange. There is no clear pattern, however, that would support categorical conclusions on the relationship between the figures on offences and the month in which they occur.

	AÑO						Average
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	
January	Green	White	Green	Green	White	Green	6,2
February	White	White	White	White	Green	White	5,8
March	Green	White	White	White	White	White	5,3
April	Green	Orange	Green	White	White	White	5,0
May	Green	White	White	White	Green	White	5,5
June	Green	Orange	Green	White	White	White	6,2
July	Green	White	White	Green	Green	White	6,7
August	Green	Orange	Green	Green	White	Green	7,3
September	White	Green	White	White	White	White	4,8
October	White	Green	Green	Green	White	White	5,2
November	Green	White	White	White	Green	White	5,7
December	White	Green	White	Green	White	Green	5,3
Average	5,9	6,0	4,8	5,7	5,9	6,3	5,8

In the period analyzed, Spain's population grew considerably, largely due to increased immigration. In January 2003, Spain's Municipal Registers had entries for a total of 42 717 064 persons, compared to a total of 46 157 822 persons as of 1 January 2008, for an increase of 8,1 % in the six-year period.

By gender, the number of men grew from 21 034 326 to 22 847 737 during the aforementioned period (up 8,6 %), whereas the figure for women rose from 21 682 738 to 23 310 085 (up 7,5 %).

YEAR	Population			Gender-based violence homicides	% Variation			
	TOTAL	Men	Women		Compared to previous year		Compared to 2003	
					Population	Gender-based violence homicides	Population	Gender-based violence homicides
2003	42 717 064	21 034 326	21 682 738	71	-	-	-	-
2004	43 197 684	21 285 247	21 912 437	72	1,1	1,4	1,1	1,4
2005	44 108 530	21 780 869	22 327 661	57	2,1	-20,8	3,3	-19,7
2006	44 708 964	22 100 466	22 608 498	68	1,3	19,3	4,7	-4,2
2007	45 200 737	22 339 962	22 860 775	71	1,1	4,4	5,8	0,0
2008	46 157 822	22 847 737	23 310 085	75	2,1	5,6	8,1	5,6

Data from the Municipal Registers¹ were also used to calculate the rates of perpetrators and victims per million men and women aged 15 and over, respectively, on a yearly basis and on those grounds relate the deaths caused by gender-based violence to the population living in Spain. The data are shown in the following table.

YEAR	Population		Gender-based homicides	Rate per million persons aged 15 and over	
	Men	Women		Perpetrators	Victims
2003	17 929 043	18 744 542	71	4,0	3,8
2004	18 140 058	18 938 916	72	4,0	3,8
2005	18 559 552	19 283 825	57	3,1	3,0
2006	18 821 669	19 511 900	68	3,6	3,5
2007	19 006 970	19 712 935	71	3,7	3,6
2008	19 423 876	20 078 057	75	3,9	3,7

There were, on average, 3,7 perpetrators per million men aged 15 and over during this period, and 3,6 victims per million women in the same age group. However, there were some differences in the yearly figures for perpetrators and victims: the lowest rates were recorded in 2005 (3,1 and 3,0, respectively, as shown in the table above) and the highest in 2003 and 2004 (4,0 and 3,8, respectively, in both years).

¹ Official figures from the Municipal Registers are as of 1 January of each year and can be viewed on the website of Spain's National Statistics Institute: www.ine.es.

The figures for 2008 were two-tenths of a point higher than the average rate for perpetrators during the six-year period analyzed, and one-tenth higher than the average rate for victims.

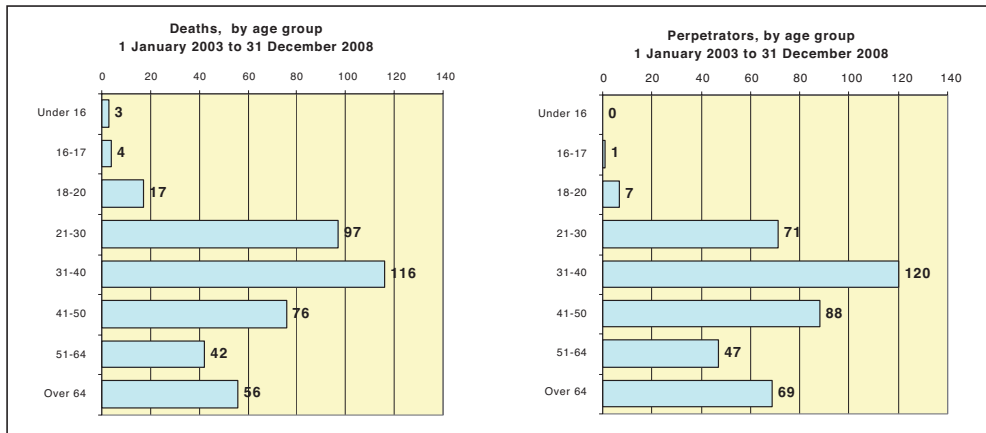


1.2. DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE. AGES OF VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS

During the period analyzed (1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008), women of many different ages died as a result of gender-based violence. However, the highest numbers were recorded for the 31-to-40 age group (116, or 28,2 %² of the total) followed by the 21-to-30 group (97, or 23,6 %). Women aged 30 and under accounted for 29,4 % of all deaths, an indication that young women accounted for an inordinate share of the fatalities resulting from gender-based violence³.

² The victim's age group was not known in three cases in the entire period analyzed, and the perpetrator's age group was unknown in 11 cases. These data were not taken into consideration in calculating percentages.

³ A year-by-year comparison by age group was not carried out for this report. However, according to the data from the Municipal Registers as of 1 January 2008, women between 15 and 30 accounted for 23,5 % of all female residents of Spain aged 15 and over.



The 31-to-40 age group also had more perpetrators than any other (120, representing 29,8 % of the total), followed in this case by the 41-to-50 bracket (88, or 21,8 %). Although the proportion of victims aged 30 and under was especially high, men in the same age group accounted for a much smaller share of the perpetrators: 19,6 % of the total⁴.

The pattern of the data from one year to the next indicates that the perpetrators were generally older than the victims, although due to the variations no clear trends could be identified. Based on the proportions indicated above, offences relating to gender-based violence involved victims and perpetrators of all ages.

	TOTAL	YEAR					
		2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL VICTIMS	414	71	72	57	68	71	75
Under 16	3	0	3	0	0	0	0
16-17	4	1	1	1	0	0	1
18-20	17	0	5	4	2	2	4
21-30	97	16	13	14	15	19	20
31-40	116	27	17	15	27	15	15
41-50	76	15	9	10	9	15	18
51-64	42	4	10	3	5	9	11
Over 64	56	7	12	10	10	11	6
Age not known	3	1	2	0	0	0	0
TOTAL AGRESORES	414	71	72	57	68	71	75
Under 16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16-17	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
18-20	7	0	2	1	3	0	1
21-30	71	7	14	13	9	15	13
31-40	120	24	17	15	24	19	21
41-50	88	16	13	12	14	15	18
51-64	47	12	6	3	6	9	11
Over 64	69	7	16	10	12	13	11
Age not known	11	5	3	3	0	0	0

⁴ According to the data from the Municipal Registers as of 1 January 2008, male residents of Spain aged 15 to 30 represented 25,8 % of all men aged 15 and over.

The average age of the victims during the period analyzed was 42, whilst the average for perpetrators was 46⁵. As the table below indicates, there was no clear trend in the average age of the victims during this period, although the average age of the perpetrators declined.

Most of the perpetrators were older than their victims. The exact ages of both the victim and the perpetrator were known in 275 cases, and in 194 of those (70,5 %), the perpetrator was older. In 19 cases (6,9 %), they were the same age, whereas the perpetrator was younger than the victim in the remaining 62 cases (22,5 %).

	Average victim age	Average perpetrator age
TOTAL	42	46
2003	41	50
2004	43	50
2005	41	49
2006	41	44
2007	43	45
2008	40	45

1.3. DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE. NATIONALITIES OF VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS

In recent years, Spain has attracted immigrants from many places around the world. The data presented in this section show that foreign nationals are involved in a disproportionately high number of deadly gender-based assaults, both as victims and as perpetrators.

From January 2003 to 31 December 2008, both the specific nationality and continent of origin⁶ of the victim was unknown in two cases, whilst the same information was lacking for the perpetrator in six cases. According to the information available, the perpetrator was Spanish in 293 cases and foreign in 115. During this period, there were 290 Spanish and 122 foreign victims.

⁵ The exact age of the victim at the time of the offence is known in 402 of the 414 cases in this period, while the exact age of the perpetrator is known in only 277 of these cases.

⁶ The information available for the period from 2003 to 2005 refers to whether the victim and perpetrator were Spanish or foreign nationals from the following geographic areas: European Union, Rest of Europe, Africa, Latin America and "Other nationality". As of January 2006, the specific nationality of victims and perpetrators has been included in most cases; in earlier periods, however, this information is only available in some instances.

Foreign perpetrators accounted for 28,2 % of the total with a known nationality, and foreign victims for 29,6 % of this total⁷.

Victims	Perpetrators			
	Total perpetrators	Spanish	Foreign	Nationality not known
Total Victims	414	293	115	6
Spanish	290	261	28	1
Foreign	122	32	87	3
Nationality not known	2			2

Although the values fluctuated, the number and proportion of foreign victims and perpetrators followed an upward trend from one year to the next. The smallest number of foreign victims (9) was recorded in 2003, although this figure accounted for 12,7 % of the total number of victims in that year, whereas the highest figure was observed in 2008 (33, or 44,0 % of all victims in that year). The number of foreign perpetrators was lowest in 2003 (11, or 15,7 %) and rose to 27 in 2007 (peaking at 38,0 %) and 28 in 2008 (37,3 %).

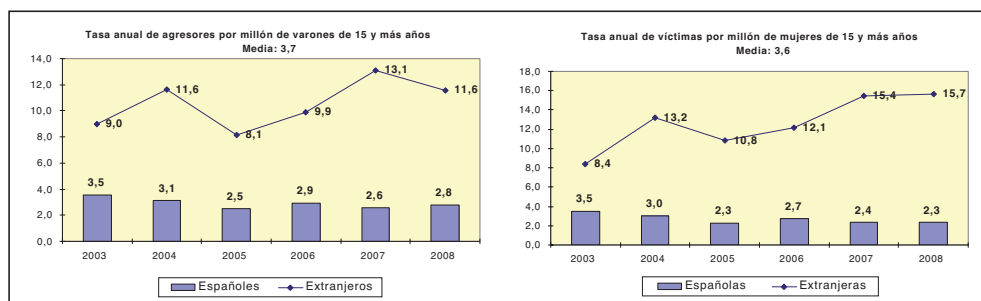
	TOTAL	YEAR					
		2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total Victims	414	71	72	57	68	71	75
Spanish	290	62	54	41	48	43	42
Foreign	122	9	16	16	20	28	33
Nationality not known	2		2				
Total perpetrators	414	71	72	57	68	71	75
Spanish	293	59	52	42	49	44	47
Foreign	115	11	16	14	19	27	28
Nationality not known	6	1	4	1			

⁷ In the tables where the characteristics of both victims and perpetrators are indicated, the figures for the victims are shown in rows and those for the perpetrators in columns.

The average rate of Spanish perpetrators per million Spanish men aged 15 and over was 2,9 between 2003 and 2008, whereas the figure for foreign perpetrators was 10,5 for every million foreign men. The yearly average number of deaths per million Spanish women was 2,7 in that same period, and 12,6 per million among foreign women⁸.

TOTAL POPULATION 15 AND OVER			Number	Perpetrators per million men 15 and over	Number	Deaths per million women 15 and over
Spaniards	Men	Women	Spanish perpetrator		Spanish victim	
2003	16 701 916	17 672 076	59	3,5	62	3,5
2004	16 761 328	17 724 277	52	3,1	54	3,0
2005	16 839 665	17 801 815	42	2,5	41	2,3
2006	16 904 308	17 863 025	49	2,9	48	2,7
2007	16 939 931	17 897 580	44	2,6	43	2,4
2008	17 005 296	17 972 234	47	2,8	42	2,3
Foreigners	Men	Women	Foreign perpetrator		Foreign victim	
2003	1 227 127	1 072 466	11	9,0	9	8,4
2004	1 378 730	1 214 639	16	11,6	16	13,2
2005	1 719 887	1 482 010	14	8,1	16	10,8
2006	1 917 361	1 648 875	19	9,9	20	12,1
2007	2 067 039	1 815 355	27	13,1	28	15,4
2008	2 418 580	2 105 823	28	11,6	33	15,7

The rates for Spanish victims and perpetrators varied considerably over the period analyzed, as shown in the table above and the charts that follow.



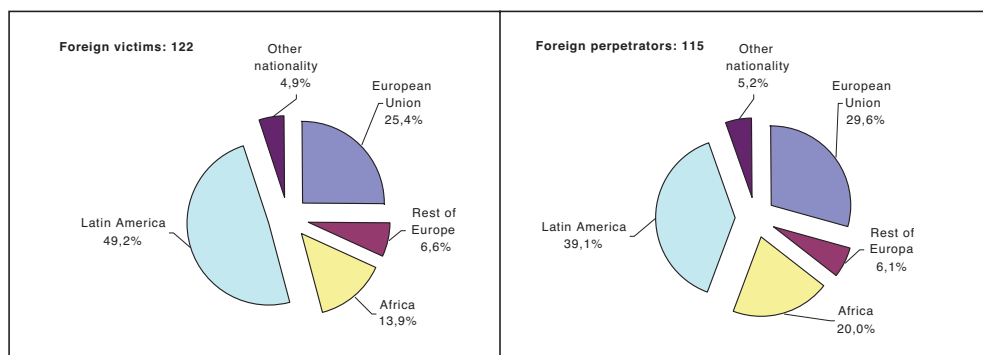
⁸ In calculating these rates, the gender and nationality data for persons aged 15 and over were drawn from the Municipal Registers as of 1 January every year. Foreign nationals may register regardless of their legal situation (documented or undocumented). However, regulations and policies for foreign residents may conceivably have been partly responsible for the variations in the respective figures.

The figures for Spanish victims and perpetrators are similar to the overall rates, whereas the values for foreign victims and perpetrators differ substantially from the total figures, and vary more widely from one year to the next.

The highest rate of Spanish perpetrators per million Spanish men aged 15 and over was observed in 2003 (3,5) and the lowest in 2005 (2,5). The figure for Spanish victims per million Spanish women aged 15 and over, in turn, was also highest in 2003 (3,5), and the rates for 2005 and 2008 (2,3) were the lowest in this period.

The highest rate of foreign perpetrators per million foreign men aged 15 and over was recorded in 2007 (13,1) and the lowest in 2005 (8,1). The highest rate of foreign victims per million foreign women was 15,7, observed in 2008, whilst the lowest figure was found in 2003 (8,4).

From 1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008, most of the foreign victims and perpetrators by continent were Latin American, followed by citizens of European Union countries (not counting Spain)⁹ and Africans.



Most of the homicides were committed by men from the same continent and with the same nationality as the victim. However, there were also cases of foreign women killed by Spanish perpetrators (28 in total, as

⁹ During the period analyzed, the European Union expanded from 15 Member States to 25 (1 May 2004) and from 25 to 27 (1 January 2007). When the data were collected, some of the citizens of States that joined the European Union during these years may conceivably have been classified as “the Rest of Europe”.

indicated in the table above) and Spanish women killed by foreign nationals (32).

Victims	Perpetrators							
	TOTAL perpetrators	Spain	European Union	Rest of Europe	Africa	Latin America	Other nationality	Nationality not known
TOTAL victims	414	290	31	8	17	60	6	2
Spain	293	261	7	2	4	18	1	0
European Union	34	8	21	1	0	3	1	0
Rest of Europe	7	1	1	5	0	0	0	0
Africa	23	6	1	0	12	4	0	0
Latin America	45	12	0	0	0	32	1	0
Other nationality	6	1	0	0	1	1	3	0
Nationality not known	6	1	1	0	0	2	0	2

The specific nationality of both victims and perpetrators are only available in 351 instances. In most cases (308 of the 351 analyzed, or 87,7 %), the victim and the perpetrator were from the same country. According to the data available, of these 351 cases, 260 Spanish, nine Romanian, eight Moroccan, six Bolivian, four Brazilian, four Ecuadorian, three British and three Chinese women were murdered by their partners or former partners of the same nationality.

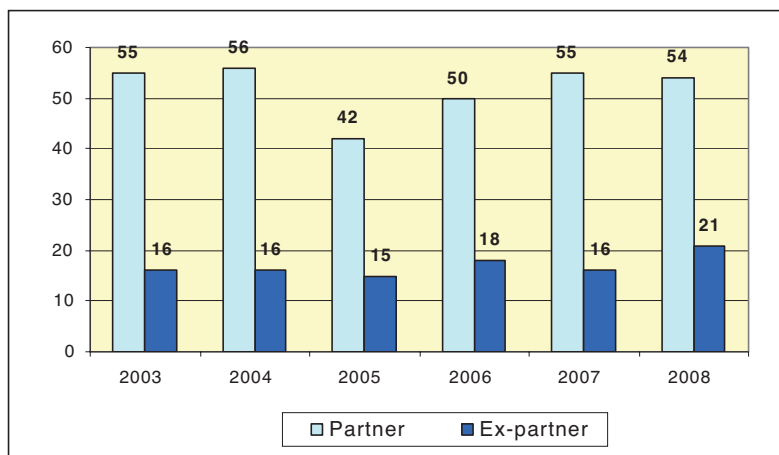
The information on foreign victims and perpetrators shows that both women and men were from a variety of countries. Generally speaking, however, they were from groups of foreign citizens with large communities in Spain. The table below shows the figures for victims and perpetrators by nationality¹⁰.

	Total perpetrators	Nationality of perpetrator										
		Spain	Romania	Brazil	Morocco	Bolivia	Ecuador	UK	Colombia	China	Germany	Other nationalities
Total victims	351	279	10	4	12	6	4	4	4	3	3	22
Spain	272	260			1				2			9
Romania	9		9									
Brazil	9	4		4	1							
Morocco	8				8							
Bolivia	7	1				6						
Ecuador	7	2	1				4					
United Kingdom	4							3			1	
Colombia	4	1							2			1
China	4									3		1
Germany	3	1									2	
Russia	3	2										1
Other nationalities	21	8			2			1				10

¹⁰ In seven of the ten cases in which both the victim's and perpetrator's nationalities were grouped under the "Other nationalities" heading, both were citizens of the same country, while in the remaining three, their nationalities were different.

1.4. DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS¹¹

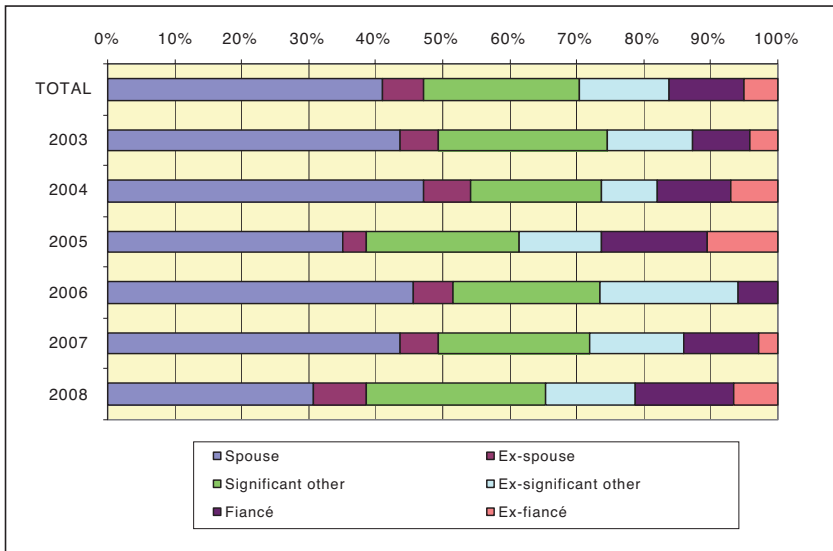
Most of the gender-based murders between 1 January 2003 and 31 December 2008 were committed by a partner (312 of 414, or 75,4 %), although an upward trend was observed in the number and proportion of homicides committed by ex-partners (102, representing 24,6 %, during the entire period).



		Total (%)	Partner	Ex-partner
Year	Total	100,0	75,4	24,6
	2003	100,0	77,5	22,5
2004	100,0	77,8	22,2	
2005	100,0	73,7	26,3	
2006	100,0	73,5	26,5	
2007	100,0	77,5	22,5	
2008	100,0	72,0	28,0	

In most cases, victims and perpetrators were spouses (in 170 cases, or 41,1 % of the total). The remaining murders were committed, in decreasing

¹¹ Different criteria were used in gathering information relating to this section, and the classifications used were sometimes imprecise. The data used here have been reclassified, but some errors may have occurred when trying to fit some classifications (such as “partner”) into others that may have a different nuance (such as “significant other”).



order, by significant others (96, or 23,2 %), former significant others (56, or 13,5 %), fiancés (46, or 11,1 %), ex-spouses (25, or 6,0 %) and ex-fiancés (21, or 5,1 %).

	Total	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIM AND PERPETRATOR					
		Spouse	Ex-spouse	Significant other	Ex-significant other	Fiancé	Ex-fiancé
TOTAL	414	170	25	96	56	46	21
2003	71	31	4	18	9	6	3
2004	72	34	5	14	6	8	5
2005	57	20	2	13	7	9	6
2006	68	31	4	15	14	4	0
2007	71	31	4	16	10	8	2
2008	75	23	6	20	10	11	5

The victim and the perpetrator lived together in most cases (271, or 65,5 % of the 414 analyzed).

	Total	LIVING TOGETHER	
		YES	NO
Total	414	271	143
2003	71	55	16
2004	72	48	24
2005	57	36	21
2006	68	45	23
2007	71	47	24
2008	75	40	35

As noted above, ex-partners were responsible for 102 of the murders between 1 January 2003 and 31 December 2008, accounting for 24,6 % of the total. At the time of the homicide, 61 of the couples were in the process of breaking up; this represented 14,17 % of all the murders and 19,6 % of those committed by a partner.

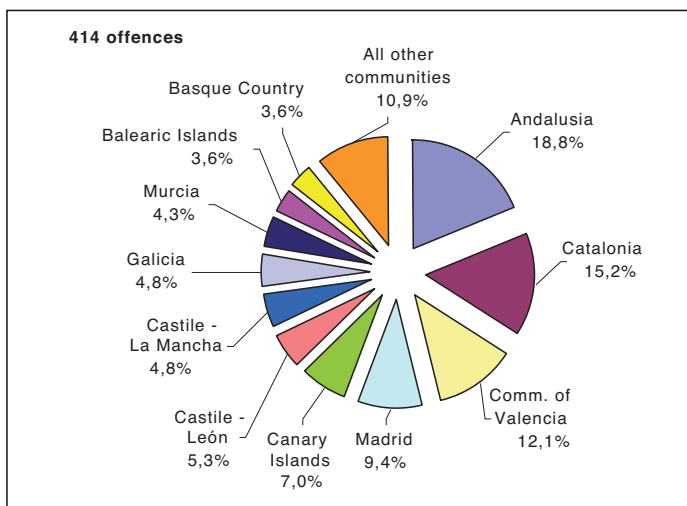
Therefore, the perpetrators killed women to whom they were no longer related, or from whom they were separating, in a total of 163 cases (39,4 % of the total).

1.5. DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE. GEOGRAPHIC AREA

During the entire period analyzed, from 1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008, at least one homicide resulting from gender-based violence was committed in every Spanish province except Lugo and Palencia. The distribution by autonomous community is shown in the table below.

	Total	YEAR					
		2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total	414	71	72	57	68	71	75
Andalusia	78	13	19	9	20	8	9
Aragon	12	2	2	4	1	2	1
Asturias	9	2		1	3	2	1
Balearic Islands	15	4	2	4	3	1	1
Canary Islands	29	6	2	6	4	6	5
Cantabria	5	1	2			2	
Castile-La Mancha	20	2	4	2	4	5	3
Castile-Leon	22	4	2	4	3	3	6
Catalonia	63	12	11	8	10	12	10
Comm. of Valencia	50	7	9	6	8	10	10
Extremadura	4	1	2		1		
Galicia	20	5	2	1		5	7
Madrid	39	5	5	4	5	9	11
Murcia	18	3	4	2	3	2	4
Navarre	7	1	1	2		1	2
Basque Country	15		4	3	3	2	3
La Rioja	5	2	1				2
Ceuta	1	1					
Melilla	2			1		1	

The largest number of murders was committed in Andalusia (78, for 18,8 % of the total), followed by Catalonia (63, or 15,2 %), the Community of Valencia (50, or 12,1 %) and Madrid (39, or 9,4 %). These four autonomous communities accounted for 55,6 % of all gender-based homicides from 1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008.



In descending order, they were followed by the Canary Islands, Castile-Leon, Galicia and Castile-La Mancha. In all of the Communities mentioned, at least twenty gender-based murders were committed in this period.

Furthermore, in every one of the years analyzed, homicides caused by gender-based violence were committed in every autonomous community except Asturias, Balearic Islands, Cantabria, Extremadura, Galicia and Murcia.

By year, the highest figure was recorded in 2007 in Catalonia, with 12 victims, accounting for 19 % of all such murders committed in this region during the entire period. In 2008, more were committed in Madrid (11, or 28,2 % of the total for this region) than in any other region. In the remaining years, 2003 to 2006, the number of homicides was largest in Andalusia, with 29 offences in 2006 alone.

Since the population varies from one autonomous community to another, the number of gender-based murders should be considered against the

population of women in each. As indicated earlier, the average nation-wide death rate for women aged 15 and over from gender-based violence was 3,6 per million in the period from 2003 to 2008.

	Total	YEAR					
		2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total	3,6	3,8	3,8	3,0	3,5	3,6	3,7
Andalusia	3,9	4,0	5,8	2,7	5,9	2,3	2,6
Aragon	3,6	3,7	3,6	7,2	1,8	3,5	1,7
Asturias	3,0	3,9		2,0	5,9	3,9	2,0
Balearic Islands	6,0	9,9	4,9	9,6	7,0	2,3	2,2
Canary Islands	5,8	7,5	2,5	7,2	4,7	7,0	5,7
Cantabria	3,3	4,0	7,9			7,7	
Castile - La Mancha	4,1	2,6	5,1	2,5	4,9	6,0	3,5
Castile - León	3,2	3,6	1,8	3,5	2,6	2,6	5,2
Catalonia	3,4	4,1	3,7	2,6	3,2	3,8	3,1
Comm. of Valencia	4,1	3,6	4,6	3,0	3,9	4,7	4,6
Extremadura	1,4	2,2	4,3		2,1		
Galicia	2,6	3,9	1,6	0,8		3,9	5,4
Madrid	2,4	1,9	1,9	1,5	1,9	3,3	4,0
Murcia	5,4	5,7	7,5	3,6	5,4	3,5	6,8
Navarre	4,5	4,0	3,9	7,8		3,8	7,5
Basque Country	2,6		4,2	3,1	3,1	2,1	3,1
La Rioja	6,4	16,0	7,8				14,7
Ceuta	5,7	34,2					
Melilla	12,8			39,6		37,3	

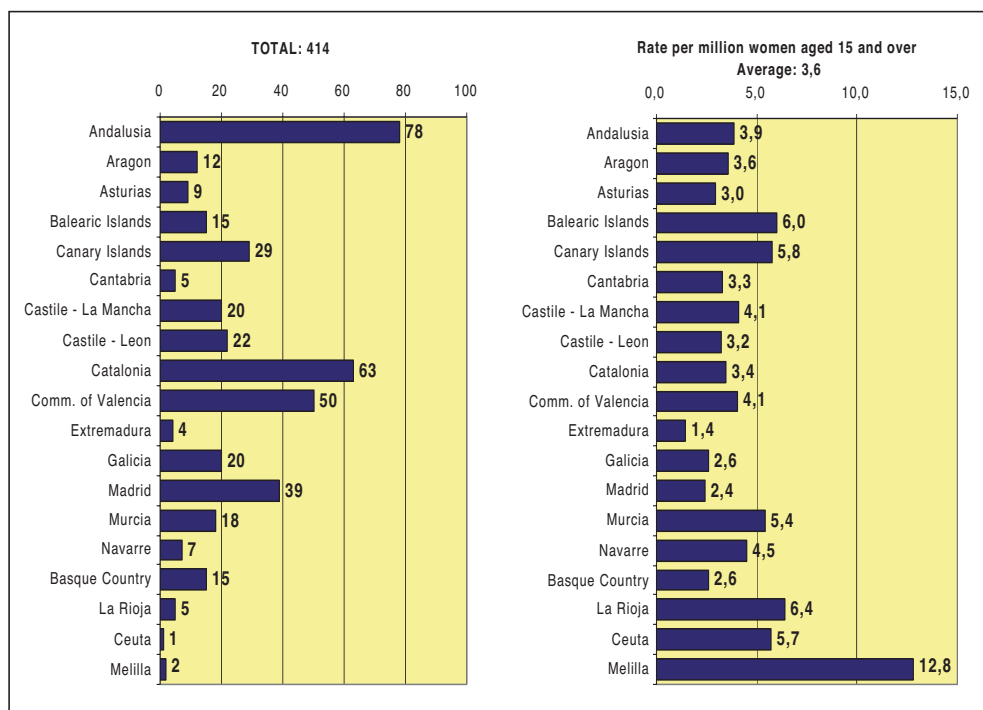
Melilla (12,8), followed by La Rioja (6,4) and the Balearic Islands (6,0) had the highest average rates. Only one gender-based homicide was committed in Ceuta in the entire period, and two in Melilla; however, when considered in relation to the population of women aged 15 and over, these figures result in rates of over 34 per million in the years in which these offences were committed.

The lowest average rate was recorded in Extremadura (1,4).

The highest rates by autonomous community and year were as follows: in 2003, Ceuta (34,2), followed by La Rioja (16,0) and the Balearic Islands (9,9); in 2004, Cantabria (7,9), with La Rioja again in second place (7,8); in 2005, Melilla (39,6), followed by the Balearic Islands (9,6); in 2006, the Balearic Islands (7,0); in 2007, Melilla (37,3), followed by Cantabria (7,7); and in 2008, La Rioja (14,8), followed by Murcia (6,8).

Note that each murder has a substantial impact on the figures and their distribution.

The regional differences by autonomous community in the total number of offences and their prevalence in relation to the number of women aged 15 and over residing in each region are shown in the charts below. The absolute figures for gender-based offences from January 2003 to 18 June 2008 are also shown, along with the average rates from 2003 to 2007 per million women aged 15 and over.

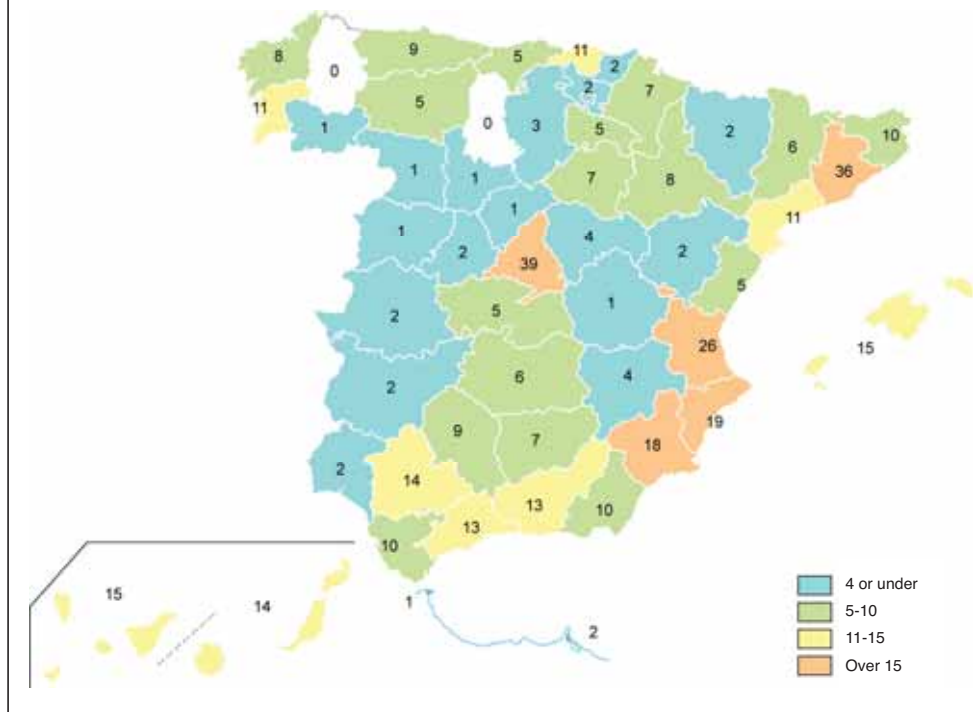


By province, at least one gender-based homicide was committed in every Spanish province except Lugo and Palencia during the period analyzed. The provinces with the highest number of offences of this type were Madrid (39, as mentioned earlier), Barcelona (36), Valencia (26), Alicante (19), Murcia (18), Santa Cruz de Tenerife and the Balearic Islands (each with 15), and Seville and Las Palmas (14 apiece). The murders committed in these nine provinces accounted for 47,3 % of all the gender-based offences of this type committed in Spain between January 2003 and 31 December 2008.

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE, BY PROVINCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008

TOTAL: 414



1.6. DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE. REPORTING

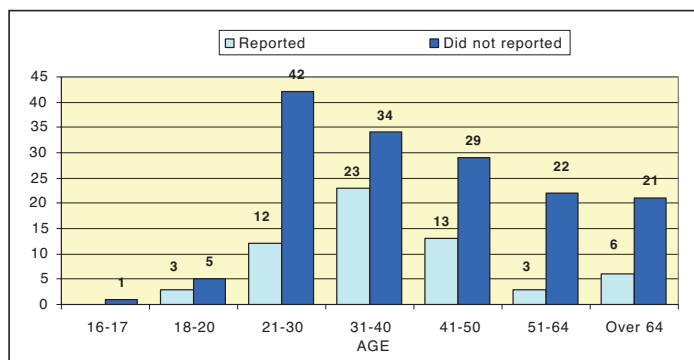
In the database created for the preparation of this report, complete, consistent information on the action the victims may have taken with law enforcement agencies and courts of justice prior to the offences that resulted in their deaths is only available after January 2006. Of the 214 women killed as a result of gender-based violence between January 2006 and 31 December 2008, 60 had reported abuse by the perpetrator (28,0 %), although 154 (72,0 %) had not.

The percentage of women who had reported the perpetrator on one or more occasions varied relatively little from one year to the next in the period analyzed: 32,4 % of all victims in 2006 had reported the perpetrator, whilst 29,6 % had done so in 2007 and 22,7 % in 2008. The percentages of those

	TOTAL	YEAR		
		2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	214	68	71	75
Reported	60	22	21	17
Did not report	154	46	50	58

who had not filed a report were 67,6 %, 70,4 % and 77,3 %, respectively¹². In short, fewer than a third of the women killed in this period had previously reported abuse by the perpetrators, and the percentage of those who had filed a report has declined from one year to the next.

All of the victims killed between January 2006 and 31 December 2008 were of legal age.



		Total (%)	Reported	Did not reported
AGE \	TOTAL	100,0	28,0	72,0
	16-17	100,0	0,0	100,0
	18-20	100,0	37,5	62,5
	21-30	100,0	22,2	77,8
	31-40	100,0	40,4	59,6
	41-50	100,0	31,0	69,0
	51-64	100,0	12,0	88,0
	Over 64	100,0	22,2	77,8

¹² As indicated at the beginning of this report, the size of the sample being analyzed is small from a statistical standpoint, and therefore, trends cannot be detected. Nonetheless, an overview of the similarities and differences in the basic characteristics of the victims according to whether they filed a report or not was deemed to be appropriate; this entailed comparing the information from the 60 cases in which prior reports had been lodged to the 154 cases where they were lacking. In any case, the data from January 2006 to 31 December 2008 have been included.

By age group, the highest percentages of victims who had previously reported abuse by the perpetrator were between 31 and 40 (40,4 % of the women in this age bracket had filed a report) and 18 to 20 (37,5 %). The smallest percentage of reporting victims was for women aged 51 to 64 (12,0 %).

With regard to nationality, 133 victims of gender-based violence between January 2006 and 31 December 2008 were Spanish (62,1 % of the cases in this period), and 81 were foreigners (37,9 %).

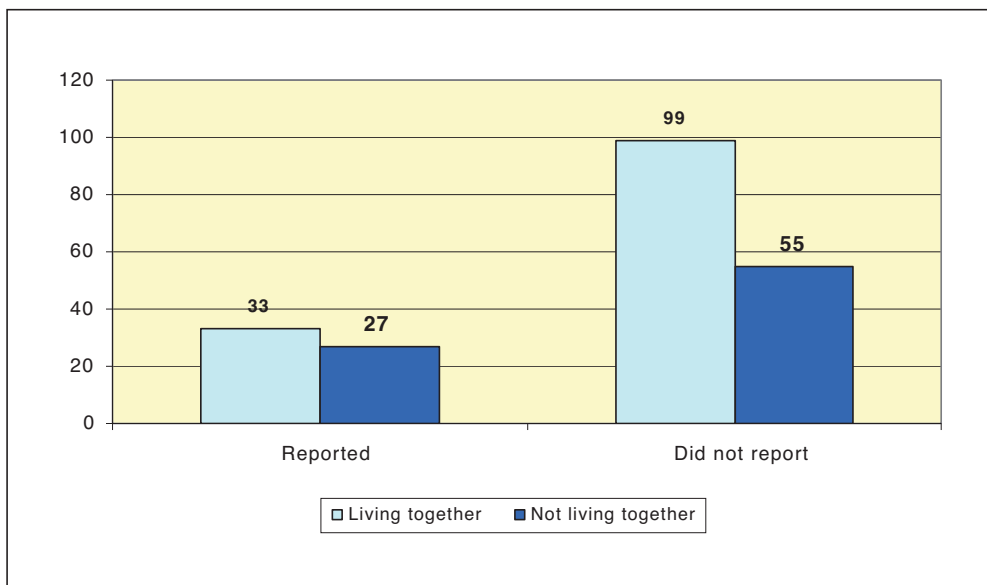
The percentage of foreign victims who had reported abuse by the perpetrator (30,9 %) was somewhat higher than the figure for Spanish victims (26,3 %). The table below shows that 58,3 % of the 60 women who had filed reports were Spanish and 41,7 % were foreign. Among those who had not filed reports, 63,6 % were Spanish and 36,4 % were foreign.

	TOTAL	Reported	Did not report
TOTAL	214	60	154
Spanish	133	35	98
Foreign	81	25	56

The perpetrator was the victim's partner in 74,3 % of the gender-based offences in the period analyzed, and her ex-partner in 25,7 % of the cases. Of the women killed by their ex-partners, 38,2 % had previously filed a report. This figure dropped to 24,5 % among those who were murdered by their partners. Reports of abuse filed referred to the victims' partners in 65,0 % of the cases, and to former partners in 35,0 %.

	TOTAL	Reported	Did not report
TOTAL	214	60	154
Partner	159	39	120
Ex-partner	55	21	34

Of the 209 women killed as a result of gender-based violence from January 2006 to 31 December 2008, 61,7 % lived with the perpetrator and 38,3 % did not. Among those who lived with the perpetrator, 25,0 % had previously filed a report of abuse, compared to 75,0 % who had not done so. These figures were 32,9 % and 67,1 %, respectively, for women not living with their perpetrator when the offence was committed. Fifty-five percent of the women who had reported abuse at the hands of the perpetrator lived with him, whereas 45,0 % did not. The percentages in the case of those who had not filed a report were 64,3 % and 35,7 %, respectively.



The data in this regard show considerable dispersion and variation from one autonomous community to another. In the period from 1 January 2006 to 31 December 2008, 57 % of all gender-based homicides were committed in Andalusia, Catalonia, the Community of Valencia and Madrid. An analysis of reporting patterns in these four autonomous communities reveals that Catalonia had the smallest percentage of reporting, with only 18,8 % of the victims having reported prior abuse; conversely, 50,0 % of the women killed in the Community of Valencia had filed reports. In Andalucía, 32,4 % of the victims had reported abuse, whilst the figure for Madrid was 32,0 %.

	TOTAL	Reported	Did not report
Total	214	60	154
Andalusia	37	12	25
Aragon	4		4
Asturias	6	1	5
Balearic Islands	5	2	3
Canary Islands	15	4	11
Cantabria	2	1	1
Castile-La Mancha	12	5	7
Castile-Leon	12		12
Catalonia	32	6	26
Comm. of Valencia	28	14	14
Extremadura	1		1
Galicia	12		12
Madrid	25	8	17
Murcia	9	3	6
Navarre	3		3
Basque Country	8	2	6
La Rioja	2	1	1
Ceuta			
Melilla	1	1	

1.7. DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE. INSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION

This section includes an analysis of information gathered since January 2006 relating to court-ordered protective measures and their violation.

Of the 60 women who reported abuse in this period (28,0 % of the victims in this time frame), six later withdrew the accusations. These six cases represent 10 % of the women who had filed reports.

As the table below indicates, 54 of the 60 women who had reported abuse (90,0 % of those who had filed reports and 25,2 % of all victims during this period) requested protective measures. Protective measures were ordered for 51 women, who accounted for only 23,8 % of all women killed as a result of gender-based violence from 1 January 2006 to 31 December 2008.

Either because the victims had waived the protection or because the measures had expired, only 40 women (66,7 % of those who had filed reports and 18,7 % of all those killed since January 2006) had protective measures in effect at the time of the lethal assault.

Protective measures and their violation	Number
TOTAL DEATHS	214
Reported abuse	60
Withdrew accusation	6
Requested protective measures	54
Obtained protective measures	51
Waived protective measures	6
Protective measures expired	1
Had protective measures in effect	40
Protective measures violated with victim's consent	15
Protective measures violated without victim's consent	21
Existence of consent not known	4

Of the 40 women who had protective measures in effect, the perpetrator violated these measures without the victim's consent in 21 cases and with her consent in 15. In the remaining four cases, no information was available about whether the victim consented or not.

1.8. DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE. SUICIDE OF THE PERPETRATOR

Sixteen point nine percent of the 414 perpetrators in the period from January 2003 to 31 December 2008 committed suicide, and 11,1 % unsuccessfully attempted suicide. The highest number of suicides took place in 2006 (one-fourth of the perpetrators took their own lives after killing their partner or ex-partner), and the fewest occurred in 2007 (7,0 %).

	TOTAL	Suicide of the perpetrator			% suicides committed
		No	Attempted	Committed	
TOTAL	414	298	46	70	16,9
2003	71	51	7	13	18,3
2004	72	56	7	9	12,5
2005	57	41	5	11	19,3
2006	68	42	9	17	25,0
2007	71	56	10	5	7,0
2008	75	52	8	15	20,0

Nearly half of the perpetrators who committed suicide were between 31 and 50 years old (48,6 % of the total), although the proportion of perpetrators in that age bracket who committed suicide after killing their partner or ex-partner was 16,3 %. By age group, the highest percentage of perpetrators who committed suicide were from 51 to 64 (14 of whom took their own lives), and the lowest figure was recorded for the group aged 21 to 30 (12,7 %).

	TOTAL	Suicide of the perpetrator			% suicides committed
		No	Attempted	Committed	
TOTAL	414	298	46	70	16,9
Under 21	8	6	0	2	25,0
21-30	71	56	6	9	12,7
31-40	120	88	14	18	15,0
41-50	88	65	7	16	18,2
51-64	47	26	7	14	29,8
Over 64	69	47	11	11	15,9
Age not known	11	10	1	0	-

By nationality, 58 Spaniards and 12 foreigners committed suicide from January 2003 to 31 December 2008, i.e., 19,8 % of the Spanish and 10,4 % of the foreign perpetrators. Thirty-two Spanish perpetrators, or 10,9 %, unsuccessfully attempted suicide, compared to 11,3 % of foreign perpetrators (13).

	TOTAL	Suicide of the perpetrator			% suicides committed
		No	Attempted	Committed	
TOTAL	414	298	46	70	16,9
Spanish	293	203	32	58	19,8
Foreign	115	90	13	12	10,4
Nationality not known	6	5	1	0	-

The suicide figures by the relationship between the perpetrators and the women they murdered showed that 17,0 % of men killing their partners later committed suicide, although the percentage was slightly lower for men who killed their ex-partners (16,7 % in this latter case). Lastly, 11,5 % of the offenders who killed their partners and 9,8 % of the males who murdered their ex-partners unsuccessfully attempted suicide.

	TOTAL	Suicide of the perpetrator			% suicides committed
		No	Attempted	Committed	
TOTAL	414	298	46	70	16,9
Partner	312	223	36	53	17,0
Ex-partner	102	75	10	17	16,7

1.9. CONCLUSIONS FOR THIS SECTION

The persistence of offences of this type and the variation in their rates of incidence throughout the period show that no area of Spain is free of gender-based homicide, and that such violence follows no discernible pattern. It is undoubtedly related to population size, and the figures for both foreign victims and perpetrators are disproportionately high compared to the size of the foreign population in Spain. However, little more can be stated. Each murder has a substantial impact on the figures and their distribution.

Neither the effectiveness of the provisions of Constitutional Act 1/2004 nor its social impact can be evaluated on the basis of the number of women killed from gender-based violence, because it is impossible to determine the number of women's lives that have been saved thanks to the resources furnished under this Act on Comprehensive Measures.

Although an exhaustive analysis of each case would obviously identify which mechanisms failed and why, the information stemming from any such analysis should, first and foremost, be applied to better protect potential victims.

Nevertheless, the systematic collection of complete information must be improved to learn why only 28,0 % of the victims had previously reported abuse, why some women withdrew the accusations despite the obvious presence of abuse, why in some cases reports were not followed up, and why women who had filed reports failed to request protective measures.

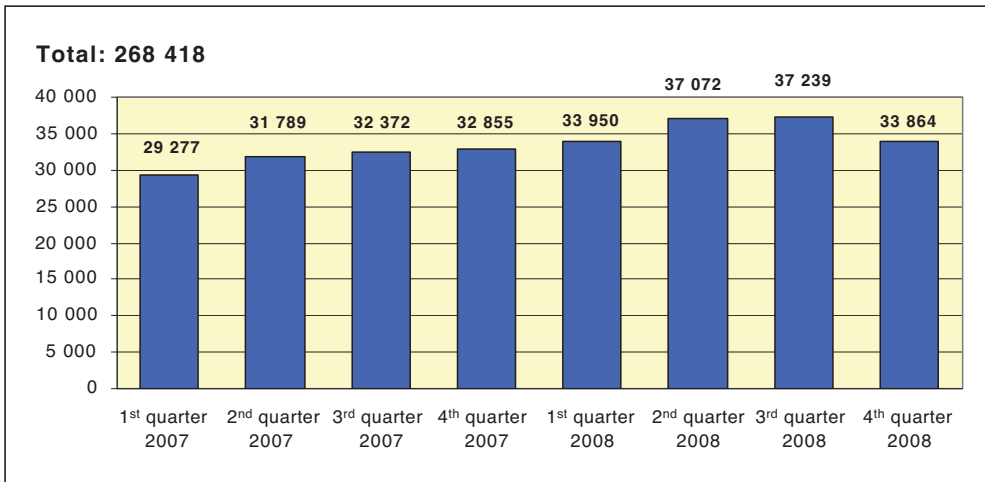
2 REPORTING OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

2.1. FIGURES ON REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2007 to 31 December 2008

From 1 January 2007 to 31 December 2008, a total of 268 418 reports of violence against women by their male partners or ex-partners reached the courts.

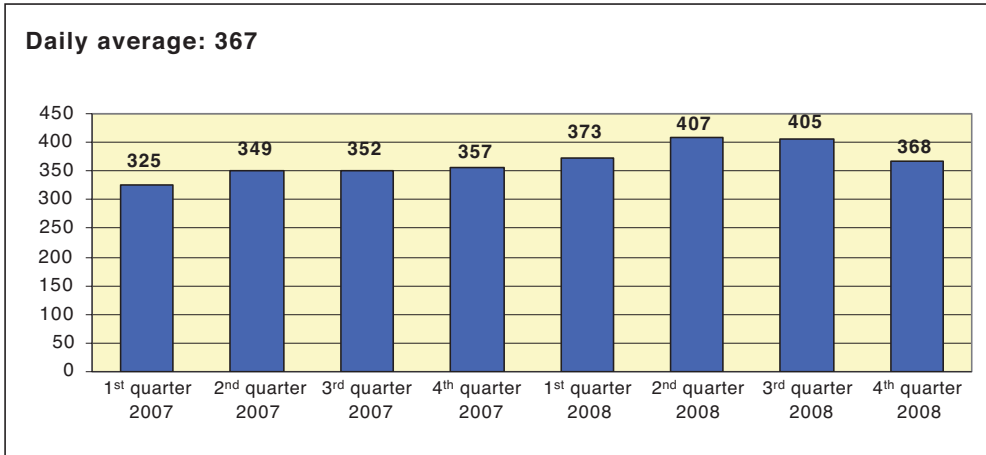
The variation in the number of reports of gender-based violence by quarter is shown below.



The total number of reports in 2007 was 126 293, and 142 125 in 2008.

In the first quarter of 2007, 29 277 reports of abuse reached the courts, whilst in the fourth quarter of 2008, the figure had grown to 33 864, an increase of 15,7 %.

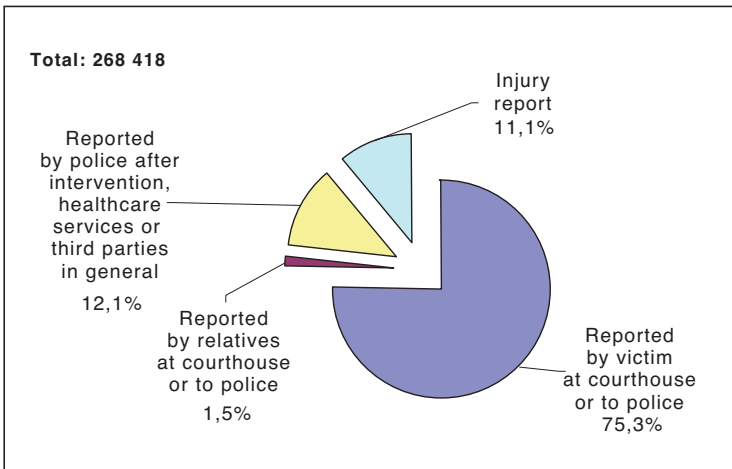
These figures average out to more than 367 reports a day during the 731-day period analyzed. The variations in this daily average by quarter are shown in the chart that follows:



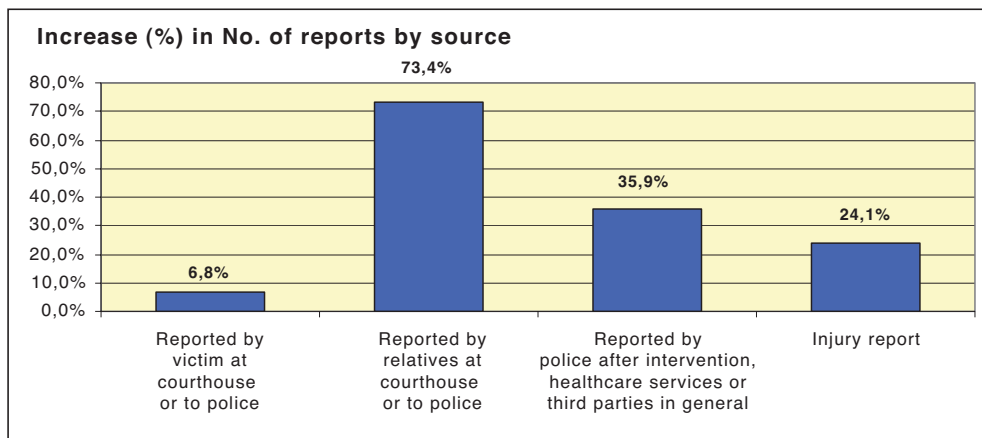
2.2. REPORTING OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE BY REPORTING PARTY

In most cases, it was the victims of gender-based violence themselves who reported the abuse, either to the police or directly at the courthouse. In total, 202 163 reports were lodged by these women.

The remaining reports were filed, in decreasing order, by police after intervention, healthcare services and third parties in general, (32 504), recipients of injury reports (29 849), and the victim's relatives (3 902).



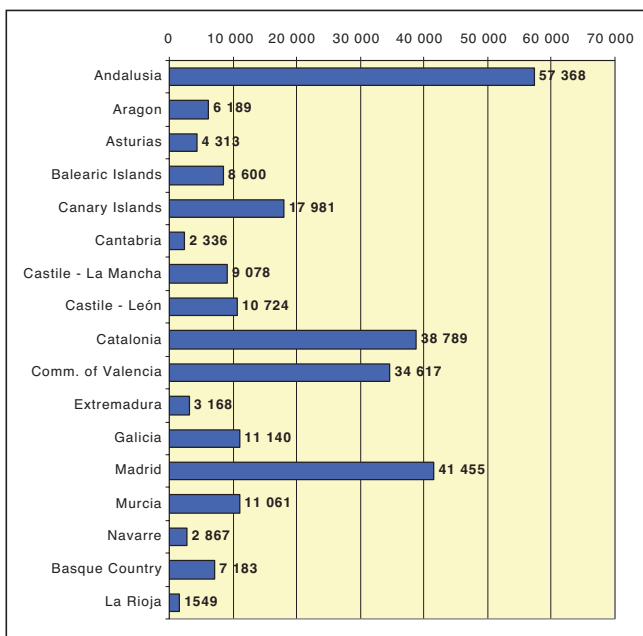
Although the number of reports filed by relatives was the lowest, it increased dramatically from 2007 to 2008, rising by 73,4 %. The 1 427 reports lodged by family members in 2007 rose to 2 475 in 2008.



2.3. REPORTING OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE BY AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY

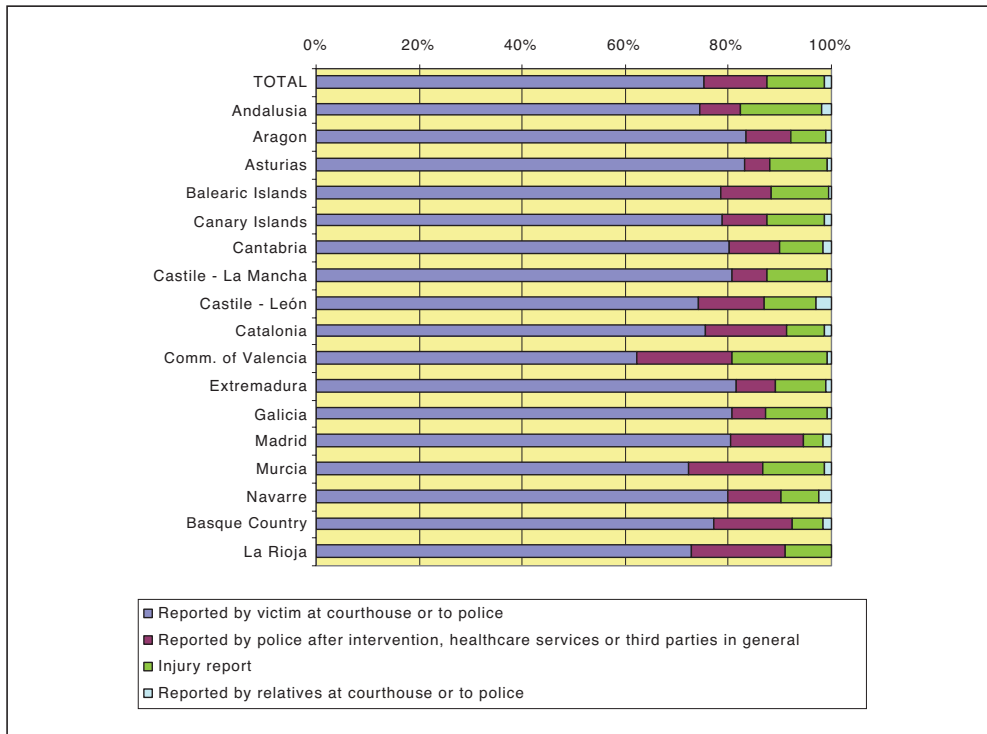
Twenty-one point four percent of the reported cases reached courts in Andalusia, whilst 15,4 % arrived in Madrid's courts, 14,5 % in Catalonia's and 12,9 % reached courts in the Community of Valencia. In all, 64,2 % of the reported cases reached courts in one of these four autonomous communities.

By reporting party, 21,1 % and 25,2 % of reports lodged at the



courthouse or made to the police by victims or their relatives, respectively, were filed in Andalusia, as well as 31,1 % of those arising from injury reports. In Catalonia, 19,4 % of the reports lodged were signed by police after intervention, or by healthcare services and third parties in general.

Aragon was the autonomous community with the highest percentage of reports filed at the victim's behest (83,3 % of the total reaching the courts in this region). Castile-Leon had the highest proportion of reports lodged by relatives (2,9 %), although the Community of Valencia had the largest percentage of reports from police after intervention, from healthcare services and third parties in general (18,6 %) and those arising from injury reports (18,3 %).



**Table 1. Reporting of gender-based violence by reporting party, by quarter.
1 January 2007 to 31 December 2008**

	TOTAL 1 January 2007 to 31 December 2008	2007				2008			
		1 st quarter	2 nd quarter	3 rd quarter	4 th quarter	1 st quarter	2 nd quarter	3 rd quarter	4 th quarter
Total reports received	268 418	29 277	31 789	32 372	32 855	33 950	37 072	37 239	33 864
Reported by victim at courthouse or to police	202 163	23 278	24 695	25 073	24 721	25 174	27 226	27 002	24 994
Reported by relatives at courthouse or to police	3 902	288	343	269	527	632	594	722	527
Reported by police after intervention, healthcare services or third parties in general	32 504	2 870	3 799	3 520	3 589	4 504	4 993	4 929	4 410
Injury report	29 849	2 841	2 952	3 510	4 018	3 640	4 369	4 586	3 933

**Table 2. Reporting of gender-based violence, by reporting party, by quarter.
1 January 2007 to 31 December 2008. Total (%) by reporting party.**

	% 1 January 2007 to 31 December 2008	2007				2008			
		1 st quarter	2 nd quarter	3 rd quarter	4 th quarter	1 st quarter	2 nd quarter	3 rd quarter	4 th quarter
Total reports received	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Reported by victim at courthouse or to police	75,3	79,5	77,7	77,5	75,2	74,2	73,4	72,5	73,8
Reported by relatives at courthouse or to police	1,5	1,0	1,1	0,8	1,6	1,9	1,6	1,9	1,6
Reported by police after intervention, healthcare services or third parties in general	12,1	9,8	12,0	10,9	10,9	13,3	13,2	13,2	13,0
Injury report	11,1	9,7	9,3	10,8	12,2	10,7	11,8	12,3	11,6

**Table 3. Reporting of gender-based violence, by reporting party, by quarter.
1 January 2007 to 31 December 2008. Total (%) by quarter.**

	% 1 January 2007 to 31 December 2008	2007				2008			
		1 st quarter	2 nd quarter	3 rd quarter	4 th quarter	1 st quarter	2 nd quarter	3 rd quarter	4 th quarter
Total denuncias recibidas	100,0	10,9	11,8	12,1	12,2	12,6	13,8	13,9	12,6
Reported by victim at courthouse or to police	100,0	11,5	12,2	12,4	12,2	12,5	13,5	13,4	12,4
Reported by relatives at courthouse or to police	100,0	7,4	8,8	6,9	13,5	16,2	15,2	18,5	13,5
Reported by police after intervention, healthcare services or third parties in general	100,0	8,8	11,7	10,8	11,0	13,9	15,0	15,2	13,6
Injury report	100,0	9,5	9,9	11,8	13,5	12,2	14,6	15,4	13,2

**Table 4. Reporting of gender-based violence, by autonomous community and reporting party.
1 January 2007 to 31 December 2008**

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	TOTAL REPORTS RECEIVED	REPORTING PARTY			
		Reported by victim at courthouse or to police	Reported by relatives at courthouse or to police	Reported by police after intervention, healthcare services or third parties in general	Injury report
TOTAL	268 418	202 163	3 902	32 504	29 849
Andalusia	57 368	42 714	1 082	4 484	9 088
Aragon	6 189	5 158	62	547	422
Asturias	4 313	3 582	30	215	486
Balearic Islands	8 600	6 754	52	836	958
Canary Islands	17 981	14 151	255	1 560	2 015
Cantabria	2 336	1 870	39	230	197
Castile - La Mancha	9 078	7 332	67	618	1 061
Castile - León	10 724	7 960	306	1 377	1 081
Catalonia	38 789	29 291	538	6 084	2 876
Comm. of Valencia	34 617	21 515	319	6 442	6 341
Extremadura	3 168	2 581	35	244	308
Galicia	11 140	8 997	100	718	1 325
Madrid	41 455	33 306	662	5 864	1 623
Murcia	11 061	7 998	162	1 601	1 300
Navarre	2 867	2 287	71	299	210
Basque Country	7 183	5 540	121	1 103	419
La Rioja	1 549	1 127	1	282	139

**Table 5. Reporting of gender-based violence, by autonomous community and reporting party.
1 January 2007 to 31 December 2008. Total (%) by autonomous community.**

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	TOTAL REPORTS RECEIVED	REPORTING PARTY			
		Reported by victim at courthouse or to police	Reported by relatives at courthouse or to police	Reported by police after intervention, healthcare services or third parties in general	Injury report
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Andalusia	21,4	21,1	27,7	13,8	30,4
Aragon	2,3	2,6	1,6	1,7	1,4
Asturias	1,6	1,8	0,8	0,7	1,6
Balearic Islands	3,2	3,3	1,3	2,6	3,2
Canary Islands	6,7	7,0	6,5	4,8	6,8
Cantabria	0,9	0,9	1,0	0,7	0,7
Castile - La Mancha	3,4	3,6	1,7	1,9	3,6
Castile - León	4,0	3,9	7,8	4,2	3,6
Catalonia	14,5	14,5	13,8	18,7	9,6
Comm. of Valencia	12,9	10,6	8,2	19,8	21,2
Extremadura	1,2	1,3	0,9	0,8	1,0
Galicia	4,2	4,5	2,6	2,2	4,4
Madrid	15,4	16,5	17,0	18,0	5,4
Murcia	4,1	4,0	4,2	4,9	4,4
Navarre	1,1	1,1	1,8	0,9	0,7
Basque Country	2,7	2,7	3,1	3,4	1,4
La Rioja	0,6	0,6	0,0	0,9	0,5

**Table 6. Reporting of gender-based violence, by autonomous community and reporting party.
1 January 2007 to 31 December 2008. Total (%) by reporting party.**

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	TOTAL REPORTS RECEIVED	REPORTING PARTY			
		Reported by victim at courthouse or to police	Reported by relatives at courthouse or to police	Reported by police after intervention, healthcare services or third parties in general	Injury report
TOTAL	100,0	75,3	1,5	12,1	11,1
Andalusia	100,0	74,5	1,9	7,8	15,8
Aragon	100,0	83,3	1,0	8,8	6,8
Asturias	100,0	83,1	0,7	5,0	11,3
Balearic Islands	100,0	78,5	0,6	9,7	11,1
Canary Islands	100,0	78,7	1,4	8,7	11,2
Cantabria	100,0	80,1	1,7	9,8	8,4
Castile - La Mancha	100,0	80,8	0,7	6,8	11,7
Castile - León	100,0	74,2	2,9	12,8	10,1
Catalonia	100,0	75,5	1,4	15,7	7,4
Comm. of Valencia	100,0	62,2	0,9	18,6	18,3
Extremadura	100,0	81,5	1,1	7,7	9,7
Galicia	100,0	80,8	0,9	6,4	11,9
Madrid	100,0	80,3	1,6	14,1	3,9
Murcia	100,0	72,3	1,5	14,5	11,8
Navarre	100,0	79,8	2,5	10,4	7,3
Basque Country	100,0	77,1	1,7	15,4	5,8
La Rioja	100,0	72,8	0,1	18,2	9,0

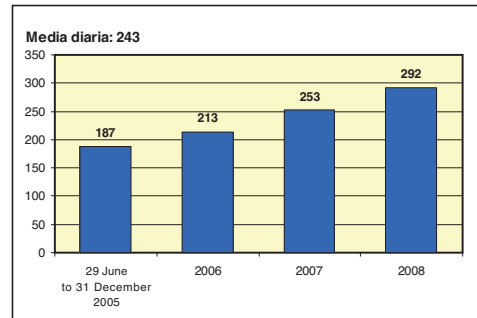
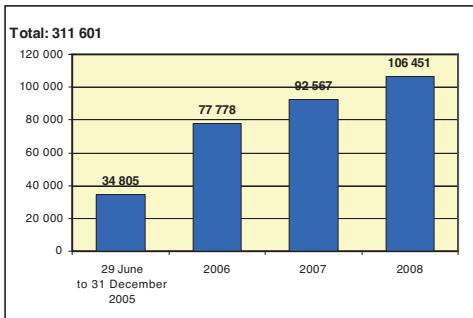
3.1. CASES BROUGHT FOR GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

3.1.1. Number of cases brought for gender-based violence

Between 29 June 2005 and 31 December 2008, 311 601 cases were brought for gender-based violence, for a average of 243 cases a day for gender-based violence during this 1 282-day period. This figure has risen constantly from one year to the next: the daily average for cases brought in 2008 was 55,9 % higher than the figure for the second half of 2005.

	Number	Daily average
TOTAL	311 601	243
29 June to 31 December 2005	34 805	187
2006	77 778	213
2007	92 567	253
2008	106 451	292



The total numbers of victims, reported perpetrators involved and cases brought do not concur because the same victim or reported perpetrator may be involved in more than one case.

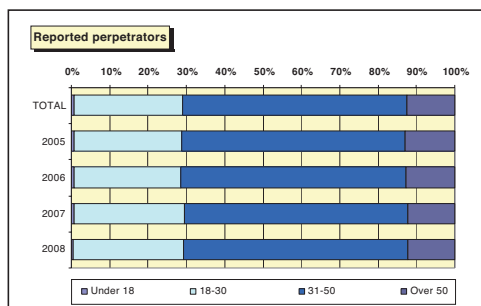
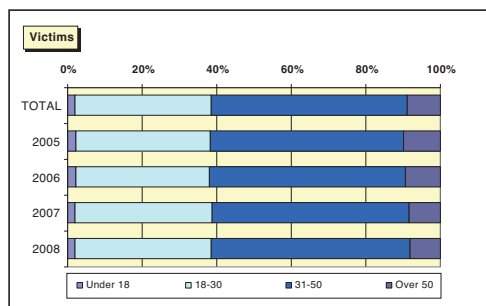
As indicated earlier, the 311 601 cases brought involved 328 443 victims and 323 426 reported perpetrators.

3.1.2. Victims and reported perpetrators in cases brought for gender-based violence by age group

Most of the victims and reported perpetrators were in the 31-to-50 age group, although the latter were usually older¹³.

	VICTIMS		REPORTED PERPETRATORS	
	Total	Total (%)	Total	Total (%)
TOTAL	328 443	100,0	323 426	100,0
Under 18	6 663	2,1	1 838	0,6
18-30	116 642	36,4	81 054	28,4
31-50	169 211	52,8	167 150	58,5
Over 50	28 120	8,8	35 476	12,4
Age not known	7 807	-	37 908	-

The proportions did not vary significantly from one year to the next in the period analyzed for either the victims or the reported perpetrators¹⁴.



¹³ It should be noted that the age group is unknown for 37 908 reported perpetrators and 7 807 victims. These data were not included in the calculations of percentages, as in the rest of this report.

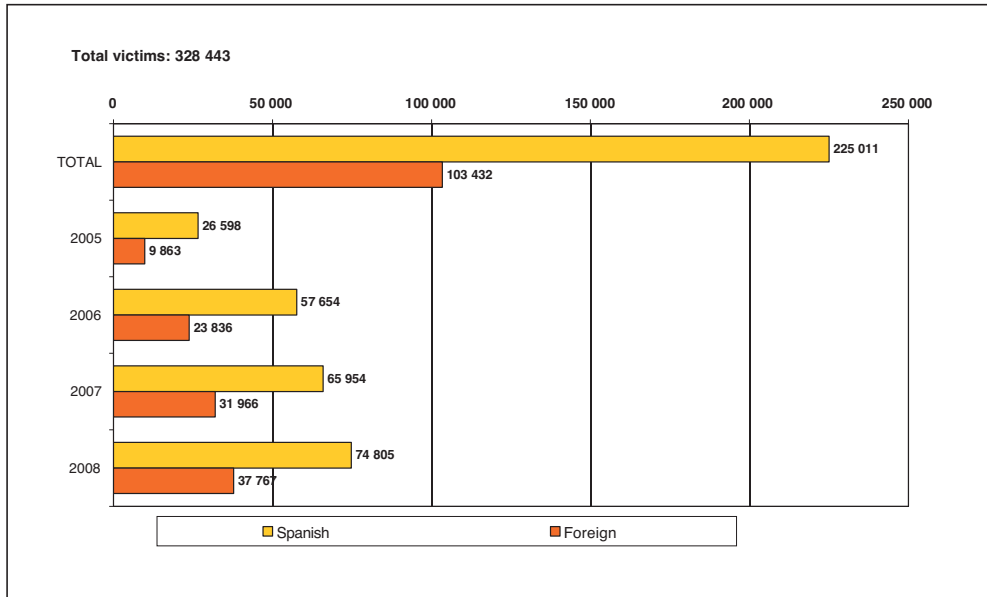
¹⁴ The references to 2005 in this section are to the period from 29 June to 31 December 2005.

3.1.3. Victims and reported perpetrators in cases brought by nationality

A total of 225 011 victims were Spanish (representing 68,5 % of the total) and 103 432 foreigners (31,5 %).

The number of both Spanish and foreign victims increased from one year to the next. However, the percentage of foreign victims increased from 27,1 % of the total figure in the second half of 2005 to 33,5 % in 2008, despite the fact that foreign women aged 15 and over represent only 10,5 % of Spain's female population in this age group.

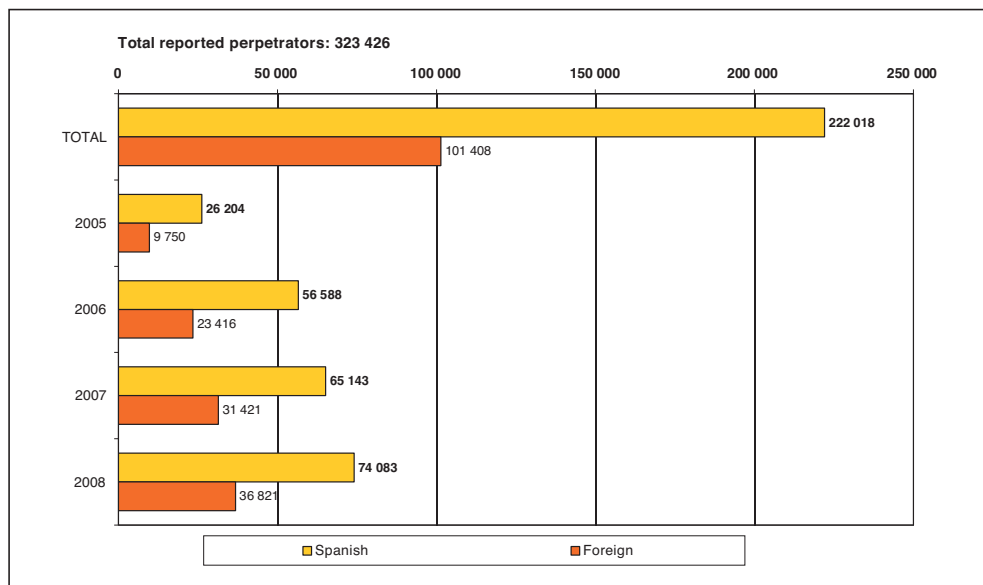
The chart below clearly shows the increase in the proportion of foreign victims during the period analyzed.



The yearly distribution of the reported perpetrators by nationality is similar to that of the victims. In this case, 68,6 % of the reported perpetrators in proceedings brought for gender-based violence during the period in question were Spanish, whilst 31,4 % were foreigners.

The percentage of foreign nationals among the reported perpetrators rose from 27,1 % in the second half of 2005 to 33,2 % in 2008, whereas foreign

men aged 15 and over account for 12,5 % of male residents of Spain in this age bracket.



3.1.4. Cases brought for gender-based violence by autonomous community¹⁵

During the period analyzed, 63,6 % of the proceedings brought were in the Communities of Catalonia, Andalusia, Madrid and Valencia, in that order.

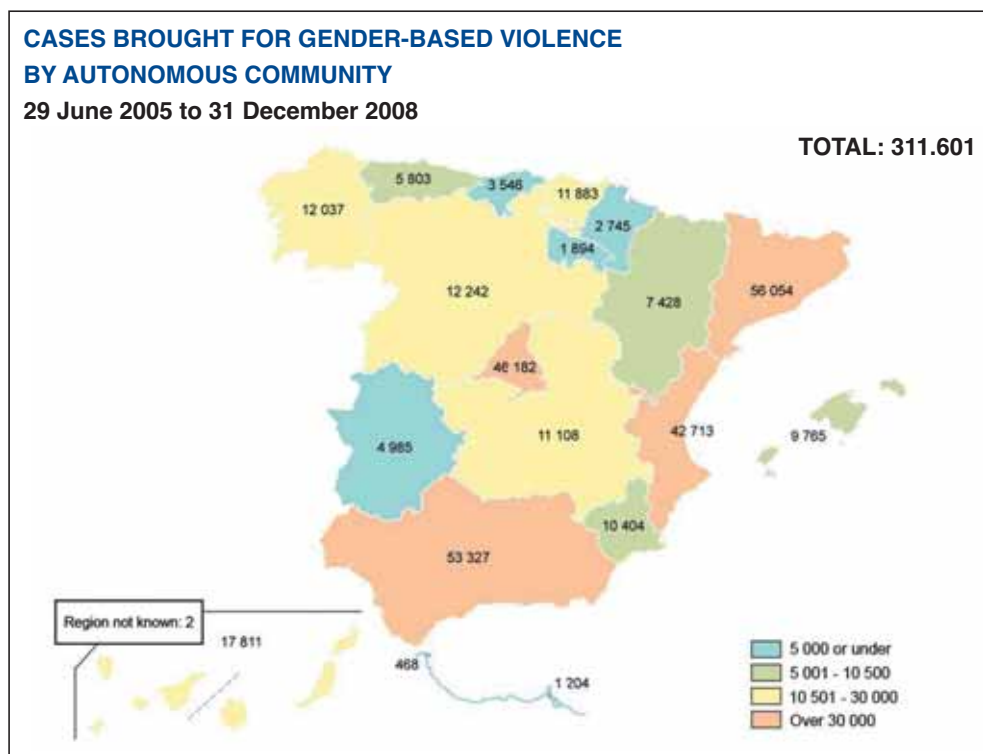
The number of cases brought rose year by year in all Communities except the Basque Country, Galicia, La Rioja and Extremadura, where there were fewer cases in 2008 than in 2007. However, there was a significant percentage increase in cases initiated in the Autonomous City of Ceuta in 2008 (a rise of 63,8 % over 2007) and in the autonomous community of Navarre (a jump of 51,3 % in 2008 compared to the previous year).

¹⁵ The geographic area referred to in this document corresponds to the court that handles the respective case, which generally coincides with the place of residence of the victim and reported perpetrator.

	TOTAL	Total (%)	YEAR			
			29 June to 31 December 2005	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	311 601	100,0	34 805	77 778	92 567	106 451
Andalusia	53 327	17,1	6 561	13 621	14 525	18 620
Aragon	7 428	2,4	832	1 796	2 166	2 634
Asturias	5 803	1,9	711	1 467	1 700	1 925
Balearic Islands	9 765	3,1	883	2 212	3 047	3 623
Canary Islands	17 811	5,7	2 142	4 539	5 229	5 901
Cantabria	3 546	1,1	450	919	1 011	1 166
Castile - La Mancha	11 108	3,6	1 228	2 758	3 341	3 781
Castile - León	12 242	3,9	1 237	2 789	3 954	4 262
Catalonia	56 054	18,0	6 349	14 610	16 945	18 150
Comm. of Valencia	42 713	13,7	4 538	9 999	12 974	15 202
Extremadura	4 985	1,6	637	1 336	1 512	1 500
Galicia	12 037	3,9	1 231	2 992	3 976	3 838
Madrid	46 182	14,8	4 907	11 335	13 491	16 449
Murcia	10 404	3,3	1 104	2 633	3 144	3 523
Navarre	2 745	0,9	308	580	739	1 118
Basque Country	11 883	3,8	1 305	3 352	3 683	3 543
La Rioja	1 894	0,6	191	408	657	638
Ceuta	468	0,2	83	108	105	172
Melilla	1 204	0,4	107	324	367	406
Autonomous community not known	2	-	1	0	1	0

CASES BROUGHT FOR GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE BY AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY

29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008



3.1.5. Victims and reported perpetrators in cases brought by age group and nationality

When the age and nationality of victims and reported perpetrators are correlated, the result is as shown in the table below.

TOTAL	VICTIMS				REPORTED PERPETRATORS			
	Spanish	Total (%)	Foreign	Total (%)	Spanish	Total (%)	Foreign	Total (%)
TOTAL	225 011	100,0	103 432	100,0	222 018	100,0	101 408	100,0
Under 18	5 009	2,3	1 654	1,6	1 303	0,7	535	0,6
18-30	69 662	31,8	46 980	46,2	46 373	23,9	34 681	37,9
31-50	119 323	54,5	49 888	49,1	115 328	59,4	51 822	56,7
Over 50	24 953	11,4	3 167	3,1	31 121	16,0	4 355	4,8
Age not known	6 064	—	1 743	—	27 893	—	10 015	—

The largest age group in all cases was the 31-to-50 bracket, although foreign victims and reported perpetrators both tended to be younger. This is consistent with the fact that the foreign population in Spain is younger than the Spanish population.

3.1.6. Victims and reported perpetrators in cases brought by autonomous community and nationality

The nationality data for victims and reported perpetrators by autonomous community are as follows:

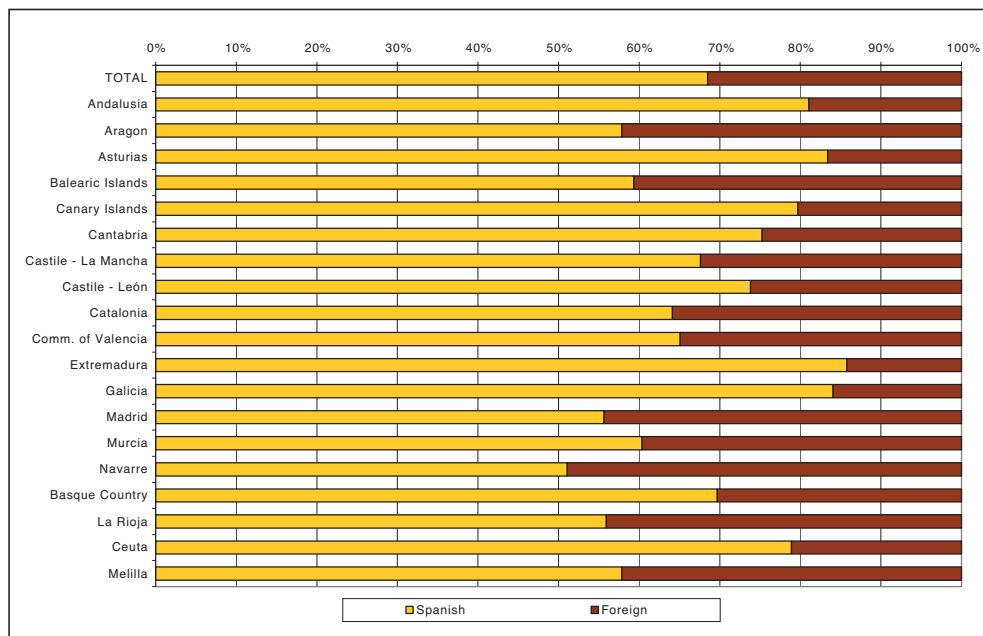
TOTAL	VICTIMS				REPORTED PERPETRATORS			
	Spanish	Total (%)	Foreign	Total (%)	Spanish	Total (%)	Foreign	Total (%)
TOTAL	225 011	100,0	103 432	100,0	222 018	100,0	101 408	100,0
Andalusia	45 446	20,2	10 626	10,3	45 273	20,4	9 873	9,7
Aragon	4 556	2,0	3 319	3,2	4 595	2,1	3 186	3,1
Asturias	5 123	2,3	1 020	1,0	5 319	2,4	771	0,8
Balearic Islands	5 920	2,6	4 058	3,9	6 083	2,7	3 815	3,8
Canary Islands	14 607	6,5	3 719	3,6	14 540	6,5	3 661	3,6
Cantabria	2 956	1,3	972	0,9	3 080	1,4	756	0,7
Castile - La Mancha	8 004	3,6	3 836	3,7	8 002	3,6	3 672	3,6
Castile - León	9 513	4,2	3 375	3,3	9 781	4,4	2 899	2,9
Catalonia	38 063	16,9	21 297	20,6	36 490	16,4	21 673	21,4
Comm. of Valencia	29 181	13,0	15 650	15,1	28 127	12,7	16 130	15,9
Extremadura	4 646	2,1	769	0,7	4 640	2,1	636	0,6
Galicia	10 749	4,8	2 035	2,0	10 985	4,9	1 558	1,5
Madrid	27 203	12,1	21 694	21,0	26 297	11,8	22 001	21,7
Murcia	6 647	3,0	4 363	4,2	6 389	2,9	4 465	4,4
Navarre	1 455	0,6	1 393	1,3	1 407	0,6	1 393	1,4
Basque Country	8 695	3,9	3 782	3,7	8 499	3,8	3 705	3,7
La Rioja	1 133	0,5	893	0,9	1 125	0,5	866	0,9
Ceuta	389	0,2	104	0,1	410	0,2	82	0,1
Melilla	723	0,3	527	0,5	974	0,4	266	0,3
Autonomous community not known	2	—	0	—	2	—	0	—

Although the highest percentages are in the same autonomous communities for both Spanish and foreign victims/reported perpetrators (Catalonia, Andalusia, Madrid and Community of Valencia), the proportions by nationality vary.

Where the victim/reported perpetrator¹⁶ was foreign, Madrid accounted for 21,0 % of the victims and 21,7 % of the reported perpetrators, closely followed by Catalonia (with 20,6 % and 21,4 %, respectively) and the Community of Valencia (15,1 % and 15,9 %) and Andalusia (10,3 % and 9,7 %).

For gender-based violence involving Spanish victims/reported perpetrators, the order by autonomous community of the percentage of cases brought varied, with Andalusia with the highest figure (20,2 % of the total in the case of victims and 20,4 % for reported perpetrators). Catalonia ranked second (16,9 % and 16,4 %, respectively), followed by the Community of Valencia (13,0 % and 12,7 %) and Madrid (12,1 % and 11,8 %).

The chart below shows the distribution of cases brought for gender-based violence by autonomous community and nationality of the victim:



¹⁶ It is not possible to correlate the nationalities of victims and reported perpetrators because the information is not available.

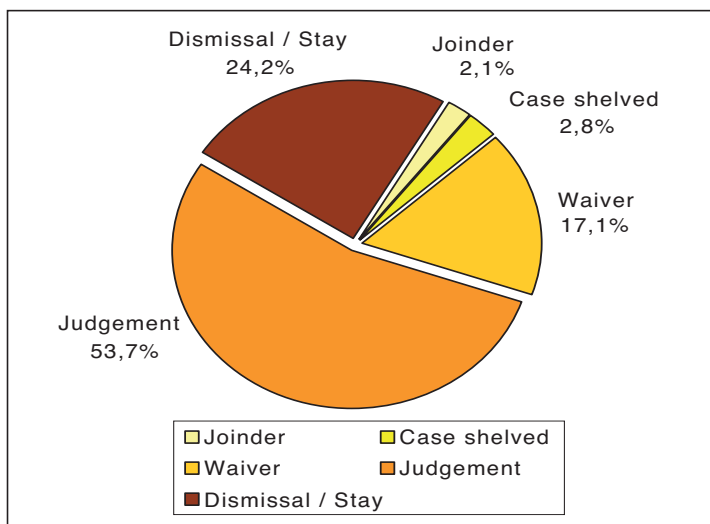
Navarre, Madrid, La Rioja, Aragon and the Balearic Islands were the autonomous communities, together with the Autonomous City of Melilla, with the highest percentages of foreign victims compared to the total number of victims in cases brought for gender-based violence in each of these autonomous communities, with figures of over 40 % in all cases. The figure for the Community of Navarre is especially striking, as there were foreign victims in 48,9 % of the cases brought.

At the other extreme are the Communities of Extremadura, Galicia, Asturias and Andalusia, whose proportion of foreign victims was under 20 %. Extremadura was the region with the lowest percentage (14,2 %).

3.2. OUTCOME OF COURT PROCEEDINGS FOR GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

3.2.1. Figures on concluded court proceedings for gender-based violence by outcome

From 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008, a total of 223 512 court proceedings for gender-based violence were concluded. In 53,7 % of these cases, a judgement was handed down, whilst 24,2 % were dismissed or stayed.



	TOTAL		Daily average
	Number	Total (%)	
TOTAL	223 512	100,0	174
Joinder	4 803	2,1	4
Case shelved	6 334	2,8	5
Definitive	2 635	1,2	2
Provisional	3 699	1,7	3
Waiver	38 120	17,1	30
Judgement	120 078	53,7	94
Acquittal	36 549	16,4	29
Conviction	83 529	37,4	65
Dismissal / Stay	54 177	24,2	42
Dismissal	2 249	1,0	2
Stay	51 928	23,2	41

An average of 174 proceedings for gender-based violence were concluded per day in this 1 282-day period. On average, a judgement (either acquittal or conviction) was handed down in 94 cases a day, with 42 proceedings a day either dismissed or stayed, mainly the latter.

The number of concluded proceedings showed a steady increase from one year to the next; the figure for 2008 was 23,7 % higher than the one for 2007.

	TOTAL	Daily average	AÑO							
			2005		2006		2007		2008	
			Total	Daily average	Total	Daily average	Total	Daily average	Total	Daily average
TOTAL	223 512	174	18 908	102	51 676	142	68 378	187	84 550	231
Joinder	4 803	4	347	2	851	2	1 403	4	2 202	6
Case shelved	6 334	5	682	4	1 724	5	2 118	6	1 810	5
Definitive	2 635	2	324	2	741	2	820	2	750	2
Provisional	3 699	3	358	2	983	3	1 298	4	1 060	3
Waiver	38 120	30	3 151	17	8 645	24	11 122	30	15 202	42
Judgement	120 078	94	11 335	61	29 413	81	36 394	100	42 936	117
Acquittal	36 549	29	2 334	13	8 083	22	11 743	32	14 389	39
Conviction	83 529	65	9 001	48	21 330	58	24 651	68	28 547	78
Dismissal / Stay	54 177	42	3 393	18	11 043	30	17 341	48	22 400	61
Dismissal	2 249	2	292	2	576	2	602	2	779	2
Stay	51 928	41	3 101	17	10 467	29	16 739	46	21 621	59

The daily average for court proceedings concluded in 2008 rose by 127,2 % compared to the second half of 2005.

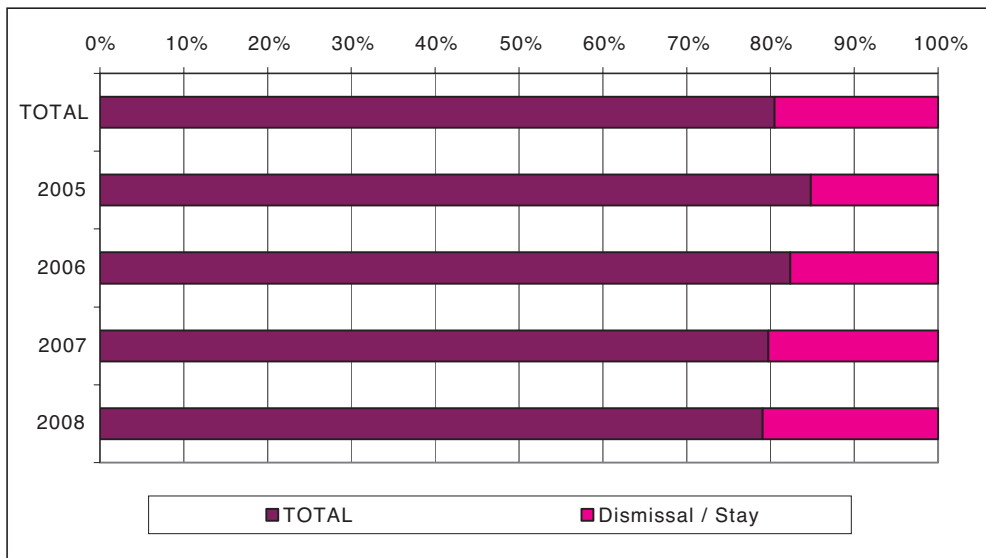
3.2.2. Dismissals and stays

Between 29 June 2005 and 31 December 2008, 223 512 procedures were concluded, 54 177 of which were dismissed or stayed. This accounts for 24,2 % of all cases concluded during this period or an average of 42 per day, 41 of which were stays.

	TOTAL		Daily average
	Number	Total (%)	
Dismissal / Stay	54 477	100,0	42
Dismissal	2 266	4,2	2
Stay	52 211	95,8	41

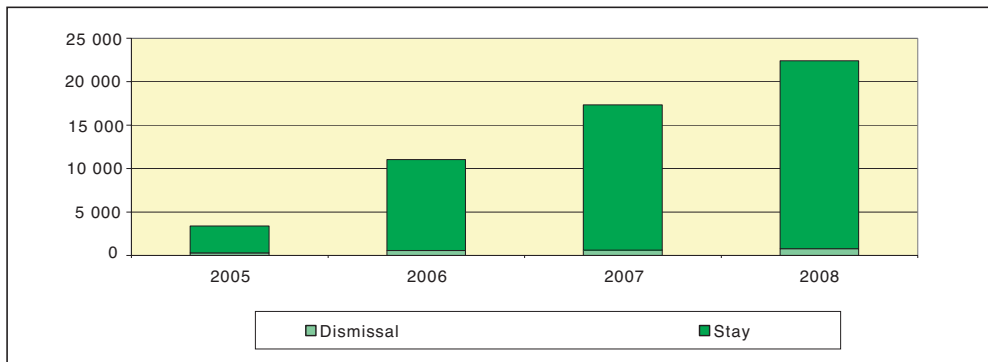
The number of stays and dismissals increased by nearly ten percentage points from 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008, from 17,9 % in mid-2005 to 26,5 % at year-end 2008.

	TOTAL	Total (%)	YEAR							
			2005	Total (%)	2006	Total (%)	2007	Total (%)	2008	Total (%)
TOTAL	223 512	100,0	18 908	100,0	51 676	100,0	60 378	100,0	84 550	100,0
Dismissal / Stay	54 177	24,2	3 393	17,9	11 043	21,4	17 341	25,4	22 400	26,5



Stays far outnumbered dismissals, accounting for 95,8 % of the gender-based violence cases stayed or dismissed as of 31 December 2008. This proportion has remained relatively stable over the last few years.

	TOTAL	Total (%)	YEAR							
			2005	Total (%)	2006	Total (%)	2007	Total (%)	2008	Total (%)
Dismissal / Stay	54 477	100,0	3 393	100,0	11 043	100,0	17 341	100,0	22 400	100,0
Dismissal	2 266	4,2	292	8,6	576	5,2	602	3,5	779	3,5
Stay	52 211	95,8	3 101	9,4	10 467	94,8	16 739	96,5	21 621	96,5



3.2.3. Judgements

A judgement was handed down in 120 078, or 53,7 % of the 223 512 procedures initiated for gender-based violence. This amounts to a daily average of 94 judgements (65 convictions and 29 acquittals).

	TOTAL		Daily average
	Number	Total (%)	
Judgement	120 078	100,0	94
Acquittal	36 549	30,4	29
Conviction	83 529	69,6	65

A total of 69,6 % of the 120 078 judgements handed down from 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008 were convictions and 30,4% acquittals.

An analysis of the variation by year reveals a sharp increase in the proportion of acquittals between the second half of 2005 and 2006. This percentage rose more gradually in the next two years, especially in 2008, when one-third of the judgements in proceedings for gender-based violence were acquittals and two-thirds were convictions.

3.2.4. Outcome of court proceedings for gender-based violence by autonomous community

The above pattern for the concentration of cases brought by autonomous community was also observed in the outcomes of court cases for gender-based violence: Andalusia, Catalonia, the Community of Valencia and Madrid accounted for 62,3 % of the proceedings concluded from 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008.

	TOTAL	Total (%)	OUTCOME					
			Joinder	Case shelved	Waiver	Acquittal	Conviction	Dismissal / Stay
TOTAL	223 512	100,0	4 003	6 334	38 120	36 549	83 529	54 177
Andalusia	38 572	17,3	822	961	6 311	6 242	17 200	7 036
Aragon	5 929	2,7	128	189	749	871	1 795	2 197
Asturias	4 745	2,1	82	184	565	716	1 828	1 370
Balears	7 328	3,3	46	265	1 421	503	3 392	1 701
Canarias	12 908	5,8	317	217	1 569	1 509	5 008	4 288
Cantabria	2 842	1,3	44	69	506	711	1 021	491
Castile - La Mancha	7 713	3,5	86	354	1 123	1 390	3 260	1 500
Castile - León	8 660	3,9	292	181	1 220	1 269	3 010	2 688
Catalonia	38 484	17,2	584	971	8 029	8 171	11 787	8 942
Comm. of Valencia	32 680	14,6	736	647	5 896	4 175	12 480	8 746
Extremadura	3 626	1,6	96	184	668	285	1 627	766
Galicia	8 778	3,9	208	367	1 327	994	3 405	2 477
Madrid	29 618	13,3	461	450	7 035	7 209	8 474	5 989
Murcia	8 524	3,8	48	162	965	1 208	4 391	1 750
Navarre	1 863	0,8	38	35	354	246	732	458
Basque Country	8 130	3,6	724	973	105	393	3 160	2 775
La Rioja	1 645	0,7	30	60	198	217	603	537
Ceuta	388	0,2	6	14	11	177	166	14
Melilla	1 079	0,5	55	51	68	263	190	452

The table above breaks judgements down by acquittals and convictions, whilst the data regarding the different reasons cases were shelved were grouped together, as were dismissals and stays.

In practically all of the Communities, the number of joinders increased, although the figure for cases shelved declined. The fact that the Basque Country accounted for approximately 15 % of the shelved proceedings and joinders is striking. Furthermore, all of the autonomous communities also showed an upward trend in the most frequent outcomes: judgements and dismissals/stays.

As far as judgements are concerned, Catalonia was the region with the highest number of acquittals (22,4 % of the total), whereas Andalusia had the most convictions (20,6 % of the total).

Although the number of acquittals generally rose in all Communities in the last year of the series, it dropped by nearly 20 % in Ceuta and Extremadura.

Catalonia and the Community of Valencia were the regions with the most dismissals and stays (these two accounted for 32,6 % of the total), although the figure for the Canary Islands, 7,9 %, is also worthy of mention.

3.3. WOMEN WITH COURT-ORDERED PROTECTION IN EFFECT AS OF 31 DECEMBER 2008

A total of 113 501 women had court-ordered protective measures in effect as of 31 December 2008.¹⁷

Of these 113 500 women, 59,3 % had court-ordered protection in effect through a final, unappealable judgement in their favour, whilst 37,4 % had protection arising from preliminary injunctions and 3,2 % had protective measures in place as a result of judgements that were not yet final.

	TOTAL	Total (%)
TOTAL	113 500	100,0
Preliminary injunctions	42 477	37,4
Other measures	3 664	3,2
Sentences	67 359	59,3

3.3.1. Women with court-ordered protection in effect by age group and type of measure

More than half of the women with court-ordered protection in effect as of 31 December 2008 (52,2 %) were between 31 and 50 years old.

¹⁷ Only 113 500 are counted in the breakdowns in this section by type of measure and victim's nationality and age, as one case in which the nationality of the victim is unknown has been excluded.

	TOTAL	Total (%)	TYPE OF MEASURE		
			Preliminary injunctions	Other measures	Sentences
TOTAL	113 500	100,0	42 477	3 664	67 359
Under 18	2 254	2,0	878	80	1 296
18-30	41 685	37,2	15 563	1 311	24 811
31-50	58 542	52,2	22 026	1 955	34 561
Over 50	9 617	8,6	3 505	276	5 836
Age not known	1 402	-	505	42	855

The proportions in the distribution by age group and type of protective measure were very similar to the overall percentages.

3.3.2. Women with court-ordered protection in effect by type of measure and nationality

Of the women with court-ordered protection in effect as of 31 December 2008, 68,3 % were Spanish and 31,7 % were foreign. This latter figure is especially significant because it is much higher than the proportion of foreign women aged 15 and over residing in Spain (10,5 %). It is indicative of the inordinate share of foreign women who seek protection from gender-based violence.

	TOTAL	NATIONALITY			
		Spanish	Total (%)	Foreign	Total (%)
TOTAL	113 500	77 537	100,0	35 963	100,0
Preliminary injunctions	42 477	29 507	38,1	12 970	36,1
Other measures	3 664	2 420	3,1	1 244	3,5
Sentences	67 359	45 610	58,8	21 749	60,5

As the table above shows, the percentages of court-ordered protection of different types are similar for both Spanish and foreign women.

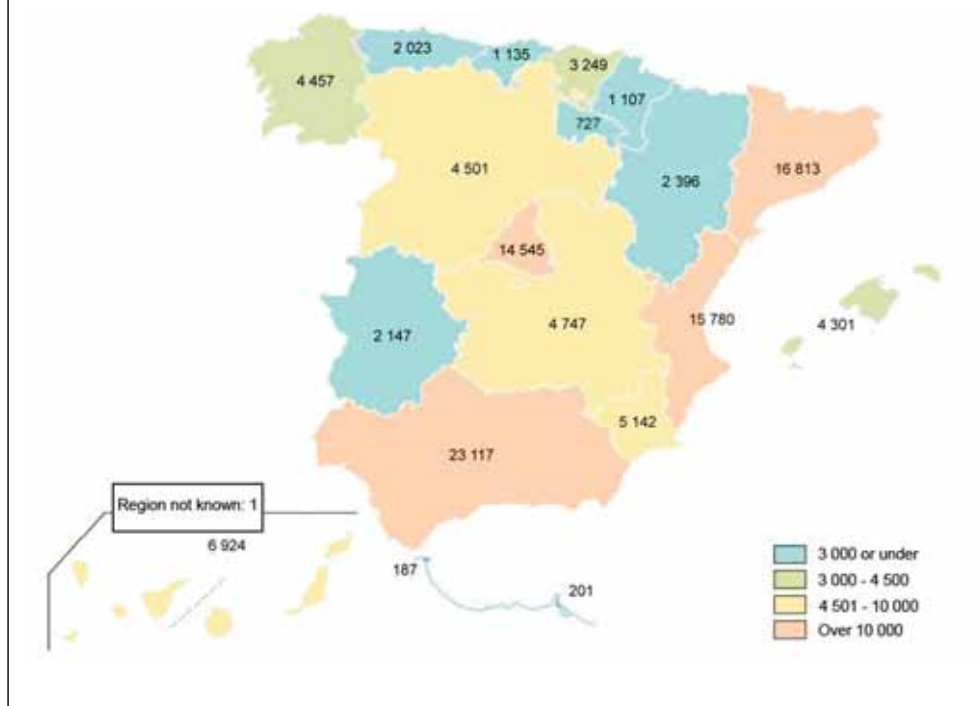
3.3.3. Women with court-ordered protection in effect by autonomous community and type of measure

The pattern observed in cases brought for gender-based violence is again found among women with court-ordered protection in effect, as 61,9 % are in the Communities of Andalusia, Catalonia, the Community of Valencia and Madrid. The highest figure was in Andalusia, which accounted for 20,4 % of women with court-ordered protection in effect as of 31 December 2008.

WOMEN WITH COURT-ORDERED PROTECTION BY AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY

31 December 2008

TOTAL: 113 500



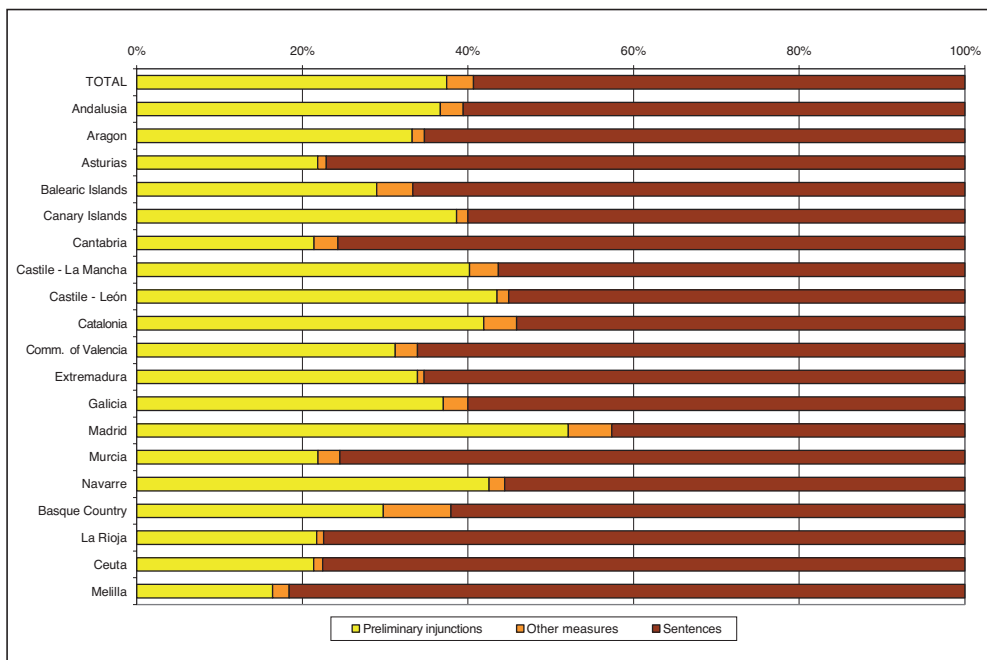
	TOTAL	Total (%)	TYPE OF MEASURE		
			Preliminary injunctions	Other measures	Sentences
TOTAL	113 500	100,0	42 477	3 664	67 359
Andalusia	23 117	20,4	8 474	638	14 005
Aragon	2 396	2,1	797	36	1 563
Asturias	2 023	1,8	442	21	1 560
Balearic Islands	4 301	3,8	1 246	188	2 867
Canary Islands	6 924	6,1	2 676	93	4 155
Cantabria	1 135	1,0	243	33	859
Castile - La Mancha	4 747	4,2	1 907	166	2 674
Castile - León	4 501	4,0	1 959	63	2 479
Catalonia	16 813	14,8	7 050	662	9 101
Comm. of Valencia	15 780	13,9	4 929	419	10 432
Extremadura	2 147	1,9	728	17	1 402
Galicia	4 457	3,9	1 651	131	2 675
Madrid	14 545	12,8	7 579	763	6 203
Murcia	5 142	4,5	1 125	136	3 881
Navarre	1 107	1,0	471	21	615
Basque Country	3 249	2,9	968	265	2 016
La Rioja	727	0,6	158	6	563
Ceuta	187	0,2	40	2	145
Melilla	201	0,2	33	4	164
Autonomous community not known	1	-	1	0	0

However, the order of these Communities varies depending on the type of measure. For preliminary injunctions, the order would be as follows: Andalusia (19,9 %), Madrid (17,8 %), Catalonia (16,6 %) and the Community of Valencia (11,6 %). Andalusia also has the highest percentage of court orders resulting from final, unappealable judgements (with 20,8 % of the total), followed in descending order by the Community of Valencia (15,5 %), Catalonia (13,5 %) and Madrid (9,2 %).

Madrid is the region with the highest number of measures arising from judgements that are not yet final (20,8 % of the total), followed by Catalonia (18,1 %), Andalusia (17,4 %) and the Community of Valencia (11,4 %).

An analysis of the distribution by type of measure in each region shows that Asturias, La Rioja and the Autonomous Cities of Ceuta and Melilla have the highest rate of measures in effect as a result of final, unappealable judgements (around 80% of all women with court-ordered protection in effect in these autonomous communities/cities).

Madrid ranks first in preliminary injunctions with 52,1 % of the regional total, and barely 42,6 % of measures arising from sentences imposed in judgements.



Lastly, Extremadura is the region with the fewest measures resulting from convictions that are not yet final (“other measures”), as only 0,8 % of all women with protective measures in this region had these “other measures”. In the Basque Country, on the other hand, this figure was 8,2 %, much higher than the national average.

3.3.4. Women with court-ordered protection in effect by age group and nationality

An analysis of the age of the women with court-ordered protection in effect by nationality again shows that foreign victims tended to be younger than Spanish ones.

	TOTAL	NATIONALITY			
		Spanish	Total (%)	Foreign	Total (%)
TOTAL	113 500	77 537	100,0	35 963	100,0
Under 18	2 254	1 711	2,2	543	1,5
18-30	41 685	25 216	33,0	16 469	46,2
31-50	58 542	41 094	53,7	17 448	49,0
Over 50	9 617	8 466	11,1	1 151	3,2
Age not known	1 402	1 050	-	352	-

In the 18-to-30 age bracket, foreign women with court-ordered protection represent 39,5 % of the total, compared to a mere 12,0 % for the over-50 age group.

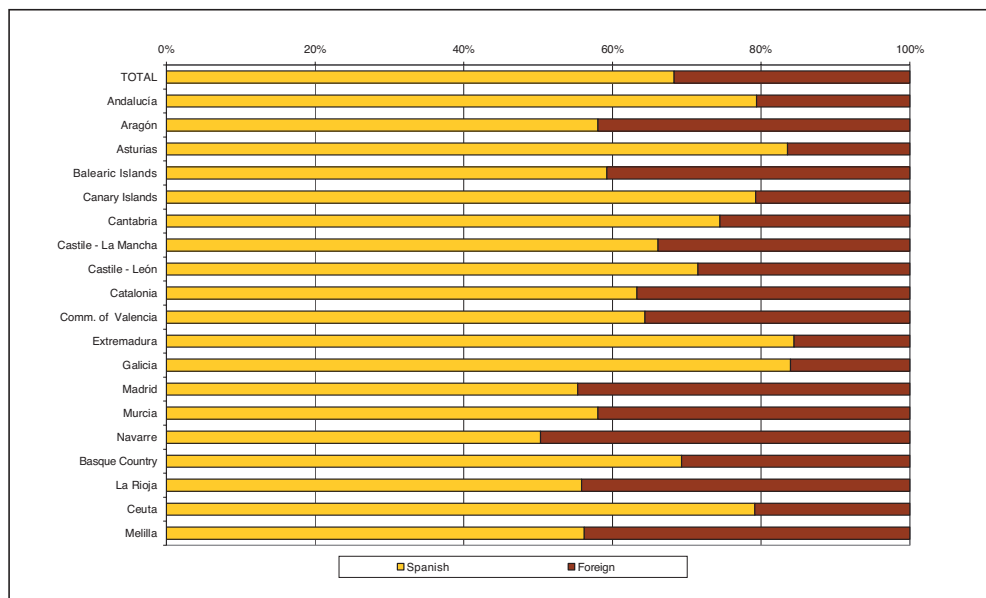
3.3.5. Women with court-ordered protection in effect by autonomous community and nationality

As indicated earlier, women with court orders in effect as of 31 December 2008 as protection against gender-based violence were mainly located in the Communities of Andalusia, Catalonia, Valencia and Madrid.

The percentage of victims by nationality varies considerably from one autonomous community to another. The largest number of Spanish women with court-ordered protection in effect live in Andalusia (23,7 % of the total compared to 13,2 % for foreign women), with Madrid leading in the number of foreign women with protection in effect (18,1 % compared to 10,4 % for Spanish women).

	TOTAL	Total (%)	NATIONALITY	
			Spanish	Foreign
TOTAL	113 500	100,0	77 537	35 963
Andalusia	23 117	20,4	18 353	4 764
Aragon	2 396	2,1	1 391	1 005
Asturias	2 023	1,8	1 690	333
Balearic Islands	4 301	3,8	2 549	1 752
Canary Islands	6 924	6,1	5 488	1 436
Cantabria	1 135	1,0	845	290
Castile - La Mancha	4 747	4,2	3 139	1 608
Castile - León	4 501	4,0	3 218	1 283
Catalonia	16 813	14,8	10 641	6 172
Comm. of Valencia	15 780	13,9	10 159	5 621
Extremadura	2 147	1,9	1 813	334
Galicia	4 457	3,9	3 742	715
Madrid	14 545	12,8	8 048	6 497
Murcia	5 142	4,5	2 985	2 157
Navarre	1 107	1,0	557	550
Basque Country	3 249	2,9	2 251	998
La Rioja	727	0,6	406	321
Ceuta	187	0,2	148	39
Melilla	201	0,2	113	88
Autonomous community not known	1	-	1	0

The Communities with the highest percentage of Spanish women with court-ordered protection in effect, compared to all women with this protection, are Asturias, Extremadura and Galicia, where over 83 % of the women with protection in effect were Spanish. This is very likely explained by the fact that



these are the three autonomous communities with the smallest resident population of immigrant women aged 15 and over (3,6%, 2,9% and 3,3% of the total female population in this age group, respectively).

Conversely, in Navarre, La Rioja and the Community of Madrid, 49,7 %, 44,7 % and 44,2 % of all women with protection in effect, respectively, were foreign.

As with the figures on foreign victims involved in proceedings brought for gender-based violence, there is no way of knowing whether this inordinate proportion of foreigners with protection in effect is due to a higher rate of abuse or to the fact that they make greater use of the police and court services.

4 016 INFORMATION AND LEGAL ADVICE HOTLINE

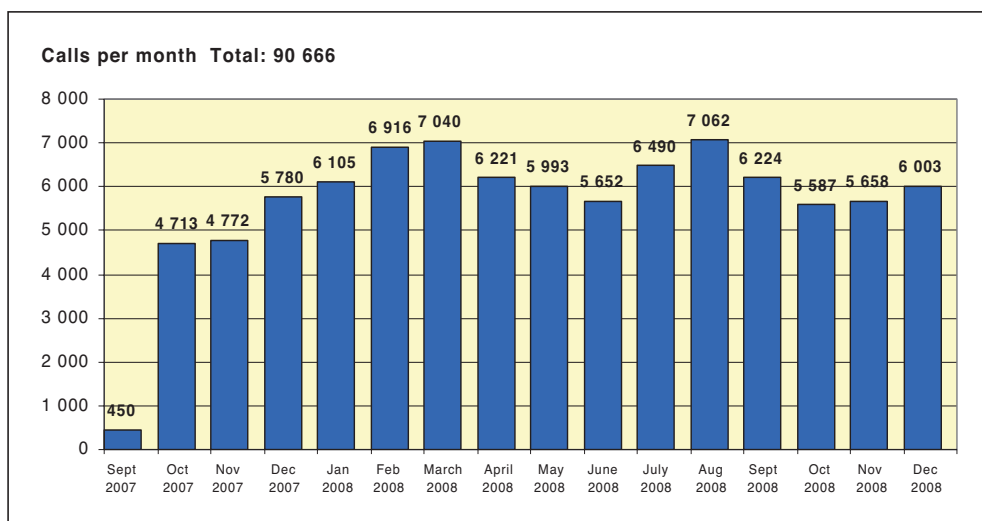
4.1. NUMBER OF CALLS TO THE 016 HOTLINE FOR GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Although the hotline was launched on 3 September 2007, it was not officially presented to the media until 6 October. The figures on the number of calls in the first few weeks must be interpreted against that backdrop.

Some of the calls received during the period were not tallied because they were prank calls, insults or threats, wrong numbers, calls from the press or questions about matters unrelated to gender-based violence, including some from men inquiring about resources for themselves.

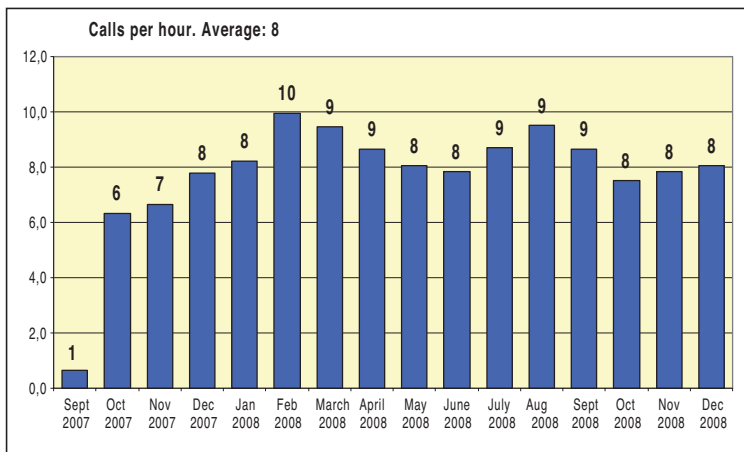
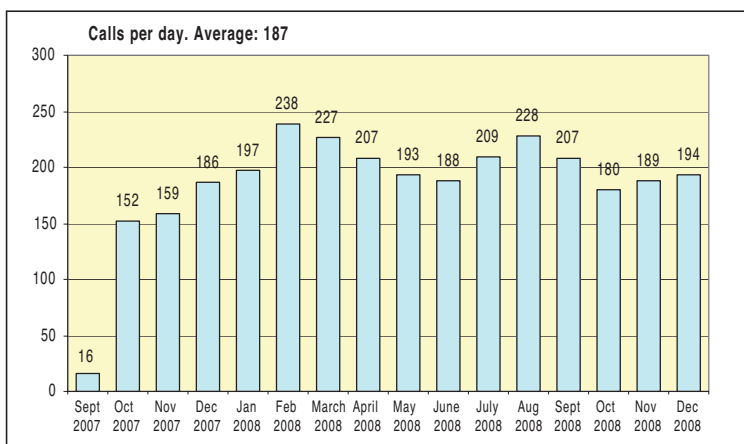
The total number of calls handled between 3 September 2007 and 31 December 2008 that were actually about gender-based violence was **90 666**.



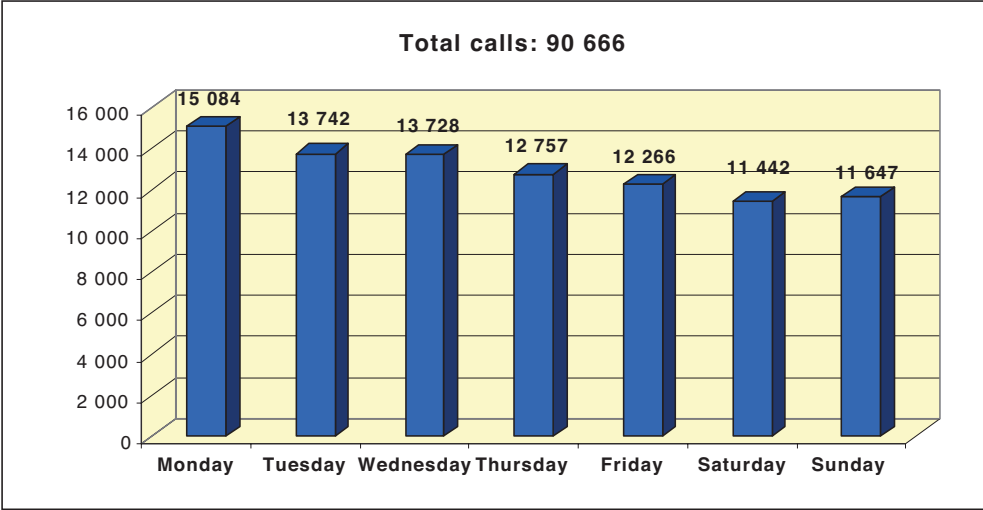
On average, **187** calls about gender-based violence were handled per day during this 486-day period. The hourly average was **eight calls**.

The month in which the most calls were answered was August 2008 (7 062), although February 2008 was the month with the highest daily and hourly averages (238 and 10, respectively).

A total of 6 003 gender-based violence calls were answered in December 2008, for an average of 194 calls a day and eight per hour.

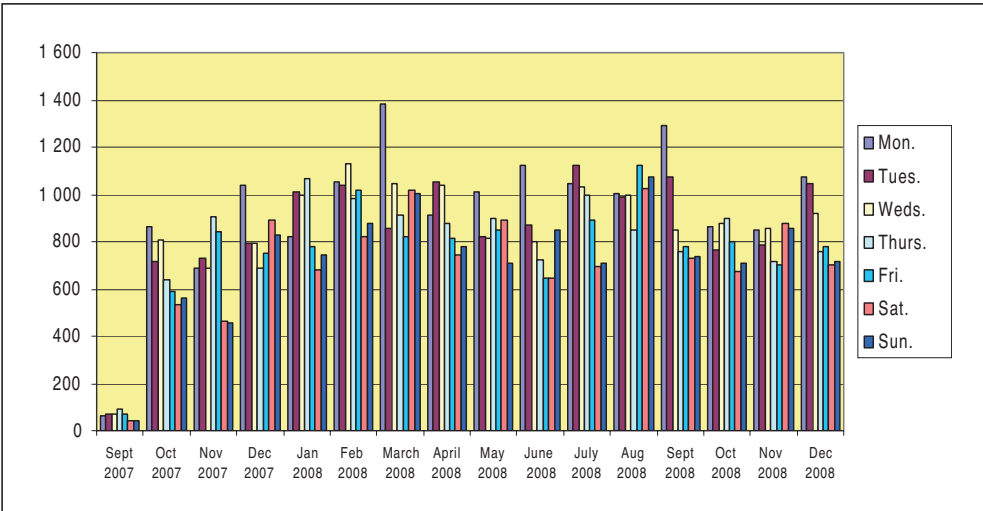


The pattern by day of the week has been similar since the hotline was launched: the number decreases on the weekend, whilst Monday is the busiest day of the week (16,6 % of all calls).

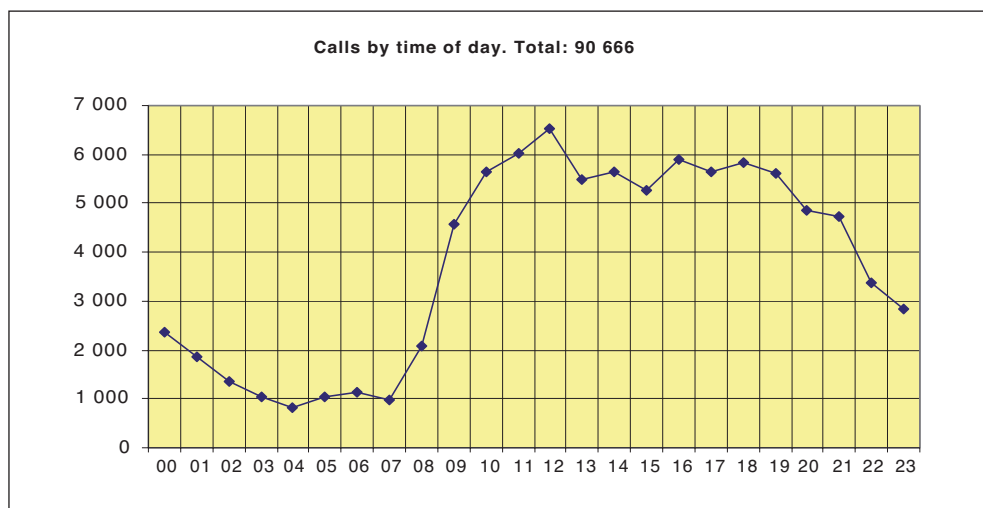


This same trend was observed in December 2008, with 17,9 % of all of the calls in that month taking place on Monday.

An analysis by month and day of the week since 3 September 2007 shows that Monday was the day with the highest call volume in October and December 2007 and in March, May, June, September and December 2008. Tuesday was the busiest day in April and August 2008, whereas Wednesday had the most calls in February 2008. September and November 2007 and January and October 2008 saw Thursday as the peak day, and Friday was the heaviest day in August 2008. Saturday was the day with the most calls in November 2008.



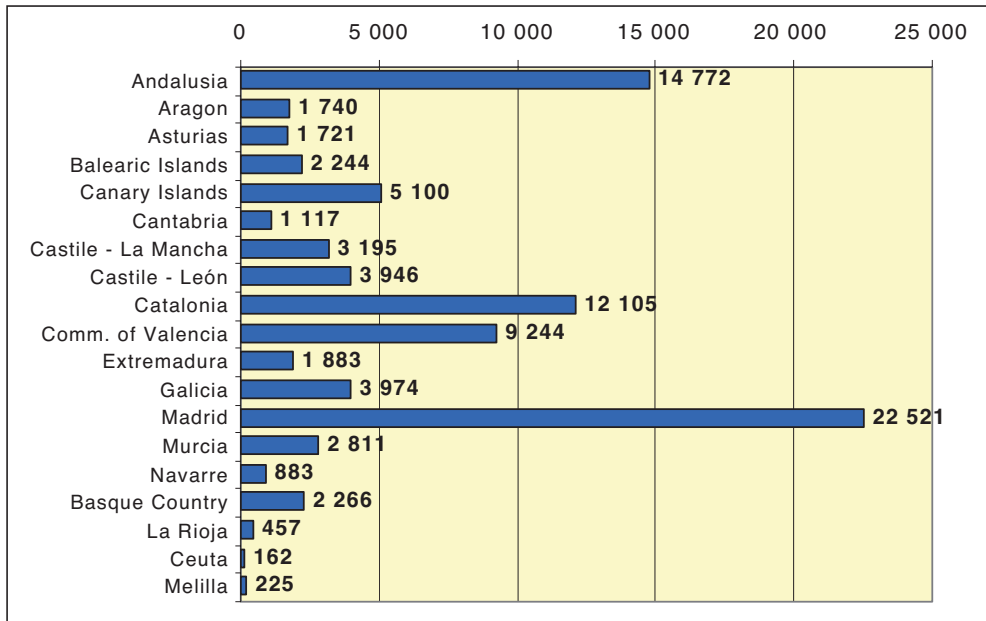
By time of day, most of the calls about gender-based violence were handled between 9:00 a.m. and 10:00 p.m. (82,9 % of the total).



Gender-based violence calls were received from all of the autonomous communities and from every province. By number of calls and autonomous community, 22 521 were made from Madrid (24,9 % of the total), 14 772 from Andalusia (16,3 %), 12 105 from Catalonia (13,4 %), 9 244 from the Community of Valencia (10,2 %), 5 100 from the Canary Islands (5,6%), 3 946 from Castile-Leon (4,4 %), 3 974 from Galicia (4,4 %), 3 195 from Castile-La Mancha (3,5 %) and 2 811 from Murcia (3,1 %). The fewest calls came from Ceuta, Melilla and La Rioja, with 162, 225 and 457, respectively; the three combined accounted for only 0,7 % of all calls¹⁸.

¹⁸ The 300 calls for which the autonomous community was unknown were excluded from the calculation of the percentages.

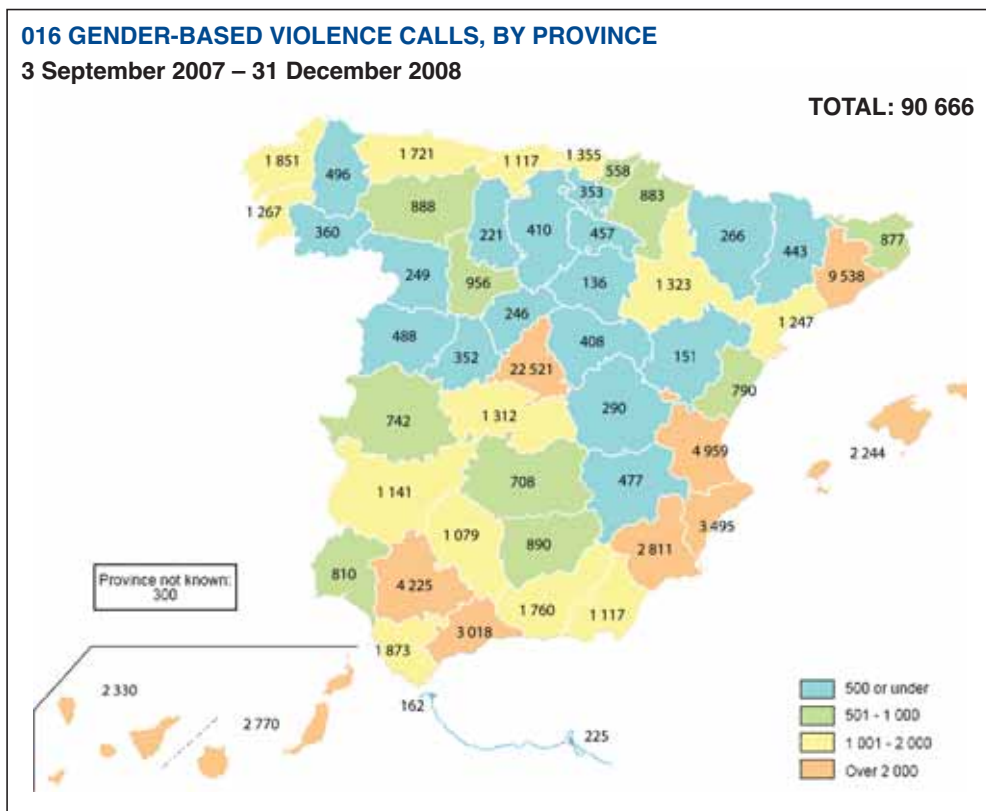
“Unknown” data were not included in percentage calculations in this report.



016 GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE CALLS, BY PROVINCE

3 September 2007 – 31 December 2008

TOTAL: 90 666



4.2. PERSONS WHO CALLED 016

Most of the gender-based violence calls handled by the 016 hotline were made by women who called with questions about their situation (72 670, representing 80,2 % of the total). Relatives and friends of women in violent situations made 15 647 calls (17,3 %), whilst the remaining 2 349 calls (2,6 %) were made by professionals and public and private agencies.

The aim of the 016 hotline is to provide a service to victims of gender-based violence and to society as a whole. The statistical information obtained is merely a by-product of this service. The data about the persons who call this line are always secondary to the service and information provided to callers. Nevertheless, certain data are collected on the characteristics of the callers and are statistically processed to sketch a profile of the women using the service.

During the time the 016 hotline has been providing information and legal advice, calls about gender-based violence have been received from women in every type of relationship and of all ages, educational levels, employment situations and so forth.

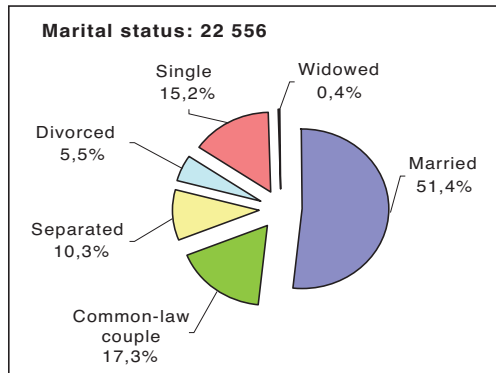
The figures below refer to some of the 72 670 calls made by women regarding their own situations, and are limited to those who indicated all or some of the characteristics analyzed. These data indicate that there is no “profile” of an abused woman, confirming the conclusions of most studies on this subject. Due to the confidential nature of this hotline, no data are available on callers phoning more than once. For the sake of simplicity, the term “women” has been used in relation to the characteristics of service users; however, it is possible that some of them have been counted more than once.

4.2.1. Marital status of the callers

Information on marital status was provided by 22 556 women. Slightly over half were married (11 598, or 51,4 %), and 17,3 % said they had a common-law partner (3 900). Assuming that all the women with spouses and common-law partners were living with that partner, 68,7 % of the women who

called about a situation of gender-based violence shared a roof with their abuser.

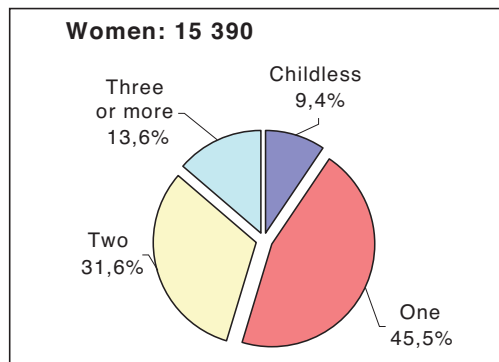
The number of separated callers amounted to 2 312, with divorced women numbering 1 234; these two groups together accounted for 15,7 % of the women who called and furnished their marital status. There were 3 419 single callers (15,2 %) and 93 widows (0,4 %).



4.2.2. Callers' number of children

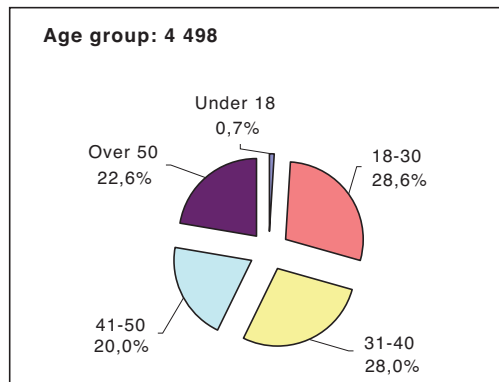
In all, 15 390 women provided information on the number of their children.

Of these, 1 439 (9,4 %) said they had no children,¹⁹ whilst 13 951 (90,6%) reported that they had one or more: 7 003 had one, 4 856 had two and 2 092 had three or more children.



4.2.3. Callers' age groups

Age information was furnished by 4 498 women: 29,3 % (1 320) were 30 or under, and 32 of these were under 18; women aged 31 to



¹⁹ The information for this variable is being reviewed as a whole, because the number of childless women may have conceivably been under-reported.

40 accounted for 28,0 % (1 260), 900 women were between 41 and 50 (20,0 %), and 1 018 were over 50 (22,6 %).

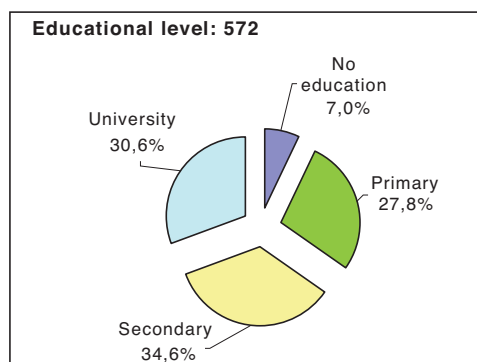
The average age of the women who called the 016 hotline was 40.

According to the age information provided for 693 reported perpetrators, their average age was 42.

4.2.4. Callers' educational level

Information on educational level is only available for 572 women.

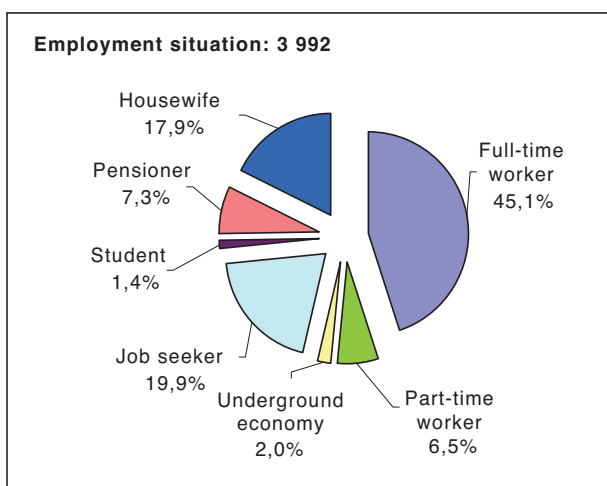
The largest group was made up of those with secondary studies, closely followed by those with three- or five-year university degrees, then those with a primary education and, finally, women who said they had no education.



4.2.5. Callers' employment situation

Information on their employment situation was furnished by 3 992 women, most of whom were economically active (2 931, or 73,4 %), either working (2 138, or 53,6 % of the total) or seeking employment (793, or 19,9 %).

The largest group was made up of women who worked full time (1 799, or



45,1 %), whereas 259 (6,5 %) said they worked part time. Eighty women (2,0 %) stated that they worked in the underground economy. Seven hundred and fourteen women were housewives (17,9 %), 292 were pensioners (7,3 %) and 55 were students (1,4 %).

4.3. Nationalities of victims and perpetrators

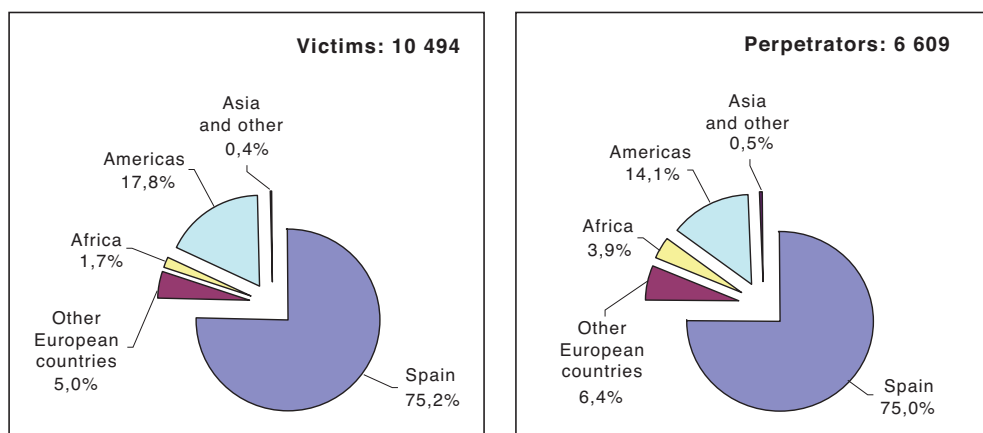
Initially, information on nationality was collected for the 016 callers only. In March 2008, however, data began to be gathered about the nationality of the men the callers said were the perpetrators (partners or former partners).

Information on nationality is available for 10 494 women who called about situations of gender-based violence and for 6 609 reported perpetrators. The terms “victims” and “perpetrators” will henceforth be used for reasons of simplification.

Three-fourths of both the victims and perpetrators were Spanish and one-fourth were foreign.

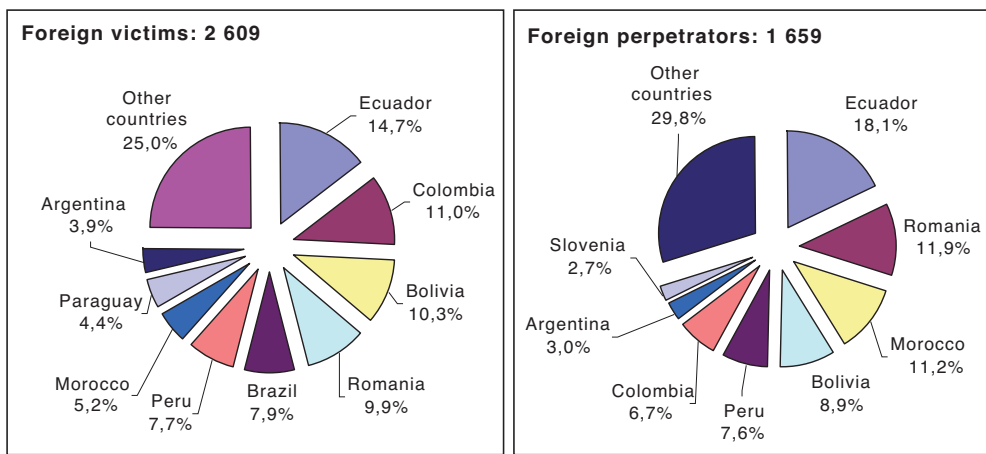
In 75,2 % of the cases, the victims were Spanish (7 888) and in 24,8 % they were foreign (2 609), whilst 75,0 % of the perpetrators were Spanish (4 953) and 25,0 % were foreign (1 659).

By continent, the highest percentage of foreign victims corresponded to the Americas (primarily Latin American women), followed by citizens of other European, African and Asian countries, in that order. Among foreign



perpetrators, the order was the same, although with a higher proportion from African and other European countries, and a smaller percentage of citizens from the Americas (who, in any case, ranked second behind Spanish perpetrators).

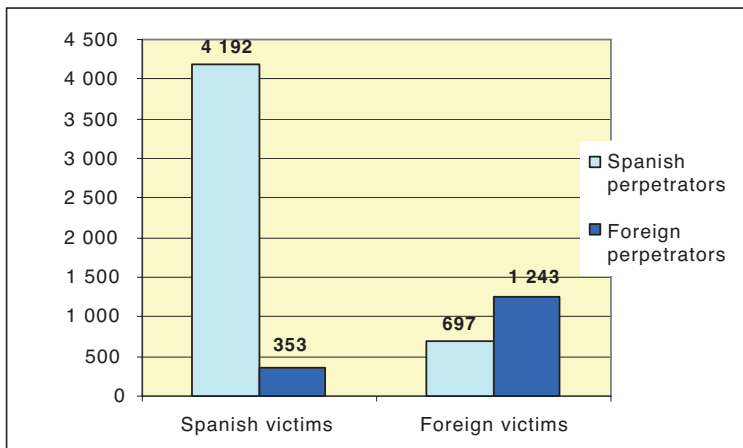
By nationality, Ecuadorian, Colombian and Bolivian women who called the 016 hotline accounted for over 10 % each of all foreign women callers requesting information about gender-based violence. The information about perpetrators furnished by both Spanish and foreign women indicates that over 10 % each of all foreign perpetrators were Ecuadorian, Romanian or Moroccan.



The nationality of both the victim and the perpetrator was provided in 6 485 calls.

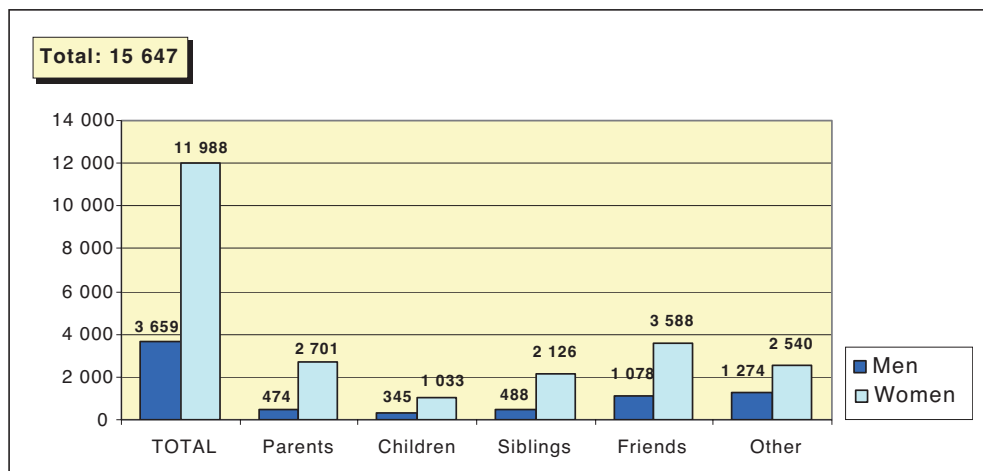
An overwhelming majority, 92,2 %, of the Spanish women stated that the perpetrator was Spanish, and 7,8 % that he was foreign, whilst 64,1 % of the foreign women said that the perpetrator was foreign and 35,9 % that he was Spanish. In absolute terms, 353 Spanish women said they were abused by foreign men, and 697 foreign women said that they suffered abuse at the hands of Spanish men.

	Available nationalities of victims and perpetrators		
	TOTAL PERPETRATORS	Spanish	Foreign
TOTAL VICTIMS	6 485	4 889	1 596
Spanish	4 545	4 192	353
Foreign	1 940	697	1 243



4.4. RELATIVES AND FRIENDS OF VICTIMS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE WHO CALLED 016

Of the 15 647 calls made by relatives and friends of women in violent situations during this period, 11 988 (76,6 %) were made by women and 3 659 (23,4 %) by men. Friends (3 588) and mothers (2 701) of the women in violent situations comprised the largest group of female callers, whereas most of the male callers were in the “other” category (1 274) or were friends of the victim (1 078). A total of 1 378 calls were also received from daughters (1 033) and sons (345) of women in situations of gender-based violence.



5 MOBILE PHONE SUPPORT SERVICE FOR VICTIMS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

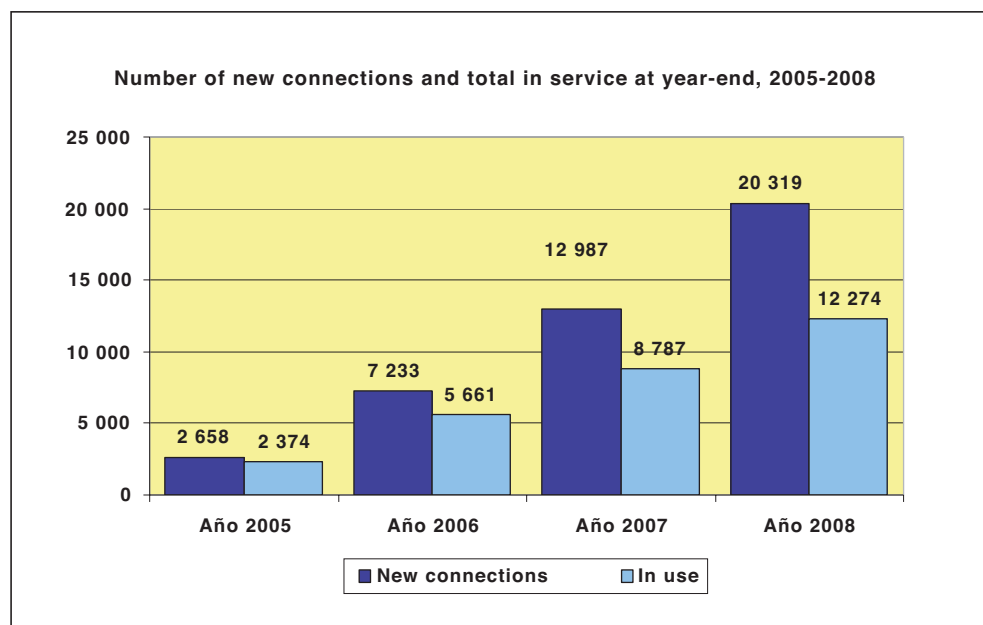
December 2005 to December 2008

5.1. NEW CONNECTIONS AND CANCELLATIONS

At the end of 2008, a total of 20 319 victims of gender-based violence had used this service. Eight thousand and forty-five of them had cancelled the service, and 12 274 were registered users as of this date.

The number of registered users of this mobile phone support service has increased steadily since 2005, when there were 2 374 registered users at year-end, climbing to 12 274 users at the close of 2008, as indicated above.

The number of registered users as of December 2008 rose by 39,7 % compared to December 2007 (3 487 additional registered users).



5.2. MOBILE PHONE SUPPORT SERVICE FOR VICTIMS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE BY AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY

By autonomous community, the largest numbers of new connections in any period analyzed were recorded in Valencia, Andalusia, Madrid and Catalonia, in that order. Conversely, the Autonomous Cities of Ceuta and Melilla, together with the Autonomous Communities of Navarre, La Rioja and Aragon, were the ones with the lowest figures.

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	Registered users at year-end				Variation		
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008
TOTAL	2 374	5 661	8 787	12 274	3 287	3 126	3 487
Andalusia	562	1 117	1 661	2 186	555	544	525
Aragon	13	23	48	73	10	25	25
Asturias	167	302	451	608	135	149	157
Balearic Islands	38	114	176	252	76	62	76
Canary Islands	176	498	741	869	322	243	128
Cantabria	49	91	192	281	42	101	89
Castile - La Mancha	49	135	284	453	86	149	169
Castile - León	68	163	254	326	95	91	72
Catalonia	221	621	1 133	1 813	400	512	680
Comm. of Valencia	409	1 014	1 598	2 253	605	584	655
Extremadura	40	80	148	204	40	68	56
Galicia	66	202	319	424	136	117	105
Madrid	442	1 151	1 577	2 218	709	426	641
Murcia	26	45	74	135	19	29	61
Navarre	4	4	5	7	0	1	2
Basque Country	36	90	101	126	54	11	25
La Rioja	1	1	2	2	0	1	0
Ceuta	0	2	5	6	2	3	1
Melilla	7	8	18	38	1	10	20

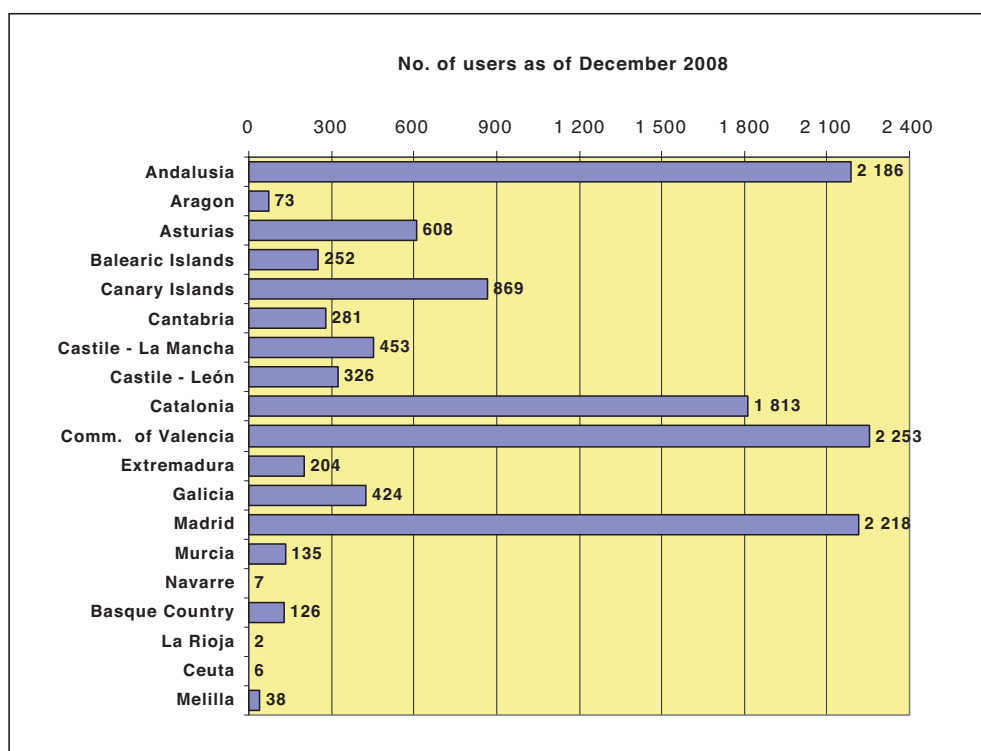
Cancellations followed the same trend as new connections.

5.3. MOBILE PHONE SUPPORT SERVICE FOR VICTIMS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN 2008

By autonomous community, women who had used the mobile phone support service in the Community of Valencia, Madrid, Andalusia and Catalonia as of December 2008 accounted for 69,0 % of all users. The Community of Valencia, with a total of 2 253 registered users at year-end, was the autonomous community with the most users of the phone support service in this period, followed by Madrid, Andalusia and Catalonia.

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	2008			Total (%)			Total (%)		
	New connections	Cancellations	Current users	New connections	Cancellations	Current users	New connections	Cancellations	Current users
TOTAL	20 319	8 045	12 274	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	39,6	60,4
Andalusia	3 758	1 572	2 186	18,5	19,5	17,8	100,0	41,8	58,2
Aragon	125	52	73	0,6	0,6	0,6	100,0	41,6	58,4
Asturias	1 032	424	608	5,1	5,3	5,0	100,0	41,1	58,9
Balearic Islands	418	166	252	2,1	2,1	2,1	100,0	39,7	60,3
Canary Islands	1 732	863	869	8,5	10,7	7,1	100,0	49,8	50,2
Cantabria	449	168	281	2,2	2,1	2,3	100,0	37,4	62,6
Castile - La Mancha	759	306	453	3,7	3,8	3,7	100,0	40,3	59,7
Castile - León	587	261	326	2,9	3,2	2,7	100,0	44,5	55,5
Catalonia	2 484	671	1 813	12,2	8,3	14,8	100,0	27,0	73,0
Comm. of Valencia	4 303	2 050	2 253	21,2	25,5	18,4	100,0	47,6	52,4
Extremadura	366	162	204	1,8	2,0	1,7	100,0	44,3	55,7
Galicia	691	267	424	3,4	3,3	3,5	100,0	38,6	61,4
Madrid	3 057	839	2 218	15,0	10,4	18,1	100,0	27,4	72,6
Murcia	216	81	135	1,1	1,0	1,1	100,0	37,5	62,5
Navarre	13	6	7	0,1	0,1	0,1	100,0	46,2	53,8
Basque Country	249	123	126	1,2	1,5	1,0	100,0	49,4	50,6
La Rioja	2	0	2	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	100,0
Ceuta	11	5	6	0,1	0,1	0,0	100,0	45,5	54,5
Melilla	67	29	38	0,3	0,4	0,3	100,0	43,3	56,7

The autonomous communities/cities with the fewest registered users of the mobile phone support service at the end of 2008 were Ceuta and Melilla, together with Navarre, La Rioja and Aragon.



6

SUBSIDIZED PAYROLL TAX FOR FEMALE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE (1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008) AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE (1 January 2005 to 31 December 2008)

6.1. SUBSIDIZED CONTRACTS FOR FEMALE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE. 2003-2008

6.1.1. Figures on subsidized contracts for female victims of violence. 2003-2008

From 1 January 2003²⁰ to 31 December 2008, 1 958 subsidized contracts were recorded for women who were victims of violence; 28,2 % of these were permanent, and 72,8 % were temporary.

Year	Total	TYPE OF CONTRACT		Permanent (%)
		Permanent	Temporary	
TOTAL	1 958	552	1 406	28,2
2003	147	66	81	44,9
2004	251	84	167	33,5
2005	423	103	320	24,3
2006	449	110	339	24,5
2007	362	94	268	26,0
2008	326	95	231	29,1

As the table above shows, there was a steady increase in the number of both permanent and temporary contracts from 2003 to 2006; however, the figures have declined since 2007.

²⁰ There was no specific code for subsidized contracts for victims of gender-based violence until December 2006; therefore, the data summarized below refer to women who were victims of both domestic and gender-based violence. Nevertheless, the number of contracts of this type since January 2003 can be tracked.

6.1.2. Age groups of female victims of violence with subsidized contracts

An analysis of worker age shows that women from 21 to 50 held nearly all of the contracts of this type (93,1 %).

Age	TOTAL	Total (%)	TYPE OF CONTRACT	
			Permanent	Temporary
TOTAL	1 958	100,0	552	1 406
Under 18	5	0,3	1	4
18-20	35	1,8	8	27
21-30	528	27,0	170	328
31-40	832	42,5	236	596
41-50	462	23,6	105	357
Over 50	96	4,9	32	64

Furthermore, women in the 31-to-40 age bracket were the largest group, representing 42,5 % of the total.

Fewer than one-third of the contracts in any age group were permanent, except for women over 50 (33,3 %).

6.1.3. Nationalities of female victims of violence with subsidized contracts

Spanish women held the vast majority of these contracts, accounting for over 82 % in every year and 86 % of the overall total, regardless of type of contract (86,1 % of permanent and 86,0 % of temporary contracts).

Year	TOTAL			TYPE OF CONTRACT					
				PERMANENT			TEMPORARY		
	TOTAL	NATIONALITY		TOTAL	NATIONALITY		TOTAL	NATIONALITY	
		Spanish	Foreign		Spanish	Foreign		Spanish	Foreign
TOTAL	1 958	1 684	274	552	475	77	1 406	1 209	197
2003	147	123	24	66	55	11	81	68	13
2004	251	221	30	84	74	10	167	147	20
2005	423	370	53	103	88	15	320	282	38
2006	449	397	52	110	96	14	339	301	38
2007	362	299	63	94	80	14	268	219	49
2008	326	274	52	95	82	13	231	192	39

6.1.4. Subsidized contracts for female victims of violence by autonomous community

From January 2003 to December 2008, subsidized contracts were recorded in every autonomous community for women who were victims of violence, but not in the Autonomous Cities of Ceuta and Melilla.

Andalusia had the most contracts of this type, accounting for over one-third of the total (33,8 %), followed by Castile-Leon with 21,3 % and the Community of Valencia with 10,9 %. The remaining autonomous communities together accounted for less than one-fourth of the total (24 %).

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	TOTAL	TYPE OF CONTRACT		Permanent (%)
		Permanent	Temporary	
TOTAL	1 958	552	1 404	28,2
Andalusia	661	102	559	15,4
Aragon	46	21	25	45,7
Asturias	27	10	17	37,0
Balearic Islands	12	2	10	16,7
Canary Islands	62	17	45	27,4
Cantabria	11	5	6	45,5
Castile - La Mancha	53	30	23	56,6
Castile - León	416	79	337	19,0
Catalonia	138	70	68	50,7
Comm. of Valencia	213	6	157	26,3
Extremadura	16	9	7	56,3
Galicia	89	32	57	36,0
Com. Madrid	135	77	8	57,0
Murcia	22	11	11	50,0
Navarre	14	5	9	35,7
Basque Country	34	20	14	58,8
La Rioja	7	6	1	85,7
No Consta	2	0	2	0,0

The figures for Aragon on worker nationality are striking, for only 71,7 % of the workers with subsidized contracts in that region were Spanish, compared to over 80 % in most of the others (except the Community of Madrid with 74,1 %, the Basque Country with 79,4 % and the Community of Valencia with 79,8 %). In Extremadura, all the workers were Spanish, although this is not significant because only 16 contracts of this type were recorded in that autonomous community.

SUBSIDIZED CONTRACTS BY AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008

TOTAL: 1 956



	TOTAL			TYPE OF CONTRACT						Total (%) by nationality	
	TOTAL	NATIONALITY		PERMANENT			TEMPORARY			Spanish	Foreign
		Spanish	Foreign	TOTAL	Spanish	Foreign	TOTAL	Spanish	Foreign		
TOTAL	1 958	1 684	274	552	475	77	1 406	1 209	197	86,0	14,0
Andalusia	661	602	59	102	98	4	559	504	55	91,1	8,9
Aragon	46	33	13	21	16	5	25	17	8	71,7	28,3
Asturias	27	24	3	10	10		17	14	3	88,9	11,1
Balearic Islands	12	10	2	2	2		10	8	2	83,3	16,7
Canary Islands	62	55	7	17	17		45	38	7	88,7	11,3
Cantabria	11	10	1	5	4	1	6	6		90,9	9,1
Castile - La Mancha	53	49	4	30	28	2	23	21	2	92,5	7,5
Castile - León	416	353	63	79	69	10	337	284	53	84,9	15,1
Catalonia	138	113	25	70	56	14	68	57	11	81,9	18,1
Comm. of Valencia	213	170	43	56	46	10	157	124	33	79,8	20,2
Extremadura	16	16		9	9		7	7		100,0	
Galicia	89	83	6	32	29	3	57	54	3	93,3	6,7
Madrid	135	100	35	77	57	20	58	43	15	74,1	25,9
Murcia	22	19	3	11	8	3	11	11		86,4	13,6
Navarre	14	12	2	5	4	1	9	8	1	85,7	14,3
Basque Country	34	27	7	20	17	3	14	10	4	79,4	20,6
La Rioja	7	6	1	6	5	1	1	1		85,7	14,3
Autonomous community not known	2	2		0			2	2		100,0	

6.1.5. Subsidized contracts for female victims of violence by the workers' educational level

An analysis of the educational level of the women who have held this type of employment contract shows that most had more than a primary education (83,9 % of the total). This percentage (ranging from 80,5 to 87,1 %) did not vary significantly over the five-year period .

Year	TOTAL	Educational level			
		No education	Primary	Secondary	Higher
TOTAL	1 958	30	123	1 642	163
2003	147	2	5	124	16
2004	251	14	10	202	25
2005	423	7	30	350	36
2006	449	2	23	391	33
2007	362	3	27	300	32
2008	326	2	28	275	21

During this period, there was a slight decrease in the number of women with a higher education, although with some fluctuations (from 10,9 % in 2003 to 6,4 % in 2008).

6.1.6. Subsidized contracts for female victims of violence by company size

It appears that large companies hire fewer workers with contracts including this type of subsidy, as very few contracts had been concluded by companies with over 10 000 workers (0,1 % of the total), whereas only 6,3 % of the workers were hired by companies with more than 1 000 employees.

Even though most of the employment contracts concluded in Spain involve companies with fewer than 50 workers (for the period from 2003 to

No. of workers	TOTAL	Total (%)	YEAR					
			2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	1 958	100,0	147	251	423	449	362	326
25 workers or fewer	1 098	56,1	90	141	246	254	199	168
26-50 workers	190	9,7	19	28	44	40	39	20
51-100 workers	170	8,7	11	15	38	61	23	22
101-500 workers	304	15,5	19	43	4	66	64	65
501-1 000 workers	70	3,6	5	7	8	11	15	24
1 001-10 000 workers	124	6,3	3	15	40	17	22	27
Over 10 000 workers	2	0,1	0	2	0	0	0	0

2008, 54,6 % of all contracts and 48,7 % of contracts with women), this trend is even more pronounced for subsidized contracts with female victims of violence: between 2003 and 2008, 65,8 % of these subsidized contracts were concluded by companies of this size.

Small businesses (up to 25 employees) clearly stand out from the rest, as they hired more than half of the workers with these contracts (56,1 %). Also worthy of note is the fact that 30,9 % of the contracts concluded by businesses in this size category involved companies with fewer than six workers.

In the five-year period analyzed, the proportion of contracts concluded by companies with fewer than 50 workers decreased year by year (from 74,1 % in 2003 to 57,7 % in 2008), whilst the yearly percentage of workers hired with contracts of this type by companies with 100 to 10 000 employees rose (from 18,4 % in 2003 to 35,6 % in 2008).

6.1.7. Subsidized contracts for female victims of violence by industry segment

Most of the contracts concluded with women who were victims of violence were in the service sector, accounting for 88,6 % of the total. An increase was also observed from one year to the next, with the figure rising from 81,0 % in 2003 to 93,9 % in 2008.

SECTOR	TOTAL	Total (%)	YEAR					
			2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	1 958	100,0	147	251	423	449	362	326
Agriculture	32	2,0	2	9	15	3	0	3
Construction	47	2,0	7	6	6	9	15	4
Industry	145	7,0	19	32	22	42	17	13
Services	1 734	89,0	119	204	380	395	330	306

6.1.8. Subsidized contracts for female victims of violence by the workers' occupational group

A breakdown by occupational group clearly shows that the percentage of “management” activities is negligible (0,4 %), with “professionals and engineers” and “operators” accounting for a mere 3,5 % each.

OCCUPATION	TOTAL	Total (%)
TOTAL	1 958	100,0
Armed Forces	0	0,0
Management	8	0,4
Professionals and engineers	69	3,5
Administrative	232	11,8
Skilled workers	764	39,0
Operators	68	3,5
Unskilled	817	41,7

However, the proportions of “unskilled” jobs and those corresponding to “skilled workers” are the highest, with similar percentages (41,7 % and 39,0 %, respectively).

6.2. SUBSIDIZED CONTRACTS TO REPLACE VICTIMS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE 2005-2008

From 2005 to 2008, 268 workers were hired with subsidized contracts to replace victims of gender-based violence.

Year	TOTAL	GENDER	
		Women	Men
TOTAL	268	218	50
2005	38	30	8
2006	57	44	13
2007	86	71	15
2008	87	73	14

These contracts, under which both men and women can be hired, increased by approximately 50 % in 2006 from the 2005 figure, and rose by the same percentage in 2007. However, the 2008 figure showed little change from the previous year.

In most cases, victims of gender-based violence were replaced by other women (81,3 %).

7 FEMALE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE RECEIVING ACTIVE JOB PLACEMENT INCOME (RENTA ACTIVA DE INSERCIÓN – RAI)

1 January 2006 to 31 December 2008

7.1. FIGURES ON FEMALE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE RECEIVING ACTIVE JOB PLACEMENT INCOME (RAI). 2006-2008.

The Government Agency on Gender-Based Violence has data going back to January 2006 on female victims of violence receiving Active Job Placement Income.

From January 2006 to December 2008, there was a year-by-year increase in the number of women receiving RAI. The 2007 figure rose by 21,9 % from the previous year, and the 2008 total jumped by a further 27,1 %.

Year	Different women	Monthly average
2006	11 235	5 673
2007	13 691	7 602
2008	17 400	9 445

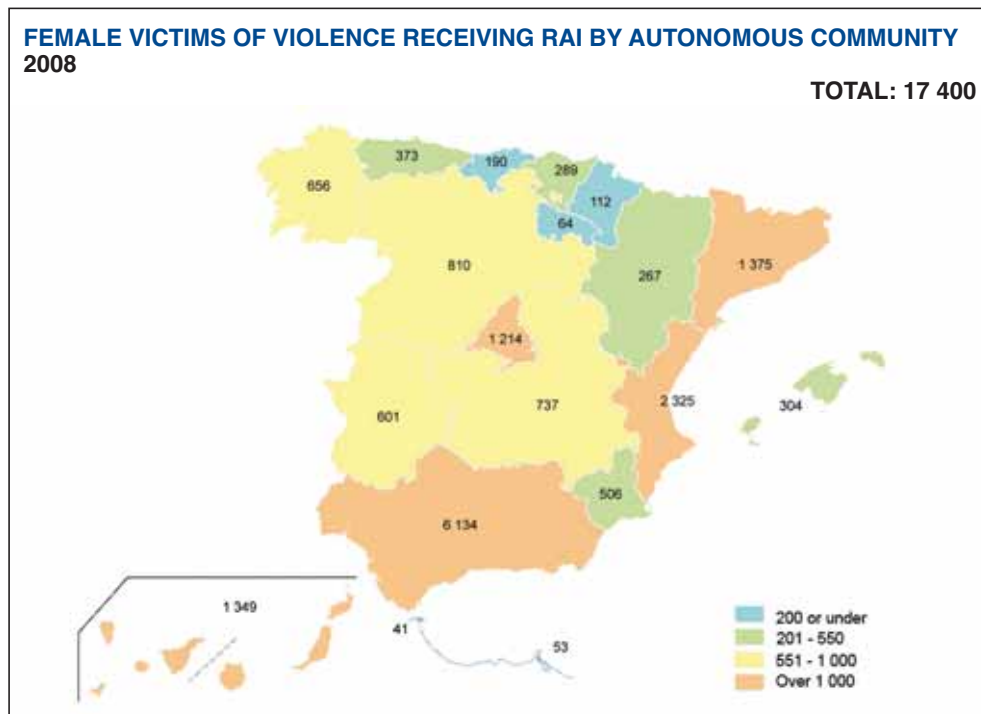
The average monthly number of women receiving this benefit also rose. In this case, the increases were 34,0 % in 2007 compared to 2006, and another 24,2 % in 2008.

7.2. FEMALE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE RECEIVING ACTIVE JOB PLACEMENT INCOME BY AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY AND YEAR

There were no sharp changes in the distribution by autonomous community from one year to the next during this period.

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	Year			Total (%)		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	11 235	13 691	17 400	100,0	100,0	100,0
Andalusia	4 251	5 022	6 134	37,8	36,7	35,3
Aragon	184	232	267	1,6	1,7	1,5
Asturias	270	312	373	2,4	2,3	2,1
Balearic Islands	142	219	304	1,3	1,6	1,7
Canary Islands	770	1 011	1 349	6,9	7,4	7,8
Cantabria	107	139	190	1,0	1,0	1,1
Castile - La Mancha	415	539	737	3,7	3,9	4,2
Castile - León	18	634	810	4,6	4,6	4,7
Catalonia	839	996	1 375	7,5	7,3	7,9
Comm. of Valencia	1 458	1 782	2 325	13,0	13,0	13,4
Extremadura	376	491	601	3,3	3,6	3,5
Galicia	520	579	66	4,6	4,2	3,8
Madrid	735	919	1 214	6,5	6,7	7,0
Murcia	276	335	06	2,5	2,4	2,9
Navarre	67	84	112	0,6	0,6	0,6
Basque Country	173	235	289	1,5	1,7	1,7
La Rioja	40	53	64	0,4	0,4	0,4
Ceuta	52	60	41	0,5	0,4	0,2
Melilla	42	49	53	0,4	0,4	0,3

The case of Andalusia is striking, as this autonomous community alone accounted for over a third of all women in Spain receiving RAI in the period from 2006-2008. The next largest figure corresponded to the Community of Valencia, with approximately 13 % of the total each year.



The average monthly benefit received also increased significantly from one year to the next, with an overall increase of 66,5 % from 2006 to 2008.

This table shows that the average number of women receiving this benefit per month rose every year in all autonomous communities/cities except Ceuta, where it dropped by nearly half in 2008 (down 49,4 %), although it had increased by 60,6 % in 2007.

In 2007, the largest increase in the monthly average was in the Balearic Islands, with a rise of 74,0 %, whilst in 2008 the biggest jump was in Murcia, with 58,1 %.

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	Monthly average		
	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	5.673	7.602	9.445
Andalusia	2.264	2.987	3.561
Aragon	85	110	135
Asturias	138	158	206
Balearic Islands	65	113	150
Canary Islands	377	564	780
Cantabria	56	72	90
Castile - La Mancha	186	280	365
Castile - León	266	358	427
Catalonia	378	465	651
Comm. of Valencia	723	992	1.238
Extremadura	197	301	369
Galicia	285	325	355
Madrid	356	462	586
Murcia	126	161	255
Navarre	30	42	53
Basque Country	83	124	149
La Rioja	19	26	28
Ceuta	23	37	19
Melilla	18	24	28

A comparison of the increase from 2006 to 2008 in the average number of women per month receiving RAI shows that there were three autonomous communities where the figure more than doubled: it increased by 129,7 % in the Balearic Islands, 107,2 % in the Canary Islands and 101,9 % in Murcia.

7.3. RECIPIENTS OF RAI BY NATIONALITY

Among unemployed female victims of violence receiving RAI, there was a slight decrease in the percentage of Spaniards compared to foreign recipients:

- In 2006, Spanish women represented 86,7 % of the total.
- In 2007, this figure dropped to 83,6 %.
- In 2008, Spanish women accounted for 80,6 % of the total.

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	2006			2007			2008		
	TOTAL	Spanish	Foreign	TOTAL	Spanish	Foreign	TOTAL	Spanish	Foreign
TOTAL	11 231	9 736	1 495	13 690	11 439	2 251	17 399	14 019	3 380
Andalusia	4 250	3 976	274	5 022	4 608	414	6 133	5 495	638
Aragon	184	122	62	232	158	74	267	161	106
Asturias	270	246	24	312	280	32	373	330	43
Balearic Islands	141	101	40	218	143	75	304	214	90
Canary Islands	770	695	75	1 011	912	99	1 349	1 180	169
Cantabria	107	94	13	139	119	20	190	156	34
Castile - La Mancha	415	369	46	539	445	94	737	580	157
Castile - León	518	443	75	634	516	118	810	628	182
Catalonia	838	609	229	996	671	325	1 375	908	467
Comm. of Valencia	1 458	1 226	232	1 782	1 414	368	2 325	1 760	565
Extremadura	376	355	21	491	463	28	601	546	55
Galicia	520	440	80	579	492	87	656	546	110
Madrid	735	534	201	919	606	313	1 214	755	459
Murcia	276	236	40	335	265	70	506	376	130
Navarre	67	54	13	84	54	30	112	61	51
Basque Country	173	146	27	235	194	41	289	224	65
La Rioja	40	30	10	53	37	16	64	47	17
Ceuta	52	40	12	60	44	16	41	31	10
Melilla	41	20	21	49	18	31	53	21	32

Note: There were four stateless women in 2006, one in 2007 and one in 2008.

In the breakdown by autonomous community, Navarre stands out because the proportion of Spanish women declined considerably in these three years (from 80,6 % in 2006 to 64,3 % in 2007 and 54,5 % in 2008). The percentage of foreign recipients in La Rioja and Ceuta, in turn, remained approximately the same during this period.

- La Rioja: Spanish women represented 75,0 % in 2006 compared to 73,4 % in 2008.
- Ceuta: Spanish women accounted for 76,9 % of the total in 2006, and the 2008 figure was 75.6 %.

7.4. RECIPIENTS OF RAI BY AGE

Among unemployed women receiving RAI from 2006 to 2008, women aged 21-50 made up over 84 % of the total in all three years (85,3 % in 2006, 84,8 % in 2007 and 85,2 % in 2008). The table at the end of this section shows the age groups of female victims of violence receiving RAI by autonomous community and year.

The table shows that in every year during this period, more than a third of female victims of violence receiving RAI were between 31 and 40 (37,2 % in 2006, 35,9 % in 2007 and 35,5 % in 2008). This was the largest age group

in nearly every autonomous community. The most numerous groups after this one were the 21-to-30 bracket, with approximately 26 %, followed by women aged 41 to 50, with around 22 %.

The case of Ceuta is unique, because women aged 21 to 30 made up the largest age group in all three years.

The average age of the female victims of violence receiving this benefit changed little during this period (37, except for 2008 when it was 36).

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	Avg. age	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	36	37	37	36
Andalusia	37	37	37	36
Aragon	36	36	36	35
Asturias	36	36	36	36
Balearic Islands	37	39	37	36
Canary Islands	37	37	37	36
Cantabria	36	38	37	35
Castile - La Mancha	36	37	36	36
Castile - León	37	38	37	37
Catalonia	36	36	36	35
Comm. of Valencia	36	37	37	36
Extremadura	37	37	37	36
Galicia	39	38	39	39
Madrid	37	37	37	36
Murcia	34	35	34	34
Navarre	35	36	37	34
Basque Country	36	37	37	36
La Rioja	36	38	36	36
Ceuta	34	32	34	35
Melilla	34	35	34	33

There are no significant differences in this average age by autonomous community/City. The average in most is 36 or 37, except in Galicia (39), Navarre (35) and Murcia, Ceuta and Melilla (34).

There is a slight difference in the average age of Spanish and foreign women (37 and 34, respectively).

Year	Spanish	Foreign
2006	37	34
2007	37	34
2008	37	33

7.5. VICTIMS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE RECEIVING ASSISTANCE WITH MOVING EXPENSES

From 2005 to December 2008, a total of 4 105 victims of gender-based violence received assistance with moving expenses.

An analysis of the data by autonomous community shows that Andalusia accounted for nearly one-third of all victims receiving this subsidy (29,5 %), followed by the Canary Islands with 10,3 % of the total recipients.

During the four-year period analyzed, the number of victims of gender-based violence who received this type of aid increased progressively, starting

with a slight increase (2,3 %) in 2006 and followed by a sharp rise (52,6 %) in 2007. The figure rose another 16,9 % in 2008.

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	Total (%)	TOTAL	2005	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	100,0	4.105	759	777	1 185	1 358
Andalusia	29,5	1.209	169	255	351	434
Aragon	2,9	117	40	24	25	28
Asturias	2,1	85	9	16	31	29
Balearic Islands	2,2	91	221	13	24	33
Canarias	10,3	422	64	88	121	149
Cantabria	0,9	37	10	9	5	13
Castile - La Mancha	5,1	211	54	38	57	62
Castile - León	8,5	350	80	65	89	116
Catalonia	6,2	256	81	43	59	73
Comm. of Valencia	7,4	305	53	49	91	112
Extremadura	2,2	91	16	18	20	37
Galicia	6,1	252	54	38	82	78
Madrid	8,9	367	43	68	139	117
Murcia	1,2	51	6	9	12	24
Navarre	2,3	96	30	17	24	25
Basque Country	2,6	105	17	23	29	36
La Rioja	0,9	39	7	4	15	13
Ceuta	0,0	2	2	0	0	0
Melilla	0,5	21	4	0	11	6

The number of recipients decreased in 2006 compared to 2005 in some autonomous communities, whereas it increased in others. Therefore, there was little change in the national figure. However, this figure increased in 2007 in all autonomous communities except Cantabria, where recipients of this type of subsidy declined by 43,4 %. Although most autonomous communities showed further growth in the number of recipients of this assistance in 2008, the figure dropped slightly in four (Asturias, Galicia, Madrid and La Rioja) and declined substantially in Melilla (by 45,5 %).

In Ceuta, two women received assistance with moving expenses in 2005, and none received this subsidy in the remainder of the period.

7.6. VICTIMS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE WHO SUSPENDED OR TERMINATED THEIR EMPLOYMENT CONTRACT WHILE MAINTAINING THEIR RIGHT TO UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS OR SUBSIDIES

The number of women who exercised this right is very small: in 2006, only 15 women received the contributory benefit, whilst in 2007, 45 women received this benefit and 10 the subsidy. In 2008, the figures rose to 60 and 23, respectively.

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	2006							
	Total	16-17 years	18-20 years	21-30 years	31-40 years	41-50 years	51-64 years	Over 64 years
TOTAL	11 235	40	323	2 877	4 184	2 522	1 271	18
Andalusia	4 251	17	113	1 090	1 597	948	479	7
Aragon	184	0	7	52	67	40	18	0
Asturias	270	1	5	83	100	58	22	1
Balearic Islands	142	1	1	33	44	36	27	0
Canary Islands	770	1	25	181	307	179	76	1
Cantabria	107	1	3	26	37	20	19	1
Castile - La Mancha	415	1	13	104	146	108	42	1
Castile - León	518	3	14	122	183	129	67	0
Catalonia	839	3	31	236	319	158	92	0
Comm. of Valencia	1 458	6	39	370	533	349	157	4
Extremadura	376	2	15	92	153	69	45	0
Galicia	520	0	7	119	194	130	70	0
Madrid	735	0	20	193	258	163	98	3
Murcia	276	2	12	72	113	55	22	0
Navarre	67	0	6	14	26	15	6	0
Basque Country	173	1	6	42	66	39	19	0
La Rioja	40	0	2	10	13	8	7	0
Ceuta	52	0	3	25	13	9	2	0
Melilla	42	1		13	15	9	3	0
Total (%)	100,0	0,4	2,9	25,6	37,2	22,4	11,3	0,2
AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	2007							
	Total	16-17 years	18-20 years	21-30 years	31-40 years	41-50 years	51-64 years	Over 64 years
TOTAL	13 691	66	496	3 619	4 908	3 081	1 504	17
Andalusia	5 022	25	179	1 312	1 797	1 169	533	7
Aragon	232	0	7	64	84	55	22	0
Asturias	312	1	11	81	116	76	26	1
Balearic Islands	219	4	6	53	73	54	29	0
Canary Islands	1 011	2	53	245	362	232	116	1
Cantabria	139	0	9	37	44	30	19	0
Castile - La Mancha	539	3	25	150	193	109	59	0
Castile - León	634	1	26	149	232	146	80	0
Catalonia	996	3	37	295	367	192	101	1
Comm. of Valencia	1 782	11	49	485	643	405	186	3
Extremadura	491	5	22	136	162	99	67	0
Galicia	579	1	11	124	196	156	90	1
Madrid	919	0	33	252	326	201	105	2
Murcia	335	8	13	102	135	57	19	1
Navarre	84	1	3	25	29	15	11	0
Basque Country	235	1	4	53	94	53	30	0
La Rioja	53	0	3	14	23	7	6	0
Ceuta	60	0	4	24	15	15	2	0
Melilla	49	0	1	18	17	10	3	0
Total (%)	100,0	0,5	3,6	26,4	35,8	22,5	11,0	0,1
AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	2008							
	Total	16-17 years	18-20 years	21-30 years	31-40 years	41-50 years	51-64 years	Over 64 years
TOTAL	17 400	109	785	4 793	6 177	3 856	1 649	31
Andalusia	6 134	43	297	1 672	2 123	1 439	549	11
Aragon	267	1	10	78	100	60	18	0
Asturias	373	1	15	94	144	87	31	1
Balearic Islands	304	1	11	78	118	72	24	0
Canary Islands	1 349	7	68	347	460	321	141	5
Cantabria	190	0	10	67	60	37	16	0
Castile - La Mancha	737	5	34	216	269	135	76	2
Castile - León	810	2	29	199	305	185	90	0
Catalonia	1 375	7	53	428	488	282	114	3
Comm. of Valencia	2 325	16	107	654	837	489	218	4
Extremadura	601	5	37	174	185	128	71	1
Galicia	656	2	19	126	226	174	108	1
Madrid	1 214	7	52	319	451	262	121	2
Murcia	506	6	23	171	192	83	30	1
Navarre	112	3	5	37	42	15	10	0
Basque Country	289	3	10	81	112	59	24	0
La Rioja	64	0	2	14	31	13	4	0
Ceuta	41	0	3	16	11	8	3	0
Melilla	53	0	0	22	23	7	1	0
Total (%)	100,0	0,6	4,5	27,5	35,5	22,2	9,5	0,2

8 RECIPIENTS OF THE FINANCIAL AID PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE 27 OF THE ACT ON COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES. 2006-2008

8.1. FIGURES ON RECIPIENTS OF THE SUBSIDIES PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE 27 OF THE ACT ON COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES. 2006-2008

The table below shows the variations in subsidies granted and denied in the period from 2006-2008.

Year	Total	Granted	Denied	Granted (%)
Total	954	391	563	41,0
2006	113	62	51	54,9
2007	511	184	327	36,0
2008	330	145	185	43,9

In 2007, the percentage of subsidies granted dropped.

The 2006 data correspond to eight autonomous communities whereas the information for 2007 includes eleven Communities, a fact that must be kept in mind when analyzing the subsidies granted. This may be because the regulations elaborating on the Act to establish the procedure for processing and granting the subsidies was delayed in some cases.

For example, the Autonomous Community of Extremadura approved the respective Order in 2008; therefore, no data were available from that region for 2007, and there were only eight applications in 2008.

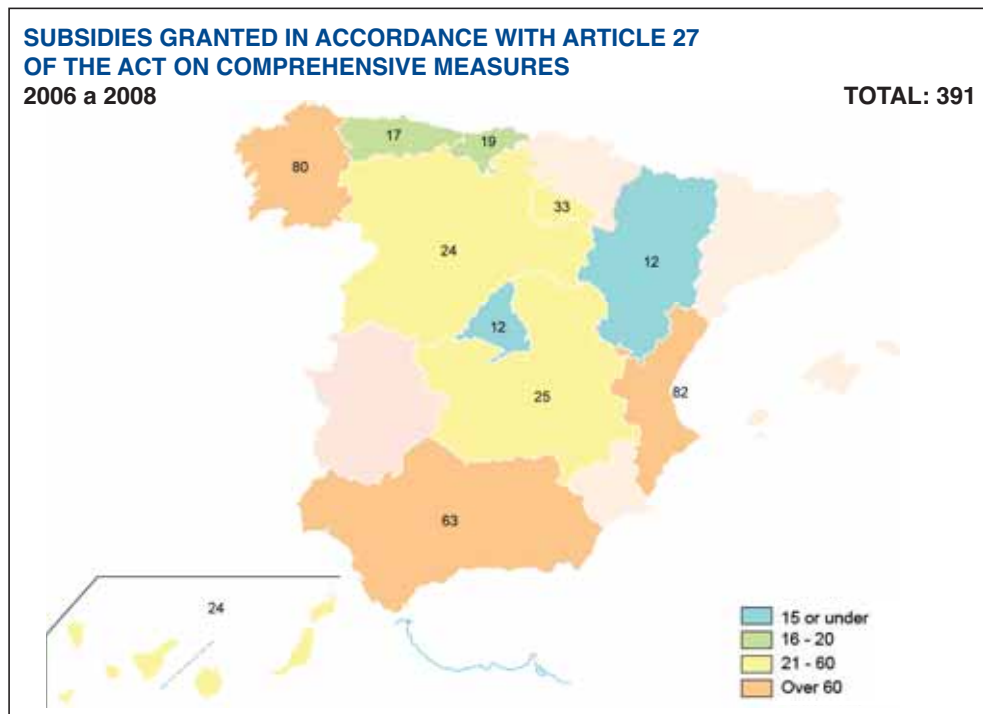
A comparison of 2007 and 2008 shows that applications for these subsidies clearly decreased (by 35,4 %), and the number of applications that were denied declined even more (by 43,4 %). The latter reduction is likely attributable to the fact that the applicants were better informed about the eligibility requirements for this financial aid.

8.2. SUBSIDIES GRANTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 27 OF THE ACT ON COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES BY AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY. 2006-2008

The information the Government Agency on Gender-Based Violence had at the end of 2008 regarding the breakdown by autonomous communities is as shown in the table below:

As the table shows, the Community of Valencia (21,0 %) and Galicia (20,5 %) were the Communities where the most subsidies of this type were granted, followed by Andalusia with 16,1 %. These three autonomous communities accounted for over half (57,6 %) of all subsidies granted under Article 27.

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	Total	Total (%)	2005	2006	2007
TOTAL	391	100,0	62	184	145
Andalusia	63	16,1		37	26
Aragon	12	3,1	1	9	2
Asturias	17	4,3	3	6	8
Canary Islands	24	6,1		5	19
Cantabria	19	4,9	3	15	1
Castile - La Mancha	25	6,4	7	9	9
Castile - León	24	6,1	9	6	9
Comm. of Valencia	82	21,0	13	35	34
Galicia	80	20,5	20	45	15
Madrid	12	3,1		8	4
La Rioja	33	8,4	6	9	18

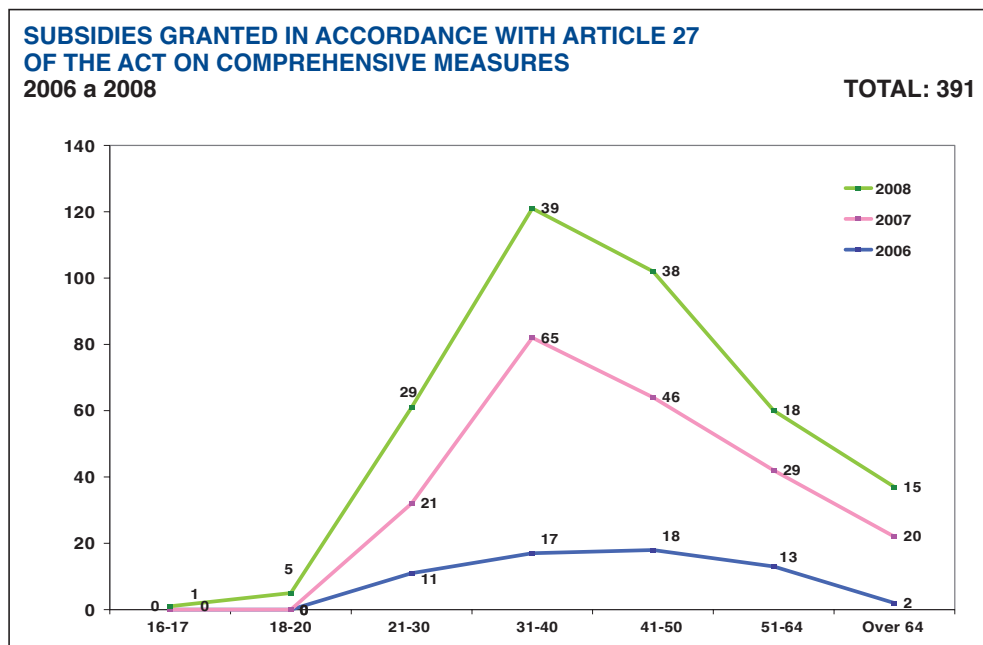


8.3. SUBSIDIES GRANTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 27 OF THE ACT ON COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES BY RECIPIENTS' AGE GROUP

By age group, women 31-50 submitted more than half of the approved applications for these subsidies every year (in 2006, 56,5 %; in 2007, 60,3 %; and in 2008, 53,1 %), and overall accounted for 57,0 % of the total.

In the entire three-year period, the modal age group was the 31-40 bracket with 30,9 %, followed by women aged 41-50 with 26,1 %.

Age	Granted			
	Total	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	391	62	184	145
16-17	1			1
18-20	5			5
21-30	61	11	21	29
31-40	121	17	65	39
41-50	102	18	46	38
De 51-64	60	13	29	18
Over 64	37	2	20	15
Age not known	4	1	3	



8.4. SUBSIDIES GRANTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 27 OF THE ACT ON COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES BY RECIPIENT NATIONALITY

Spanish women made up over 80 % of the total in every year in the period.

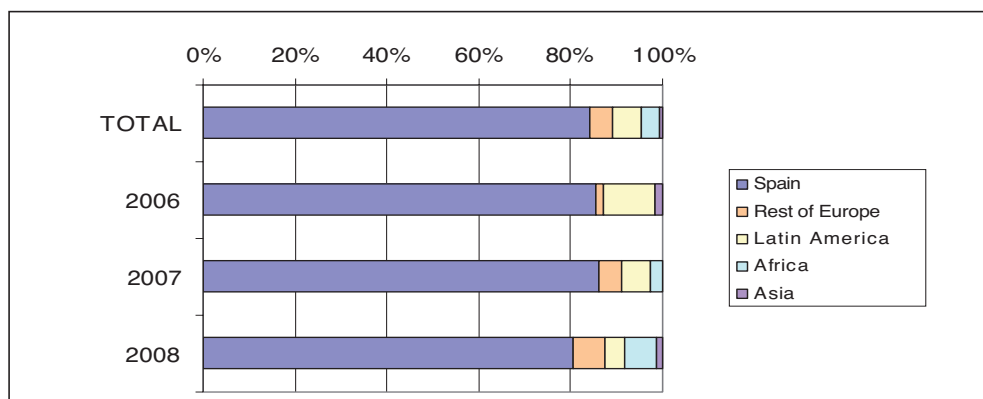
Year	Nationality				Total (%)		
	Total	Spanish	Foreign	Nationality not known	Total	Foreign	Extranjera
TOTAL	388	326	62	3	100,0	84,0	16,0
2006	62	53	9		100,0	85,5	14,5
2007	181	156	25	3	100,0	86,2	13,8
2008	145	117	28		100,0	80,7	19,3

In the breakdown by recipient nationality, Latin American women, with 39,0 %, constituted the largest single group among foreign women.

As the charts below show, 16 % of the subsidies granted were to foreign women, only 0,8 % of whom were Asian.

Among the foreign women, there were 13 from Morocco and 10 from Romania.

There was no significant variation in the nationalities of the recipients in the period from 2006 to 2008, as the figures were very low. However, an increase was observed in the number of European and African beneficiaries and a decrease in the number of recipients from Latin America.



8.5. SUBSIDIES GRANTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 27 OF THE ACT ON COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES BY RECIPIENTS' AGE AND NATIONALITY. 2006-2008.

Foreign women accounted for 16,0 % of all those granted financial aid, as mentioned earlier. Like Spanish women, most of the foreign women who received this aid were between 31 and 40, except in the case of Asians and Africans.

Age	Total	Spain	Rest of Europe	Latin America	Africa	Asia	Nationality not known
TOTAL	391	326	20	24	15	3	3
16-17	1	1	1				
18-20	5	2	3		2		
21-30	61	45	9	7	6		
31-40	121	95	5	13	3	1	
41-50	102	87	2	4	4	2	
51-64	60	58					
Over 64	37	37					
Age not known	4	1					3

Spanish women had the highest average age, whilst the lowest was observed for Europeans from non-EU countries and Africans.

Nationality	Average age			
	Overall avg.	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	43	43	44	42
Spain	44	44	45	43
Rest of Europe	37	51	36	37
Latin America	35	33	36	34
Africa	33		37	31
Asia	43	47		41

The nationality of three beneficiaries in 2007 is unknown.

8.6. DURATION OF THE FINANCIAL AID GRANTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 27 OF THE ACT ON COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES

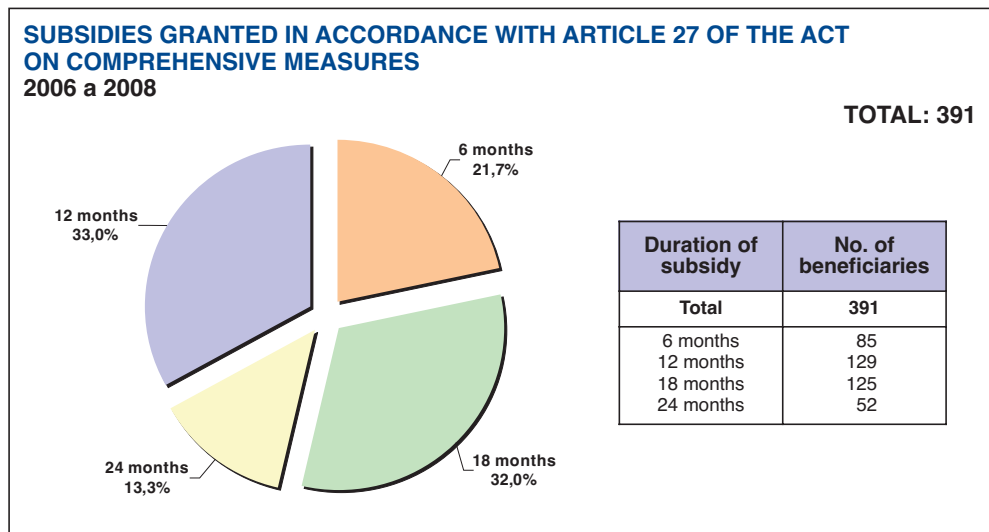
Under Article 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures and the respective regulations enacted under Royal Decree 1452/2005 of 2 December, the duration of the financial aid may vary depending on the

beneficiary's family responsibilities and her disability rating (or that of any dependent family members or children in foster care living with her).

As a general rule, the amount of the subsidy is equivalent to six months of unemployment benefits.

The duration may be twelve, eighteen or twenty-four months, depending on certain factors, such as the number of dependent family members or children in foster care, and/or the beneficiary's disability rating or that of her dependents or foster children.

An analysis of the amounts received shows that 21,7 % of these subsidies were granted for six months; therefore, this is the percentage of women with no dependents or disability rating. At the other extreme, 13,3 % of the beneficiaries received subsidies for 24 months.



9 TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS GRANTED FOR EXCEPTIONAL HUMANITARIAN REASONS TO FOREIGN WOMEN WHO ARE VICTIMS OF OFFENCES INVOLVING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE. 2006-2008

9.1. FIGURES ON TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS GRANTED FOR EXCEPTIONAL HUMANITARIAN REASONS TO FEMALE VICTIMS OF OFFENCES INVOLVING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE. 2005-2008

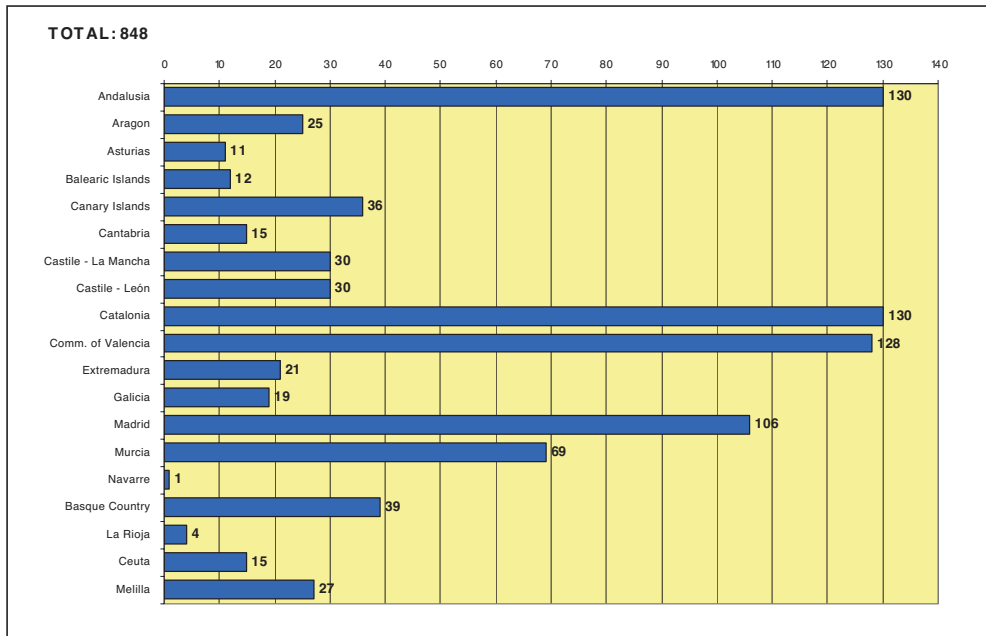
According to the data included in the Ministry of Public Administration's computer records for foreigners as of 31 December 2008, a total of 848 women aged 16 and over who were victims of domestic violence were granted temporary residence permits for exceptional humanitarian reasons from 2005 to year-end 2008. Even though no information is available about their link with the person against whom they requested a protective order, nearly all of them are regarded to be victims of gender-based violence.

A review of the year-by-year figures for these residence permits shows that they have increased steadily.

Year granted	Number
Total	848
2005	1
2006	135
2007	290
2008	422

9.2. CONCESIONES DE AUTORIZACIÓN DE RESIDENCIA TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS GRANTED FOR EXCEPTIONAL HUMANITARIAN REASONS TO FEMALE VICTIMS OF OFFENCES INVOLVING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE BY AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY AND PROVINCE

A breakdown by autonomous community reveals that 130 women obtained residence permits in both Andalusia and Catalonia (15,3 % of the



total in each case), whilst another 128 permits of this type (15,1 %) were granted in the Community of Valencia and 106 in Madrid (12,5 %).

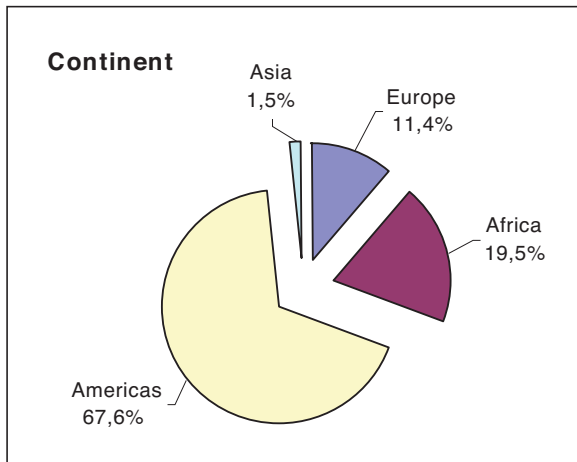
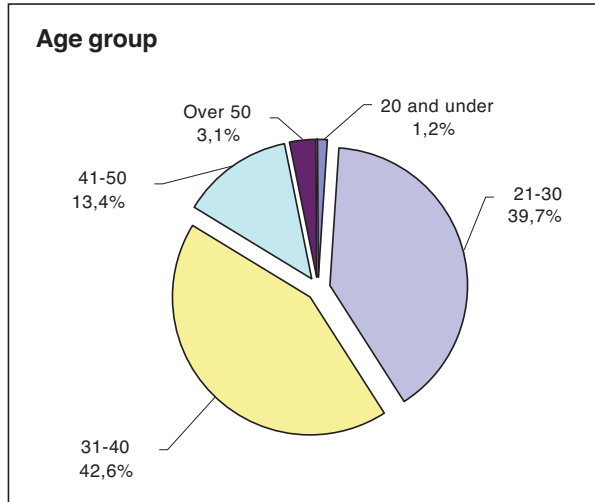
By province, Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Murcia, in that order, accounted for 40,0 % of all permits in the computer records as of 31 December 2008.

9.3. TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS GRANTED FOR EXCEPTIONAL HUMANITARIAN REASONS TO FEMALE VICTIMS OF OFFENCES INVOLVING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE BY AGE GROUP AND NATIONALITY

Most of the residence permits recorded in the period in question were for women aged 21 to 40. A total of 337 permits were granted to women between the ages of 21 and 30, and a further 361 to those in the 31-40 bracket, for a combined 82,3 % of the total. Ten women aged 20 or under received permits, as did 114 in the 41-50 age group and 26 over 50.

By continent of origin, most of the women who were granted residence permits were from the Americas (573, all Latin Americans), followed in descending order by Africans (165), Europeans (97) and Asians (13).

The number of Europeans who received residence permits dropped in 2008 (most likely because of the somewhat delayed effect of Romania's entry in the European Union), whereas the figures for citizens of countries in Africa and, in particular, the Americas increased year by year.



The largest nationality groups were Bolivians (223), Moroccans (133), Brazilians (86), Ecuadorians (52), Colombians (47), Paraguayans (37) and Argentineans and Russians (31 each).

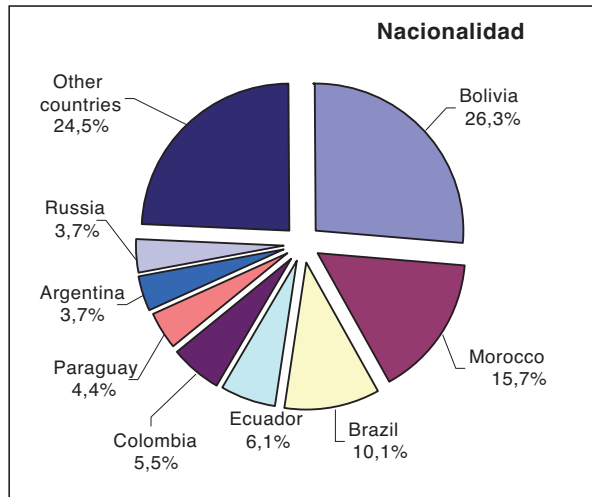
By nationality and year granted, Moroccan women who were victims of gender-based violence received the most permits in 2006,

	TOTAL	YEAR GRANTED			
		2005	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	848	1	135	290	422
Europe	97	1	32	35	29
Africa	165		38	55	72
Americas	573		64	194	315
Asia	13		1	6	6

whereas Bolivians were the most numerous group in both 2007 and 2008.

The average age of the women who were granted residence permits was 33.

Among the main nationality groups, Colombians had the highest average age (38), and Ecuadorians the lowest (31).



	TOTAL	Year granted			
		2005	2006	2007	2008
TOTAL	848	1	135	290	422
Bolivia	223		21	66	136
Morocco	133		30	45	58
Brazil	86		7	30	49
Ecuador	52		5	27	20
Colombia	47		8	16	23
Paraguay	37		9	12	16
Argentina	31		4	11	16
Russia	31		2	12	17
Other countries	208	1	49	71	87

9.4. TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS GRANTED FOR EXCEPTIONAL HUMANITARIAN REASONS TO FEMALE VICTIMS OF OFFENCES INVOLVING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE BY AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY, CONTINENT AND NATIONALITY

A total of 35,1 % of the Europeans who were given residence permits received them in Andalusia, another 16,5 % in the Community of Valencia and 10,3 % in Madrid, whereas 13,9 % of African citizens were granted permits in Andalusia, and the same percentage received theirs in Catalonia and the Community of Valencia. Lastly, Catalonia was where 17,1 % of Latin Americans received their residence papers, whilst another 15,2 % were given theirs in the Community of Valencia, 13,8 % in Madrid and 12,6 % in Andalusia.

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY	TOTAL	CONTINENT			
		EUROPE	AFRICA	AMERICAS	ASIA
TOTAL	848	97	165	573	13
Andalusia	130	34	23	72	1
Aragon	25	4	7	13	1
Asturias	11	3		8	
Balearic Islands	12	1	2	8	1
Canary Islands	36	1	4	30	1
Cantabria	15	2	2	11	
Castile - La Mancha	30	6	3	21	
Castile - León	30	3	4	23	
Catalonia	130	7	23	98	2
Comm. of Valencia	128	16	23	87	2
Extremadura	21	2	1	16	2
Galicia	19		1	18	
Madrid	106	10	16	79	1
Murcia	69	4	11	54	
Navarre	1			1	
Basque Country	39	3	4	30	2
La Rioja	4	1		3	
Ceuta	15		14	1	
Melilla	27		27		

The distribution by autonomous community of women from the top four nationality groups who received residence permits was as follows:

- Among Bolivians, 19,7 % received permits in Catalonia, 17,9 % in the Community of Valencia, 16,1 % in Murcia, 13,0 % in Andalusia and 11.7 % in Madrid.
- Melilla was where 20,3 % of Moroccans were granted permits, another 13,5 % received theirs in Andalusia and the same percentage in the Community of Valencia. Catalonia and Ceuta each accounted for 10,5 % of the permits granted to this nationality group.
- Extremadura was the region where the largest number of Brazilians received residence permits, with 15,1 % of the total. The Community of Valencia was next with 12,8 %, followed by 11,6 % in Andalusia and 10,5 % in Castile-Leon.
- Madrid accounted for 28,8 % of Ecuadorian permits, Catalonia for 19,2 %, Murcia 17,3 % and in the Community of Valencia 11,5 %.

In Communities where 30 or more residence permits had been granted as of 31 December 2008, Bolivian women made up the most numerous group of recipients in nearly all of them: Andalusia, Castile-La Mancha, Catalonia, the Community of Valencia, Madrid, Murcia and the Basque Country. Only in Castile-Leon were more permits granted to women of another nationality (Brazilians).

10 SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

September 2000 to December 2008

10.1. INTRODUCTION

Since the mid-1980s, the Centre for Sociological Research (Spanish acronym CIS) has been conducting monthly surveys on issues regarded as Spain's main problems and those that most directly affect the respondents.

The questions in CIS's monthly barometer survey are open-ended, and their exact wording is as follows:

- "In your opinion, what is the primary problem in Spain right now? And the second most important one? And the third?"
- «And what is the problem that most affects you personally? And the second most important one? And the third?"

To date, CIS has limited participation in its monthly barometer surveys to Spanish citizens.

"Violence against women" first came up in the September 2000 barometer survey as one of the most significant problems mentioned spontaneously by the respondents. Since then, this response has specifically been given in every monthly survey, indicating that for part of the Spanish population, this is one of Spain's top three problems or one of their main personal problems.

Responses in the barometer surveys encompass current topics in the social, economic and political spheres that are regarded as problems for either Spain or for the respondents themselves. The following were the top five responses to both questions in the surveys from September 2000 and December 2008:

Top national problems September 2000	Respondents answering (%)
Terrorism, ETA	65,5
Unemployment	59,8
Drugs	14,7
Economic problems	14,2
Corruption and fraud	13,2
Violence against women	1,0

Top personal problems September 2000	Respondents answering (%)
Unemployment	34,0
Terrorism, ETA	19,3
Economic problems	16,1
Corruption and fraud	9,6
Crime	6,7
Violence against women	0,7

Top national problems September 2000	Respondents answering (%)
Unemployment	72,5
Economic problems	54,5
Terrorism, ETA	28,9
Immigration	19,5
Housing	15,5
Violence against women	1,3

Top personal problems September 2000	Respondents answering (%)
Economic problems	49,1
Unemployment	37,2
Housing	14,4
Crime	9,8
Immigration	6,1
Violence against women	0,6

The Government Agency on Gender-Based Violence has processed the microdata from the CIS monthly barometer surveys regarding these two questions, comparing the responses indicating “violence against women” with the other responses.

Furthermore, the following data relating to the profile of the respondents who answered the aforementioned questions were also analyzed:

- Gender
- Age
- Educational level
- Employment situation
- Self-described religious identification
- Self-described ideological position
- Geographic location: autonomous community, province and size of municipality of residence

A brief analysis follows of the data relating to the responses naming “violence against women” as one of the primary problems affecting Spain or

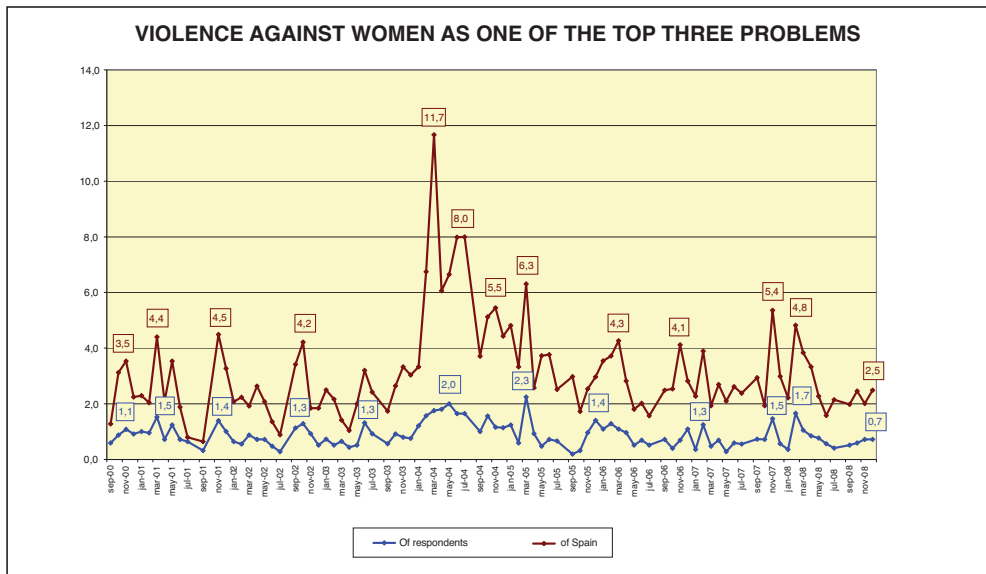
the respondent. These data were compiled by CIS throughout the entire country (except the Autonomous Cities of Ceuta and Melilla) from September 2000 to December 2008. The following data are not included:

- October 2001, as the questionnaire did not contain the questions about what the respondents considered the top problems to be.
- The months of August during this period, because CIS does not conduct opinion surveys in that month.

There were 226 061 respondents in total in the period analyzed, with a monthly average of 2 484 interviews.

10.2. VARIATION IN THE SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS ONE OF SPAIN'S TOP THREE PROBLEMS AND ONE OF THE TOP THREE PROBLEMS FOR THE RESPONDENTS. SEPTEMBER 2000 TO DECEMBER 2008

Since violence against women was first mentioned among the responses in CIS's monthly barometer surveys as one of the top three



problems affecting Spain or the respondent, the figures have fluctuated. The highest percentages occurred in 2004 and 2005, when the Act on Comprehensive Measures was being prepared and when it was approved and entered into force. This is most likely because during that period, the situation of victims of gender-based violence was spotlighted, and the media focused on this problem as a specific issue calling for concrete measures to eradicate it.

The month-by-month chart above shows that the highest percentages were generally registered around the months of November and March, when such events as the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women (25 November) and International Women's Day (8 March) draw attention to the problem and help raise awareness.

In absolute terms, 7 060 of the 226 061 persons polled through CIS's monthly barometer surveys from September 2000 to December 2008 stated that "violence against women" was one of Spain's top three problems, and 2 005 said that it was one of their top three personal problems.

10.3. SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS ONE OF SPAIN'S TOP THREE PROBLEMS AND ONE OF THE TOP THREE PROBLEMS FOR THE RESPONDENTS VERSUS OTHER PERCEIVED PROBLEMS

The aim of this section is to compare the primary problems named by respondents who mentioned violence against women (whether at the national and/or the personal level) to the top problems stated by all respondents throughout the period analyzed (September 2000 to December 2008).

In the calculation of the percentages displayed below, all available responses from September 2000 to December 2008 were taken into consideration, even though the tables do not show the invalid (blank), «Don't know» and «No answer» responses.

10.3.1. Violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems

During the period analyzed, 3,1 % of all respondents (7 060 of the 226 061 persons surveyed) indicated that violence against women was one of Spain's top three problems.

Top national problems	Total respondents		Respondents naming violence against women as a national problem (%)	
	%	Order	%	Order
Unemployment	54,3	1	44,2	3
Terrorism, ETA	43,3	2	50,1	2
Immigration	22,3	3	15,8	4
Economic problems	17,9	4	8,1	8
Housing	17,0	5	8,1	7
Crime	16,7	6	12,8	5
Drugs	8,7	7	11,6	6
Politicians, political parties	7,9	8	3,1	10
Problems relating to quality of work life	5,6	9	2,7	12
Healthcare	4,5	10	1,3	18
Education	4,1	11	1,8	13
Social problems	3,9	12	3,6	9
Other responses	3,6	13	2,8	11
Pensions	3,3	14	1,8	14
Violence against women	3,1	15	100,0	1
The administration of justice	1,6	19	1,5	15

A comparison of the answers from respondents who named violence against women as one of Spain's three principal problems with the overall responses compiled reveals the following:

- If the problem of violence against women is excluded, the same concerns occupy the top positions in the ranking of the most important problems, although the order varies somewhat:
 - For respondents as a whole: unemployment, terrorism and immigration.
 - For respondents who named violence against women as one of Spain's top problems: terrorism, unemployment and immigration.

- Respondents who showed more concern over violence against women were also less worried about problems relating to the economy (“economic problems” and “housing”) and about others of an institutional nature (“politicians, political parties”, “problems relating to quality of work life”, “healthcare” and “education”).
- Many of the respondents who named violence against women as one of Spain’s top problems said drugs were another of the most important problems facing Spain.

10.3.2. Violence against women as one of the top three personal problems for respondents

From September 2000 to December 2008, 0,9 % of all respondents (2 005 of the 226 061 people surveyed) stated that violence against women was one of their top three personal problems.

Top personal problems	Total respondents		Respondents naming violence against women as a personal problem (%)	
	%	Order	%	Order
Unemployment	26,9	1	26,8	3
Economic problems	20,5	2	10,0	7
Housing	14,5	3	8,2	8
Crime	12,0	4	19,3	4
Terrorism, ETA	11,0	5	28,0	2
Immigration	7,4	6	12,3	5
Pensions	6,7	7	4,3	11
Problems relating to quality of work life	6,5	8	4,4	10
Healthcare	5,4	9	3,7	12
Education	5,0	10	3,0	14
Other responses	3,2	11	3,1	13
Drugs	3,1	12	11,4	6
Politicians, political parties	2,8	13	1,7	16
Social problems	2,7	14	5,5	9
Personal worries and situations	2,5	15	0,6	25
Violence against women	0,9	21	100,0	1
The administration of justice	0,8	22	2,9	15

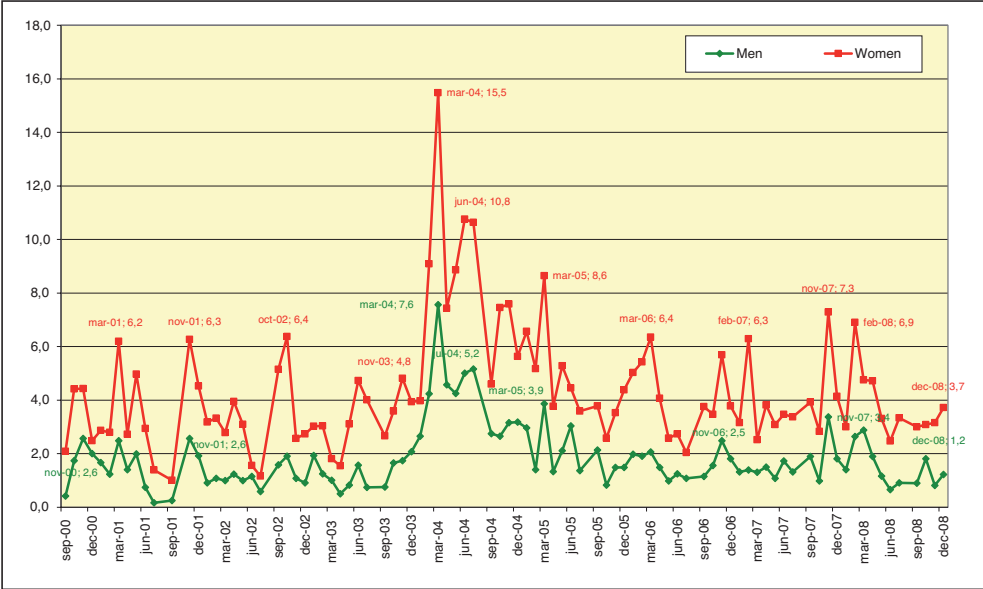
A comparison of the answers from respondents who named violence against women as one of their top three problems to the overall responses compiled reveals the following:

- Respondents who were directly affected by violence against women tended to name more problems relating to a lack of safety in general (terrorism and crime).
- Many of the respondents who named violence against women as one of their top personal problems said drugs were another of their most important problems.
- Respondents who were more concerned about violence against women also tended to be more troubled by «social problems», and less by problems relating to the economy («economic problems» and «housing»).
- The order of importance of problems with smaller percentages was similar (subjects relating to employment, pensions, healthcare, and so forth).

10.4. SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS ONE OF SPAIN'S TOP THREE PROBLEMS AND ONE OF THE TOP THREE PROBLEMS FOR RESPONDENTS BY GENDER

Violence against women is regarded somewhat differently by men and women; the latter view the problem as more acute, because they see themselves as potential victims.

A total of 116 255 of the 226 061 respondents in the period analyzed were women, and 109 806 were men; thus, women represented 51,4 % of the total. Of the 7 060 respondents who named violence against women as one of Spain's primary problems, 5 048 (or 71,5 % of the total) were women and only 2 012 men.



A review of the monthly variation in the perception of violence against women as one of Spain’s top three problems shows differences of up to eight percentage points between male and female respondents in the months when this problem was of greatest concern.

By gender, of the respondents who stated that violence against women was one of their top three personal problems, 1 587 of the total 2 005 were women (79,2 %) and 418 were men (20,8 %).

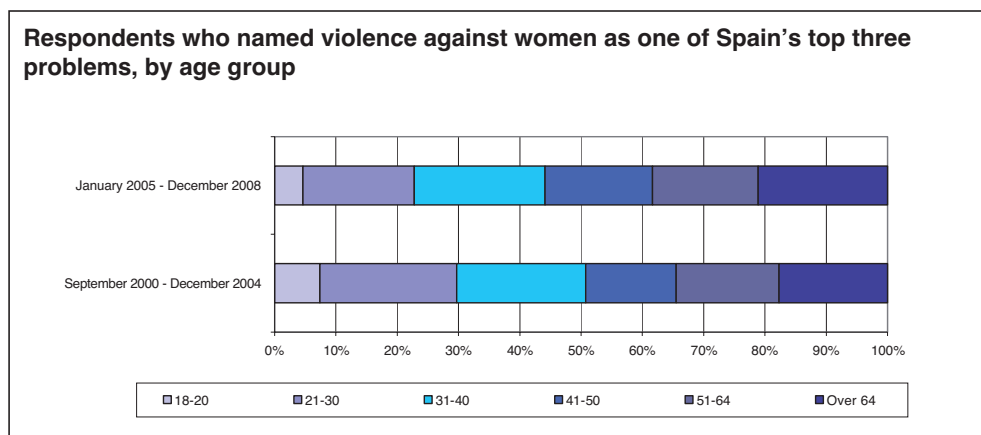
10.5. SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS ONE OF SPAIN'S TOP THREE PROBLEMS AND ONE OF THE TOP THREE PROBLEMS FOR RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP

The average age of all respondents in the period analyzed was 46. The average for those who named violence against women as one of Spain’s top three problems was 45, whilst the mean age of respondents who stated it was one of their three main personal problems was 46. In other words, no differences worth mentioning were observed in this respect.

10.5.1. Violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems

Prior to the implementation of the Act on Comprehensive Measures (September 2000 to December 2004), people in the 21-to-30 age group were the most prone to view violence against women as one of Spain's three greatest problems. After the Act entered into force, respondents aged 31 to 40 were the most numerous.

	September 2000 – December 2004			January 2005 – December 2008		
	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	3.856	116.984	3,3	3.204	109.077	2,9
18-20	285	6.387	4,5	147	5.071	2,9
21-30	860	23.233	3,7	583	20.011	2,9
31-40	813	22.707	3,6	684	22.629	3,0
41-50	569	18.960	3,0	562	18.961	3,0
51-64	647	21.528	3,0	551	20.195	2,7
Over 64	682	24.169	2,8	677	22.210	3,0



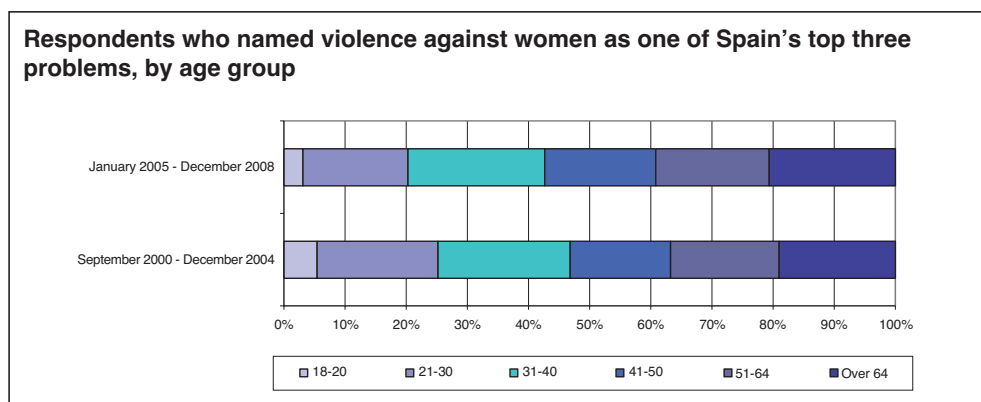
As the chart shows, mentions of violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems decreased perceptibly among younger respondents, but increased somewhat among those in the higher age brackets.

10.5.2. Violence against women as one of the top three personal problems for respondents

The modal age group among respondents who named violence against women as one of their top three personal problems was 31-40 in both time frames analyzed (before and after the Act on Comprehensive measures became effective).

	September 2000 – December 2004			January 2005 – December 2008		
	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	1 142	116 984	1,0	863	109 077	0,8
18-20	62	6 387	1,0	27	5 071	0,5
21-30	226	23 233	1,0	148	20 011	0,7
31-40	247	22 707	1,1	193	22 629	0,9
41-50	187	18 960	1,0	157	18 961	0,8
51-64	203	21 528	0,9	160	20 195	0,8
Over 64	217	24 169	0,9	178	22 210	0,8

The same trend seen in the previous section, i.e., an increase among respondents in the higher age brackets and a decrease in the number of younger respondents, was observed here also. In other words, a higher percentage of older respondents named violence against women as one of their top three personal problems.



Moreover, respondents over the age of 51 accounted for nearly 40 % of all those who stated that this type of violence was a problem that affected them personally in the period after the Act on Comprehensive Measures entered into force.

10.6. SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS ONE OF SPAIN'S TOP THREE PROBLEMS AND ONE OF THE TOP THREE PERSONAL PROBLEMS FOR RESPONDENTS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL²¹

10.6.1. Violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems

By educational level, persons with a secondary education made up the largest group among all respondents. The data compiled indicate that the highest level of concern about violence against women in the period prior to the approval of the Act on Comprehensive Measures was among respondents in this group. However, in the period after the Act became effective, respondents with a primary education who shared this concern accounted for a higher percentage of their educational group than those in any other level.

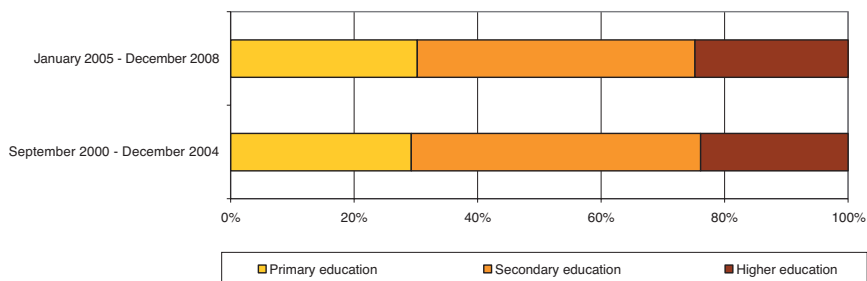
	September 2000 – December 2004			January 2005 – December 2008		
	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	3 856	116 984	3,3	3 204	109 077	2,9
Primary education	1 053	33 429	3,1	898	27 338	3,3
Secondary education	1 684	47 566	3,5	1 338	45 867	2,9
Higher education	860	27 045	3,2	737	28 942	2,5
DK/NA	259	8 934	2,9	231	6 930	3,3

No significant variations were observed, however, in the distribution by educational level of respondents who considered violence against women one of Spain's top three problems in the two time frames analyzed.

²¹ The educational levels are as follows:

- Primary education: Primary education completed or incomplete
- Secondary education: Elementary education, secondary education and vocational training after compulsory secondary studies
- Higher education: Advanced vocational training, three- and five-year university degrees and postgraduate education.

Respondents who named violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems, by highest level of education

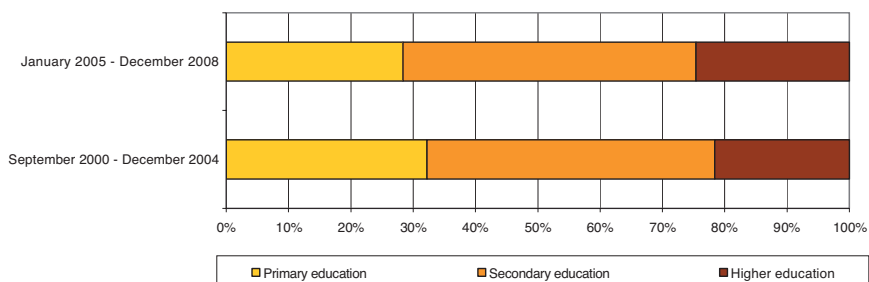


10.6.2. Violence against women as one of the top three personal problems for respondents

In this case, a higher level of concern about violence against women was also observed among respondents with a secondary education.

	September 2000 – December 2004			January 2005 – December 2008		
	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of their top personal problems	Total no. of respondents	%	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of their top personal problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	1 142	116 984	1,0	863	109 077	0,8
Primary education	336	33 429	1,0	228	27 338	0,8
Secondary education	481	47 566	1,0	378	45 867	0,8
Higher education	225	27 045	0,8	198	28 942	0,7
DK/NA	100	8 934	1,1	59	6 930	0,9

Respondents who named violence against women as one of their top three personal problems, by highest level of education



After the Act on Comprehensive Measures entered into force, respondents who said they were personally affected by violence against women tended to have a higher educational level as a whole.

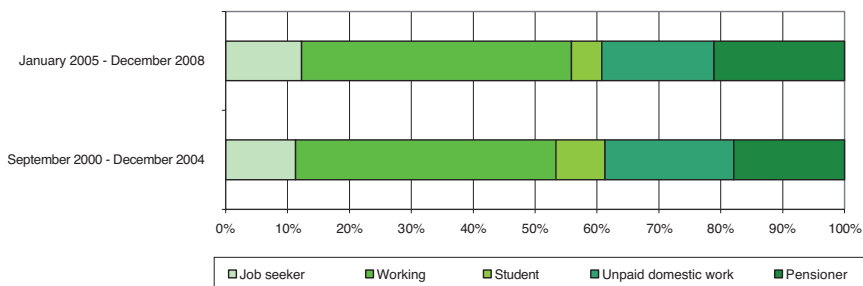
10.7. SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS ONE OF SPAIN'S TOP THREE PROBLEMS AND ONE OF THE TOP THREE PROBLEMS FOR RESPONDENTS BY EMPLOYMENT SITUATION

10.7.1. Violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems

In the period after the Act on Comprehensive Measures was approved, 55,9 % of respondents who named violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems were working or looking for a job. Students were the least numerous group, representing a mere 5 %.

	September 2000 – December 2004			January 2005 – December 2008		
	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	3 856	116 984	3,3	3 204	109 077	2,9
Economically active	2 048	65 338	3,1	1 778	66 075	2,7
Job seeker	433	11 099	3,9	390	10 369	3,8
Working	1 615	54 239	3,0	1 388	55 706	2,5
Economically inactive	1 789	51 167	3,5	1 404	42 303	3,3
Student	303	7 329	4,1	156	4 926	3,2
Unpaid domestic work	799	17 886	4,5	576	13 004	4,4
Pensioner	687	25 952	2,6	672	24 373	2,8
Other / No answer	19	479	4,0	22	699	3,1

Respondents who named violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems, by employment situation



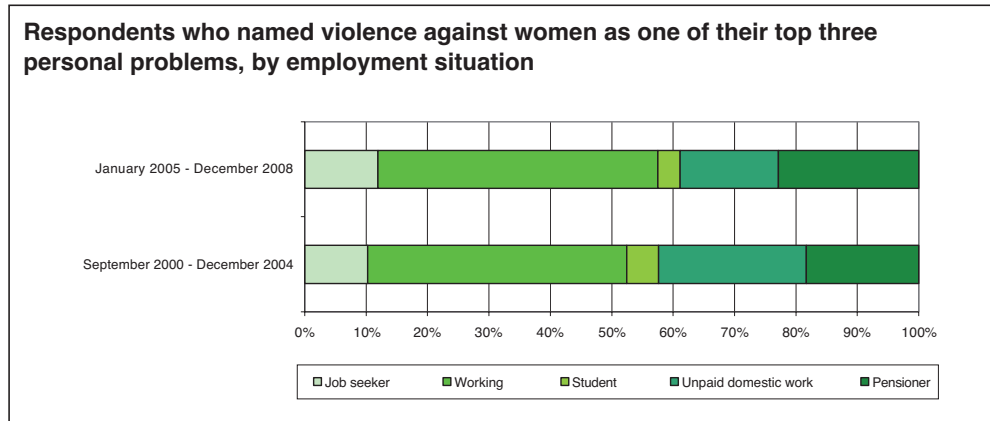
A higher percentage of respondents engaging in unpaid domestic work than persons with any other employment status regarded violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems.

10.7.2. Violence against women as one of the top three personal problems for respondents

In the period after the Act on Comprehensive Measures was approved, 57,5 % of respondents who named violence against women as one of their top three personal problems were working or looking for a job.

	September 2000 – December 2004			January 2005 – December 2008		
	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of their top personal problems	Total no. of respondents	%	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of their top personal problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	1 142	116 984	1,0	863	109 077	0,8
Economically active	598	65 338	0,9	491	66 075	0,7
Job seeker	117	11 099	1,1	102	10 369	1,0
Working	481	54 239	0,9	389	55 706	0,7
Economically inactive	342	51 167	1,1	363	42 303	0,9
Student	59	7 329	0,8	31	4 926	0,6
Unpaid domestic work	274	17 886	1,5	137	13 004	1,1
Pensioner	209	25 952	0,8	195	24 373	0,8
Other / No answer	2	479	0,4	9	699	1,3

Here also, this percentage contrasts sharply with the 4 % for students, the smallest group.



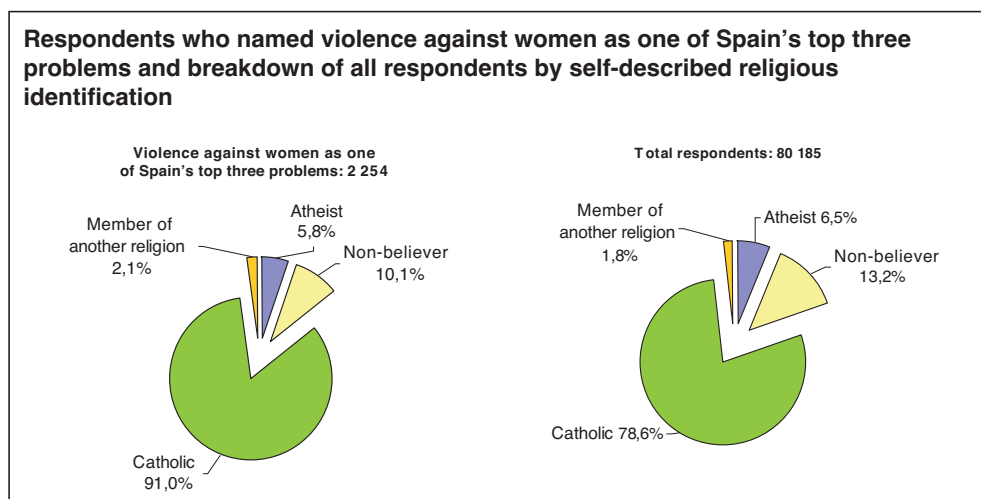
10.8. SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS ONE OF SPAIN'S TOP THREE PROBLEMS AND ONE OF THE TOP THREE PROBLEMS FOR RESPONDENTS BY SELF-DESCRIBED RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

Inasmuch as information about respondents' self-described religious convictions has only been collected periodically since 2006, these data were the object of general analysis only. Of the 81 761 respondents analyzed, 2 278 named violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems (2,8 %), whilst 620 said it was one of their top three personal problems (0,8 %).

10.8.1. Violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems

The percentage of respondents who stated that violence against women was one of Spain's top three problems was higher among persons of faith (both Catholics and members of other religions), coming in both cases to 3,0% of all respondents for whom information on religious beliefs was available.

	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	2 278	81 761	2,8
Atheist	119	5 174	2,3
Non-believer	209	10 571	2,0
Catholic	1 883	63 008	3,0
Member of another religion	43	1 432	3,0
No answer	24	1 576	1,5

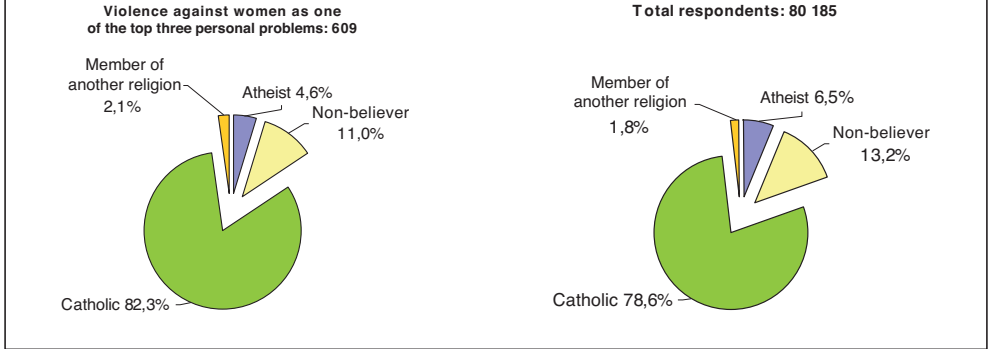


10.8.2. Violence against women as one of the top three personal problems for respondents

The differences in the proportion of respondents who named violence against women as one of their top three personal problems are minimal when considered in light of their self-described religious convictions, compared to the total number of respondents providing information on their religious beliefs.

	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of their top personal problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	620	81 761	0,8
Atheist	28	5 174	0,5
Non-believer	67	10 571	0,6
Catholic	501	63 008	0,8
Member of another religion	13	1 432	0,9
No answer	11	1 576	0,7

Respondents who named violence against women as one of their top three personal problems and breakdown of all respondents by self-described religious convictions



10.9. SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS ONE OF SPAIN'S TOP THREE PROBLEMS AND ONE OF THE TOP THREE PROBLEMS FOR RESPONDENTS BY SELF-DESCRIBED IDEOLOGICAL POSITION

In the CIS barometer surveys, respondents were asked to identify their political persuasion on the scale below:

Left					Right				
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10

The “values” in this political scale were classified as follows:

- 1-2-3: Left
- 4: Centre-left
- 5-6: Centre
- 7: Centre-right
- 8-9-10: Right

A substantial number of respondents did not define their political position: more specifically, 54 455 of the 226 061 respondents (24,1 %) did not answer this question.

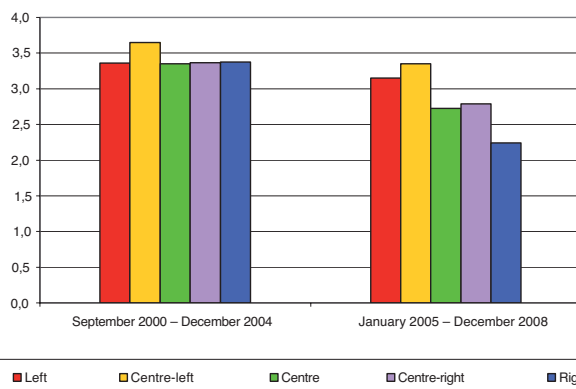
10.9.1. Violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems

The distribution by respondents' political affiliation as a whole and the distribution by respondents who named violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems is very similar. However, those who regarded violence against women as one of Spain's three most important problems tended slightly toward the left of the political scale.

Particularly in the time frame prior to the approval of the Act on Comprehensive Measures, the respondents describing themselves to be in the central range of the political scale constituted the largest group of respondents as a whole as well as the most numerous who believed that violence against women was one of Spain's top three problems.

	September 2000 – December 2004			January 2005 – December 2008		
	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	3 856	116 984	3,3	3 204	109 077	2,9
Left	743	22 116	3,4	726	23 040	3,2
Centre-left	565	15 490	3,6	531	15 851	3,3
Centre	1 214	36 225	3,4	905	33 199	2,7
Centre-right	239	7 103	3,4	178	6 388	2,8
Right	210	6 222	3,4	134	5 972	2,2
DK/NA	885	29 828	3,0	730	24 627	3,0

Respondents who named violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems by self-described ideological position

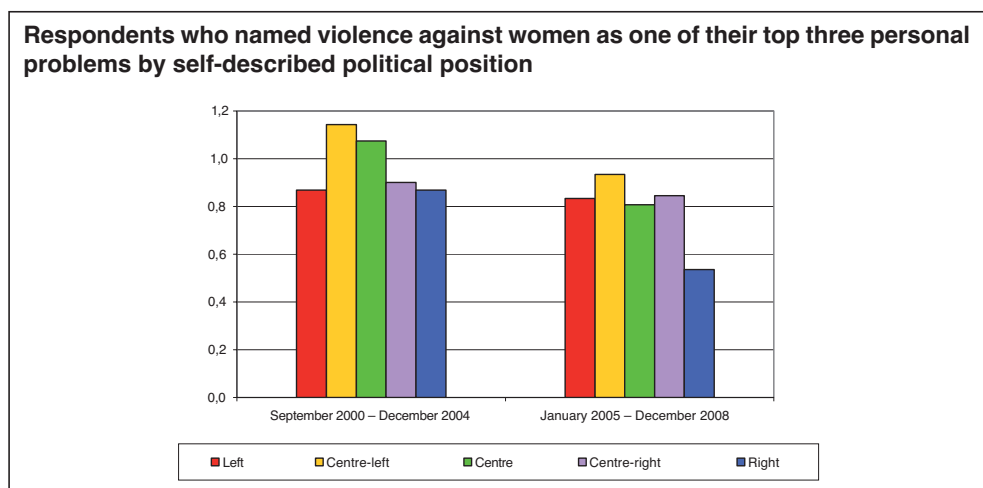


After January 2005, the differences between respondents with more leftward-leaning ideological tendencies (left and centre-left) and those who tended to the right were more clearly evident. The former group had the highest percentages of those who viewed violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems (3,2 % and 3,3 %, respectively), whereas the latter had the lowest (2,2 %).

10.9.2. Violence against women as one of the top three personal problems for respondents

The proportion of respondents of each political leaning who named violence against women as one of their top three personal problems was not significantly different from the proportion of all respondents in general who placed this issue among their top personal problems.

	September 2000 – December 2004			January 2005 – December 2008		
	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of their top personal problems	Total no. of respondents	%	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of their top personal problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	1 142	116 984	1,0	863	109 077	0,8
Left	192	22 116	0,9	192	23 040	0,8
Centre-left	177	15 490	1,1	148	15 851	0,9
Centre	389	36 225	1,1	268	33 199	0,8
Centre-right	64	7 103	0,9	54	6 388	0,8
Right	54	6 222	0,9	32	5 972	0,5
DK/NA	266	29 828	0,9	169	24 627	0,7



This chart shows the percentage of respondents who stated that violence against women was one of their top three personal problems, compared to all respondents broken down by political view. These percentages are less uniform from one ideological belief to another, and there are fewer extremes in the first time frame.

After January 2005, however, the data pertaining to left and centre-right views levelled off, and the percentage of respondents who described their beliefs as centre-left, centre and right and said they were affected by this problem declined, especially the latter.

10.10. SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS ONE OF SPAIN'S TOP THREE PROBLEMS AND ONE OF THE TOP THREE PROBLEMS FOR RESPONDENTS BY SIZE OF MUNICIPALITY OF RESIDENCE

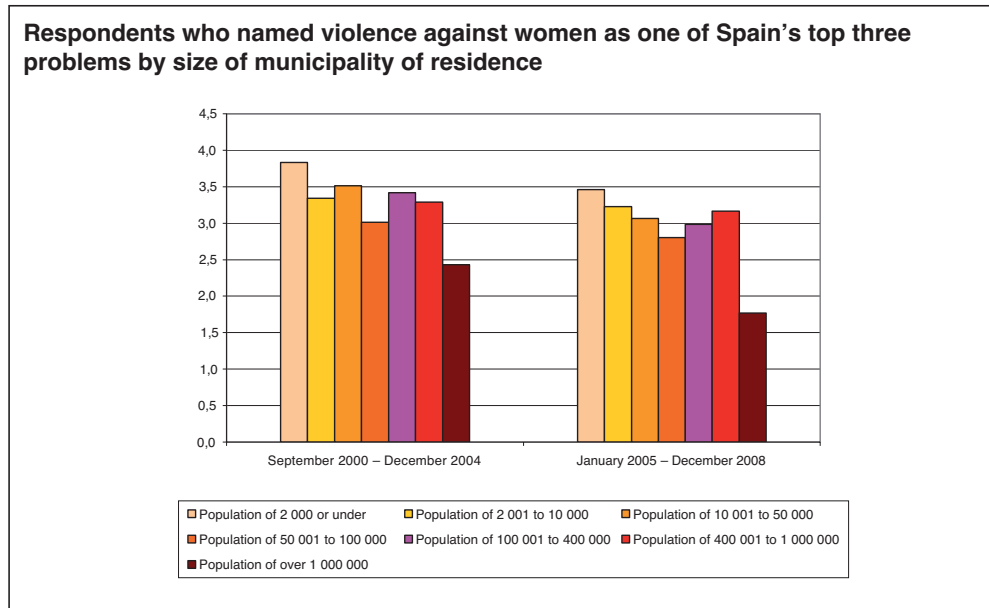
10.10.1. Violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems

Both among respondents as a whole and those who named violence against women as one of Spain's primary problems, the largest groups hailed from towns with populations of 10 001 to 50 000 and cities of 100 001 to 400 000 inhabitants.

	September 2000 – December 2004			January 2005 – December 2008		
	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	3 856	116 984	3,3	3 204	109 077	2,9
Population of 2 000 or under	357	9 315	3,8	264	7 632	3,5
Population of 2 001 to 10 000	633	18 940	3,3	570	17 662	3,2
Population of 10 001 to 50 000	980	27 911	3,5	838	27 351	3,1
Population of 50 001 to 100 000	339	11 244	3,0	342	12 195	2,8
Population of 100 001 to 400 000	956	27 985	3,4	747	25 037	3,0
Population of 400 001 to 1 000 000	253	7 696	3,3	234	7 389	3,2
Population of over 1 000 000	338	13 893	2,4	209	11 811	1,8

When the number of respondents who named violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems is compared to all respondents broken down by the size of their place of residence, however, the highest percentage corresponds to those living in villages with populations of less than 2 000, followed by residents of towns with 50 000 or fewer inhabitants.

Conversely, the lowest proportion of respondents who found violence against women to be one of Spain's three most important problems was always made up of the group of respondents who lived in cities with populations of over 1 000 000.



Furthermore, after the Act was approved, the number of respondents expressing concern about violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems and living in cities with over 1 000 000 inhabitants declined substantially.

10.10.2. Violence against women as one of the top three personal problems for respondents

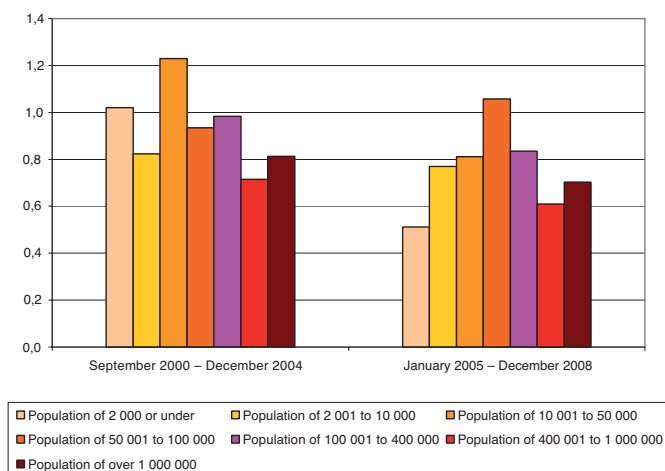
The trend observed here is very similar to the pattern described in the preceding item.

	September 2000 – December 2004			Enero 2005 - Diciembre 2008		
	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of their top personal problems	Total no. of respondents	%	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of their top personal problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	1 142	116 984	1,0	863	109 077	0,8
Population of 2 000 or under	95	9 315	1,0	39	7 632	0,5
Population of 2 001 to 10 000	156	18 940	0,8	136	17 662	0,8
Population of 10 001 to 50 000	343	27 911	1,2	222	27 351	0,8
Population of 50 001 to 100 000	105	11 244	0,9	129	12 195	1,1
Population of 100 001 to 400 000	275	27 985	1,0	209	25 037	0,8
Population of 400 001 to 1 000 000	55	7 696	0,7	45	7 389	0,6
Population of over 1 000 000	113	13 893	0,8	83	11 811	0,7

After the Act on Comprehensive Measures entered into force, the percentage of respondents who named violence against women as one of their top three personal problems and living in villages with populations of under 2 000, compared to all respondents living in such villages, decreased by half.

Contrary to the general downward trend, the percentage of people who mentioned violence against women as one of their top three personal problems and lived in cities with populations of 50 001 to 100 000, of the total respondents residing in cities of that size, increased after the Act was approved.

Respondents who named violence against women as one of their top three personal problems by size of municipality of residence



10.11. SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS ONE OF SPAIN'S TOP THREE PROBLEMS AND ONE OF THE TOP THREE PROBLEMS FOR RESPONDENTS BY AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY

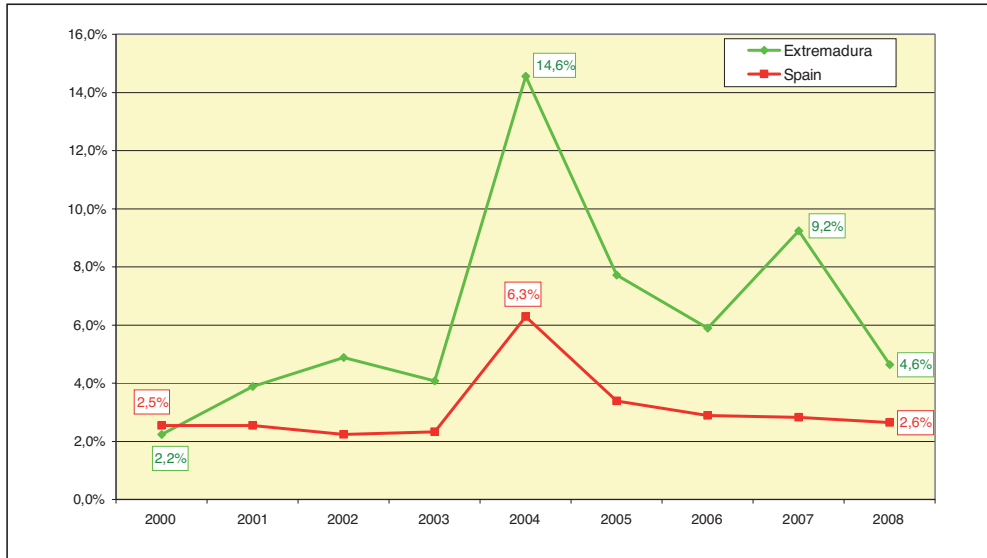
Since the questionnaires compiled by CIS include the respondent's specific place of residence (province and autonomous community), the data can be analyzed to ascertain whether respondents who named violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems or their own personal problems tend to live in certain areas of the country.

10.11.1. Violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems

Overall, the autonomous communities with the highest percentages of respondents who stated that violence against women was one of Spain's top three problems were Extremadura (6,7 %), the Balearic Islands (4,2 %), the Canary Islands (4,2 %) and Andalusia (4,0 %), compared to an overall average percentage of 3,1 % of respondents who shared this same opinion.

	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of Spain's top problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	7 060	226 061	3,1
Andalusia	1 598	39 461	4,0
Aragon	217	6 940	3,1
Asturias	98	6 336	1,5
Balearic Islands	177	4 217	4,2
Canary Islands	368	8 849	4,2
Cantabria	82	3 055	2,7
Castile - La Mancha	310	9 807	3,2
Castile - León	447	14 325	3,1
Catalonia	710	35 896	2,0
Community of Valencia	789	23 196	3,4
Extremadura	394	5 891	6,7
Galicia	525	15 680	3,3
Madrid	721	29 500	2,4
Murcia	196	6 254	3,1
Navarre	65	3 046	2,1
Basque Country	332	12 036	2,8
La Rioja	31	1 572	2,0

Both in absolute terms and from a year-by-year standpoint, Extremadura was the region with the highest percentages of respondents who named violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems, compared to all respondents. In some years, Extremadura's percentage was even several points higher than those of other Communities.



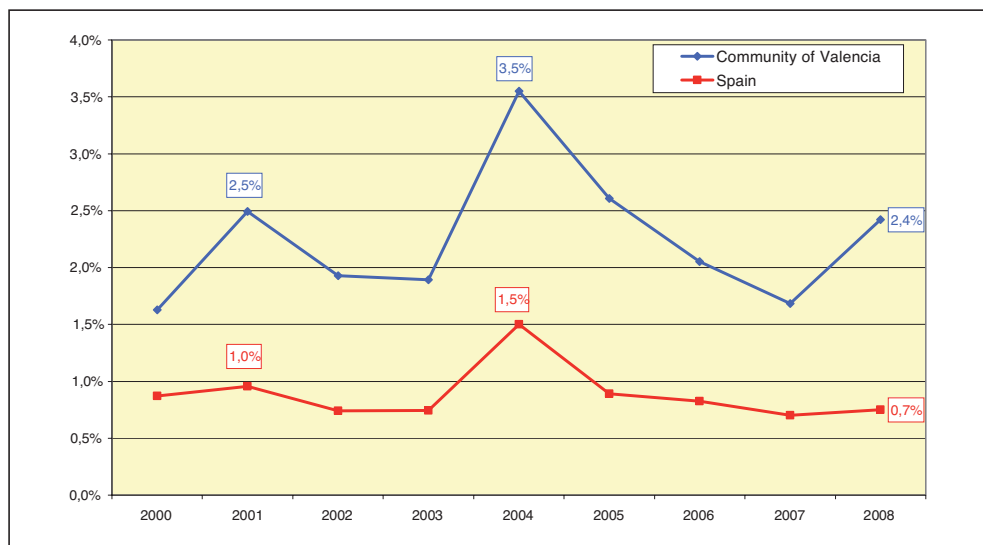
10.11.2. Violence against women as one of the top three personal problems for respondents

The autonomous communities with the highest percentages of respondents who said violence against women was one of their top three personal problems were the Community of Valencia (2,3 %), Extremadura (1,7 %), Murcia (1,6 %) and Aragon (1,4 %). This distribution varies substantially from the pattern observed in the preceding item.

Both in absolute terms and in the year-by-year variations, the percentages of respondents who said they were affected by violence against women, compared to the total number of respondents, were more uniform from one autonomous community to the next than in the case above.

	No. of respondents naming violence against women as one of their top personal problems	Total no. of respondents	%
TOTAL	2 005	226 061	0,9
Andalusia	288	39 461	0,7
Aragon	94	6 940	1,4
Asturias	14	6 336	0,2
Balearic Islands	37	4 217	0,9
Canary Islands	75	8 849	0,8
Cantabria	12	3 055	0,4
Castile - La Mancha	78	9 807	0,8
Castile - León	72	14 325	0,5
Catalonia	171	3 096	0,5
Community of Valencia	531	23 196	2,3
Extremadura	102	5 891	1,7
Galicia	110	15 630	0,7
Madrid	254	29 500	0,9
Murcia	97	6 254	1,6
Navarre	14	3 046	0,5
Basque Country	51	12 036	0,4
La Rioja	5	1 572	0,3

However, the Community of Valencia stands out as the one with the highest percentage overall, and this trend remained constant throughout the period analyzed, with figures that were significantly above the average.

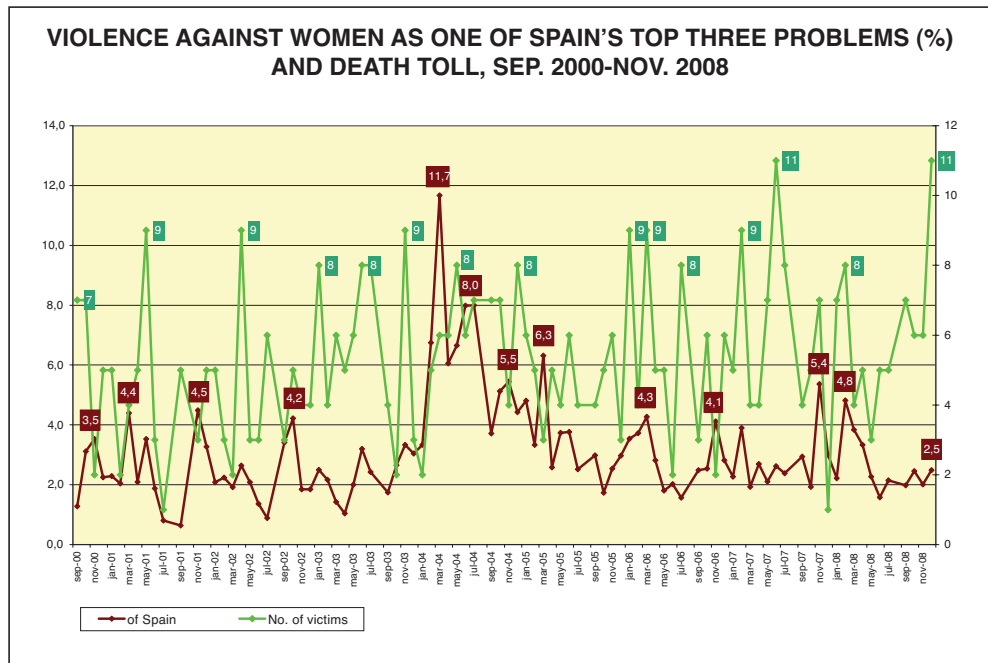


No relationship was seen between the high percentage of respondents residing in Extremadura who mentioned violence against women as one of Spain's top three problems and the number of women killed in this region as

a result of gender-based violence (a mere 1 % of the overall total). However, the Community of Valencia had both a high level of concern about this problem in the barometer surveys and a high death toll (around 13 % of the national total)²².

10.12. SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS ONE OF SPAIN'S TOP THREE PROBLEMS AND ONE OF THE TOP THREE PROBLEMS FOR RESPONDENTS IN RELATION TO THE DEATH TOLL FROM GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Offences that have a significant impact on public opinion, whether because of their coverage in the media or because of their number and/or severity, may also influence the surveys. This may be the case of the most



²² To arrive at this calculation, all of the deaths recorded from January 2000 to December 2008 were taken into consideration.

recent significant peaks recorded, in February and December 2008. Specifically, four gender-based murders were committed within 24 hours in the former of the two months.

However, as the graph below shows, an increase in the death toll did not always result in a higher level of concern in the opinion surveys. This may be due to a “shift” of society’s anxiety toward other problems with greater social impact (current economic crisis, terrorism, housing or immigration), or problems for which public opinion demands a greater effort on the part of institutions.

ANNEX TO CHAPTER 1

**STATISTICS
ON GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

**SUMMARY BY
AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY**



	TOTAL	
	%	Number
POPULATION - 1 January 2008		
Total population	100,0	46 157 822
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057
REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008		
Total reports		268.418
COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008		
Cases brought		311.601
Sentences	100,0	120 078
Acquittals	30,4	36 549
Convictions	69,6	83 529
Women with court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477
Other measures	3,2	3 664
Prison terms	59,3	67 359
016 HOTLINE SERVICE. GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE CALLS HANDLED 3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008		
Total calls	100,0	90 666
From user	80,4	72 670
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647
Others	2,6	2 349
MOBILE SUPPORT USERS - 31 December 2008		
New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319
Cancellations	39,6	8 045
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274
EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID		
Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 to December 2008		1 958
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 to December 2008		268
Female victims of violence benefiting from Active Job Placement Income		
2006		11 235
2007		13 691
2008		17 400
Women benefiting from relocation payments, January 2005 to December 2008		4 105
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008		
Total applications	100,0	954
Granted	41,0	391
Denied	59,0	563
TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN		
March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422
DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE		
1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75


ANDALUSIA

TOTAL		Andalusia		% of TOTAL in Andalusia
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	8 202 220	17,8
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	42,5	3 487 075	17,4

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports		268 418		57 368	21,4
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought		311 601		53 327	17,1
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	23 442	19,5
Acquittals	30,4	36 549	26,6	6 242	17,1
Convictions	69,6	83 529	73,4	17 200	20,6
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	23 117	20,4
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	36,7	8 474	20,0
Other measures	3,2	3 664	2,8	638	17,4
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	60,6	14 005	20,8

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED
3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	14 772	16,3
From users	80,4	72 670	79,7	11 766	16,2
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	17,8	2 631	16,9
Others	2,6	2 349	2,5	375	16,2

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	3 758	18,5
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	41,8	1 572	19,5
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	58,2	2 186	17,8

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 to December 2008		1.958		661	33,8
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 to December 2008		268		26	9,7
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006		11 235		4 251	37,8
2007		13 691		5 022	36,7
2008		17 400		6 134	35,3
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008		4.105		1 209	29,5
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954	100,0	109	11,4
Granted	41,0	391	57,8	63	16,1
Denied	59,0	563	42,2	46	8,2

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	130	15,3
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	45,4	59	14,0

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	78	18,8
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	11,5	9	12,0



ARAGÓN

TOTAL		Aragón		% of TOTAL in Aragón
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	1 326 918	2,9
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	43,6	578 349	2,9

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports		268 418		6 189	2,3
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought		311 601		7428	2,4
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	2 666	2,2
Acquittals	30,4	36 549	32,7	871	2,4
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	67,3	1 795	2,1
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	2 396	2,1
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	33,3	797	1,9
Other measures	3,2	3 664	1,5	36	1,0
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	65,2	1 563	2,3

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED

3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	1 740	1,9
From users	80,4	72 670	78,6	1 368	1,9
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	17,9	312	2,0
Others	2,6	2 349	3,4	60	2,6

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	125	0,6
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	41,6	52	0,6
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	53,4	73	0,6

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008		1.958		46	2,4
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008		268		4	1,5
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006		11 235		184	1,6
2007		13 691		232	1,7
2008		17 400		267	1,5
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008		4.105		117	2,9
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954	100,0	35	3,7
Granted	41,0	391	34,3	12	34
Denied	59,0	563	65,7	23	4,1

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	25	2,9
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	44,0	11	2,6

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	12	2,9
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	8,3	1	1,3



ASTURIAS

TOTAL		Asturias		% of TOTAL in Asturias
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	1 080 138	2,3
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	47,1	509 193	2,5

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports	268 418			4 313	1,6
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought	311 601		5 803		1,9
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	2 544	2,1
Acquittals	304	36 549	28,1	716	2,0
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	71,9	1 828	2,2
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	2 023	1,8
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	21,8	442	1,0
Other measures	3,2	3 664	1,0	21	0,6
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	77,1	1 560	2,3

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED

3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	1 721	1,9
From users	80,4	72 670	80,7	1 389	1,9
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	16,7	288	1,8
Others	2,6	2 349	2,6	44	1,9

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	1 032	5,1
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	41,1	424	5,3
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	58,9	608	5,0

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008						
				1.958	27	1,4
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008						
				268	7	2,6
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income						
2006	11 235		270		2,4	
2007	13 691		312		2,3	
2008	17 400		373		2,1	
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008						
				4.105	85	2,1
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008						
Total applications	100,0	954	100,0	41	4,3	
Granted	41,0	391	41,5	17	4,3	
Denied	59,0	563	58,5	24	4,3	

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	11	1,3
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	63,6	7	1,7

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	9	2,2
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	11,1	1	1,3


BALEARIC ISLANDS

TOTAL		Balearic Islands		% of TOTAL in Balearic I.
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	1 072 844	2,3
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	42,4	454 943	2,3

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports		268 418		8 600	3,2
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought		311 601		9 765	3,1
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	3 395	3,2
Acquittals	304	36 549	12,9	503	1,4
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	87,1	3 392	4,1
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	4 301	3,8
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	29,0	1 246	2,9
Other measures	3,2	3 664	4,4	188	5,1
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	66,7	2 867	4,3

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED
3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	2 244	2,5
From users	804	72 670	81,4	1 827	2,5
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	15,8	355	2,3
Others	2,6	2 349	2,8	62	2,7

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	418	2,1
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	39,7	166	2,1
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	60,3	252	2,1

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008		1.958		12	0,6
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008		268		4	1,5
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006		11 235		142	1,3
2007		13 691		219	1,6
2008		17 400		304	1,7
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008		4.105		91	2,2
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954		0	0,0
Granted	41,0	391		0	0,0
Denied	59,0	563		0	0,0

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	12	14
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,3	422	41,7	5	1,2

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	15	3,6
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	6,7	1	1,3


BASQUE COUNTRY

TOTAL		Basque Country		% of TOTAL in Basque Country
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	2 157 112	4,7
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	44,9	968 191	4,8

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports	268 418			7 183	2,7
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought	311 601		11 883		3,8
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	3 553	3,0
Acquittals	304	36 549	11,1	393	1,1
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	88,9	3 160	3,8
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	3 249	2,9
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	29,8	968	2,3
Other measures	3,2	3 664	8,2	265	7,2
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	62,0	2 016	3,0

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED
3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	2 266	2,5
From users	804	72 670	77,2	1 750	2,4
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	20,0	454	2,9
Others	2,6	2 349	2,7	62	2,7

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	249	1,2
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	49,4	123	1,5
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	50,6	126	1,0

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008	1.958			34	1,7
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008	268			23	8,6
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006	11 235		173		1,5
2007	13 691		235		1,7
2008	17 400		289		1,7
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008	4.105			105	2,6
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954		0	0,0
Granted	41,0	391		0	0,0
Denied	59,0	563		0	0,0

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	39	4,6
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	51,3	20	4,7

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	15	3,6
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	20,0	3	4,0


CANARY ISLANDS

TOTAL		Canary Islands		% of TOTAL in Canary I.
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46.157.822	100,0	2.075.968	4,5
Women 15 and over	43,5	20.078.057	42,6	884.413	4,4

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports	268.418		17.981		6,7
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought	311.601		17.811		5,7
Sentences	100,0	120.078	100,0	6.517	5,4
Acquittals	30,4	36.549	23,2	1.509	4,1
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83.529	76,8	5.008	6,0
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113.500	100,0	6.924	6,1
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42477	38,6	2.676	6,3
Other measures	3,2	3.664	1,3	93	2,5
Prison terms	59,3	67.359	60,0	4.155	6,2

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED
3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90.666	100,0	5.100	5,6
From users	80,4	72.670	80,6	4.110	5,7
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15.647	17,4	886	5,7
Others	2,6	2.349	2,0	104	4,5

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20.319	100,0	1.732	8,5
Cancellations	39,6	8.045	49,8	863	10,7
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12.274	50,2	869	7,1

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008	1.958		62		3,2
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008	268		12		4,5
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006	11 235		770		6,9
2007	13 691		1.011		7,4
2008	17 400		1.349		7,8
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008	4.105		422		10,3
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954	100,0	35	3,7
Granted	41,0	391	68,6	24	6,1
Denied	59,0	563	31,4	11	2,0

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	36	4,2
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	69,4	25	5,9

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	29	7,0
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	17,2	5	6,7


CANTABRIA

TOTAL		Cantabria		% of TOTAL in Cantabria
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	582 138	1,3
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	45,0	261 677	1,3

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports		268 418		2 336	0,9
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought		311 601		3 546	1,1
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	1 732	1,4
Acquittals	304	36 549	41,1	711	1,9
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	58,9	1 021	1,2
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	1 135	1,0
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	21,4	243	0,6
Other measures	3,2	3 664	2,9	33	0,9
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	75,7	359	1,3

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED
3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	1 117	1,2
From users	804	72 670	81,9	915	1,3
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	15,5	173	1,1
Others	2,6	2 349	2,6	29	1,3

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	449	2,2
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	37,4	168	2,1
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	62,6	281	2,3

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008		1.958		11	0,6
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008		268		9	3,4
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006		11 235		107	1,0
2007		13 691		139	1,0
2008		17 400		190	1,1
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008		4.105		37	0,9
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954	100,0	43	4,5
Granted	41,0	391	44,2	19	4,9
Denied	59,0	563	55,8	24	4,3

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	15	1,8
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	40,0	6	1,4

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	5	1,2
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	0,0	0	0,0


CASTILE – LA MANCHA

TOTAL		Castile – La Mancha		% of TOTAL in Castile- La Mancha
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	2 043 100	4,4
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	42,1	860 333	4,3

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports	268 418			9 078	3,4
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought	311 601		11 108		3,6
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	4 650	3,9
Acquittals	304	36 549	29,9	1 390	3,8
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	70,1	3 260	3,9
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	4 747	4,2
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	40,2	1 907	4,5
Other measures	3,2	3 664	3,5	166	4,5
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	56,3	2 674	4,0

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED
3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	3 195	3,5
From users	804	72 670	80,6	2 575	3,6
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	16,0	511	3,3
Others	2,6	2 349	3,4	109	4,7

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	759	3,7
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	40,3	306	3,8
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	59,7	453	3,7

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008

1.958

Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008

268

53

2,7

Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income

2006

11 235

415

3,7

2007

13 691

539

3,9

2008

17 400

737

4,2

Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008

4.105

211

5,1

Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008

Total applications	100,0	954	100,0	39	44
Granted	41,0	391	64,1	25	6,4
Denied	59,0	563	35,9	14	2,5

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	30	3,5
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	43,3	13	3,1

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	20	4,8
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	15,0	3	4,0



CASTILE-LEON

TOTAL		Castile-Leon		% of TOTAL in Castile-Leon
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	2 557 330	5,5
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	44,7	1 143 579	5,7

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports	268 418			10 724	4,0
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought	311 601		12 242		3,9
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	4 279	3,6
Acquittals	304	36 549	29,7	1 269	3,5
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	70,3	3 010	3,6
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	4 501	4,0
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	43,5	1 959	4,6
Other measures	3,2	3 664	1,4	63	1,7
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	55,1	2 479	3,7

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED

3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	3 946	4,4
From users	804	72 670	78,8	3 110	4,3
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	18,4	728	4,7
Others	2,6	2 349	2,7	108	4,7

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	587	2,9
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	44,5	261	3,2
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	55,5	326	2,7

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008	1.958			416	21,3
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008	268			13	4,9
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006	11 235		518	4,6	
2007	13 691		634	4,6	
2008	17 400		810	4,7	
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008	4.105			350	8,5
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954	100,0	49	5,1
Granted	41,0	391	49,0	24	6,1
Denied	59,0	563	51,0	25	4,4

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	30	3,5
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	46,7	14	3,3

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	22	5,3
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	27,3	6	8,0


CATALONIA

TOTAL		Catalonia		% of TOTAL in Catalonia
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	7 364 078	16,0
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	43,1	3 177 597	15,8

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports		268 418		38 789	14,5
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought		311 601		56 054	18,0
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	19 958	16,6
Acquittals	304	36 549	40,9	8 171	22,4
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	59,1	11 787	14,1
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	16 813	14,8
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	41,9	7 050	16,6
Other measures	3,2	3 664	3,9	662	18,1
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	54,1	9 101	13,5

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED
3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	12 105	13,4
From users	804	72 670	81,4	9 859	13,6
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	16,3	1 972	12,6
Others	2,6	2 349	2,3	274	11,8

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	2 484	12,2
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	27,0	671	8,3
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	73,0	1 813	14,8

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008		1.958		138	7,1
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008		268		49	18,3
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006		11 235		839	7,5
2007		13 691		996	7,3
2008		17 400		1 375	7,9
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008		4.105		256	6,2
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954		0	0,0
Granted	41,0	391		0	0,0
Denied	59,0	563		0	0,0

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	130	15,3
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	49,2	64	15,2

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	62	15,0
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	16,1	10	13,3



COMMUNITY OF VALENCIA

TOTAL		Comm. of Valencia		% of TOTAL in Comm. of Valencia
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	5.029.601	10,9
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	43,0	2.164.736	10,8

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports	268 418			34.617	12,9
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought	311 601		42.713		13,7
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	16.655	13,9
Acquittals	304	36 549	25,1	4.175	11,4
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	74,9	12.480	14,9
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	15.730	13,9
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	31,2	4.929	11,6
Other measures	3,2	3 664	2,7	419	11,4
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	66,1	10.432	15,5

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED

3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	9.244	10,2
From users	804	72 670	80,1	7.407	10,2
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	16,7	1.546	9,9
Others	2,6	2 349	3,1	291	12,5

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	4.303	21,2
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	47,6	2.050	25,5
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	52,4	2.253	18,4

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008	1.958			213	10,9
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008	268			31	11,6
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income	11 235		1.458		13,0
2006	13 691		1.782		13,0
2007	17 400		2.325		13,4
2008	4.105		305		7,4
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008	4.105			305	7,4
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008	Total applications				
Total applications	100,0	954	100,0	187	19,6
Granted	41,0	391	43,9	82	21,0
Denied	59,0	563	56,1	105	18,7

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	128	15,1
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	57,8	74	17,5

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	50	12,1
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	20,0	10	13,3


EXTREMADURA

TOTAL		Extremadura		% of TOTAL in Extremadura
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	1 097 744	2,4
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	43,2	473 316	2,4

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports	268 418		3 168		1,2
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought	311 601		4 935		1,6
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	1 912	1,6
Acquittals	30,4	36 549	14,9	285	0,8
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	85,1	1 627	1,9
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	2 147	1,9
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	33,9	728	1,7
Other measures	3,2	3 664	0,8	17	0,5
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	65,3	1 402	2,1

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED
3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	1 883	2,1
From users	80,4	72 670	80,3	1 512	2,1
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	17,0	320	2,1
Others	2,6	2 349	2,7	51	2,2

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	366	1,8
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	44,3	162	2,0
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	55,7	204	1,7

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008	1.958		16		0,8
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008	268		3		1,1
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006	11 235		376		3,3
2007	13 691		491		3,6
2008	17 400		601		3,5
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008	4.105		91		2,2
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954	100,0	8	0,8
Granted	41,0	391	0,0	0	0,0
Denied	59,0	563	100,0	8	1,4

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	21	2,5
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	52,4	11	2,6

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	4	1,0
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	0,0	0	0,0


GALICIA

TOTAL		Galicia		% of TOTAL in Galicia
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	2 784 169	6,0
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	46,3	1 287 711	6,4

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports	268 418			11 140	4,2
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought	311 601		12 037		3,9
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	4 399	3,7
Acquittals	304	36 549	22,6	994	2,7
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	77,4	3 405	4,1
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	4 457	3,9
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	37,0	1 651	3,9
Other measures	3,2	3 664	2,9	131	3,6
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	60,0	2 675	4,0

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED
3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	3 974	4,4
From users	804	72 670	81,3	3 231	4,5
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	16,3	648	4,2
Others	2,6	2 349	2,4	95	4,4

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	691	3,4
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	38,6	267	3,3
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	61,4	424	3,5

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008	1.958			89	4,6
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008	268			13	4,9
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income	11 235		520		4,6
2006	13 691		579		4,2
2007	17 400		656		3,8
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008	4.105			252	6,1
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008	Total applications				
Granted	100,0	954	100,0	210	22,0
Denied	41,0	391	38,1	80	20,5
	59,0	563	61,9	130	23,1

AUTORIZACIONES DE RESIDENCIA TEMPORAL A MUJERES EXTRANJERAS

Marzo de 2005 a diciembre de 2008	100,0	848	100,0	19	2,2
1 de enero de 2008 a 31 de diciembre de 2008	49,8	422	63,2	12	2,8

VÍCTIMAS MORTALES DE VIOLENCIA DE GÉNERO

1 de enero de 2003 a 31 de diciembre de 2008	100,0	414	100,0	20	4,8
1 de enero de 2008 a 31 de diciembre de 2008	18,1	75	35,0	7	9,3


LA RIOJA

TOTAL		La Rioja		% of TOTAL in La Rioja
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46.157.822	100,0	317.501	0,7
Women 15 and over	43,5	20.078.057	42,7	135.616	0,7

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports	268.418		1.549		0,6
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought	311.601		1.894		0,6
Sentences	100,0	120.078	100,0	820	0,7
Acquittals	304	36.549	26,5	217	0,6
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83.529	73,5	603	0,7
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113.500	100,0	727	0,6
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42.477	21,7	158	0,4
Other measures	3,2	3.664	0,8	6	0,2
Prison terms	59,3	67.359	77,4	563	0,8

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED
3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90.666	100,0	457	0,5
From users	804	72.670	78,3	358	0,5
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15.647	19,5	89	0,6
Others	2,6	2.349	2,2	10	0,4

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20.319	100,0	2	0,0
Cancellations	39,6	8.045	0,0	0	0,0
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12.274	100,0	2	0,0

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008	1.958		7		0,4
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008	268		3		1,1
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006	11 235		40		0,4
2007	13 691		53		0,4
2008	17 400		64		0,4
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008	4.105		39		0,9
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954	100,0	35	3,7
Granted	41,0	391	94,3	33	8,4
Denied	59,0	563	5,7	2	0,4

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	4	0,5
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	50,0	2	0,5

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	5	1,2
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	40,0	2	2,7


MADRID

TOTAL		Madrid		% of TOTAL in Madrid
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	6 271 638	13,6
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	44,4	2 783 097	13,9

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports		268 418		41 455	15,4
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought		311 601		46 182	14,8
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	15 683	13,1
Acquittals	304	36 549	46,0	7 209	19,7
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	54,0	8 474	10,1
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	14 545	12,8
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	52,1	7 579	17,8
Other measures	3,2	3 664	5,2	763	20,8
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	42,6	6 203	9,2

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED
3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	22 521	24,9
From users	804	72 670	79,9	17 988	24,8
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	17,7	3 995	25,6
Others	2,6	2 349	2,4	538	23,2

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	3 057	15,0
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	27,4	339	10,4
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	72,6	2 218	18,1

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008		1.958		135	6,9
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008		268		36	13,4
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006		11 235		735	6,5
2007		13 691		919	6,7
2008		17 400		1 214	7,0
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008		4.105		367	8,9
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954	100,0	163	17,1
Granted	41,0	391	7,4	12	3,1
Denied	59,0	563	92,6	151	26,8

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	106	12,5
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	44,3	47	11,1

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	40	9,7
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	27,5	11	14,7


MURCIA

TOTAL		Murcia		% of TOTAL in Murcia
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008					
Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	1426 109	3,1
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	41,0	584 595	2,9

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008					
Total reports		268 418		11 061	4,1

COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008					
Cases brought		311 601		10 404	3,3
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	5 599	4,7
Acquittals	304	36 549	21,6	1 208	3,3
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	78,4	4 391	5,3
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	5 142	4,5
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	21,9	1 125	2,6
Other measures	3,2	3 664	2,6	136	3,7
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	75,5	3 881	5,8

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED 3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008					
Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	2 811	3,1
From users	804	72 670	80,9	2 273	3,1
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	16,4	461	3,0
Others	2,6	2 349	2,7	77	3,3

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008					
New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	216	14
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	37,5	81	1,0
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	62,5	135	1,1

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID					
Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008					
		1.958		22	1,1
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008					
		268		6	2,2
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006		11 235		276	2,5
2007		13 691		335	2,4
2008		17 400		506	2,9
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008					
		4.105		51	1,2
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954		0	0,0
Granted	41,0	391		0	0,0
Denied	59,0	563		0	0,0

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN					
March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	69	8,1
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	62,3	43	10,2

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE					
1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	18	4,3
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	22,2	4	5,3



NAVARRRE

TOTAL		Navarre		% of TOTAL in Navarre
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	620 377	1,3
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	42,8	265 488	1,3

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports		268 418		2 867	1,1
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought		311 601		2 745	0,9
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	978	0,8
Acquittals	304	36 549	25,2	246	0,7
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	74,8	732	0,9
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	1 107	1,0
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	42,5	471	1,1
Other measures	3,2	3 664	1,9	21	0,6
Prison terms	59,3	67 359		2 745	0,9

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED

3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	883	1,0
From users	804	72 670	79,8	705	1,0
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	18,2	161	1,0
Others	2,6	2 349	1,9	17	0,7

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	13	0,1
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	46,2	6	0,1
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	53,8	7	0,1

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008		1.958		14	0,7
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008		268		28	10,4
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006		11 235		67	0,6
2007		13 691		84	0,6
2008		17 400		112	0,6
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008		4.105		96	2,3
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954		0	0,0
Granted	41,0	391		0	0,0
Denied	59,0	563		0	0,0

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	1	0,1
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	0,0	0	0,0

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	7	1,7
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	28,6	2	2,7



CEUTA

TOTAL		Ceuta		% of TOTAL in Ceuta
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46 157 822	100,0	77.389	0,2
Women 15 and over	43,5	20 078 057	39,0	30.151	0,2

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports		268 418		-	0,0
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought		311 601		468	0,2
Sentences	100,0	120 078	100,0	343	0,3
Acquittals	304	36 549	51,6	177	0,5
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83 529	48,4	166	0,2
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113 500	100,0	187	0,2
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42 477	21,4	40	0,1
Other measures	3,2	3 664	1,1	2	0,1
Prison terms	59,3	67 359	77,5	145	0,2

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED

3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90 666	100,0	162	0,2
From users	804	72 670	75,9	123	0,2
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15 647	22,8	37	0,2
Others	2,6	2 349	1,2	2	0,1

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20 319	100,0	11	0,1
Cancellations	39,6	8 045	45,5	5	0,1
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12 274	54,5	6	0,0

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008		1.958		0	0,0
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008		268		0	0,0
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006		11 235		52	0,5
2007		13 691		60	0,4
2008		17 400		41	0,2
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008		4.105		2	0,0
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954		0	0,0
Granted	41,0	391		0	0,0
Denied	59,0	563		0	0,0

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR FOREIGN WOMEN

March 2005 to December 2008	100,0	848	100,0	15	1,8
January 2008 to 31 December 2008	49,8	422	13,3	2	0,5

DEATHS CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 January 2003 to 31 December 2008	100,0	414	100,0	1	0,2
1 January 2008 to 31 December 2008	18,1	75	0,0	0	0,0


MELILLA

TOTAL		Melilla		% of TOTAL in Melilla
%	Number	%	Number	

POPULATION -1 January 2008

Total	100,0	46.157.822	100,0	71.448	0,2
Women 15 and over	43,5	20.078.057	38,5	27.492	0,1

REPORTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE – January 2007 to December 2008

Total reports	268.418			-	0,0
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COURT CASES - 29 June 2005 to 31 December 2008

Cases brought	311.601		1.204		0,4
Sentences	100,0	120.078	100,0	453	0,4
Acquittals	304	36.549	58,1	263	0,7
Verdicts of guilty	69,6	83.529	41,9	190	0,2
Women w/ court-ordered protection in effect on 31-12-2008	100,0	113.500	100,0	201	0,2
Preliminary injunctions	37,4	42.477	16,4	33	0,1
Other measures	3,2	3.664	2,0	4	0,1
Prison terms	59,3	67.359	81,6	164	0,2

016 HOTLINE SERVICE. NUMBER OF CALLS HANDLED
3 September 2007 to 31 December 2008

Total calls	100,0	90.666	100,0	225	0,2
From users	804	72.670	77,3	174	0,2
From others concerned/family members	17,3	15.647	17,3	39	0,2
Others	2,6	2.349	5,3	12	0,5

MOBILE SUPPORT USERS- 31 December 2008

New connections since 2005	100,0	20.319	100,0	67	0,3
Cancellations	39,6	8.045	43,3	29	0,4
Users on 31 December 2008	60,4	12.274	56,7	33	0,3

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS AND FINANCIAL AID

Subsidized employment contracts for gender-based violence victims. 2003 – December 2008	1.958			0	0,0
Employment contracts to replace gender-based violence victims. 2005 – December 2008	268			0	0,0
Female violence victims benefiting from Active Placement Income					
2006	11 235		42		0,4
2007	13 691		49		0,4
2008	17 400		53		0,3
Women benefiting from relocation payments. January 2005 to December 2008	4.105			21	0,5
Applications for financial aid. Art. 27 of the Act on Comprehensive Measures. 2006 to 31 December 2008					
Total applications	100,0	954			0,0
Granted	41,0	391			0,0
Denied	59,0	563			0,0

AUTORIZACIONES DE RESIDENCIA TEMPORAL A MUJERES EXTRANJERAS

Marzo de 2005 a diciembre de 2008	100,0	848	100,0	27	3,2
1 de enero de 2008 a 31 de diciembre de 2008	49,8	422	25,9	7	1,7

VÍCTIMAS MORTALES DE VIOLENCIA DE GÉNERO

1 de enero de 2003 a 31 de diciembre de 2008	100,0	414	100,0	2	0,5
1 de enero de 2008 a 31 de diciembre de 2008	18,1	75	0,0	0	0,0

CHAPTE 2

THE PROCESSES AND REALITIES FACING WOMEN DISABLED AS A RESULT OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

1 INTRODUCTION

The present survey constituted a fairly complex undertaking for a number of reasons discussed in this introduction, some of which are obvious whereas others are cloaked in invisibility and will have to be explained at greater length. Dealing with a subject such as **THE PROCESSES AND REALITIES FACING WOMEN DISABLED AS A RESULT OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE** indisputably entails working on the *social borderline*, where society is both present and absent. Despite their mainstream social origins, i.e., despite their expectations with respect to their affective relationships, whether in courtship, engagement, marriage or partnering, the women interviewed have ended up in the tangential dimension reserved to victims.

Their experience has carried them to the lawless territory of affliction devoid of liability, where they have had to come to terms with the collapse of their lives due to an acquired disability, knowing their condition to be the result of one man's utter disregard for them as subjects entitled to equality, human respect, legitimacy, integrity and independence. In other words, their relocation on the *social borderline* is the result of being shoved toward the boundary between civilization and its absence, into a territory where one person's superiority over another is defined by the use of sheer force.

For all the foregoing, addressing this issue has been no easy task. That was something we accepted from the time we undertook the responsibility of grasping it in all its bitterness and anxiety, in pursuit of the keys to the complex conflicts and ongoing frustration with which these women must cope in their present and future reality. We expected their narratives to be corrosive, fierce and violent, as indeed they were. We knew that these women would not be alone in their suffering, that their loved ones would, like them, be victims of the irrationality of living with or surviving violence. But we were also aware that such violence merely replaces its more civilized edition: the failure to accept the limits inherent in any human relationship, to accept disaffection and to realize that the end of a relationship can, and in fact should, mean the advent of new opportunities for those concerned.

Quite obviously, the type of relationships between men and women reflected in this survey on **DISABILITY CAUSED BY GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE** generates an adverse image of the masculine gender. Also

obviously (and this is another logical assumption to bear in mind), the present report must address the following essential question: what is wrong with these men (and not by any means their entire sex) who treat women who have loved them, or what is more, still love them, with such extreme violence? Although we dare not put forward a conclusive reply to that question, it must be addressed if the objective is to understand why and how these things happen. Moreover, we are aware that we are not going to find simple and readily accessible answers. The subject must be studied in increasingly greater depth through ongoing research, in coordination with the assistance that must be afforded gender-based violence victims by local and regional authorities, but also and especially, by the central government.

From the standpoint of research this survey involved a number of difficulties and called for a huge methodological effort above and beyond what is generally necessary in social research. In fact, none of the courses usually charted in the broad range of social surveys was of any use in defining a viable and effective approach to the reality that we aimed to analyze. Quantitative **premises that would have required a statistical poll** were, of course, **ruled out** as a mechanism for reaching women with violence-induced disabilities. But at the same time, other more structural or qualitative methods such as focus groups were likewise deemed inappropriate, inasmuch as any opinion-oriented or representational technique would shed no light on the experiential aspect of the conditions endured. The choice of the device known as *life histories* was, and proved to be, the most suitable approach with these women. Nonetheless, we had no way of accessing them directly: since their acquired disability was a result of criminal actions, many of these women were enrolled in social programmes and all were protected by court orders. Hence, reaching them through the authorities themselves, the route that we would have chosen under other circumstances, was unviable, as indeed it needed to be.

These interviewees had to be broached by other more complex means, for the healthcare, social services and judicial systems were all inappropriate. That entailed a series of inevitable failures. Due to the emotional state and psychological fragility of women who, such as these, have endured traumatic experiences, they could not be asked to narrate what happened and much less to reflect on or draw up a balance of their own lives and the lives of those nearest to them.

The task, then, was eminently intensive, poorly suited to quantitative analysis and subject to the not-readily-surmountable casuistic dimension of

each painful experience. Nonetheless, it was enlightening to find within that same dimension a whole series of aspects and factors common to distressful experience, as well as to its consequences, in this case the irreparable disabilities that these women will have to endure for the rest of their lives. Such distressful experiences often concur with feminine identities built on a RELATIONAL SELF which, sown and grown in the soil of our culture and instilled in special detail and more eloquently in women than in men, ultimately acts against female interests. Such distressful experiences also reveal the frightening deviation at work in the personalities of certain men with a powerfully INDIVIDUAL SELF and an uncontrolled capacity for destruction that entraps the people who constitute their referential bonds. This must not be construed to mean, however, that they don't act at will and in full awareness of their deeds. To put it another way, a woman who acquires a disability due to her partner's or ex-partner's violence makes this drama and its sequels, namely concomitant conflict, extensive to her sons and daughters, other family and friends and ultimately anyone with whom she relates, albeit in other ways.

The code of ethics of social research, regardless of the methodological protocol chosen, requires the researcher to ensure that his or her interviewees cannot be identified, regardless of the subject area concerned. In the present survey, in keeping with the nature of the subject and because these are unfinished histories, i.e., women and their families who in many cases know they are at risk and in *all* cases feel they are at risk, the respect for anonymity called for special security measures. For that reason, names, places, habitats or explicit bonds are not identified under any circumstances. No reference is made to the autonomous communities where the intensive interviews were conducted, and only very general features are described to be able to draw a very sketchy profile of the women involved. Social researchers conventionally acknowledge the contributions of their interviewees, without whose generous assistance such surveys could not be conducted. This case is somewhat different: we would have preferred that no such victims of the savagery perpetrated by those who professed and perhaps even felt love for them, would have ever existed. Consequently, it is thanks to them, but also for them, that we have written the pages that follow.

2 SURVEY OBJECTIVES

Despite the stamina and force with which these women recounted their experiences, and the importance of their testimony in itself, the particulars of their lives were not the object of this survey.

The peculiarity of social research, unlike studies in other disciplines, is that what it explores are issues. Therefore, what guides the very direction of the methodology, of whatever nature, is the pursuit of objectives which, being openly expressed, are unaware of the real aspects in which they are contained. In other words, in this type of approach to reality, no null hypothesis is sufficient in itself. The objectives, therefore, are little more than guides to the type of knowledge that is pursued simply because it is lacking and under no circumstances to prove or disprove any *a priori* claim or contention.

Another inexcusable characteristic of applied sociological research, i.e., the research constituting sociological praxis, is that it identifies interviews with subjects as the manner in which to broach the diversity of the aspects underlying the objectives proposed. Hence the concepts SUBJECT and INTERVIEWEE are neither banal nor readily replaceable. Indeed, unlike individual, the notion of SUBJECT encompasses a precise epistemic identity: it refers to someone **subject** to specific forms of reality which characterize her diversity, complementarity, conflicts and potential, and her very biography. INTERVIEWEE, in turn, means that a specific subject is not, by any means, the ultimate purpose of the research but rather a person who, in a precise form of conversation, can position us within types of experience associated with the object at hand. That is what makes them interviewees, because they intermediate between the subject researched and the pursuit of exact ways to reflect the experience relating thereto. With these initial assumptions, this project may be readily deduced to have been informed by a number of objectives. And indeed, we wanted to know:

- What specific processes in the relationship triggered the acquired disability.
- What type of relationship existed between the woman disabled due to violence, and the perpetrator.

- What type and what forms of family (whether in the conventional or alternative sense) breakdown have been occasioned by the events that led to the disability.
- What is the status of the relationships between these women and their ingroups, whether that be their original or new family units.
- What type of processes (social inclusion and exclusion) have appeared in their lives as a result of the advent and assimilation of acquired disability.
- What is these women's perception and, more than that, what is their image of themselves and their ingroups after the experience.
- What is their impression of the institutions to which they have resorted since acquiring their disability due to violence perpetrated against them by others.
- What are their present needs and demands in respect of their own identity and in relation to their sons and daughters and other dependents.

The objectives pursued obviously call for close and intense interviews with these women and their experiences, but the purpose in no case was to describe what had happened to them. On the contrary, what we attempted to discover was the **characteristics common to all these dreadful life experiences**, and not the details of each case or each woe and **on that basis, define action that in the best of cases would prevent such situations**. But we also sought the best way to **stand by the women** who have been through such distress as well as their ingroups, also internally impacted by the adverse consequences of the violence perpetrated.

To conclude this brief section on objectives, we should add what the reader already knows but which should be made explicit: the pages that follow contain no statistical information because the survey **constitutes intensive, not extensive, qualitative research** that draws not from criteria of statistical representation, but of social significance. Moreover, the number of cases is not regarded to constitute a statistical sample. It is, rather, a repertoire of experiences which, whilst not encompassing all existing cases, the number of which is unknown and inaccessible, exhibits a variety of characteristics that show to what extent violence against women and the possibility that this may

cause them some manner of acquired disability, when not death, reaches across the entire social spectrum: from the highest to the lowest income levels, from the top to the bottom rungs of the educational ladder, from the most traditional to the most progressive political ideologies, from families with a consolidated Spanish identity to new segments of immigrants integrated into Spain's twenty-first century social structure. For those reasons, the lack of statistical representativeness does not by any means mean that these cases are isolated incidents that can be positioned in some remote corner of society. Rather, they are potentially present in each and every social bracket.

3 TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

This section, which sociologists so coldly and precisely title **technical specifications**, aims to sketch out a profile of the interviewees, regardless of both the type of research involved and of the characteristics of the methodology used to conduct the survey. In other words, in quantitative research, the interviewee profile should be described in terms of the statistical sample and the fieldwork performed. In qualitative surveys, the specifications include the characteristics of the interviewees, the demographic design of focus groups, or the sociological profile of the people participating, in one way or another, in the study. The specifications always describe the **social profiles** of the interviewees and never specific persons identifiable or recognizable by communities, individuals, the media, institutions or others.

The international code of ethics for sociological research endorsed by ESOMAR²³ establishes such procedures as standard practice, responsibility for adherence to which is assumed by all social researchers. In the specific case of the present study, the ethics of maintaining the confidentiality of interviewees' identity through data protection mechanisms was especially important. As noted earlier, none of the histories forming the basis for the present report, i.e., none of the disabled women interviewed, perceives herself as free of possible further violence against them, their sons or daughters or other family members.

First of all, none of these women feels safe, even though the perpetrators are presently in prison, because they know that they may obtain temporary leaves whose use causes them concern. Of what they are absolutely sure is that they are the primary targets of these perpetrators' indiscriminate aggressiveness, at the same time acknowledging that many of these men have excellent qualities, are disciplined, hard-working and good partners. Their main personality flaw is their inability to control their dangerous tempers in love's ups and downs.

²³ E.g., ESOMAR, AEDEMO, ANEIMO, International Sociological Association [¿?] By-laws

Secondly, in addition to these women's fear and the degree to which it may be justified, the surrounding family and especially young children or teenagers, particularly where the victims now suffer permanent moderate or severe disability, never escape unscathed from the pain and stress inflicted by these dramatic events.

Thirdly, the perpetrators themselves have families that must assimilate, with sorrow and often with a sense of guilt, the fact that such a person was raised in their midst.

For all the foregoing, these women's identity must be protected and concealed even more zealously than interviewees in other types of research or on other subjects analyzed in sociological surveys. Consequently, not only have false names been used in all cases, but all details relating to the environment in which the events occurred have also been concealed. The names of their places of origin, the places they frequent, the names of each and every one of the subjects in a narrative and their towns or origin and residence, even their favourite bars, neighbourhoods, neighbours... have been deliberately changed. This has translated into a major effort to ensure that no person, place, situation or relationship in this survey is identifiable.

4 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE INTERVIEWEES IN THIS SURVEY, WOMEN WITH VIOLENCE-INDUCED DISABILITIES

A total of *nine women* between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-three were interviewed. The interviewees were, then, young or middle-aged adults in their prime and all, from the youngest to the oldest, with time to realize their expectations for the future, chronologically speaking at least, viewed from today's perspective. They presently live in different autonomous communities (regions) of Spain, in some cases as wards in social service facilities. In others they are under the direct protection of programmes designed to prevent possible further assault and consequently live in programmed anonymity, with new names and identities for themselves and their children. Some of these women have been taken in by their families of origin, which, not without recrimination or argument, have assumed their misfortune as well as the costs of all kinds (economic, logistical and emotional) associated with such situations.

These women's educational background varies widely. Some barely have a primary school diploma, others have post-secondary degrees and one third are university graduates. Prior to their disability, they all worked. And whereas their income levels ranged widely, none were under the poverty line, even those arriving in Spain from abroad in the last fifteen years. At the time of the assault that caused their present disability, they could be regarded to form part of the so-called Spanish middle classes. Although these classes first appeared in the nineteen fifties and sixties, their immense drawing power and the concomitant migratory inflows into Spain from Latin America, Africa, Europe and even Asia can be attributed to their modernization beginning in the nineteen eighties.

By contrast, in several of these cases these women's purchasing power has declined substantially, and they have often had to forfeit their property assets, some of considerable worth. As a result, none now have middle class incomes, in a few cases, having clearly belonged to the country's upper-middle professional class. The particularities of their acquired disabilities and their dependence on public institutions, the fact that in some cases they have not only had to move to another region but to change their identity to be

suitably protected, has also entailed a loss of their financial assets, a decline in their potential for job promotions or, even in the best case scenario, a return to their families of origin under conditions of dependence and conflict.

Their disabilities are:

- ✓ Quadriplegia (two cases)
- ✓ 95 % hearing loss
- ✓ Blindness (two cases)
- ✓ Paraplegia
- ✓ Physical and mental disability
- ✓ Multiple physical and sensory disability (two cases)

Even though we have singled out a clinically proven case of mental disability, all of these women, understandably, live at present in a state of emotional disability deep enough in most cases to constitute mental disability. Similarly, their ingroups, i.e., their children and often their parents and siblings if any, suffer depression, sometimes anxious depression, paranoid disorders, lack of self-esteem and a broad range of pathologies as a direct result of the events analyzed here. By that we mean not necessarily the advent of disability *per se*, but of all the abuse and distress to which both these women and their families were subject.

Whilst the introduction to the world of disability was, in all the cases studied, the outcome of a physical assault on these women by their partners or ex-spouses, which may or may not have also led to sensory disability, they were all the object of psychological abuse over a certain period of time, which varied in length. And the effects of that abuse have been devastating for these women's and their children's mental and emotional health.

In all the cases contacted for this survey on the situation of women with disabilities caused by gender-based violence, the ***disabilities were relatively recent, between two and seven years, when this research was concluded.*** This is not to infer, under any circumstances, that no such cases existed in earlier years. They did, and by the score. The problem is that violence against women as a specific type of assault resulting in disability was not previously criminalized and was therefore invisible from the standpoint of social, institutional and political assessment. When admitted to hospitals for care on previous occasions, many of these women had even

concealed the reasons for their injuries: wounds, beatings, even stabbings, for reasons discussed in the pages below.

All these women used family planning to control the number of children. None has more than three, and the mode is two. The children are all very young: the youngest is now only four, and the oldest is nineteen. Obviously, then, the children were minors when the assault causing the disability took place, and many are now teenagers. These children have had to move to another city and change schools several times in recent years. All are in public or chartered schools.

With the exception of one case, in which the affective relationship was so short-lived that it barely existed, all the other couples lived together for several years: one for over twenty-five, two for nearly twenty and most between five and fifteen. Some were married in both civil and religious ceremonies, others in civil ceremonies only, and some cohabited outside any institutional structure, i.e., as common-law couples.

Surprisingly, the type of bond was not found to be a variable that would explain the possible reasons for such aggressive attitudes, a circumstance that would make some sense out of the extreme violence that later befell one of the two people involved. Some of these couples married in their respective religions because both had deep convictions in this regard; in others, a civil ceremony was the result of cohabitation agreed to prior to any institutional union; in others, the partners mutually agreed not to condition their affection to institutional conventions. But what is common to all these relationships that later led, crucially, to the women's permanent disability due to the violence to which they were subjected, is that they seemed to be like any other so-called ordinary, "normal" Spanish couple. According to the accounts of the women themselves, however, lurking below or behind this "normality" (which in some cases did show significant signs that something was wrong with the relationship) was abuse, lasting twenty-five, fifteen, twelve or nine years, or the appearance of brutal and cruel attacks that came unannounced.

When the survey was conducted, some of the interviewees were absolutely sure that the perpetrator was serving a prison sentence. Others were unsure and others, due to the prerogatives of procedural logic and its unfathomable loopholes, knew that their perpetrators, identified as such, sentenced and not acquitted, had been released or were never committed thanks to the skill of their defence attorneys, who primarily alleged that their clients suffered mental disorders.

We conclude this section with an obvious remark. In any other survey this section of technical specifications would expound on the peculiarities and socio-demographic characteristics of each of the interviewees, case by case. Here, the precautions needed to ensure that the cases would not be possible to identify, have called for a more general discussion by way of preamble to the accounts and reflections that follow. This criterion was applied on the conviction that these women and their families must be protected under the inexcusable responsibility of the institutions sponsoring this survey and by virtue of the principles that inform the professional responsibility of the author of this report.

5 RELATIONSHIP PATTERNS IN ABUSIVE SITUATIONS

As noted earlier, more than a standard survey, these pages are the result of selective sampling whose strategic purpose was to acquire an understanding in depth (but not in demographic breadth or statistical representativeness) of the ways in which circumstances can translate into violence so extreme as to disable a woman irreversibly.

As noted earlier, this brief sample of cases ranges from a relationship that lasted for over twenty-five years with alternating abuse and harmony, to one in which the couple not only never lived together, but could not even be classified into one of the usual categories (they weren't engaged, "going out" or lovers and had no plans to live together). The deduction to be drawn from the foregoing is that there is no relationship model that could, initially, be assumed to be symptomatic of potential abuse or even future discontent.

Between these two extremes, a long-lasting marriage and the absence of any manner of bond, this study discovered a wide range of types of relationships, as noted earlier. The only common denominator in these different forms of relationships, these different ways of assuming intimacy and growth as a couple, was the existence of violence with an outcome that can be positioned on a level very close to death. The violence that generated such irreversible disability was only detectable *a posteriori*, because before it occurred, even the victims - or especially they - would have claimed that such an assault could never happen.

Indeed, one of the features common to all these women is the absence of any perception of the danger they were in, the cultural near-sightedness about their condition as victims that prevented them from understanding the high risks involved in remaining at the epicentre of these violent relationships.

– *24 It's true, I put up with all kinds of threats, beatings... you know, all sorts of violence, for many years. But I never thought that he would go*

²⁴ The quotes selected reflect the perspective and standpoints reiterated in all cases. Only a few are shown so as not to burden the text with unnecessary repetition.

this far. But then you get used to what you know is a bad temper, he always had one. But you can't suspect that the person who's fathered your children, whom he loves, besides, more than anything in this world, the person who's a good father who... well I just never believed he would go this far.

- Did I ever think he'd try to kill me? Actually no. I always thought of it as a way he had of frightening me, scaring me shitless as they say here, but that he wouldn't do it, and much less in front of our daughters, never, ever.*
- I seem to remember that when he was strangling me and I couldn't breathe, I thought then about my children because I really thought he was going to kill me. Up until then I never believed he'd dare. Of course, you could tell me now that there were warning signs, and of course there were. But I didn't believe him capable of this, I truly didn't. I don't know, maybe I'm naive or irresponsible because my children, who were nine and twelve at the time, and my mother, who's the one who's helped me to go on living, my mother kept telling me: something terrible is going to happen and you're not going to live through it. But I didn't believe it, never, ever, I swear to God...*
- How could I to think he'd do this? There was nothing between us, we'd decided to break up. In fact, we never married and I thought (crying) that when we arranged to break up and that I would keep our daughter (crying), I truly believed that he was coming around, that he realized that a twelve-year-old daughter was better off with her mother. But no, he had someone else. He'd slept around before, often, because he liked women better than breathing. But since I wanted a separation, I didn't care anymore. And I never once thought that after saying OK, that we'd be better off if we each went our own way, that all he wanted was to be able to go on seeing our daughter and that if my other daughter ever needed anything, he'd be there for her... I don't know, he seemed to be OK with it all. How was I to suspect something like this, that he'd show up one day, and I'd open the door, because I opened it, and that he'd throw acid onto my face, burning my eyes and deforming me like this... (crying).*
- Look, with him I was always a little fool, because even though he hurt me time after time, I never thought he'd try to kill me like he did. I think he lost his mind, really, I can't believe it, because I believe he truly loved me... (crying) sorry, sorry to be so emotional.*

- *NO, DON'T APOLOGIZE. YOU HAVE TO CRY. HOW CAN YOU HELP IT, WHEN YOU REMEMBER WHAT HAPPENED?*
- *... but I assure you that maiming me and putting me in a wheelchair, seemed to me more like a threat, something desperate, you know?. But I never thought he'd do it.*
- *My mom and dad told me that he might hurt me. But I was a fool because in my country men say those things, they shout at women to make them know who's the man, you know? But I never once dreamed that he'd do something like this, that he'd ruin me for life, not that. And besides, we have children, they're his children too and that, in my country, means a lot to a man.*

And so it is. This **lack of foresight in all** these victims, their inability to see what was obvious with hindsight, that they were in danger, seems to respond to an **inability to acknowledge that they were playing a victim's role**, even though, in most cases (with only one exception in this survey), clear and objective evidence to that effect was at hand. What is more, even if the final acts of violence that disabled these women irreversibly had never existed, according to their own accounts, they already were victims, not only emotionally in their respective relationships, but of physical assault in the form of beatings, seclusion and threats.

- *I endured many different forms of violence, years and years of it. I prefer not to go back to all that now, but I have to admit that this wasn't the first time he tried to kill me, because that's what it was, an attempt to kill me. Of course, I see it differently now, more clearly, in hindsight. Once he tried to suffocate me with a pillow, another time he took a knife to me, he struck me often, whenever he lost his temper, and it was never about the important things, but always suddenly. Usually it was the little things that set it off.*
- *I seem to remember that it was about ten years earlier – we never married because we agreed to have a more modern relationship, less typical than my siblings and his, even different from many of our friends, and we had a reputation for being modern. But of course, what they didn't know what that behind that supposedly modern couple was a systematically abused woman. And when I say systematically I mean nearly once a week: I was always buying make-up to hide the blows to my face. And my sister and girlfriends would always ask me,*

especially in the summertime, why I wore so much make-up, with such a nice complexion. But they naturally didn't know about the beatings and I never dared to tell them what was going on.

– *Our children, our children knew that he used to beat me, but no-one else, and especially not his family. But no-one was surprised when he threw me down the stairs from the landing outside the flat where we lived at the time and that we had to leave because we were so embarrassed, because the neighbours called the police and everything. I don't know which neighbour it was, but someone called the police once when he tried to break my arm, and nearly did, and the police came.*

– *AND WHAT HAPPENED IN THE STAIRWAY?*

– *He lost his temper in a silly argument about whether we should or shouldn't have the flat we were living in then fitted for natural gas. We were using butane gas bottles in that place and I had decided that natural gas was more convenient. And since I decided to do it without asking him for an opinion, he opened the back door and pushed me onto the landing and from there down the stairs. I was hospitalized for nearly two weeks. But I told the doctor that I'd fallen.. what was I supposed to say?*

– *No, I can't say now that he's wicked, just jealous, very jealous. And when his brother came to live with us... well things got all fouled up. He'd always been jealous, but with his brother with us, everything got worse. And he took it into his head and believed that I was sleeping with his brother, but it wasn't true. And since he wasn't about to fight with his brother, he fought with me. And he'd hit me on the arms and in the face and the breast, so that no man could touch me because if you're bruised no-one can touch you. And nearly always, as soon as I was better, more beatings, and more...*

– *Once he broke both my arms and jaw and that time the doctors asked me whether it was true that I'd fallen because that's not what it looked like. Of course, they could see. I had to make up a story about falling down the ramp and such, and my arms got bruised as I tried to protect my head and so I broke them both. But even then they barely believed us: I could tell from the way they looked at me and the way they looked at him, because that's the way my husband was, of course. He could pull you to pieces, but then when he realized what he'd done was*

foolish, he himself would drive me to the ER. He's very emotionally unbalanced, but he always has been, since I met him, before we lived together or married.

– *... Down deep I believe that the evil got a hold on him because when we moved to Spain he was shy and completely changed from what he used to be like in ... (refers to country of origin) because there he struck me several times, especially when he'd been drinking. There men drink, not wine and long drinks, which aren't as strong, but beer and especially a kind of hard liquor, you know like what they drink in Scandinavia...*

– *AQUAVIT.*

– *Yes, aquavit. And when we first arrived he was really worried about getting a job and getting the children in school and that kept him quiet for a while, but as soon as we were able, thank God, to make our way and both find work, that's when he went back to being as violent as he'd been before. I remember one Friday night a few years ago when he came home from work and I could tell from the look on his face that we were back where we started, and so it was. That night after we put the children to bed he took off his belt and said, now you're going to get what's coming to you (crying), and we hadn't even had an argument. I always took care of the children and our home and worked as a domestic, but there I was, back in my own private hell.*

– *Until our son was born, that's when he changed. But, actually, we'd always had fights where I came out with a bruise or two. Once he even threw a pair of scissors at me that nearly cost me an eye. But when our son came, everything got worse. My poor baby, I wanted so much to have one, because I thought, in my innocence, that a baby would calm him down... but I was wrong. But yes, he was always violent with me, although outwardly he professed to be non-violent. And it's true, he was: he was against the war in Palestine and the war in Iraq and against all kind of violence. That's what makes it so unbelievable.*

– *He just kept getting worse as he aged and especially after the company closed and he was laid off. He took that especially poorly and he blamed himself but he couldn't find a solution because he wouldn't let anyone help him. And I was the one who had to put up with his bad moods. Those were very difficult times, but I always thought they would pass, that he was under a lot of stress because he couldn't*

find his way. I never thought of him as a violent person and even less of myself as a victim. Although it's hard to believe, I never thought that until what happened, happened.

A mere glance at these accounts reveals, and not only *a posteriori*, that these women were in extreme danger, at very high risk, although of a different sort in each case, because their partners had clearly adopted an aggressive position in the relationship. But we're not trying to show with these accounts that these women had eloquent proof of the danger they were in. Rather, the point we want to make is perhaps more obvious but also more profound and subtle: what these episodes show is that ***living with a violent and aggressive person may not seem dangerous because the agent of that violence is someone who loves the victim.***

- *Of course, of course, now I can see it and I think, and it's true, but then since I knew he loved me, and more than that, I'm absolutely sure that he still loves me, but of course, I didn't think that evil could be stronger than affection... what I'm saying is foolish, of course, now I can see that as clear as day. I can't understand how I didn't before.*
- *I never stopped to think that he could hurt me because he's a man and of course, we all know how men are, but he loved me, he truly did. Although I don't think he loves me now, but then he did and I knew he was a little violent but I never thought he'd do something like this, I don't know why, but I never, never, would have even dreamt of it...*
- *I never thought he'd strike me, never, ever. He was the sort that would go off on a rampage, but I never occurred to me that he would take his anger out on me... I don't know why, now that I think of it, after all that's happened, it was pretty clear, although it's hard for me to admit it.*
- *After so many years of beatings (crying), of threats, in the end you get used to it and I never thought he'd hurt me this much...*
- *And I saw him strike his brother, his mother, a stranger once after a minor car accident, but I didn't think he'd do this to me...*
- *How could I think that a man who came at three a.m. to see me would throw acid in my face?*

Here again, there is a gap between the evaluation of the perpetrator's personality and the perception of personal risk on the part of the victim who, while at his side, had borne the burden of his violence. But that violence, to which these women had grown "accustomed", that had "house-trained" them, would appear to be offset by the fact that they knew that their violent partners loved them, as if love were not also a possible vent for aggression and violence. To put it another way, they seemed to believe that any violence would be limited by love because they regarded love to be a positive sentiment and, therefore, they projected onto anyone able to feel love values that would counter any other personality trait, violence included. The different forms of perplexity expressed by these women with respect to their partners' violence might be synthesized by the following reasoning: ***he's a violent person, he's out of control and dangerous, often out of the sight of others who are unaware of his potential and yet it's not dangerous to stay at his side because he won't hurt me because he loves me.***

What is most striking about this attitude, and more than that, these bonds, is that the ability to characterize the other person with an accurate, precise and believable diagnosis was not enough to identify the degree of conflict or danger extant in the relationship itself. What is particularly significant (and difficult to transform from the perspective of private relationship management to the view of such relationships in the eyes of public authorities) is that ***these women at no time considered that living with a violent man who had shown continuous signs of an aggressive attitude both toward them and others was a flaw in their relationship and therefore in themselves.*** What they didn't see was that the relationship, and themselves as representatives of that relationship, were in danger. And finally, they were unaware that violence in a relationship makes the bond dangerous, even more than the perpetrator himself.

Before going any farther, we should probably include an addendum on the importance of affective bonds for women in our culture, in order to understand what would appear to be characteristic near-sightedness in their relationships. Above and beyond the clichés that maintain that "love" is necessary for all living beings and particularly for human beings (women and men), the fact of the matter is that in our cultural socialization, specific types of identity are reinforced in women and men, each separately, in which affective factors play different roles and have different aims. In

males, the SELF is accentuated. Men are acculturated to ensure that their own unique personalities are apt for public, outward-looking life, for all that has to do with shrewd survival (from skills and aptitudes in trades or crafts to business acumen or strength of reasoning). Men must develop into individual personalities able to understand and build strategy, chart straight courses, concentrate on their responsibilities even when tempted by feminine cunning and the charms of bodies moulded to a different pattern. Naturally, any sign of a weak personality must be censured by the members of the stronger sex, the sex of power, combat, competition, duty. Needless to say that in the framework of this survey such a model is extremely harmful and even able to spawn violent behaviours, a substantial range of which seems to exist implicitly in the present study. In fact, these patterns deprive masculinity of a series of traits legitimately characteristic of the human condition, such as need, fear, insecurity, the need for affection and many more whose enumeration lies beyond the bounds of this survey.

Women, in turn, are imbued with the idea that their optimal happiness is to belong to someone in affection, regardless of who he or they may be; to belong also in the most archaic meaning of the word, “be his”, “be for him”. Women have always been for others (husbands, parents, children...), always male others. Unlike masculine identity which revolves around the mandate of an INDIVIDUAL (indivisible and unique) SELF, women are bestowed with a RELATIONAL SELF, a being for others, with others, by others. That’s why no female identity lacking in affective bonds can be positively evaluated in our culture. That’s why when women manage to access traditionally masculine domains such as professional or occupational success, their success is viewed – by both men and women – from one of two extremes: they are either “hyper-womanized”, suspected of having “used their feminine charms” to rise in the ranks, or “de-womanized”, i.e., regarded to have succeeded in an area “outside their idiosyncrasy” because they’re not apt for characteristically female endeavours - affection, relationships, care for people and places, lives dedicated, in short, to others. This tension between feminine and masculine identities and models reappears with all its force in cases of severe abuse. The men are under the conviction that the exercise of force is one of their attributes and consequently a legitimate facet of their identity. Women are subjected to the relational logic of their identities and afflicted by the malaise intrinsic to the fickle world of affection and disaffection to which they are destined.

This interpretation can be taken a little further in an attempt to establish a comprehensive view from which to understand the nodes of this conflict. The diversity of these cases (with a single exception in which there was no bond between the perpetrator and his victim) reveals that the conviction that such unions are not dangerous is a way for the women involved to deny the possibility that they were not just any victim, but the primary victim of the perpetrator's violence. Moreover, the fact that the ability to recognize their partners' problems did not in any of the cases studied lead these women to seek protection for themselves is also visible in their consent to bear these men's children. In other words, these women consciously agreed, in most cases, within their cultural references, to place these subjects in a position of parental responsibility. And they themselves explain the reasons for these admittedly conscious decisions, which can be divided into two major groups, both paradigmatic and illustrative of the premise set out here.

On the one hand, some of the women admit that motherhood was the fulfilment not only of their own legitimate wish to have children, but fruit of the fanciful expectation that once children came on the scene "he would change", for the better naturally. He would cease to be violent, would be more tolerant, more understanding, more receptive, more open, more loving and less erratic in personality and behaviour.

- *Now it seems funny, but it's true. I always thought that having a child was going to change him, like a cure-all. I really loved him, a lot, really a lot and he had lots of good qualities. And we had good times as well as bad, although perhaps more bad. But there were good times too and since he was from such an unaffectionate family, so cold... Well, I thought that yes, with a child everything would be different. But I was wrong, everything got worse because he was jealous of the baby, from the first day of the pregnancy, from the time I told him I was expecting. And I didn't tell him until the fourth month when I couldn't hide it any more because at the time he was going through one of his spells. And I think my taking things so calmly made him worse and annoyed him. But anyway, I really thought that fatherhood would change him but I was wrong.*

- *...when you have two children with someone thinking that being a father will make him better, happier and that would change him, like I did, well you make a big mistake...*

– WHY DO YOU SAY SO?

– *I got pregnant three years after we were married and all that time I thought that he wasn't well because we didn't have children, even though we talked to one another a lot. An that's what's so unusual, we communicated well, really well. Anyway, first we had our daughter and at first fine, really, but then he told me that what he wanted was a boy because women can only be mothers. And then I could see that he would get worse from time to time and would abuse me, even beat me... he would get irritable about everything and nothing I did helped. If I breathed it annoyed him but if I didn't, it annoyed him too. And I knew that when he got that way, all upset, it would end up in a beating, invariably. And silly me, instead of getting a separation, or at least trying to, why I don't know...look what happened later. Bud didn't I go and get pregnant hoping to have a boy and I did, because my second child is a boy. But all for nothing because he's never been well. So it was my mistake. The problem is that I know that now, now that I'm blind for life.*

– *A lot of children, no, but one, I thought, that would do us good because, besides, we knew early that it was a boy and I thought that would make him happy. Happy? The day I told him I was pregnant he told me that I better not even dare. And the truth is that I was afraid during the entire pregnancy that he would hurt me and the baby. But no, that he didn't do, but he was given to wondering out loud whether it was his and such. And I never answered because it would have been worse, he would have thrown me down the stairs. But when the baby turned out to look so much like him all his doubts vanished. But do you think that changed him? That it made him better, more even-tempered, happier? Well no, things got worse, actually, I was wrong from head to toe. But that I know now. Then I thought that being a father, fatherhood and all that, would do him good. I didn't really want children, I did it for him, but now look...*

Another variation on the theme of motherhood implicitly ratifies the divide between the diagnosis of the perpetrator as a violent person and the threat that such a situation entails for the relationship. Here motherhood is regarded to be **compensation** for the mother herself to make up for the adversity of her relationship with her partner. According to the women themselves, the sanctuary from which they can bear their partners' violent, "unbearable" personality, is motherhood. It's a way of offsetting bad with good, the thanklessness of the conjugal bond with the

maternal bond, wifely dissatisfaction with the gratification of nurturing and rearing.

- *...change? him? Impossible. I knew that straight out. But in my culture not having children is unthinkable, a woman can't not have children, because in that way.. it's more backward, those countries are less advanced in their thinking. Here women who don't want children don't have them. There it's impossible and besides, it's a way of keeping yourself occupied with something very gratifying all your life. Because mothering is a wonderful thing, especially if you're with a man like I was that you can't do anything with: go dancing or anything. Not with him either, of course. That's why my children were a way of being able to bear him.*

- *Why did I get pregnant when we were having all those problems? Well because I thought that since I wasn't going to get a divorce or a separation I could at least do something that I liked. I always wanted to be a mother and I realized that it was the only thing that was going to be pleasant. And it was. But he was very competitive with my daughter. He didn't want to let me feed her: he wanted to be the father and the mother. And in fact that was one of the things my lawyer told me to use in the separation, that he wanted to separate me from my daughter and not be able to see her any more... my daughter, the only good thing that I got out of that relationship...*

- *...I didn't know how he might react and in fact with our daughter he reacted well. I have to admit that he was always a good father, I don't mind admitting that. But I had my children because I realized that after the first pregnancy I was happy and it was something that could make me really happy, to be able to forget about him, his bad moods, his beatings, everything. I think that the pregnancies, giving birth, even the first few years of childcare, are the happiest years of a woman's life. At least they were for me. I didn't care how unwell he was or even when he abused me, because I was so happy with my children! Do you know what it means to find joy, total happiness? I remember breastfeeding as one of the most gratifying things in my life. He took the second child poorly, I'll tell you later... well, for a start the day my second son was born he didn't stay overnight in the hospital and when I came home with the baby and all the stuff... we had a fight that ended up with me with a black eye. But I know for a fact that my children were what helped me through the bad times with him and then, well for whatever reason, they created a bond between us.*

The potential for partial truth in both these approaches, assuming that children can change an aggressive, abusive person's attitudes and the expectations of happiness that women experience with motherhood, whilst sincere, were inappropriate in these cases. And they were inappropriate not only because time has proven them to be, but because, again, they entailed denial of the obvious existence of a conflictive relationship. Both cases involve the same recurrent, two-dimensional error.

Firstly, this approach fails to recognize that it is in the ***relationships themselves that violent personalities grow and develop when they encounter no limits***. This should not be construed as an attempt to make the victim responsible for the violence in her affective surrounds, or to overly contextualize the keys to this type of behaviour. But relationships in which pathologically aggressive personalities are not countered by any manner of limits constitute the breeding grounds for the sickest and most negative of intensely unsociable behaviours.

- *... my sisters, and my brother too, they were always very critical, even though I never said anything. But I could tell they didn't like him, that they didn't trust him, but since I never said anything. I didn't even say anything when... I don't know, at a dinner, for instance, or on Christmas, he would order me around, give me dirty looks, even insult me – not much, just saying I was useless or something. And when my brother was there he'd say, hey, hey, go easier on my sister... And then he'd calm down. I remember that and it makes me laugh, because all it took was for my brother, who's an angel, to say that and he'd even treat me kindly.*
- **AND DID YOU PUT ANY LIMITS TO THE AUTHORITARIAN, AGGRESSIVE WAY HE TREATED YOU?**
- *I was an idiot, a nothing in his hands, but it's my fault. I don't want to make him responsible for the fact that I couldn't draw the line. I didn't know how to set limits and that was my undoing, but I didn't know... And that was the worst part. I think he would get that way with me because he had no respect for me... and I learned that that wasn't the way to handle him, but I learned too late...*
- *...No one could ever argue with him because he knew he was always right, even when he wasn't. That was what ruined our relationship because others who couldn't stand him just left. In fact, in the last few*

years he was very lonely, we both were because all our friends, workmates, people on one side and the other of the family, even our neighbours, pulled back because they couldn't stand him. And I couldn't stand him either, less than anyone, but I stayed and now I realize that I was more or less his partner in evil, not in an undertaking that would do us both good, but one that harmed us both. Me here, deformed and blind for life and he in jail, but I couldn't tell him no, let's do things my way. I always ended up doing things his way even though I knew we were headed for disaster. I'm partly responsible for what happened (crying).

- *I DON'T THINK IT'S A PROBLEM OF YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD HIM BUT TOWARD YOURSELF AND YOUR CHILDREN...*
- *But it was obvious that if I couldn't stop him, he was going to get worse and worse. But I don't know... it wasn't even out of fear because he couldn't treat me any worse. Just look what happened without standing up to him, so... I think I just kept giving in without knowing how to help him and especially how to help me and my children.*

Secondly, going back to what we said earlier: these women wouldn't or couldn't realize in time that they and the people they were responsible for were in danger, nor did they think of themselves as truly abused women. ***This dual error was the result of cultural references in which evil is perceived but not danger, in which the abuser has an identity but not the person who is being abused.*** Imminent danger of greater violence was perceived but without understanding that they were at risk, even of death, at the hands of someone, that someone being their partners, whose violence was out of control. The actual nature of what occurred appears to lie in the inability to understand the situation, beyond grief and suffering, i.e., in the underestimation of the dimension of the danger to which they were exposed.

- *It took me a long time to realize that I was an abused woman. You know, one day you watch a television programme, and I'm ashamed to say it, but it's the truth, and there's a woman talking about abuse and I think: hell! that's almost the same as what I'm putting up with.*
- *Here, they call it abused woman but in other places they don't even have a name for it. You may not be able to believe it, but it's so. I come from a culture where, I assure you, lots of women that I know are*

beaten by their husbands, and that makes the men feel stronger. But I learned in Spain that that can't be, just like I learned that there was nothing wrong with going into a cafe for a cup of coffee or a beer. But in my country women can't do that. But it's also true that there the people are much more polite on the street and in public transportation. But that's different. There men are the boss at home and being the boss means ordering women and children around and doing whatever they please. I only realized that I was abused after I ended up like this. Before that, I never thought I was.

- I knew full well that he was violent because he had already tried to stab me and he'd beaten me terribly a few times. But I didn't know that I was an abused woman. It wasn't until those cases started to come up and they started to be talked about by that woman on television and all. That's when I realized that my ex-husband wasn't just violent, but that I had been constantly abused and assaulted.*

- Excuse me, but it takes a lot, really a lot, to realize that you're an abused woman. People think you see that right away. My lawyer, she's from the association... at first she asked me the same question: "But why did you let him do it?" And I'd answer one thing or another... but first to realize and then to accept that you're being abused by your husband, that takes time. But look, I'm not trying to justify anything. Do you think that sitting in this wheelchair, looking life in the face from here, I need to justify anything? Frankly, no. But I want to try to tell you the truth about what happened. And I'll bet you anything you want that right now there are plenty of women who are being abused by their husbands or partners, or whatever, I don't care what you call them, and they don't know it. Because they don't know that a blow or two a week and another ten days later, and constant insults, and all those ways of ignoring you... that's abuse. But you don't see it, you don't know, it's as though you were blind. Besides, what was happening to me with him, it was when those girls in Alcasser were killed, remember?*

- YES OF COURSE I REMEMBER*

- Well, when that happened he said they should have caught the murderers and hung them in the main square to teach them a lesson, and he meant it. He gets violent about that because it makes him sick.*

- THAT'S HARD TO BELIEVE.*

- *Well he is, almost a... what do you call it... an executioner.*
- *YOU THINK SO?*
- *Yes, and I also believe that it's not enough to be going through something to know what you're going through. That I tell you.*

“...It's not enough to be going through something to know what you're going through...” That simple phrase holds much more wisdom than this author can muster. It takes something legitimate and external to be able to see that what's happening is good or bad, or even to realize that it exists. To be able to understand the victim's feelings, we need to contrast what's right or wrong with her historic reality. By way of example, suffice it to recall that Afghan women obliged to wear a burka only started to question that custom (and not necessarily to cease to wear it) when it was questioned by the international community. Even today the “giraffe” women are proud to submit to that torture so closely linked to their femininity. Many of our interviewees, knowing that they had been subjected to their male partners' violence, acknowledged that they were unable to see themselves as abused women until outside reality, i.e., social policy, the media, other women's reports and so on, made them realize that the abuse they were suffering was unacceptable.

Along these same lines of attempting to understand these women's inability to see themselves as abused, despite being aware of the existence of abuse, a second issue crucial to female identity, in particular in these cases, needs to be taken into consideration. And that is the **sense of shame** that prevented them from publicly assuming their status as victims in their own families, for reporting these events to the police would have entailed exactly that. That shame underlay their pathological concealment of the abuse, of their victimization, from their families, friends and even the institutions that could help them.

- *AND DIDN'T YOU TALK TO ANYONE ABOUT WHAT WAS HAPPENING, YOUR SIBLINGS, YOUR GIRLFRIENDS...?*
- *Well you know, I felt terribly embarrassed. (crying) I never said anything to my brothers, of course not, because I thought that would make things worse, that they would go after him and since he's my children's father... And the rest of my circle, my girlfriends, no,*

because I was ashamed. The only person who knew was a neighbour because she heard our fights, day in, day out. And she encouraged me to report him, not to be foolish, but I always thought that it would blow over and each time would be the last. I know I was wrong but I didn't have the courage to tell anyone.

- Of course I thought about telling someone, not my family who couldn't care less, they're really old-fashioned, really... , no. But I can't remember how many times I made it to the front door of the police station. I'd go, I'd walk up and down outside for a long while, but then I'd repent. Because I was frightened. But especially because I was mortified, deeply, very deeply. I thought that maybe they wouldn't believe me, they'd ask why I stayed by him if he treated me that way. Once I spent nearly a whole night walking around the block where the station and still couldn't get up the nerve to go in. Then when they gave him custody of our son, I thought I should tell the judge, directly, but I've always been very shy and since I look like this, even more. You know? It's not easy for a woman to report on her husband, it was very hard for me, your husband or whatever. But I bore his child, we'd been together for several years and then you get the impression that no one else cares, they're not going to care, that you have to work it out on you own, and that's the worst part because you get deeper and deeper into it.*
- It took me a long time, a very long time, to tell my parents and my siblings. Why, you ask? Because you have to admit that when they told you to re-think it and that ... he wasn't right for me, that they were right. In other words, you have to admit that you were utterly wrong and that not only were you wrong, but that you're paying for that mistake with all the weekly bruises on your body. And you prefer death to that admission. Really, I've preferred it often, and I hate to have to tell you this because I have my children and it's horrendous, I know, but I begged God to let me die before having to do what I did, admit to my family what was going on, and then to the police and such.*
- No, of course I didn't report him that time, or the others, never. Because I was embarrassed to tell anyone what was going on. And I was afraid that it would only make things worse, naturally. And besides, you're embarrassed to go up and tell the police what's between you and your husband. How can you tell them that? What are they going to think? You understand?*
- AND YOUR FAMILY? YOUR MOTHER?... YOUR SISTER?*

- *It wouldn't matter, they couldn't do anything and you put yourself up for being felt sorry for, no. That's something I can't take.*
- *BUT IT ALL ENDED IN TRAGEDY...*
- *Yes I know, but it was beyond me, I've always been very shy, too reserved to talk about my problems.*
- *AND YOUR GIRLFRIENDS? ONE, AT LEAST...*
- *No, I've always been one to keep very much to myself, and I know that's wrong. And now, after this, I know, but it was beyond me.*
- *I'm from ... I haven't been here long and I wasn't about to say that besides being foreign, an immigrant as they say here, that my husband was like that. No, in my country you just don't talk about those things.*
- *Oh man, and in the end because I was forced to, but I didn't want to say anything. I begged my parents not to let anyone else know, because I'd be mortified... what I was most afraid of was the pity that you think people are going to feel for you, everyone... no, how terribly embarrassing...*

Two aspects inherent in the embarrassment of being identified as an abused woman should be highlighted to be able to understand, at least partially, the magnitude of this terrible inhibition. The above accounts from the interviews clearly reveal that the fear of not being understood, which exists as well, is also a way of covering over the deep shame so frequently found in victims. This same embarrassment is common among women who have been raped, but also among exploited workers, the unemployed and in general anyone who undergoes extreme injustice in important aspects of their lives. A deep and unhealthy sense of modesty appears to underlie this reluctance to accept reality and admit to being a victim of some nature. For these women, being victims in relationships intimate to the point of having children, of having made these men fathers, knowing that they were playing a "woman's role" and were not only unhappy but at risk, only increases their shame.

- *This is going to sound silly to you, but I thought, how can I tell my family this, when I insisted on living with that man against their*

judgement. I decided to be a single mother in a ... well very traditional family. I was a blemish on my father's pride and standing because there... not so much here but there he was in the limelight. And you know, in a city with a population of three hundred thousand, the powers that be are always bumping into one another. That's why I, in the eighties, in the late eighties, I was the black sheep, of course, and after all that I had to go back to my family with my tail between my legs and say, look, you were right... he's an SOB and I've been unhappy all my life with him because he started to beat me shortly after we started to live together. I never, ever dared to tell them, truly, now I know what that meant, I tell myself I was stupid and I should have reported him after the first time he hit me. But worse than that, I know that he took advantage of that, he even used to say: who are you going to go to? You know that would kill your father. And it's true: I never dared for as long as my father lived. And then lots of water flowed under the bridge, you know? But anyway, like I say, I was always embarrassed to bring all that out in public. But I've paid a much higher price than anyone can imagine for being so reserved.

Fear of the perpetrator's vengeance also curbs any desire to act in self-defence. And this is used by the perpetrator himself, who knows that his victim will refrain from reporting him, or telling her family or friends about his abuse. In other words, the shame "characteristic of the female condition" (that same condition referred to above and that has to do with the relational self and the importance of existing for others, and which is not inbred but acquired) rears its most negative head in these cases. In addition to enduring abuse, their partners' violence, these women internalized a second type of symbolic violence that prevented them from expressing their sorrow and revealing the drama in their lives.

- *Look, what finally happened was what I feared for such a long time would happen: my ex's revenge. But that doesn't mean that I'm not admitting now that I kept quiet out of shame, that it was shame more than anything else that kept me from telling my siblings, or my girlfriends or workmates. In my case, besides, the situation was like the epitome of paradox because I was a more or less significant activist in the feminist cause. And look, no one suspected that I was an abused woman, but then for a long time I myself never suspected it. And now I realize that he took advantage of that. He even told me several times, "sure, go ahead and say I've been beating you, sure, everyone's gong to believe that". Of course he knew how hard it would be for me to admit that and he bragged about having me trapped. And*

I put up with it for years, although I realize it was insane, because in addition to being abused and humiliated, I was ashamed of it. That's something that even today I haven't forgiven myself for.

As if that scenario of suffering weren't enough, these abusers weren't complete madmen in the land of evil who, like in fairy tales, are capable only of abuse, of tyrannizing the human environment where they lived. If that were the case, it would have been easier to detect such cases in today's society. Reality is much more complex because the personalities of male perpetrators are complex, with both adverse and very positive features. Often, they are even likable, outgoing and charming. And it is not only the people in a couple's immediate circle who find it difficult to recognize an abusive male in such personalities: they also display different identities to the very women whom they are later capable of disabling for life. Indeed, these same interviewees point out that what characterized their relationships with these men and made them the more troubling, was the combination of abuse and affection. More than that, whilst the perpetrators' quasi-schizophrenic personalities were a constant in their relationships with their partners, what troubled the victims most, more than the violence itself, was that such outbursts were unpredictable, unjustified in their timing, triggered by matters of scant importance and always arbitrary.

- *You never knew why he was going to explode. It could be for the stupidest thing on earth... and just a minute before everything was just fine. What could have happened? What did I do wrong? That's what I wondered for over twenty years. Now matter how unbelievable that sounds, that's the way it was. I never knew what little thing, really little thing, was going to set him off. Because, hard as this may be to believe, we agreed about the important things. We never had a fight over anything essential. His assaults were always unexpected, for such insignificant matters that they can't even be regarded to be reasons. He certainly had, or has rather, even though he's in jail, a very complex personality. My husband is what is usually called a politically-minded person, with very clear and consciously adopted leftist positions, perhaps overly so now that I look back: nobody could ever say that he was reactionary or authoritarian. Quite the contrary. More than that, when he had his temper under control he was a very nice person, interesting to talk to, sensitive to music and fine food... No one would ever guess what he was like, even though everyone knew he had a bad temper. And most of his workmates began to avoid him. In a nutshell, he was a very complex person in private, certainly,*

but in public, too, but never so contradictory as he was at home of course.

- ... but that's why I opened the door, I thought he came to talk because he was always a good talker, the kind of person that can get you all tied up, but nicely, someone who's convincing, who makes you laugh, someone to have a good time with.. He's a good dancer and we loved to go dancing and he was very popular because he was so likable. And here at home with the girls, ours but my own older daughter, too, he was happy. If he was in a good mood he was charming, really; and that's a lot coming from me, seeing how he's maimed me. But all of a sudden, you never knew why, he would get furious, he egged you on until you exploded and then he'd have an excuse to beat you. And to tell you the truth, my biggest fear was that he'd hit the girls, so when he got that way I'd lock them up in their room, once in the bathroom even because he would lose control completely. He would throw lamps around, platters full of food, God only knows what I've put up with. And you never knew why, because we both had good jobs, I owned our home before he moved in and since he said that it wasn't fair that I was the only owner we should buy something together, that I should sell or rent the flat and we should make the effort together. That's why it drained me to live with him, because I never knew what would set him off...*

- My husband was a hard worker, a very hard worker: he always wanted things for our home, never wanted anything for himself, shoes, clothes, nothing. Everything was for our home, for the children, less for me because he said that women shouldn't be vain about their looks. But he was a good man, a very hard worker, Saturdays, Sundays, whenever there was work, he worked. It didn't matter because the children and their schooling came first, and having money for food, clothes, being able to send something home to our family in ... He was jealous but not always, you never knew, never.*

- ... he fooled them all, since he was a lawyer and had the gift of the gab, but yes, he fooled the judge and his lawyer and everyone, seeming to be sane and that's how he got custody of our son, making everyone think that I was the one that was off my rocker. And he even fooled me, often, with his ability to make me feel hopeful. I tried to get a separation several times and I was the one who ended up forgiving him because he begged forgiveness and said he couldn't live without me. And then when you least expected it, he would begin to start seeing things and think that everyone was after him, me especially,*

and that we wanted to kill him... he said a lot of foolish things but the worst was when he'd attack you, or rather, he'd attack me and now see what a state I'm in.

The above accounts describe bonds characterized by asymmetry in which the arbitrary nature of the perpetrator's personality governs the home environment. But it also governs his public life and not necessarily in an evil way, but with an arbitrary bias. And for others, in particular his female partner, subordinate uncertainty becomes her only way of life, life in subordination. But the next most important thing after these women's own safety was the other persons involved, who were also impacted by the abuse directly or indirectly: the children. The following section analyzes the relationship with them.

6 RELATIONSHIP WITH SONS AND DAUGHTERS

One of the circumstances that intensifies the complexity of abuse sufficiently violent to disable a woman with whom the perpetrator has, or has had, an affective relationship, is the frequent presence of children. And indeed, with a single exception, in all the interviews conducted in the present survey, the interviewees mentioned their sons or daughters at some point. Most of the children involved were fathered by the abuser, although in a few cases some were the victim's from a former relationship, but always half-siblings to the children born to the perpetrator. In all cases, these children or teenagers lived with the family and witnessed the episodes of violence.

The ages, unsurprisingly, varied widely: from five to teenagers who are now of age. Consequently, they were either children or very young teenagers when they were exposed to scenes of abuse and the severe violence that caused their mothers' disability. Age, from this standpoint, is extremely important because none of these sons or daughters were old or strong enough to defend their mothers. And by strength we refer to the broadest and most complex meaning of the term, i.e., not only the absence of physical weakness, but also emotional integrity, understanding, intellectual and persuasive abilities, empathy, defensive power and so on. The personalities of these children, then, of fathers who abuse women, regardless of the type of bond or relationship they may have had with such fathers or stepfathers, must necessarily be regarded to have been damaged. Indeed, admitting that you are the bond in or the result of a relationship between two adults supposedly joined by love, but in which one exerts disabling violence over the other, cannot simply be ignored or unfelt. There is no possible way that it cannot have severe emotional, psychological and axiological consequences that will adversely impact these children's relationships with their families, others, the world in general and, finally, with themselves.

To put it in more conclusive terms, the underlying principle adopted as our point of departure is that ***the children of fathers who abuse women, irrespective of the degree of violence involved, are also the victims of violence and abuse by that same father.*** Hence, these children must be regarded to be among the front line of victims of the violence against women, or better, the persons harmed by that violence, with both immediate and especially intermediate sequels. Although acceptance of this principle is

inexcusable, we must add that the fatherly types described hereunder do not appear to conform to a single model in this particular profile of abusive males.

In fact, even in the brevity of our sample, three paternal typologies can be clearly distinguished, despite the common denominator that characterizes them all: the violence perpetrated against their partners and the fact that as a result they are presently serving prison sentences.

One typology is the protective father, committed to his role as such, never violent with his children, although he leaves a mark on them due to his aggressive personality towards adults, in particular the woman with whom he lives and his children's mother.

- *One of the things that may shock you to know is that my ex-husband was an excellent father, a father who was always there for his children, who never even raised his voice to them and who always maintained that you can't rear children with spankings. He never struck them... not ever. Do you see what I mean about having a very complex personality? Because if you saw my ex-husband with my children, you would never suspect that underneath was a violent man who treated me the way he did. But not only that, he was very sensitive, he could all choked up when the children showed him their affection. He knew very well how he wanted to bring them up, and I think he was right, about instilling sensitivity and responsibility in them... Very concerned about their eating habits. My children always ate everything on their plate because we insisted, and I still insist, that they had to eat well, no junk food, but lots of fruit and that they had to learn how to eat the right things, not just eat. And those were things that their father and I agreed about. That's why I have to say, if I'm to tell the truth, that he was an excellent father, that he truly enjoyed his children and naturally he was never aggressive with them.*
- *.... and our daughter had a loving relationship. It was a beautiful relationship. That's why no one believed that anyone so charming, so likable, who loved our children so much and my daughter from our first marriage also because he never treated them differently in any way... a person committed to the joys of fatherhood, of bringing up his children... Before all this happened, one of the most terrible problems was that he wanted to deprive me of the custody of our daughter when we separated the first time, because he said that my job wouldn't leave me time to take care of her. And that wasn't true, it wasn't, and it was terrible for me. And that's why I decided to report his abuse because my lawyer told me that if I didn't bring it up, they were going to give him custody. And that I couldn't do, lose one of my daughters, and even less separate them because they're very close and they get along very well, like sisters, of*

course. But like I say, he was a model of a father and an anti-model of a husband, but both at the same time, and if you forget the times he'd lose his temper and take to throwing things around, he was loving, likable, with a good sense of humour... not at all stuffy. He loved it when the girls' friends would come to our house to play. Really, he was a gem of a father.

The above are descriptions of a model of abusive males with an articulate fatherly profile, a father who communicates with his young children, who feels gratified in that role and who devotes a lot of his time to them because he projects himself, positively, on his children's possible future identities. Two other traits, however, appear to arise in abusive prototypes in connection with their identity as fathers: on the one hand, a certain explicit competition with respect to the duties, at least the most traditional duties, assigned to women, such as feeding and the fostering of creative expression to develop specific sensitivities.

- A lot, really a lot. He's a person, or was, now in jail I don't know... but the responsibility he assumed for the children's nourishment was ideal. I didn't have to worry about a thing in that respect, well not quite. I have to say that he worked hard to relieve me of that role because he loved it, to make the children's meals and their sandwiches for school. Or sometimes when we'd eat out, he'd let the children choose and he encouraged them to try new flavours... and with their extracurricular activities, too. He was always very, very sensitive to that sort of thing and he always said that children have to be taught from a very young age to express their sensitivity and their talent... I've never been jealous, but I assure you that if I had been, his ability to mother our children would have irked me...*
- And our son, our son had an impeccable relationship with his father, who knew just how to treat him, as an accomplice, a friend, sharing his likes. It was a joy to see them together. He always liked to share whatever they wanted to do, both the girls and our son, and he always took charge of anything that had to do with their food, much more than I...*

And secondly, the fact that these good relations with small children, the ability to encourage and support them during childhood and take responsibility for their nutrition, wane as they reach adolescence. The relationship becomes strained when the children clearly show that they are no longer in the learning phase, absorbing the world around them, but beginning to have criteria, opinions and points of view that differ from those of the adults with authority over them. Characteristically, they tend to adopt attitudes, interests and opinions different from their parents'.

- *But anyway that all that came to a halt when our daughter reached adolescence, and problems were on the horizon with our son as well, as he neared his teens. I think that... he was terrific with children but didn't know how to relate to teenagers. Well, that's true of a lot of people, not only him... but in his case it was strange because it was a stage when I started to play the role, in a way, of mediator between him and the children because they didn't understand one another, they couldn't communicate...*
- *Because, it's one thing when they're children and they have to play your game, or his game, but when began to get older things changed. Because she had seen and put up with a lot, she defended me, she questioned his tone of voice with me, his authoritarian gestures or threatening to hit me, which he did a few times in front of the children when they were little. And then, of course they didn't say anything, but as they started to grow up, they'd intervene. They never stood up to their father, in that sense, no. But that was because their father, in a way, would back down. And even when the problems weren't about me, the fact that they began to like music, attitudes or things that he didn't, because he was always very straight-laced, very religious, you know?, what used to be called a man of principle, well then the relationship wasn't all that great, or at least not as great as when all three were little. That changed a lot and I realized that he was a completely different father when they were little than when they started to grow up and, like all children, to have opinions and tastes of their own.*

In a second model of father embodied by abusive males, very close to the first, the tendency to take over the mother's role in an explicit exercise of paternal identity is much more overt. These are not attentive, cooperative fathers who try to supplement the mother's presence, occasionally depriving her of some of her roles, but fathers who don't need their children's mother at all, who compete with her to the point that they decide to do without her as the person who limits his entitlement to his children's undivided affection.

- *At first we seemed to be a normal family, but I could see that he'd quit his jobs, despite having a university degree and loving his work. All he wanted to do was to be with the children. In fact he told me that he wanted to quit working to be sure that the children got a good upbringing, that he was going to look into the possibility of pulling them out of school because he wanted to teach them humanities, mathematics, languages. He wanted to design their curriculum and just let them take an exam at the end of the year. And I naturally said no, that children have to go to school not only to learn book knowledge, but how to relate to children their own age, of course... And that's when, as far as I can remember, the beatings, the threats started..., first he'd tell my family and his and the children that I*

was a whore because I'd been married before. And I did marry my first husband and... after our son was born, but more than for the baby and for ... because I didn't care whether we married or not. He threatened to go to my employer and get me fired if I didn't support him and if I was against him taking care of the children...

- Naturally when I told him that I was going to get a separation, or a separation and a divorce after the Zapatero Act², when he in fact wasn't working at any more, and he'd dropped out of the union, although I think they expelled him because they didn't like him at all, but that did it. Because he wanted me to leave the house, to keep the children himself and for me to waive shared custody. And I said no, that when we got a separation he would have to leave, that I would keep the children until they were of age, or until they wanted to leave home and that I didn't intend to give up the house. And it was in one of those fights that he threw me out the window. But now that two years have gone by, I assure you that thinking it over and over, even though we weren't getting along at all well, I believe that it was more a question of his wanting to be father and mother and sister and brother and everything. ... But I tell you..., like an obsession, although I'm not making excuses for him, of course, but I think it had to do with that. Well on the night of our spat, well spat, the night that he showed up at three a.m., kicked in the door and I thought, the neighbours will call the police and that's why I wasn't too worried, because you can't imagine the noise that made. The first thing he did was to go to the children and put them all in the same room to tell them that what he had to do was out of love for them, that they shouldn't worry, that he'd be their father and mother... and that's when the youngest began to scream because he sensed that something awful was going to happen and he locked them in the room and threw me out the window.*
- It all started when I said we should get a separation. He'd never hit me until then, it was because I asked him for a separation and he knew that he was going to be separated from his daughter and that drove him mad. Actually, he'd always been violent, but it was when he saw that he might be deprived of close contact with his daughter, that's when things got awful...*

And a third typology identified in our survey is the abuser who, in his indiscriminate pathology, makes the abuse, cruelty and split personality he inflicts on his partner extensive to his children. This may be the most dour of the models in this chapter focused on the difficulties faced by children sired by males whose violence has indelibly scarred their mother. Quite obviously, any one of the three typologies is confusing and harrowing for the children. But here, where the treatment given mother and children is inseparable, the

latter are doomed not only to symbolic violence and to witness abuse perpetrated against another person (even if that person is their mother), but also to the direct physical threat of suffering violence themselves. In this case the child's socialization and identity are not only impaired by the terrible display of violence, but by the harm done to them personally.

- ... *The worst of all? that was when they gave him the custody of our son and took it away from me. Because I realized he was madder than I thought, and especially, that he was a much more evil person than I could imagine and that I was all alone in a world of mental retards. Because the fact that the judge gave him custody was because she was fooled by appearances, by his grand airs, because he's very well educated and when he wants to look sane, he does. Because he's a wonderful actor, don't forget he has two Ph.D. degrees, and that's the truth because I put up with it all, the doctorates, the theses... no one knows better than I. But going back to what I was saying, the worst part of his getting custody was that I knew that he was going to abuse my son. He wouldn't kill him, because he loves his son, but he also loved me and look, look where I am now. But he tortured the child, directly, he'd punish him by not letting him go to school, not feeding him. My son would go to school without breakfast and often without having had dinner. He'd tell me about it when I was able to see him on every second weekend. And I, meanwhile, could only hope that they would rule in my favour and would tell my son to be patient, that it wouldn't be long... Can you imagine how I felt on Sunday evenings when I had to go back to that meeting place to leave my son with him? I handed him back clean, well fed, he was only six years old. And then how I'd find him every second Friday? Dirty, ill-nourished, starving, my poor child. I used to have to tell him not to eat so fast: he was so hungry that he'd almost inhale what was on his plate. And at the same time I couldn't set the child against his father because I was afraid he'd do something terrible, because he was always one to get so riled, it was really frightening. And I, how naive, when I got pregnant I thought, now the baby will change him, yes, he'll change, yes, yes... But the worst of all was when he made him sleep on the floor for a week because he'd wet the bed or pooped in it... even now as I tell you about it, even now it still hurts.*

The obvious importance of these specific forms of fatherhood might lead to a false conclusion, counter to the claim upheld by the author of this text: that male violence toward women is prompted by the flawed assimilation of the limitations of a father's role. That is not at all our intention. Nonetheless, as the foregoing accounts show, it is undeniably a factor much too obvious to be ignored altogether. The range is broad from the father committed to a positive identification with his role, to the competitive father who appropriates the two

roles, father and mother, unrestricted by any limitation or mediation, in an attempt to separate the mother from her children, to the extreme case of the father unable to define the object of his violence, subjecting the entire family to the same degree of abuse. The personalities that prevail in all three typologies are so clearly unbalanced that they exceed the interpretational limits of this survey, which can only describe them as symptomatic. At the same time we must point out that men with abusive personalities are also to be found after the children grow up and leave home and in childless couples. Consequently, none of the factors discussed can be attributed indicator status, or even regarded to be a predominant symptom of the issue at hand: men's violence against women.

What should be stressed at the close of this brief chapter is the thought on which it opened: no child, teenager or young adult who has had a father who abused his or her mother comes out of that experience unscathed. Institutions and their sensitivities should, therefore, regard these youngsters to be subjects in need of a variety of services, primarily, but as we will see in subsequent chapters, not only, psychological care.

7 ABUSIVE MALES

We can hardly form a wholly objective view of these abusive males, inasmuch as their portrayal in this report is the result of the accounts of the victims of their violence, women who are attempting to overcome a disability acquired as adults as a result of the violence perpetrated against them. At the same time, we understand and accept those accounts as the credible outcome of the experience of women who have suffered different forms and degrees of abuse, which must be regarded to be a symptom of what actually happened. And yet our analysis lacks a ratifying or rectifying narrative from the standpoint of these masculine subjects. Indeed, one of the major limitations to this approach is that it rules out the possibility of putting forward that other point of view which, whilst not belying the thrust of these disabled women's accounts, might supplement or explain them, even if it were from an illogical or irrational position. Even assuming the shortcomings of those accounts, which might well constitute a subject of further research focusing on the same conflicts but from the abuser's emotional justification and reasoning, in the pages that follow we attempt to identify some of the features common to all these men, despite the obvious differences in their personalities. By common features we mean personality traits spontaneously described and gleaned from the narratives *a posteriori*, that reveal symptomatically similar but never identical psyches.

As pointed out in the preceding chapter, fatherhood itself in these men seems to be characterized by different outlooks and approaches. Nonetheless, certain traits, associated less with personality in the most profound meaning of the word, than to masculinity as the interpretation and exercise of the male role, are notoriously repetitive.

NEED IN THESE MALES TO CONTINUALLY VERIFY THAT THEY ARE THE CENTRE OF THE LIVES OF THEIR FEMALE PARTNERS

In the name of love or any like sentiment, in the name of hate or any concomitant sentiment, these men, according to their female victims, consistently display an insatiable and narcissistic demand to clearly be and

be reiteratively assured that they are, the hub, the core and meaning of and for the lives of others, especially the lives of “their” women. What would appear to be most harmful to their identities is anything that fails to afford them (or limits) their leading role in the centre of the emotional and organizational lives of the women with whom they engage in affection. Such demands are excessive under any circumstances and consequently doomed to remain unsatisfied. By the very definition of hegemonic centrality across the entire time and space of all relationships, that constant thirst for centrality in the interplay among emotional networks is limitless and therefore impossible for anyone else (in this case, a female “else”) to quench.

- *Well, whenever my husband wasn't around, I could give the children nice things. If he was there, he had to get the best, because otherwise he felt humiliated, unloved. He was always a big baby about that sort of thing, even though he loved the children and worked from sunup to sundown. But he couldn't stand it if, when he was there, we didn't make a big deal out of it, hang on his words, whatever he wanted. And what he wanted was all of us around him, laughing, making a fuss over him... like a baby.*

- *I think that he didn't want to have children, even though he turned out to be a terrific father. That sounds contradictory, I know, but he was someone who wanted me to be at his beck and call 24/7 and if at all possible, next to him. When I had to go to work on Monday mornings, he didn't like that a bit. He was always that way, and even after all the years we were together, and all the years since, which are fewer but still they seem like a lot to me, when I've been trying to understand what he did to me, to our children, to me, to himself... When our son was born I think it was worse than after our daughter's birth, he got worse. I don't know... he had a very complex personality, but he always needed to be the centre of attention, one way or another. And with his friends, when he had friends, he was the same. And that's why he lost them because he always had to be right about everything, anything and everything.*

- *... if I bought some little trinket for the children, I had to buy something for him too. When my daughter was only three years old, whenever I'd buy her something, she would remind me: “for Daddy, for Daddy”. Because he'd pout otherwise. And even while the children were the most important thing in the world for him, he expected me to treat him like a god, like someone constantly on my mind, in everything I did. And that is... exhausting. Now that I think about it, that I relive it...*

- *I lived in fear because he could take anything, no matter how insignificant, as if I were ignoring him. And that would give him a reason for a fight, even over the tiniest things, you know? If I bought a brand of beer other than the one he liked, that was unforgivable. I've been known to catch a cab to go to the discount store at ... to buy the beer he liked because otherwise he took it as contempt, as if I didn't care, do you know what I mean? As if I'd done it on purpose to spite him.*
- *... and then he was jealous, very jealous, and not only of other men, and I, well... but of my parents, my siblings, our children, everyone. It was hellish because you never knew what was going to put him in a bad mood and his bad moods led to fights: and then we'd get into a brawl because there was no way of calming him down. If I didn't answer back, it was worse. If I said he was wrong that was a way of starting a fight that could last several days until he really exploded. And if I felt offended after he'd vented his rage, that angered him too. He always had to be the hub of everything. Even the brand of dry soup that I'd buy...*

NEED TO CONSTITUTE THE SOLE PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FAMILY, WIFE AND HOME IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

Another form of unsatisfied narcissism that affects masculine personalities regardless of age, schooling, urban or rural background, and political and social ideology, is the unhealthy need to represent the family in public, to be the visible head of the entity resulting from their bonds with wife and children on which they seem to build their kingdoms of responsibility and their law. Oddly, this same principle of public representation of the family identity is observed in the relationships prevailing in both traditional families, such as practising Catholic couples who gladly abide by the Church's canonical rites, and in others positioned on the other end of the spectrum, who lack even a civil or administrative bond, whose children have been recognized but only to meet the minimum institutional requirements, and who appear to question all social institutions, including marriage. In all these cases of violence against women, the men appear to be set on assuming a sort of gender-based institutional leadership, in which they are the decision-makers and control the entire family unit's relationships.

- *You can't even guess the weird things he'd think up because we never got married, and at the same time you think, well we have a much freer type of relationship. But for instance, when I opened a home savings account, that was one of the times that I ended up in the hospital because he went completely berserk: how could I even think of doing such a thing without his permission. And the same thing with the baby's nursery school. Before we decided where she was going to go, he inspected all the schools in our neighbourhood, because I wasn't fit to decide... there I didn't react the way I should have, because that's when I should have told him it was all over. But I didn't, because you think well, he's just that way, it's his way of loving... but I was wrong, it wasn't love, it was tyranny.*

- *I'm sure that when he demanded custody of the child, and it's not that he didn't love him, in his own special way, in a way that he always had you under his thumb, but more than that it was because he needed to make it very clear that he was the man of the house, he was the one who gave us our last name, who made the decisions, not me. He was always very domineering in these and worse things. For instance, once he threw me out of the car and it took me several months, about three, to recover, and he had a fight with someone who called me by my last name, not his.*

- *... nothing against doing anything that had anything to do with the children, paperwork, school, talk to the teachers. And once the school secretary told me that the teachers didn't much appreciate the way he questioned the way their subjects were being delivered and in some cases he even wanted to make changes in the curriculum. Yes, he had a very obsessive personality, he loved obsessively, but I know he loved the children and he still loves them and that now he must be having a very, very hard time of it, with no news of them.*

INABILITY TO BEAR EXPRESSIONS OF RELATIONAL INDEPENDENCE ON THE PART OF THEIR PARTNERS

This is in all likelihood one of the traits most commonly observed in these men's personalities and the flip side of the coin with respect to the foregoing: the need to be centre of family life and in particular of the life of their partners. The possible forms of independence that these women try to express invariably strikes a violent chord in them. The potential for independence of

any subject loosens the bond of dependence that they need to be able to keep everyone in their immediate surroundings in place, for it is a way of concealing their own dependence. Any minor gesture, no matter how logical or normal in our culture, can be interpreted by these men as a way of calling their relationship into question, of risking the affective bond. This conflict becomes especially unbearable for them when their partners seek a separation or when they feel that they are losing their relationship with their wives and children.

- ... he didn't care if I went back to school or did other things as long as he knew that wherever I was, people related me to him. But he was very arbitrary. Sometimes if it took me a bit longer to do the grocery shopping, or I went out to find a bargain during sales season, he'd get very upset, and other times he wouldn't... like I said, the worst thing was that he was so arbitrary and that's how he finally took control. It all depended on not letting him think that I was growing away from him. Because that was the worst thing that could happen, that I could get a separation, that was hell, that couldn't be. That's when he told me that if I got a separation he'd kill me.
- He was very jealous, very, and anything, even a brief conversation with the guy at the newsstand, for him it was like, how can I say? as though I were leaving him. It was the same with the children, with everything. He was always very unsure of himself and I took it as a kind of love, but that's not love. That was just that he couldn't imagine that I could leave him because if that happened, for me to leave with the children and everything, that would be torture... it's very difficult to live with someone you feel is controlling you all the time, and violently.
- ... when we moved from ... I realized at once that his fear was that since women here are more independent, he didn't even want me to do the grocery shopping in our neighbourhood. He didn't want me to talk to anyone, men of course, but women either... our second child had a male teacher and we had to go and talk to him because he told us that we had to go, and he kept saying no, that I didn't have anything to say to that teacher. He's an oddball, although in my country no so much so. And if you're not at his side all the time, he feels like an abandoned child.
- ... I've always liked to dance, I feel good dancing, physically and spiritually, because I can release a lot of things, but with him it was impossible. You're going to have a hard time believing this, but I used to play music at home and dance all by myself because he didn't want

to go dancing. I would dance at home and one day he threw the stereo at me, it was a cassette player, before CDs came out. He threw it at my head and wounded me. Look, see this scar? It took six stitches and I told them that I'd fallen and hit my head against the kitchen counter, because what was I supposed to say? But you see, I couldn't even dance at home because he took it like something that separated me from him.

- *I couldn't go anywhere without him. He didn't even want me to go to my mother's without him because he wanted to know what I said, what I thought, what I felt, everything I tell you. When I told him that I wanted to work in a beauty parlour because I'd trained to be a beautician, all hell broke loose...*

VERY TRADITIONAL OUTLOOK ON RELATIONSHIPS, REGARDLESS OF THEIR POLITICAL IDEOLOGY OR BIAS

The masculine profiles that can be drawn from these accounts by women disabled due to the violence perpetrated against them range from self-denominated social conservatives to the opposite extreme. They include men who belong to employers' associations and workers who are card-carrying members of the country's most progressive and left-wing trade unions. The political spectrum is equally wide, from the most die-hard nationalists to men with the most open and liberal minds, who even advocate the legalization of soft drugs. Nonetheless, despite these substantial differences in what the ideological spectrum, all these men adhere to a very traditional and largely conservative discourse in their relationships with women, regardless of the political ideology they profess or claim to profess. These traditional views of partnering and family bonds in some cases are consistent with their social and political bias, whereas in others they are wholly antagonistic, not to say contradictory to that bias.

- *... very traditional, very nineteen fifties, like I say. Because anything that had to do with women's lib, for instance, made him sick, and anything that implied a more modern male outlook, with more equal treatment for women, he couldn't stand that either. It's also true that he went to a parochial school and was a churchgoer. And I imagine that now in jail he'll go to mass every day because he always defended his religious convictions. I was never as deeply involved as he was, but I was a*

churchgoer too, and we got married in the church and all that. And real traditional, the kind who wants the children to be educated that way, to learn not to begin to eat before saying grace, he was a stickler for that sort of thing, you know? And that explains, of course, why he was so traditional about the family, the home, the children.

- Nothing at all to do with his political position. He was always very progressive and he always thought of myself as being very leftist, more on the left than anyone else, of course... he was always very politically minded, and now I think he believed that he was more than he actually was, but that's another story... He was a member of ... for many years, and was a very active member of the union. I actually think that they couldn't take him any more, but he always thought of himself as a leftist, very anti-system, willing to preach Marxism to anyone who would listen...*
- Against everything, everything: they're a bunch of – what was the word he used? – stooges, they don't legalize marijuana, they don't believe in free love.. Him!!! As reactionary as they come. I remember that I once bought a T-shirt with straps, but wide straps, and the neck up to here. When we came back from I don't remember where, one Sunday that we'd gone out for a walk in the park, I took it off because it was hot. When I went back to the living room I found it in shreds, because he'd taken the scissors to it. Can you see what a hell it is to live with someone who claims to be so anti-system but down deep is a fundamentalist conservative that doesn't let you even an ounce of freedom?*

OBVIOUS CONFLICTS WITH OTHER MEN IN THEIR CIRCLE AND COMMUNICATION GAPS WITH WOMEN OUTSIDE THE FAMILY UNIT

This is another common trait in these men: all of them (or at least the “them” appearing in these women’s narratives) clash with other men in the family, their work environment or their circle of friends and clearly find it difficult to relate to women outside their family. Whilst with other men they always seem to be tensely competing and on the verge of a quarrel, their relationships with other women are characterized by a certain coolness and even contempt for the feminine condition. This pattern is observed both in men pertaining to cultures with a strong gender bias

(rural environments or non-Spanish cultures where interaction between the sexes is visibly less intense) and, more interestingly, in Spanish urban middle class men where relationships are much more easy-going and not necessarily competitive.

- *A long time ago, nearly thirty years, he was a militant supporter of very progressive causes. But he never got along well with others in those movements, he was always provoking, looking for a fight with his friends and, well, they gradually just disappeared from his life. And with women, even though I've never been jealous, but as a rule he wasn't much interested in other women. He didn't know how to relate to them: I could see that with his female workmates the very fact that they were women made him lose all interest in anything they had to say...*

- *No, nothing like that, he's always been a loyal partner, traditional yes, but loyal, maybe for that reason. And he's good-looking, he was even handsome, but the kind who didn't know that he was and well... and if I didn't know better, I might even think he was gay because he was always quarrelling with his friends, but he wouldn't even answer the women if they talked to him. He's always been a bit of an oddball...*

- *... but for him either. He'd never go out with friends for a drink, never, ever, and with other women even less. That never interested him, all he wanted was to work and work and stay at home with the family, always the family. The family is very important in our culture, not like here, He never liked to watch television or anything because when a man is committed to his family he has to give them his all and that just goes without question. If he has a family that's all he has.*

- *...he was always very good at fooling women, all of them, and men and well, and me... well, everyone in general. But he never got into an affair with another woman or anything like that. There was a time there that we were quarrelling every day and since he was always ready for a brawl I knew I'd end up being beaten. I thought then that maybe there was another woman, an affair. But no, not even in that respect could you say that he was normal. He was never keen on women and of course my girlfriends, when I had girlfriends, were all idiots... no, no: it was the men who were all idiots and the women scatterbrained. Those were his two classifications for people.*

SERIOUS, POLITE, SELF-ASSURED, ORDERLY AND HOMEBOUND PERSONALITIES

Our aim in this chapter is to reveal the lack of any specific prototype for abusive men, despite the existence of certain common traits and the fact that they are all very peculiar. But despite their peculiarity, none of them displayed violence or intolerance of others. Rather, they were reserved, not at all high-handed, or characterized by a type of high-handedness which found a specific form of self-expression in their contempt for women and defiance toward men. This is where another of their standard traits shows up: they are very serious and polite subjects, strongly inclined to seek (and therefore respect) order and more comfortable at home than in public or in the most traditionally masculine public places. They are men more apt for domestic than for private life, despite needing such privacy to be able to perpetrate the type of violence that would be unthinkable in public. And, unlike other men, they seem to enjoy housework²⁵. Some but not all of these men, as portrayed in the interviewees' accounts, vent their violence outside the home as well. What they all share is the need to maintain relatively spontaneous good manners and contained attitudes as a sign of differentiation from other people.

- *I assure you that no one could imagine that behind my husband was an abuser, because he's a very polite and well-mannered man, fairly well-read and religious like I told you and inclined to observe formalities, but not in excess. He's not prissy or anything like that, no, not at all, a sensitive man, even though it's ironic that I should say that from the wheelchair that he put me in...*
- *... whenever he could he had one in hand. He liked to read and he must still like it, because... life in jail, what that must be like, but I can't think about that. And besides he was always very cultivated, he liked opera, the bel canto (don't laugh, it's true), he'd be happy to carry a conversation with you, really happy because I can see you're an educated and sensitive person and he loved that. But the fact that you're a woman would probably take the pleasure out of it, but you'd never guess what an interesting person he was and how worldly, which I never was...*

²⁵ El domus es un espacio de actividad productiva aunque no tenga valor económico. Por eso la diferencia crucial de que lo doméstico es un lugar femenino mientras que lo privado es propio de los varones y es improductivo.

- ... what he liked best was to listen to music, jazz, but not to dance, which I love to do, like I said before, but he knew a lot about jazz, a kind of music that I don't know how to appreciate. He loved everything that had to do with manners, he wasn't rude, not ever. What never ceased to surprise my neighbours, who knew what was going on, and they told me, was that when they met him on the stairs or in the hallway, they couldn't believe that such a calm, polite person could do the things he did. They couldn't believe it, it took a long time for them to accept that fact. And when the police came I asked them not to handcuff him. And he put on his jacket, his watch and of course, since he was such a gentleman, as they were leaving, he told the policemen: «after you». And I was trembling, because I thought that if he fooled the police with his manners, they'd leave him here at home, and that would have been the last night of my life. It was later that he slipped back in and tried to kill me, but that night I remember I couldn't get to sleep until very late... thinking that if they talked to him he would convince them that he was a gentleman, someone who wouldn't hurt a fly.

- ... a very peaceful man, very polite to our neighbours, almost always very quiet, he never talked a lot, but he would always say hello and such. And respectful of order and he wanted to always be seen at home, that's the truth, always at home with the children, with me, doing stuff around the house and that's unusual, but for example when I had our last child in the hospital... well since none of my sisters or my mother is here or anything, well, he kept house and took the children to school, all that he did very well...

- ... besides, since we speak in a much softer tone than in ..., people like him a lot. Even the people here. They always comment on how nicely we speak, so soft-spoken they'd say. And he was like a poem by ... because he's very considerate with others, when he wants to, of course, because he can be very rude, but he can't stand impolite people or people who ignore manners. He always thought that good manners were what mattered most.

Quite obviously, the above narratives identify certain personality traits that are particularly significant, insofar as they are common to the accounts of the women interviewed who, naturally, do not know one another. Another important revelation is that their personalities are unstable, characterized by a sort of changing cycle. The interviewees described them from the standpoint of women who, on the one hand, do not conceal the important role these men played in their lives, but who on the other, in keeping with their terrible experiences, find it confusing to have to acknowledge that their

perpetrators weren't always aggressive, violent or unpleasant. On the contrary, ***they seem to be subjects with an ambiguous personality, unpredictability being their predominant trait, and in possession of profoundly paradoxical attitudes, values, interests and affections.*** That paradox was poorly resolved in all these cases in which their darkest side, the murkiest side of their personalities prevailed, much to the detriment of these interviewees.

8 ABUSED WOMEN: COMMON AND DIFFERENTIAL TRAITS

Unlike the men involved, whose differential traits (unknown to us in this survey for we can only broach them through what the interviewees say about them) we do not deny, the women chosen by chance as interviewees appear to be less liable to be described by unanimous patterns in terms of attitudes, interests and values. These female personalities are, indeed, widely divergent, although with certain important aspects that from our sociological approach are obvious and as such should be highlighted. One of the first findings revealed by the analysis of these women's accounts is the ***existence of a broad perceptive gap with respect to both the positive and negative aspects of their own situation***, i.e., a sort of structural blindness that prevents them from seeing both their strong and weak points or adverse circumstances that are detrimental to them. Notwithstanding the previous assertion about the differences in these women's personalities, this is one of the traits common to them all.

Moreover, the factors analyzed here are not very different from the traits comprising the female identity of many other women in Spain, and perhaps in the world, who carry purportedly positive attributes of their identity to the limit, with no active awareness of their existence or of how detrimental they may be to their own vital interests.

GENERAL SENSATION OF LIVING ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF AND IN SUBORDINATION TO AFFECTIVE RELATIONSHIPS IN WHICH CENTRALITY, IN ALL RESPECTS, IS OCCUPIED PRIMARILY BY THEIR PARTNERS

This is one of the sentiments most commonly described, although in different ways in each case. These women who, be it not forgotten, suffer irreversible disability, repeat again and again that their affective lives were always lived through others, their parental families, their relationships and, especially, the men who eventually became their executioners. It's not that they adopted a victim's role and now regret it. Not at all. On the contrary, what their narratives show is that they were unable to resist the subjugation to which they were exposed because they always assumed that the ones who

had problems, who could be violent, who needed to be cared for, who had a monopoly on rage, contempt and all the mental and physical forms of abuse, were their partners, never themselves. This self-positioning on the periphery of the relationship, subordinate to the other's moods and love, this surrender of centrality, cloaks the absence of reflection on their own feelings, on the sensations bred in this asymmetrical relationship in which they yielded to the temptation of allowing suffering to become their sole concern as a way to confront their sorrowful lives. This is the position that many women tend to adopt, because it conforms to the course charted for female identity by the culture that builds that identity. The result is the inability to entertain the adverse feelings that, in many cases, are the only real driver of awareness and the construction of more symmetrical relationships, true "couples". Nothing here should be construed as an attempt to blame these women for what happened. Far from it. But reflection on this willingness to position themselves on the boundary of a subordinate relationship characterized by suffering and subjection would appear to be necessary to show that in the end such a course leads invariably to the affliction in which these women now live.

- *...I admit that in these things I was very weak because I was always so bent on trying to keep him from going into a rage, but to know and think what I felt, really... I started the day thinking about him and I slept well or otherwise depending on whether he was well or not. And that's not right, it's not good, but it was no good because he got used to everything at home revolving around him. The children weren't allowed to bother him, if he was napping they weren't allowed to make any noise because otherwise he'd wake up in a bad mood. And on the weekends we'd have to have everything prepared so that nothing out of the ordinary happened because that would spell trouble for me. And all of that was of my own doing. I was the one who let him feel so important.*
- *(crying...) Do you know what it's like to be afraid to make a mistake, because I've always been very clumsy, and now, like this, what do I care, nothing matters from a wheelchair, but I was always afraid of putting my foot in it and with him especially. And I think that he took advantage of me because although it's true that I was awkward, well he'd make fun of me in front of our friends, our family and I, well of course I said it was true, but you can't imagine how much all that hurt, deep down. That's one of the things that, now, now that he's in jail, I don't have to put up with any more, after all those years...*
- *...what's unacceptable is for him to have the whole family at his beck and call, all of us, his mother, his father, my parents, we all doted on his tastes,*

his moods, whether he wanted this or that. And he, really, he wasn't a bad person. But with such a terrible temper, the worst that could happen was for an argument to get going, because it was endless, and when you wanted to let go, he'd get even angrier. Do you know what it's like to spend years bending over backwards to prevent the person you live with from getting into a bad mood? Because his could last for weeks, and over something really insignificant. That's how he was, sometimes charming, because when he was charming, he really was... but others. He always managed to wind me around his little finger and if I was too intent on pleasing him, he'd call me a whore, he'd say that what I wanted was to leave him for someone else...

- *... my family wouldn't have backed me up under any circumstances, that I know, as I found out later. My family is very traditional, very typical of ..., where people are very conservative and a woman has to put up with the husband she got and that's that. For you, I can tell you have a very modern outlook, this must sound like something from outer space.*

- **NO, NOT REALLY, I'M FAMILIAR WITH SOME OF WHAT YOU'RE SAYING, BUT I'M MORE INTERESTED IN WHAT YOU HAVE TO SAY**

- *My older sister also married a swine who gave her five children and, fortunately for her, died of cancer...but this I can say now because all my life I thought that hating sons of bitches was wrong. Because in my family, in my town, when I was growing up we were taught about democracy and all that shit, but still women had to put up with men, put up with them in silence and not even have bad feelings about them. That's what the priest who married us told me once when we met up and he asked how I was doing and I said very poorly. Can you believe this? It's taken me years to figure this out... my whole life has gone by...*

REALIZATION THAT THEY ARE THE LINK BETWEEN FAMILY MEMBERS (CHILDREN, PARENTS-IN-LAW, PARENTS, SIBLINGS) WITHOUT ASKING ANYTHING IN RETURN, OUT OF A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS OTHERS, INCLUDING THEIR PARTNERS

In these cases, women's feelings of utter responsibility within their family structures reveals the extent to which a positive quality can become a pathology that runs against the subject herself. Most of these women have not only spent years of anxiety alongside their partners, but also have

continued to be the link in their family structures and even in other relationships, with friends, workmates and so on, without reporting the abuse perpetrated against them and never failing to care for others as if they were suffering no harm. This “naturalized” attitude in many women’s outlooks on life and conduct again denotes their inability to position themselves where they are entitled to be, in the place of someone who needs and demands nurturing.

- .. that of course. When I say no one, it’s no one because among other reasons my family, my parents and siblings, have worries of their own... and really don’t need me to burden them with my problems. And in the midst of all these episodes I’d go to parents’ association meetings at our children’s school with my face all swollen, saying that I’d had a car accident, and I went to take care of my mother, who later died, poor thing, and you know, lots of things. My parents-in-law, listen, I took care of my parents-in-law until they died, but I never said anything. That’s why they couldn’t believe it when he threw me down the stairs. They kept asking why I’d never said anything, that I’d never complained.
- How was I going to say anything, when it’s up to each shepherd to look after his own flock? We’re grown ups. Too old to be going to our siblings, or girlfriends or anyone... I told you that I was ashamed, but then you think, but what can I say? Why? if they can’t do anything about it. And besides, you don’t just go around telling people about your problems. At least I don’t. I think that we should try to help and not burden people with more sorrow.
- I couldn’t tell my father because he had a heart condition and that would have made him ill. My mother, poor thing, needed to be helped more than to listen to my problems, and my siblings, one unemployed and the other walking the tightrope. My family needs to be helped more than to go to them with more problems... other families, I don’t know... but that’s where mine is. And really, when I was able to help my parents, my nieces and nephews, in the end I felt better because it was like a respite from what was going on here at home.
- I admit that I’m not one to go around complaining about my lot. On the contrary, in all the years I spent with ...I tried to make sure that no one would find out and the best way to do that was to be there for others. Because I was always able to come and go as I pleased because he worked from early in the morning and didn’t come home till late at night. So I could spend my time however I wanted. I took care of my mother-in-

law while she was in the hospital many, many times. And I never told her what was going on, of course. Or my sisters-in-law either, because it didn't seem right to go to his family with those things.

- *AND YOURS?*
- *No, not mine either.*
- *AND YOUR GIRLFRIENDS? SURELY YOU HAVE GIRLFRIENDS?*
- *After all those years, no... but when I had them, in the beginning, no, of course not.*

The raw extremes to which THE FEMALE RELATIONAL SELF, which maintains that a woman is not only with others but for others, can reach show how identifying with that relational role may blur the subject's own personality, her own being. One of the denaturalizing factors in these interviewees' dramas referred to in earlier chapters, namely the shame involved in talking about their suffering and humiliation, can be more readily understood from this perspective.

NEAR INABILITY TO THINK OF, PERCEIVE THEMSELVES AUTONOMOUSLY (PERSONAL SELF) FOR HAVING BEEN SOCIALIZED TO HONOUR THE PRINCIPLE OF HETERONOMY (RELATIONAL SELF)

Heteronomy is unquestionably one of the main characteristics of the construction of the feminine identity. It entails the ability not only to play, but to be, several roles at the same time, to the point of disappearing behind them because they form part of women's everyday task, as inescapable parts of the female identity that can neither be challenged nor rejected. Being mothers, wives, but also housewives, workers, mediators between different subjects in all manner of relationships, makes it extremely difficult to think of and perceive themselves as autonomous subjects, people able to confront the most elementary questions of our times: Who do I want to be? What do I want for myself? Why can't I be happier?

- *... All I've ever done was to take care of my family, my children, my husband. And look, this is all I have to show for it. And there were plenty of days, plenty I assure you, that I would have given up because there are*

times that you feel that you're at the end of your tether and you feel empty. And I don't mean that for my children, who are the best thing that ever happened to me, but for everything... I don't know. Because you feel unsatisfied with yourself, not with others, you know... These are things that pop into your head, but that aren't all that important.

- *BUT DIDN'T YOU EVER THINK THAT PERHAPS IT WAS AT THOSE TIMES THAT YOU WERE EXPRESSING WHAT YOU REALLY FELT, MORE DEEPLY, MORE TRULY?*
- *I don't know, I never thought of it that way, you know that women are the queens of depression.*
- *Of course, I couldn't tell my mother or my father what was going on, and my sisters either. My girlfriends? I was ashamed, and so you start to turn inward, more and more and you realize that the time comes that you feel awful, without knowing very well why. And still you have to get up and clean the house and take care of the children and do the grocery shopping as if nothing was wrong, as if you were a normal person doing normal things because you see that you keep doing them as if you were completely well, no matter how big a lie that is. I used to look at other women and think, are they really as normal as they look? Because maybe they think the same about me and look... but well, I had so many other things to think about, the time comes that you don't need to think or question anything, anything at all.*
- *What did I do? Well more of the same, but more of it. I would just keep going all day long. Since I worked as ... my nights were full and when I came home at six or seven in the morning, I looked after the children, the house. There were times that I'd go for two days straight without sleeping, and I didn't feel tired because you're so into one thing and another, longing to forget about it all that keeping busy all day was the best thing I could do. But of course, then I fell into such a deep depression that I had to be medicated for nearly a year. My psychiatrist told me that in addition to taking the anti-depressants I had to talk to others, tell them how I felt. But do you think you can walk around telling people about your problems and your sorrows? Come on. I don't do that... I've never done it, I don't know how to do it.*

Given the new circumstances in which these women confront life, with chronic and irreversible disabilities as well as weighty responsibilities toward their children and with a deep sensation of indisputable affective failure, they are not likely to pose the questions alluded to here about their living conditions and the reasons for their unhappiness. Or if they do, it will be very late in the

day and under conditions of extreme disadvantage. For that reason the first way that they tend to cope is by taking shelter in their new identity, which entails, again, assuming a series of roles, in particular the mother's role as a way of making sense of their lives.

- *(Crying) Now all I want is to live in peace with my girls, they'll know how to take care of me, give me the affection I need, and I don't want to have to think about anything else. I've already buried both my parents, and what hurts most is that I buried them alive because they weren't prepared for something like this... really they weren't, but now I only want to have my daughters here with me, dedicate my life to them because they need me and I need them...*
- *YES, BUT YOU'RE STILL A YOUNG WOMAN. PERHAPS YOU COULD RE-BUILD YOUR AFFECTIVE LIFE WITH ANOTHER MAN. THIS MAY NOT BE THE RIGHT TIME TO THINK ABOUT THAT, BUT STILL...*
- *No, I assure you, I want none of that. Just my daughters, my daughters and only my daughters.*
- *What are my expectations for the years to come? I want to be close to my children, that's all I ask... they're young, they still need me a lot. It's true that they need to see me get better, although the hopes of getting out of this wheelchair are slim. But I'm devoted to them heart and soul, I think I need to be because, besides, that's what I've always wanted to do. Now that he's not around, that he's not going to bother me, what I want is to be a good mother and, if I can, even if it is from this heavy wheelchair that weighs on me so, a good father... My children, they're what matter most to me.*
- *And after coming out of the coma I was depressed for nearly a year. Not only sad, but not wanting anything. But fortunately the meds help and now what I need to do is bring up my children, help my mother who, poor thing, is getting on and is going to be able to do less and less. And though I can't see, that doesn't matter, at least I'll be able to be the authority in our house, make sure that we don't run off course. Because when a father disappears from children's lives they way theirs did, it's very hard on them and on all of us. But look, I think the time comes when you have to find the strength to do what needs to be done and what needs to be done is to take care of the children, make sure they study, make their way in life, learn from this awful experience how to be good people, and if possible to help their mother make her way too...*

LIBERAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES YET LIVING WITH TRADITIONALLY-MINDED, INTOLERANT AND VIOLENT MEN FOR LOVE AND OUT OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR BONDS TO THOSE MEN AND TO OTHERS

When we characterize the interviewees as subjects with liberal values and attitudes, we refer almost exclusively to their very positive opinion about equality among all human beings, regardless of sex, age and social status. We refer explicitly to their deep conviction that no one should abuse anyone else under any circumstances and that, based on their own experience, they oppose any form of physical imposition.

These views, which stem from their own personal experience, have carried them to much more liberal positions than many would have desired, for they would have preferred to live by more traditional, conservative values if life had not subjected them to the extreme experience of having a violent partner. These women have modernized – metaphorically speaking – as a result of having to put up, against their will, with men with very traditional views of their relationship, but especially because that conservative position took the form of intolerance and even violence. As pointed out in an earlier discussion, these men’s traditional attitudes toward their relationships with their partners are completely independent of their political ideologies, since such attitudes are wholly compatible with both left- and right-wing militancy. The point we’ve tried to make in this section is that the differences between these men and their partners, described very straightforwardly by the women as “irreconcilable differences”, «incompatible views of things” and so on, were endured and maintained due to these women’s overdeveloped sense of responsibility toward the men and toward all the bonds that tied them together, i.e., children, the rest of the family, friends and so on. That sense of responsibility prevented them from realizing the danger they were in, which materialized in such tragic consequences. This unhealthy sense of responsibility would appear to be based on the fact that, as mentioned above, all of them assumed that they were not in serious danger either because of the many years they had lived with their partners or, on the other extreme, because of the lack of any relationship with the perpetrator.

- ... I thought about getting a separation often, because there was obviously no longer anything between us, although I have to admit that we had some good times together, that he liked to take a stroll, and travel, and we’ve taken fantastic trips together, really, and we had some very good times. But when I thought about it seriously, I realized that our differences

were irreconcilable, but we had the children, our families, relationships of all kinds. And what you think then is that your responsibility to everyone else is more than your responsibility to yourself. And of course, I never dared to take that step until what happened finally happened. But I truly believe that if I hadn't posed the separation, I wouldn't be where I am today...

- *What happened to us all our lives is that we had incompatible views of things... of almost everything: we couldn't even agree about the simplest things, really. Until one fine day I thought, well, if this is what I have to put up with for the girls, for the family, because I always thought that my father would suffer horribly because he never liked my partner, but since at first I defended him so ardently, well I didn't have the nerve to tell my father that he was right, that the man was a beast and that I'd made a mistake. I couldn't do it. And the girls, because he loved the girls immensely, that's the truth, I know that. But then you say, he loves them but he's deformed for life and he could have killed me. Can he really love the girls if he did that? I don't know. All I know is that I can't undo what's been done. But I've ended up this way because I stayed with him for the girls, for the family, for everyone except for myself.*
- *It's true that I was completely unable to see the danger, but I couldn't because you get used to your husband beating you, just as my grandmother was used to not having running water. You look back and think, what a beast, what an animal, but because you expect there to be a limit, a barrier... Now in my condition it seems absurd to have been caught in that trap but I didn't think... and I did think of my children, that what was best for them was not to know what was going on. And not only from them, but the family, the people you love, you want to protect them too because... Well I don't know, but that's what you do, and you're totally wrong, of course. The thing is that when you're a mother you feel super-responsible, overly so. You act like a lioness with her cubs, you know?*

STRONG FEMINIST CONVICTIONS, DEFENCE OF EQUALITY IN PUBLIC LIFE, ALONGSIDE THE INABILITY TO PUT THOSE CONVICTIONS INTO PRACTICE IN THEIR PRIVATE LIVES

As a corollary of the preceding discussion on open-mindedness, these women, as interviewees in a study conducted by a female researcher, support the presence of women in positions of public responsibility, defend women's rights and regard them to be at least as capable as men. And they don't seem

to have any doubt that women are as apt as men to perform physical or intellectual work and are efficient in everything they do. But at the same time – beware – they find women capable of utter dedication to others or to a cause and able to simultaneously play different roles.

- *... I would certainly never have talked to a man, but since you're a woman I feel more comfortable because we women have shown that we can do things as well or better than men. And more than that, I tell you, I've always thought, I've been an avid feminist all my life because I don't see any reason to underestimate women like they've done with some of us, because not all men have the same abilities. And I think the time has come for women in Spain and everywhere to head companies, the government, anything, because I've always believed that we're earnest and willing to do whatever's needed.*
- *One of the things we always argued about was women, and that I would never have even dreamt... He always tried to show that our strength and biology aren't the same, that we're not prepared to do things outside the home that call for a lot of dedication. And I would answer, no, that in other countries women were doing the same things that men were. But it was impossible to talk about those things because he'd start to say that I was a liberal, and that if it were up to me women would run around naked and what kind of upbringing would that be for the children... you understand? We could never see eye-to-eye on that and I admit that I've always been very radical about women's rights, but with him you had to be radical to offset his reactionary views. But it's true, I've always been a staunch defender of women's rights...*
- *BUT WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU DID AGREE ABOUT? BECAUSE HOW COULD YOU MAINTAIN A RELATIONSHIP ALL THOSE YEARS IF IT WAS SO HARD TO AGREE ABOUT ANYTHING?*
- *Look, no matter how crazy this sounds, I've always defended women, but not women as men's superiors, which is what he always came back with, but I've always believed in equality, sensible equality, with true mutual respect and where all of us see ourselves for what we are, for what we're worth...*
- *BUT IN YOUR PRIVATE LIFE, WHEN YOU WERE ALONE, DO YOU THINK HE EVER GAVE THE IMPRESSION IN ANY WAY THAT HE REGARDED WOMEN TO BE ON AN EQUAL FOOTING?*
- *In his own way, yes, but it was different from mine. For him I was someone who had to fulfil my part of the contract, and that consisted in the house,*

my husband, the children... and I always thought that a woman is what she wants to be, what she thinks is best for her...

– HOW, THEN, DO YOU EXPLAIN YOUR OWN EXPERIENCE?

– *Women are wonderful, in whatever we decide to do. I'm tired of seeing that women are much more open-minded, much fresher, much more willing than many men, despite having to fight on several fronts at the same time. And we also know that no one is going to thank you for what you've done. Because that's just the way it is. We can do anything, sometimes more than men, but we do it without anybody noticing. I can see that from the many women who do their jobs really well in private companies, in government, everywhere. And then those apes don't acknowledge anything, because they don't know how to appreciate what they've got, near or far...*

– HOW DO YOU VIEW WOMEN WITH RESPECT TO MEN? WHAT'S YOUR PICTURE OF WOMEN, PERSONALLY?

– *Well, splendid, the highest score. Are you asking because you want to know why I stayed with someone like that for so long? Well, personally I think he was the one who made me a feminist, and a radical one at that. I'd be the first to support a law that would allow them to cut the dicks off of riffraff like them... Yes, yes, don't laugh... first because they're the ones to criticize women when we're on the rag and look what they're capable of doing to their children's mother. Not just anyone, don't get me wrong... but admit what everyone knows. Because you have to be really out of it to think that women are useless, nowadays.*

... but there's an obvious divide between this ratification of their support for feminist causes and women's legitimate rights in the public domain and their dramatic experiences. It is not our intention to censure their inconsistency. On the contrary, ***what we're attempting is to show that these pathetic circumstances, this abuse in the private domain, were not authored by men with extravagant personalities, and even less perpetrated against women much different from others anywhere in Spain, in cities and villages, north and south, east and west.*** What we're attempting to show is that these women lived hidden lives in which they internalized the contradiction of sharing a roof with men who thought and felt differently than they. Whilst they were reasonably aware and active and had access to current, "politically correct" values difficult to waive or censure, underneath that modern veneer lay women at risk.

- *Of course, I know that's the way it is, but that's the story of my life. No one could ever suspect that behind a woman like me, who's been in street demonstrations for all sorts of causes, including women's rights, was an abused woman. Before I was blinded, try to understand this, I would have been ashamed to tell my family and friends what I was going through. But of course, it took a long while for me to realize that I was an abused woman... when I understood that, things changed, but you can't imagine what an effort that was...*
- *... because you can say, how awful, the women in Afghanistan, in those places, where they have to wear a veil, ... and he even said that, too. But that doesn't matter now, it really doesn't. I just couldn't bring myself to do what I had to do to keep what was happening from happening. I could feel and even now I feel pity for those women. But it wasn't until I could see myself in a mirror, six months after it happened, it wasn't until then that I actually realized what was going on and that I thought one thing but was living something completely different...*
- *You never think that what happens to you is bad, not even when it happens. True, now that I think back on it, when I saw that woman on television whose husband set fire to her because she wanted a separation and she went to a TV programme, I don't remember on which of those sensationalist channels, I said at home and I truly thought, poor thing. And of course, I was the first one to say, in my conversations with my neighbours, my sisters, because that was the subject of conversation then, how horrible. And now look, I almost ended up the same way.*

LACK OF SELF-CONFIDENCE DUE TO THEIR DISABILITY AND UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THEIR OWN CAPACITY TO INTERPRET REALITY

Beneath the many complex difficulties confronted by these women as a result of their acquired disability, despite which they continue to be practising mothers, daughters, sisters, heads of household, workers, and so on, understandably lie emotional and psychological effects that consist, in a word, in a loss of self-confidence. That confidence will not be readily recovered for, not only does their inevitable depression upwell when they evoke the tragic circumstances of their lives, but narrating their experience in itself makes them realize that they failed to correctly perceive and evaluate their relationships, due to the complexity involved. In other words, although they were unable to perceive the risk they ran by living with violent partners (and

consolidating that relationship by bearing their children and enduring systematic abuse for a long time, in most cases) without doing anything to protect themselves, it is now extremely difficult to dissuade them that they failed in their defence of their own integrity.

– *Of course... now, you're probably thinking, now that it's too late, now that I'm unfortunately tied to this wheelchair, I feel worse about realizing that my life is pretty much over or has taken a turn that I could never have imagined. What hurts most when I look back is that I feel like I've been a dunce not to have realized what was going on. Because I never thought that this could happen, that it could happen to me. But there were clear signs that we were going to end up in serious trouble... and that failure to realize what was going on, what could have happened to my children, that I assure you is what hurts most and what frightens me most, more than he or anyone else frightens me, I'm afraid of myself... I don't know how to explain it.*

– *I THINK YOU EXPLAIN IT VERY WELL*

– *And now what's left is to keep on living... for my children, my family gives me a lot of support but I don't know... And what I've found since I've been going to physical therapy and have begun to feel a little, just a little more at ease, is that I'm unsure of myself. And that didn't used to be, or at least I didn't notice it, because I was always very up and ready, and self-assured. But now I'm afraid to have to make decisions, I think I'm going to make a mistake and that frightens me. Every morning, instead of thinking whether I'm going to recover, even though they've told me that I won't be able to recover mobility because the cervical vertebrae are broken... But I'm frightened to have to decide whether to move, help my children choose a field of study – because the oldest will be going to the university next year, God willing. And that hits me hard, here, more than anything else because I'm so afraid of making a mistake: that paralyzes me even more than the paralysis, believe me.*

– *And now? I can't make decisions, the psychologist tells me I'm... what does he call it? I'm decision-impaired. That's what he told me. And what I'm afraid of is that I have to move on and I don't even want to have to decide what kind of bread to buy (seriously). You're not going to believe this, but my sister came to visit, from ... and she asked, what bread do you want me to buy? And I didn't know and not because I don't know the difference between whole wheat or rye. It's that I'm afraid of anything that's up to me, I think I'm going to make a mistake... I don't know if you can understand that I don't know what I'm like now.*

What has been obviously damaged in very complex and thorough ways in each and every one of these women's personalities is their self-confidence, as they realize that their perception and comprehension of what was happening around them, in their own lives, was utterly mistaken. And in that structural aspect of their identities, the errors that they actually made can hardly be glossed over, nor can much consolation be provided, because the core of the problem lies there, although that of course, in no way relieves the perpetrators of their guilt or responsibility. The women themselves, in their testimonies, acknowledge that inability and understand the snowball effect of having failed to comprehend what was happening, what could happen if they stayed with their partners, and of not being able to see that they themselves would be the first victims of those unhealthy personalities.

- *I spend many sleepless nights, because for me every day is the same as the day before and the nights too. And I wonder, what was I thinking when I lived with ...? How could I have not seen how dangerous he was? Because though you see me now in a bed where I'm going to have to spend the rest of my life, and I'm forty three, I assure that I've slept in this same bed with the man who did this to me. And I never thought that anything would happen to me, believe it or not.*

EXISTENCE OF A DEPRESSIVE UNDERTONE AND LATENT ANXIETY, VERY VISIBLE TO THE INTERVIEWER

Unsurprisingly, these women are facing their current circumstances in a state of anxiety and deep depression. Some are in counselling, but not all have that option for a number of structural reasons. Although the terms depression and anxiety are often used as synonyms, they are actually quite different and describe different ways people cope with their experiences. Anxiety is related to the grief and impact of an experience and the inability to recognize its adverse consequences, whereas depression is the turning point in the confrontation with new and negative circumstances. In extreme cases, it entails identification with such adversity as the sole feature of the individual's identity. Whereas some of the accounts reveal that these women have yet to accept their chronic disability caused by the men who were central to their affective lives, others show that the new task facing them is not to accept what happened, but rather to dissociate themselves from their major disability to be able to draw from other aspects of their lives, personalities, potential and relationships.

- *(crying). I have to say that deep down he may come back, and after he serves his sentence, that may make him reflect. And though this sounds odd, I know he still loves me. He has to, because you don't just throw a relationship that lasted all those years away, just like that. You can't just leave a woman who's put up with what I put up with. And I assure you that he loves me, that I know and maybe I'll recover from this...*

- *DO YOU THINK YOU'RE GONG TO GET YOUR SIGHT BACK?*

- *No, my sight, no, of course not. But at least I'm not going to be crying all the time and thinking about him... No? You can't stay like this all your life. And where is he going to go when he gets out of jail? I think more about him and our children than about myself, actually.*

- *...I have no life left. I can breathe, wait for my daughters to grow up and help me and hope I won't be a burden on them, and that's all. I'm completely useless. I've been granted full disability, but it's a pittance. But I don't want anything because a cripple for life like me can't want anything.*

9

FAMILY STRUCTURE AND DYSFUNCTION

That all these women's relationships (the family units they formed, both spouses' or both partners' families of origin, their important networks of separate and common friends) fell apart after they suffered the violence perpetrated against them may seem obvious. But it isn't. And it isn't because institutional responsibilities or governmental support policies must evaluate the potential deterioration and its side effects on any others who may have been involved to be able to take the most suitable action. These women are not just another case of acquired disability as a result of an accident or some other fortuitous event. Rather, their situation is the result of violence that is enormously complex and involves many other subjects and relationships and much more conflict than might initially be perceived, spreading beyond what might initially be thought to be the sole subjects, relationships and conflicts affected by this particular form of violence.

The imprint of an act of violence, whether a single episode or the culmination of systematic abuse, able to condemn a woman to chronic and irreversible disability, creates a stigma that extends beyond the victim herself to her entire immediate family, even when none of its members has been physically injured. By "entire" we mean not only the couple's sons and daughters, who are in the front line of the impact, but also the victim's as well as the perpetrator's families of origin, who cannot by any means feel unaffected by the situation. Friends and people in the physical surroundings, neighbours who are moved and express their sorrow or shock, and people who may have covered up or discovered the events, are similarly impacted.

- *...look, one of the things that struck me most was that the neighbours, people you run into on the landing... Isn't it a coincidence that they came out when you rang just now? They're always on the watch because they know that he's free and they know all too well how it all happened. And they're very careful and are always alert to any noise, anything that might happen. When he threw the acid at me, the first people I went to for help, well I shouted for help as I banged on their door, was them, the ... Their son and mine go to the same school. And they've been wonderful, because before, since I was foreign, they didn't pay much attention to me really, but since this happened, they've been like family.*

I understand because I would have reacted the same way... that's just the way it is. They were very upset because they told me, besides, that they heard lots of fights and shouting and all that but that they never thought... so that's why, now, anything they hear or anything that happens... they're afraid he'll come back.

- *I have to say that besides the media, that come at first because you're news, but after that they're gone and it's sayonara baby... The first few days they'd take turns waiting outside. And my son didn't want to go to school because he was so ashamed and frightened after what happened. But really, everybody else in the town, everyone, everyone's been extremely helpful. My neighbours on both sides have been very supportive and... how can I say, moved, both the men and the women, because ... was also from ... and they couldn't believe it, they really couldn't. They couldn't believe that someone from here could do something like this. And they took care of me and they're still taking care of us now, they've helped a lot and still are. And years have gone by. They still tell me that they feel guilty for not having stopped ... before this happened.*

- *...of course, in my case, the list of thank yous would be infinite. But look, for years we were only on "good day" terms, because we, or more exactly, he, put people off because he was always brusque and a little arrogant. But since this happened and I came back from ... in a wheelchair, I have to admit that I have a family, a family in the whole building because some days I even have to give them back the food they bring us, because they all, the women I mean, make a little more to make sure I get plenty to eat. Some days I've had two cups of custard here, and crème caramel... It's been quite a revelation and in fact, it's ironic, they've become friendlier among themselves since my disability. Ah well...*

But whilst all these relationships are affected by the advent of female disability caused by male violence, we should focus here on one dimension alluded to earlier: the fact that the original relationships between the members of the couple involved in the assault fit different patterns and approaches to the relationship itself. To put it another way, in the present survey, despite the brevity of the sample, violence against women was found to exist in a number of different types of partnering, with and without children. The different types of structures and absence of structures are summarized below.

COUPLES MARRIED IN THE CHURCH: These are very traditional couples, including deeply religious people who adhere strictly to the precepts and sacraments of the Catholic Church, for whom a wedding is much more than a social ritual.

- *I don't know how he must feel now because we've both always been very much into the faith, so I imagine he's having a hard time of it. His sister told me that since he's been in jail he's asked to see his confessor a couple of times, but that's all I know because since he's been in prison and I'm like this, we haven't seen one another. And my children don't want to have anything to do with him. They say that as far as they're concerned he's dead. In fact the oldest of the three told me that he's lost faith, that I should give up trying because he's lost faith in everything, but first in his father. And what can you say? I don't know what to say. But that's another of my troubles because through thick and thin, my faith has always helped me endure in life and it saddens me for my children to have lost that. And their father too. We met and started to go out in ... parish, in our neighbourhood and that's where we were married... and we were churchgoers for years. But then we quit going. Once I had to be hospitalized because I broke two ribs in a fight with him. Well, not exactly a fight... it was a beating. And after that, it was hard for us to go to mass..., but we're both very religious.*

- *We got married in the church when no one was doing that anymore and we had a lovely ceremony with bread and wine from the village and who knows what else. The priest who married us was a friend, one of those who wore jeans all the time. And my father said, he can't be a priest, you're trying to fool me. And he had to show him a certificate stating where his parish was... because my mother had never seen a wedding like that. They were really angry. My father especially, my mother less. And his family because they were commies, they always have been and in ... where he was from, that was close to my village, well it was the biggest city close by, well there the whole family ... is known for being reds. But... he was religious even though he was a communist but he never liked was all the pomp and circumstance and all that, but he always said that Christ had been a revolutionary, even for the most orthodox Catholics.*

COUPLES WITH CIVIL MARRIAGES: This type of marriage is typical of people unbound by religious convention but who believe in marriage as a civil institution, for them and their children. We may, then, assume that

these are couples who at no time questioned the soundness of their relationship or its future and who acknowledged the institution as its legal substantiation.

- *It never even crossed our minds to get married in the Church, but we did want a civil marriage, because it wasn't fair to impose a social status on our children that only affected us. It was best for us to get married, and then those other things, baptism, communion and all that, well no, not that, we'd explain to them that we didn't believe in that. And the Church of course, sounded like something pre-historical to us. Luckily we didn't run into those problems because the children went to a public school and my daughter, who's now at the university, also went to a public high school, like my son now, who's younger. And yet we're civically minded, we didn't think anything of getting a civil marriage, and even though we were already living together: we threw a big party and everything.*
- *He's, well he was, my second husband, and that's why we only got a civil marriage, but frankly speaking, he and I would have both liked to have been married in the Church. Because the ceremony is nicer, of course. But we couldn't and shouldn't have anyway, even though he says he believes in God, you can't trust anything he says. I don't know what he means when he says he believes in God and then goes and does what he did to me... but to answer your question, yes, we did have a civil marriage.*
- **HAD YOU BEEN MARRIED LONG?**
- *Several years, seven to be exact, but always with all those problems: you never knew what was going to happen next. There was never a reason for anything and anything was enough. My daughter, from my first marriage, used to wonder out loud, poor thing, about not knowing why he was going to get riled because there never seemed to be a reason, or everything was a reason. And she was still little, because I got a separation when she was only around five. And by the time she was eight, we were living with ... and shortly after we married. And I'll never forget one day at home she said: I'll bet you he'll get angry in less than half an hour. And she was right.*

COMMON-LAW COUPLES: That is to say, couples who live together because they decided to, with no manner of institutional – civil or religious – tie, even after their children were born.

- *...no, we weren't married, we never married even when our daughter was born, even though our families pressured us a little for the child and all, but we didn't want that kind of a bond. He, of course, recognized our daughter immediately, and we never had any problems for that reason. On the contrary, we used to take a jibe at our friends who did get married, and call them old-fashioned. We never, ever had any kind of problem, on the contrary, like I say... our problems came when he'd go over the deep end, get his wires crossed. But we never argued about politics and such or about our lives or ideology. There we always agreed.*

- *...I think it was because it seemed artificial to us, although we weren't together for more than three years, which isn't very long. Once in a while he'd insinuate that if I wanted we could get married. But you know? it was always when he'd just come out of one of his spells or after one of those hellish days and he'd feel guilty. And then he'd come with the let's get married refrain. But I never thought of it as something that he wanted, and me even less. But that wasn't a problem or an issue for us, not at all, at all. Whether or not we were married I think things would have gone just as wrong and now, look... since we had witnesses that we lived together and stuff, I haven't had any problem getting benefits, none of that.*

SECOND RELATIONSHIPS: These are couples who bring children from a former relationship to the partnership, and then have children of their own within it. These children, from former or present relationships, appear to be accepted and received generously on both sides. These new couples, moreover, are formed with the expectations characteristic of more mature, better thought-out relationships, more open to the diversity of understanding and acceptance, in which the other member of the couple is viewed and valued as a subject with a history of his/her own, which will be accepted in the new home.

The two narratives cited below, particularly when set against the backdrop of the events that followed, are highly relevant to the aim of this ninth section: namely, to clearly show that the type of relationship *per se* does not constitute a specific symptom able to predict when and how a relationship can reach the pathological state that generates the circumstances reviewed here.

- *... of course he knew, how could he not know, since it was the first thing I told him when we met. The very night we met I told him I had*

a daughter, of course I did. Besides, in my country hardly any woman who's twenty-six years old like I was when I met him is childless, hardly any. And I remember he asked whether I had only one. Because most of the women who immigrate to Spain have left children behind in... But when I saw that we were getting serious, that's when I got up the nerve, and he encouraged me, to bring my daughter to Spain. And soon after that I got pregnant and I was ecstatic because he was a very good man and he thought it was fine that I had a daughter and he insisted that she should live with us. And when she came... we had a few wonderful months together because he was fine, he'd opened a shop in ... with a partner, they were great months, everything was great. And having my daughter with me and being pregnant, I was mad with joy. I never suspected that things would pan out the way they later did. It's true that when he had a little too much to drink he'd get more violent, but he never got into fights, just arguments, but not with me, and of course not with my daughter. Because he always treated my first daughter very lovingly, even right up to the end when this happened and he threw acid into my face and he maimed me like this...

- *We'd both been in relationships as youngsters and we both knew that we each had a history of relationships that had borne fruit. I met his son about a year after I met him, but he met my daughter very soon after we started to go out because we'd been truthful to one another from the start and because he wanted to meet her. Besides, since ... lived with me, he met her right off, but his son lived with his mother,...'s ex, and wasn't around that much. But all four of us have been on holiday together, before our own two children were born. Because, look, we each had a child but then we had two sons of our own, the two little ones, ... andAnd although those were tough years because he lost his job twice, because they were years when you had to walk the tightrope a lot, and yet they were very good years. Because we were happy together and he felt good about himself and when he was with the children and me, things were going more or less well for us. Even so, even then he had bouts, times when he'd get very aggressive, irrational. Once he had a fist fight with one of his workmates and he was reported because it was his fault and I suspected that ... had gone on one of his usual tirades, when he'd see red everywhere and wouldn't listen to reason. And besides, he was strong, devilishly strong... Well, as you see, I'm not tiny or skinny and he picked me up and threw me down the stairwell, six storeys down. But the fact that we both had children before that was never a problem. And my sons still see ..., his first son, because he's they're brother, of course. But he, the first son, hasn't gone to see his father, and doesn't want to.*

COUPLES NOT LIVING TOGETHER These are couples who don't live together yet, but plan to do so in the framework of a civil or religious marriage, like most Spanish couples. The situations that arise, however, and bring on the same type of tragedy as in women who have lived with their partners for many years, namely chronic disability as a result of gender-based violence, stem from the same type of conflict: the men cannot bear for the women to put an end to the relationship, opt for a form of independence as an alternative, even where no third party is involved: i.e., breaking up in the absence of any other man. Hence the significance of verifying the existence of this constant (that is nonetheless never the sole cause of the violence exerted by men against women): men's inability to cope with the blow to their pride dealt by the realization that these women can live without them. The fact that the women involved can opt for living by themselves, with no other man as the reason, is what confounds them most.

- *... live together, well we talked about it, of course...but with plans and dates and all that you mean? No, never that, but we'd been going out for two years and my family knew who he was because his family is from around here. And my parents and his know each other from when they used to hang out together as children in this neighbourhood and ... were close because they hadn't built the Avenue yet. Back then what's now two neighbourhoods was only one. But how can I say? Yeah, we'd talked about marriage and buying a home together and getting one of those home savings accounts and all that, but then... I don't know. It's not like I thought about getting married in the Church, because the ceremony's nicer and all, but we broke up like so many couples do. It's not like I went to that TV show to criticize him... I don't know. But I realized that I wasn't in love with him, he's a good person and such, well, now I know he's a son of a bitch because otherwise how could he do this to me. And you know, I think what was hardest for him was the fact that there wasn't anyone else. If there'd been another man in the picture he might have taken it more calmly, you know. But he stalked me to the point that not even my father, not even the police could get him off my tail... he waited for his chance to maim me like this.*

DATES WITH FRIENDS The implausibility surrounding these situations provides what may be conclusive clues to the total unpredictability of their occurrence, and therefore to the impossibility of controlling violence so insane that it can disable a woman. Although seemingly absurd, situations

of violence against women to the point of disabling them for life have been observed in relationships so tenuous that they hardly deserve the name, i.e., in the context of non-relationships or first encounters with no manner of hierarchy or project:

- *Bah... we'd barely even seen one another a second time. There wasn't anything between us, nothing at all, we were part of a group that hung out together – you go out with friends for a drink and then all of a sudden the guy goes berserk and I get ruined for life.*

The review of these different structures in relationships, pre-relationships and non-relationships, ratifies what we've consistently maintained in this report: that ***there's not single relationship structure that might anticipate the potential appearance of asymmetric violence toward women that eventually adopts tragic dimensions.***

Consequently, the reasons for violence against women so outrageous that it disables them do not appear to lie in couples' relationship structures. Rather, violence appeared in these women's relationships, much to their and their families' misfortune, whether such bonds were institutionalized or based on a simple mutual agreement, involved living together or not, had existed for a long time or not at all. In other words, it is not in the relationship, but in the subjects themselves (the men, indisputably, the result of former or simultaneous relationships) where we will have to delve to find the reasons for the men's aggressive behaviour and the women's inhibition and deficient sense of self-defence.

And that is that.. Two major inferences might be gleaned from the information collected during this survey based on the interviews with these women:

A) On the one hand, the ambiguity of these men's personalities in terms of their relationships, their behaviour and their complex clashes between Eros and Thanatos²⁶, ratified by all the responses in this survey. In these ambiguous, or in some cases clinically diagnosed as schizophrenic,

²⁶ We refer to the interpretational notions of these two mythological figures introduced by Sigmund Freud in his classic *Civilization and its Discontents* (Ed. Amorrortu, 1982), in which he uses them to symbolize the struggle or tension between love and discord.

personalities, positive feelings of affection, caring, understanding, respect, solidarity and so on are compatible with or survive in their personality structures alongside the most abject of opposites: the capacity to abuse to the point of attempting to kill another person whose gender and relationship makes her weaker, and most of the time, cowed.

- *“We were a normal couple, one of the crowd, and he had plenty of good qualities, he was very affectionate, even with my first daughter, from a prior marriage. But I never knew why, nearly once a week he would invent an excuse to beat me... and that I couldn’t talk about because everyone thought he was such a good, nice, loving person... and he was... but you never knew what was going to happen or why.*
- *What’s pretty much unbelievable is that you would say we were a perfect couple... loving, tremendously loving... but when he would say, let’s go into the kitchen, if it wasn’t once a week it was every two, that was it and that’s when all hell would break loose.*
- *... and it’s not the typical situation where someone is evil, and look, I’m saying this from a wheelchair. No.. he was, could be, charming when he wanted, not many people are so nice. He was a good dancer, funny... but when he’d go over the edge, when he flared up, then he was a demon. You know what I mean? Because he wasn’t the kind of guy who’d go around shouting, but he could twist your arm till it broke...like this arm that I can’t move any more, but before that, he broke it.*
- *...and he was always very skilful about wrapping people around his finger, even me, everyone, because he’d studied a lot, read a lot, he knew a lot, and not only that, he was fun to be around... no one could think that underneath there was a person able to leave you in a well in the middle of nowhere, and in front of our son, poor thing: what hurt most was to hear him crying. But he’s mixed up, very, but he’s a charmer. He even fooled the judge and that’s why she gave him custody, because he made it look like I was the one who was mentally unstable.*
- *He was very outgoing and always wanting to make a good impression. Why, lots of times we’d sit in a circle listening to his jokes and the things he’d say. To me he seemed charming, but look, who could have told me what was going to happen later... and later was just three hours later.*

The personalities of the men who disabled our narrators so irreversibly, however, as described by their victims, were aggravated by a trait characteristic of the interviewees themselves, also identified by these women:

B) On the other, their expressive abilities were severely inhibited because they felt ashamed to be in such unfortunate circumstances. One of the first consequences of the violence they suffered was that it annihilated their self-esteem. This, in turn, made them feel disqualified to undertake any firm personal action that would have enabled them to set immediate limits prior to the first signs of aggression, in particular reporting the abuse. Moreover, these men's violence also appeared in unpredictable circumstances, such as in a group of young friends, and even in cases where the couple was not living together. Certainly, the intense violence they wielded lacked any structure, going on systematically for years in some cases but emerging in the context of casual relationships in others. But finally, shame, inhibition and, as a sequel, a deep sense of a lack of the ability to defend their personal and especially their emotional integrity, are present in all these women, even when the ones who had no stable relationship with the perpetrator.

- *Shame is something that you carry with you everywhere, and then you realize that you won't get over it, just as you won't get over being in a wheelchair, you own those two things forever. I don't know if I'll ever be able to get up out of this chair: the doctors tell me not to lose faith, that I'm only thirty seven and all those things they say to make you feel better. But I realize that there's something else I'll never be cured of, and that's the shame I feel that this has happened. Understand?*

- *I THINK SO. YOU THINK THAT ANYONE WHO LOOKS AT YOU, WHO COMES NEAR YOU, WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO FORGET YOUR BACKGROUND, WHAT HAPPENED, THAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN ABLE TO STAND UP TO YOUR HUSBAND, SOMETHING LIKE THAT?*

- *Exactly, you understand. Because if I had at least done something, hit him on the head with something, bitten him... but I never could and I never could because it was him, because it was as though I couldn't believe what was happening was happening, that he was really doing what he was doing...*

For these same reasons as asserted earlier, in addition to the physical or sensory disability to which these women have been condemned, all of them are also victims of psychological damage that may be as irreversible and chronic as their physical disabilities.

10 THE COMPLEXITY OF COMING TO TERMS WITH NEW REALITIES AS A RESULT OF VIOLENCE-INDUCED DISABILITY

Total disability entails some form of social exclusion. Disability, as pointed out in any number of forums, is not a shortcoming in the subjects themselves, but in their relationship with their surroundings. As such, it is a relational, never an autonomous, concept. In the event of acquired disability, the forms of exclusion are even more obvious and significant, inasmuch as the person's ability to adapt to her new reality is riddled with much greater complexity and difficulty. In addition to the disability itself, she must deal with emotional and psychological issues, as well as relationship conflicts stemming from her new situation. In adults still in their prime and full of vitality, acquired disability means seeking a way to carry on, learning new ways of doing everything, to find the connection between their before and after, in their own way and at their own pace.

When such disability is the result of violence committed against a woman by someone else and that someone else was, besides, a subject of vital importance in her affections, the dimensions of the personal tragedy are understandably incommensurable. In these women's violence-mediated disability, many other aspects of their realities and many other vital areas of their biography suffer virtually irreparable damage.

The pages below focus not only on the disabilities these women presently endure, some physical and some sensory, but also on the many other afflictions they face today, that are in a different dimension than the disability itself. ***Because taken as a whole, the various adversities that they suffer position them in a complex web of social exclusion that involves not only the loss of their jobs and the need to live on a disability pension. In addition, they are immersed in a complex mesh of circumstances in which, and because of which, their personal identity is crushed as the result of an uncontrollable lack of self-esteem and the blurring of vital strategic horizons and commitments. And intertwined in all of this is the profound sorrow and shame about what caused such suffering.***

The adversities revealed in the present survey do not, obviously, intend to cover all the possible symptoms generated by these experiences, but only to highlight the ones reiterated in the interviews.

LOSS OF SELF-CONFIDENCE Self-confidence is one of the character traits that collapses most immediately, even before the conclusive events directly causing the disability take place. The want of self-confidence is poorly compensated by a certain defensive omnipotence that leads the victim to believe that nothing can happen to her or, more precisely, that “he” won’t hurt her. Such trust underlies any strategic defence; it is what not only enables her to surmount difficult predicaments, but prior thereto, prevents her from reaching an extreme. The collapse of self-confidence in these cases is obviously the result of gradual but constant torment that prevents the victim from acting in time to avoid the risk to which she is exposed. What matters now, more than the recovery of self-confidence as a way of preventing chance events, is the recovery of trust to build relationships in which these women can feel partially compensated and partially gratified, aspects that seem not to have existed in their former relationships.

- *... well even though this happened in the month of ... two very long years ago, things weren't going at all well, not at all, for me, for a long time before that. The worst is not the beating itself, it's the fear that he'll beat you at any time, because there's no sense to it. And it doesn't matter whether you argue or you don't. That's what he succeeds in doing, he terrorizes you and always has you feeling down. Now that you see me with my face all deformed, with one eye gone and no sight in the other, I assure you that I'm better off now, because before that it was awful. And the worst isn't that I'm not going to recover from this, that I know, it's that I feel unsure of myself, of what I can do and what I can't... the things you trusted, even yourself, that's gone.*
- *You realize that you're drowning when all you've got left is a wisp of air. Before that you think it's normal to find it so hard to breathe, and that's what hurts after something like this. You realize that you had only been half-breathing and you put up with it all in part because you had no expectations, nothing.*
- *I've wanted to die so often, and if I didn't do it, kill myself, it was for my son and not, this is going to sound terrible, not out of love for ..., who's my only son. But because I was worried about what would happen to him if he his father were to take him in. But the desire to put an end to it all, that I felt for years, always bitter, always apathetic. I spent years dying alive,*

truly, lonely and with no one to turn to because no one could stand him, me either, but since I was his wife I thought I had to.

WORK AS SATISFACTION Some of these women had jobs outside the home. A few did non-remunerated housework. Both groups have been unable to do what they used to since they were disabled, but more than that, their present circumstances have deprived them of the ability to pursue any satisfying or gratifying activity that affords them self-fulfilment. This may appear to be a minor consequence, but not when the disability is irreversible. In their present situations their future lives are severely compromised in terms of any self-fulfilling occupation. They are especially frustrated by their inability to access the type of gratification that comes from personal endeavour and dedication, to perform activities not only for the remuneration earned, but for the personal satisfaction derived above and beyond their commercial value.

- In my country you get a degree after five years. Five years to get a degree in nursing, and now they're going to do the same here. But my degree is good for nothing to me now and although my mother tells me that here I draw a disability pension that I wouldn't have in ..., that's not the problem. The problem is that I'm never going to be able to be a nurse again in my life and I liked that work and I was good at it. I'm no good at just sitting in a chair, unable to see, for the rest of my life (crying). No pension can pay me for what I've lost and I lost it because I couldn't see how far our problems would go. Well, problems... what I mean is him.*
- Of course things can never go back to the way they were, for better or for worse, but for years what saved me was my profession. And not only because I earned the higher salary, not only for that. It saved me because I was happy with what I was doing. For twenty years, my job came first and then when I had my children, that was the best thing that happened to me. And now I'm sure that my children will leave eventually, although I hope not, and I hope that they'll take care of me because I'll need them for as long as I live. But above all, it's that I'll never be able to go back to my work, you don't know what that means to me. I don't believe it, really, because when I call the company and everyone, my workmates and everyone encourage me, and then, they call me more than I call them... and they complain in loving jest, but I'll never be able to go back to my job, and that was something I loved doing...*
- ... you can't live on this sort of pension, you just can't. And my family can't help because they're very poor. And what am I to do? I don't know. And I'll tell you more. I know I won't be able to finish the distance*

university course I was taking. I won't be able to, because in this condition, how can I muster the desire? And then you might say, well, then I can keep my parents and others company, but.. I don't want to do that! I don't know where to turn, what to do, think of a job I'd like to do, that I could do, even like this... I don't know, I don't think it exists. What do you think?

RELATIONSHIP WITH CHILDREN AS GUIDE AND MENTOR Another of the inevitable consequences of enormous weight is the new types of relationships that arise and will arise in the future between these women and their children. Most, as noted earlier, are minors and of an age where conflict with their surroundings, other people, and the adults responsible for them runs deep. The new reality in which they are immersed, i.e., in which a violent father has disabled their mother, occasions a substantial change in conventional family standards. Their father's failure to act as a responsible head of the household has changed their relationship with their mother, which can no longer rest on the principles that were in place prior to her disability. Now their mother is disabled, emotionally drained and alone and will remain that way for the rest of her life.

The flip side of this same reality is the standpoint of the disabled mother, a mother who had felt more intensely than others that her children were her sole satisfaction in life. And these are the very ones who now care for her and on whom she depends, the ones who formerly gave meaning to the presence of an important "other", the only ones able to make her feel optimistic and who made any sense in her life. They are the ones who care for her, take her out for a walk or help her into a cab, feed her when she's unable to, guide her if she's lost her sight, hide her face if she's been deformed. But, being their mother, her authority is wielded in other ways. They relate differently because these children no longer misbehave or challenge her as they might have before, because their sense of guilt must be a tremendous burden, because their home is no longer and will never again be normal, no matter what happens in the future. Under such circumstances, these mothers feel that the logic of their authority has been severed (along with the father's, of course, who is morally absent) and that their ability to guide their children in their present situation is practically nil, both for operational reasons and for want of authority after the tragic events.

- *Great because they're terrific, but you realize that two things are going on: on the one hand you need them more and would like to have them by your side all day, and on the other, they've also changed a lot, because*

they look at you as if they're afraid to hurt you, to make you angry... It's not like it used to be, you got angry and well it blew over, because we all got over it right away. I realize that now that when there's a problem they cry too much, and it's because they feel guilty...

– *THEY'RE PROBABLY ALSO VERY UPSET ABOUT IT ALL...*

– *Yes, of course, but I can see it in their eyes, all three of them, that I'm no longer the annoying mother I used to be, who made them tidy up all day and whom they criticized behind my back... now they feel sorry for me and that makes a world of difference.*

– *My daughter's sixteen now and a delight of a girl, really. A few day ago, on All Saints' Day that the children now call Halloween or something like that, I told her it would be better not to go out because it was a very cold night and since she had a bit of a cold she'd do better to stay home. And she answered me back, and said that she was going out with or without my permission... and she glared at me and I realized that it was better to keep quiet because there was no way of stopping her if she did decide to go out. Who could, me, in this wheelchair? Well no... and I wasn't going to beg or lie to make her stay home out of pity, that never.*

EXPECTATIONS AROUND NEW RELATIONSHIPS In these personal histories the women appear to have given up any hope of an intimate relationship. The unfeasibility of forming a new couple has been so fully assimilated that it's second nature to them, they've put an end to their personal lives and neither expect nor desire any manner of partnering. The uncertain potential of finding someone else is even more remote when it entails a physical encounter, body to body. These women who are in wheelchairs, totally paralyzed, deformed or blind, or endure more than one such disability, don't even fantasize about the possibility of a new desire, and even less about being desired. Consequently, a substantial part of the identities of these young or middle-aged adults, still full of vitality, appears to have been castrated in terms of their own needs, regardless of what the future may hold in store for any of them.

– *Another man... Don't make me laugh... Do you think I can even dream of another man in my condition? No, come on, and do you think anyone is going to bother with me, like this... No, not at all, that's all over for me. And don't think that it's what I miss most, at least not up to now, but no, certainly not.*

- *I've never been a very passionate person, although I told you that my only life partner, the only man that I've known is the one who's in jail... but I don't think that any normal man would take a second look at me. If anyone does it's because he's one of those nuts who like weird things, and it should come as no surprise to you that I'm not exactly keen... I've already been through enough... no, no.*
- *Well I don't know what to say. I need to get used to being blind at an age when I didn't expect it, I'm thirty five and I want to look at life optimistically, but I don't know. The least of my worries right now is another man, all I care about now is my children, being close to them. Nothing more, I swear. I don't think I could fall in love or anything like it with another man, and I've never been one for casual relationships... so you see...*

EQUAL STATUS IN THE PRIVATE DOMAIN Obviously, part of these women's disability is that they can't form bonds or relationships on an equal footing with those around them. This lack of equal status translates into two possible forms of asymmetry: they can't act normally and develop relationships with others in any ordinary way, nor can they demand non-distinctive, egalitarian and normalized treatment for themselves. Consequently, everything in their interaction with others and their environment ratifies their asymmetry with everyone else, their own personalities and the world at large.

- *Everything's so hard.. everything, how can I explain it. I feel terribly awkward, clumsy and any little thing I want to do, no matter how small... take a shower, prepare a cup of tea... It's all so hard and takes so much time that I get discouraged before I've finished. The people in physical therapy tell me that I have to try to bathe by myself, that someone should help me onto a kind of stool in the shower and that I should do it myself... but I invariably end up crying. I can't, I can't reach, I don't know how...*
- *And later you realize that everyone treats you as if nothing had happened but no one takes their eyes off you. I was invited to lunch with workmates, well, ex-workmates. There were five of us and I lost my appetite because they were all so concerned about whether I'd drop my food. One of them even said, it's OK if you drop your food. But I could tell that they were anxious, for me, not for them. I don't want to go out again, I feel locked in but you can't imagine what it's like to see how people react when they see you, with my face all scarred, the wheelchair...*

- *My sisters, the ones I have left, look at me without saying anything, and the children and my neighbours, all good people who want to help. But there are days that you don't accept anything from anyone out of pride and you end up crying or shouting at everyone. And that's not right. But it's because everything's so hard to do, and I can't do any of the things that used to be so easy, not any. I'm a forty-year-old baby with two children, and an immigrant. What a plight...*

ACTUAL PROSPECTS FOR INDEPENDENCE The preceding section clearly describes how difficult it is for these women to live independently. From that perspective, the fact that at the time of this survey they were all receiving or had applied for total disability benefits, is perfectly understandable. But also from this perspective, a pension, although necessary, can readily be seen to be insufficient to solve the many serious problems they face. The lack of independence is something that they were unable to evaluate in its entirety until they had to deal with it first-hand. These women have lost their independence in their relationships, many are unable to leave home alone, to take care of themselves, and still others are not even able to bathe themselves. For these reasons the loss of independence, whether in relation to others or to themselves, or both, constitutes a loss of SELF, despite which they have to continue to wield authority over their minor children, control their domestic economy and play the roles they played before they became disabled.

- *... I think they don't realize that there are many things I'm unable to do. The people from ... tell me that I'll get better, but for instance, I still can't go out alone because I get lost. Sometimes I think the blind are overly optimistic and that a woman who loses her sight at thirty eight, can't... but my daughters still want me to look at their homework and to take them to the movies and go out shopping with them because they're very clothes-conscious, you know. If they could, they'd dress up like princesses all day. And they're still too little to understand what's wrong. They understand, but for them one thing is to understand and another to realize what the consequences are.*
- *... now everything is harder, slower, and what gets to me the most is all the time that someone has to be at your side, to change you, shower you, everything. If I go out I have to wear incontinence pads and someone has to help me because of my mobility problems. It means calling a taxi large enough for the wheelchair, it means knowing where I'm going and knowing I can manage, because not every place is wheelchair-friendly. On more than one occasion I've gotten somewhere, after going to all the*

expense of a cab, and all for nothing because there are five steps, that's all, but no ramp and I can't get in because this electric wheelchair is very heavy. Everything's like that, slow, but especially it's having to depend on someone.

FREEDOM OF TIME AND SPACE Most of us who have no severe disability do many things so naturally and spontaneously that we don't even realize we're doing them. One consequence of these women's loss of independence is their inability to use their time and move about freely. This is even the case of the women with no physical disability because what has been affected, primarily, is their sense of safety, the need to be constantly escorted and therefore subject to others' schedules and availability.

- I used to come and go and do whatever I pleased, normally, like anyone else. But now I can't because if I go out with the children I have to make arrangements with my mother, and if I need to run an errand, nothing complicated, just going to the healthcare centre or something, I have to go with someone. If I need to go shopping, ... has to take me. You can't imagine all the planning it takes for even the simplest things. One person to come with me, someone else to babysit, find out whether they're both available at the same time, because I don't dare leave the children alone, I don't dare. And anything you need that means going out, you have to know where and if it's there and only there and you have to know what you need to take care of... it's all very tiring.*
- ... now I'm like a little girl again: my children take me everywhere. I have to go when they come home from school, I have to do the grocery shopping at a place they know how to get to and to go anywhere else I have to arrange for one of the older children to babysit with the younger ones... it's always like that. And all for what? To have to make new arrangements the next day because everything needs to be planned, every little thing. When I have to go to the social service, in the morning, it's worse because the children aren't around and my sister-in-law, who lives in ... has to come with me. And it takes her an hour to get here on the underground and when we get there it's late or the woman's left. But she's a very nice woman, she always tells me to call first so I don't go in vain.*

PLEASURE DERIVED FROM LEISURE This is another of the basic components of modern life that these women have lost in their immediate as

well, largely, as in their long-term horizons. Their narratives reveal the extent to which leisure time has become one of the components of Spanish lifestyle today and how its absence affects them and their families. A number of factors can be identified in this loss: psychological aspects that make depression the common denominator in them all, financial issues that denote that leisure in any of its options is generally related to expendable income, and the limitations inherent in their disabilities:

- *...something else that you realize and that happened to me for the first time this summer, is that holidays are something that I can't afford, for my children either, until our financial situation clears up and we see what happens in the trial and all that. Because my lawyer told me that it will take a couple of years, so meantime there are no holidays or extra expenses in this household. Going out, for me, is an expense and just think, for the two children and me, it takes two taxis, and that costs money, and whatever we do costs money and on my pension it's impossible. But on the other hand it's not as though I miss it much... not at all in fact. But my children do and they deserve a rest, something fun to do, although they don't ask for much, I have to admit. Anyway, I get the impression that for me holidays are history, because I can't imagine holidays in this wheelchair.*
- *Not being able to see takes the fun out of everything. The psychologist told me that you get used to it, but I don't know... But I realize that I don't feel like going anywhere, anywhere, all I want to do is stay home and that's all and I want to be somewhere where it's quiet. But my children aren't like that and you have to understand that. So now I depend on my siblings to take them to the movies or wherever, because I don't have the inclination, the money or the ability, but they shouldn't be made to pay for that.*
- *The truth of the matter is that I prefer not to go out because I'm embarrassed about my looks, and since besides I can't move, well, look... But my daughters want to be going out all the time and I can't afford it or go with them. And then you realize that holidays, shopping, going out on a Saturday evening, eating out, it all costs money, lots of money and I, of course, don't have it.*

FEMININE APPEAL This factor is so far beyond these women's concerns that it doesn't even show up as part of their spontaneous narrative. They have no expectations now and many will never be able to feel attractive to other men. And they won't be able to not only because of

their disabilities *per se*, but because of the psychological effects of those disabilities. They won't be able to, irrespective of the disability, because the reality they are living is the fruit of affective, emotional and sexual relations with men who, in most cases, formed the hub of their affective biographies. What has been disabled, and is scantily reparable, is the narcissism so necessary for any subject, man or woman, that makes them feel they have features that make them appealing enough to be desired by someone they in turn desire. But this urge to desire and be desired depends on an essential prerequisite, which is to feel sufficiently attractive to be desired, and that in turn implies liking and trusting oneself. These aspects are severely deteriorated in our interviewees at this point. If in real life we always seek a balance between the acknowledgement of our own desire and our desire for acknowledgement, for these women the two elements of that aporia are suspended to the same extent that their affectivity has been wounded, regardless of their specific disabilities.

- *Well, no, I truly don't think about other men. Rather, I'd prefer not to think at all so as not to think about him. And besides I don't think that there's any chance... of a future with anyone because – can't you see what I look like? Who's going to bother? Some degenerate, that's all.*
- *... You make me laugh, really. I tell you that my only future is my children and that's all I live for now and for the next few years, unless this takes me to the grave before I see them grow up, because they're the only thing that give my life meaning. That's all, and nothing more, ever.*
- *I don't think that's possible. I don't think so because I can't imagine anyone wanting to get involved with this reality. I don't think anyone can be that desperate and if someone were, he'd have to be really a basket case and I don't need that. Besides, I don't think I'll ever be able to feel for another man, no matter how good he might be. No... that's over and gone forever. Besides, who's going to want this hot potato of a woman in a wheelchair, with three children and a broken back? It would have to be someone ill himself because all I have to offer is sorrow. And I don't think anyone wants that.*
- *... in my country when a woman is widowed she's a widow forever and I feel as though I'd been widowed. When a woman's ill or something like this happens, her parents think it's God's punishment and they take her in, or a son too. But I fit both, I'm like a widow, even worse, because my husband is in jail, but I ended up like this and it's God's punishment. There won't be any more men, besides my religion doesn't allow it.*

THE WILL TO LIVE

- *Look, one thing is to breathe, eat and the rest and another to be alive: those are two different things. I do what I can and by the grace of I don't know whom, because I don't believe in God, I go on breathing. But no one should ask me to feel alive...*

The above quote shows just how difficult it is for these women to maintain a vitality that would help them improve their lot. Although it's true that they all survived and many are surprised that they did, in no case does that surprise suffice to afford them *joie de vivre*, i.e., the will to carry on and feel motivated. In fact, although it will be extremely difficult for their children to cope with the hopes that these women are placing in them, these mothers have nothing else to hang on to as a reason to go on living. And in any event, for all the foregoing, under no circumstances are they themselves a reference or a motivation for their own expectations in life.

THE POTENTIAL FOR HETERONOMY This is another of the characteristic variables in the female identity we've been addressing. These women have lost one of the significant elements of their gender-related personality. They are no longer able to be heteronomous, at least with respect to the normal standards by which they inevitably measure themselves. They can no longer play different roles at the same time because of the constraints placed on them by their disability. They can't be workers, mothers, housewives, buyers, cooks, controllers of their children's time and education (and so forth), multi-functions common to most other women and inaccessible to them.

- *... now I'm like a little girl, learning everything all over and anything I learn it has to be one at a time... I can't do two things at once. And you know what, I realize how many things women do at the same time without thinking twice about it. I used to do five things at once. And now I have to concentrate on one and pray that it comes out all right and devote a lot of time and energy because otherwise, I can't do even that...*
- *... I'm really out of it. I can't do practically anything and everything is such an effort. All I mind to is anything that has to do with my son, and even that little by little. Social service sends me a girl who cleans house and she's kind and always asks... what do you want me to do today, ma'am. But you know what? I don't know what she has to do. Sometimes I see that the bathroom hasn't been cleaned in a month, and I think, well that. But I*

can't take it into my head, what needs to be done, because I truly don't know. It's as though my sight has lost the ability to organize, I can't, I really can't and most of the time I just sit around, unable to move...

- *... everything's very slow, one thing at a time. For instance, getting dressed. It takes no less than half an hour and with help, because alone, as you can see, I simply can't. And bathing, ugh. Washing my hair, which is once or twice a week... that takes several of us because I can't get into the right position. And it can easily take me a whole morning to do that. What I try to do is not lose control over what my children are supposed to do and make sure they get to school and don't fall behind in their studies and all that. But that pretty much saps all my energy.*

SATISFACTION IN LIVING Although this may appear obvious, it isn't. These women have lost any expectation of satisfaction as a vital stimulus. They don't expect achievements or personal acknowledgement, they don't expect to develop new relationships in which desire is a component, they don't want sympathy or hand-outs from the government. They don't expect to re-build their lives, but simply want to carry on to be there for their children, with all the good and bad that this sole expectation has in store for them, their children and their private circle.

- *... life for me is something that happened, and not for the best. Now, well look, God wanted me to go on living so what's left but resignation, hope that my children get on in life as well as possible and then die, that's all.*
- *I don't know if I'll change later on, but after all that's happened, how can I say, I get the impression that I have no prospects no hope. I'm not even happy in the morning because I've woken up. It's all been very hard. And since I didn't believe in anything before, now even less. Not even a desire for revenge against him motivates me, nothing. I have no energy and I think I'll be that way until the end. All I hope is that it doesn't affect my children too much, because they've already suffered enough with all this...*

The point has come to draw a conclusion from this complex scenario where despite the diversity, certain adversities are common to all the interviewees. These women do not appear to feel, nor are they really, excluded from the social reality in their surrounds. Paradoxically, their present disability and the reasons for it would appear to highlight their role, albeit clandestinely. What can be glimpsed on their immediate and longer term strategic horizon is complex and hard to offset within their family realities or the institutions concerned (justice, health, social services and so on): the

inevitable and probably accurate sensation that they will join the ranks of the **socially excluded**. In other words, the social dimensions to which they can aspire appear to be characterized by limitation as the inevitable context of their integration. For that reason, they form a segment excluded not only because of economic or social reality. These are not poor or marginal women. On the contrary, they form part of the large middle majority of Spanish society. And yet, **both the most intangible and personal factors such as emotion, feelings, personal horizons and so on, and everything that has to do with expectations for future social mainstreaming, would seem to converge on an ultimate result in which, in the best of cases, they will be integrated from their status as socially and personally excluded beings. To put it another way, their acquired disability, which is not only physical and sensory, but also affective, emotional and expectative, that affects their ability to take an interest in things, their capacity for hope..., leads them to situations in which personal recovery is severely limited, imbued as they are in shortcomings, the primary engine of their potential.**

11

FAMILY DYSFUNCTION: METASTASIS

When a family member becomes disabled, the dynamics of all the other components of that unit are profoundly impacted. If the person who suffers the impairment is an adult woman, the mother of the family, who performs this and a wide variety of other roles, the circumstances are far worse. However, if the disability is the result of violence perpetrated against her by the man of the house, usually the father of her children, the consequences are indisputably devastating. Whilst acquired disability under any circumstances interferes with normal family growth and development, in the circumstances addressed in this survey, to assert that all of the family members' current and future lives will be affected in some way is to state the obvious.

When a disability is acquired as a result of the violence of either a member of the same family, or of an outsider, the consequences for the rest of the unit, especially in the former case, can be described as metastasizing²⁷ to each and every one of the members in that relational group.

Obviously, the primary person affected is the victim of the violence. Her affliction far exceeds the specific clinical diagnosis of impairment, and the range of aspects in her life requiring reinstatement, assuming this is actually possible, are more numerous and diverse than those of her physical or sensory disability:

- *I'll tell you what I've told all the doctors who've seen me and examined me and who've discussed my case in medical meetings, because the people in ... are really fantastic, I have nothing but praise for them. But my problem isn't walking or not walking. My problem is if I want to live or not, and no doctor, however wonderful, can help me with that...*

²⁷ Metastasis: the transference of a bodily function, pain or disease, or of diseased matter, from one site to another, spec. the occurrence or development of secondary foci of disease at a distance from the primary site, as in many cancers. (The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary)

As noted in earlier sections, what all these women, and any others enduring similar experiences, have in common, even if they do not have the same degree of impairment, is the emotional disability suffered after violence has been perpetrated against them.

Given the victim's central role in the family unit, and even in the larger group surrounding it, the individuals immediately affected by this type of experience, besides the perpetrator himself, include: the couple's children, whether belonging to both or only one of them, the victim's parents and siblings, close friends, and also the abuser's parents and siblings. Naturally, relational hierarchies are conditioned by the closeness of the relationship with the person affected. However, children cannot possibly fail to be directly affected, especially if they are of an age when it is more difficult to understand wrongdoing.

11.1. CHILDREN OF WOMEN DISABLED AS A RESULT OF VIOLENCE

Children, as the second group of direct victims, cannot readily recover from the trauma of having a mother injured to the point of disability due to the violence perpetrated against her by their father or stepfather. Their involvement is likely to be such that they are seriously but intangibly affected, suffering more of a direct rather than a secondary impact.

The variety and broad spectrum of the forms and levels of impact on children due to this type of circumstance are, for various reasons, beyond the scope of this survey. Firstly, because they would have to be interviewed to discover how they deal with these dramatic situations, taking into account not only their wide range of personalities, which is a variable in any survey, but also the possible forms of processing and coming to terms with a conflict of this type, which is not just a personal problem, but also a social problem and a moral responsibility of the institutions concerned. Secondly, youngsters in these age groups (children, pre-teens, teenagers, young adults, etc.) are especially sensitive and lack the means to put words to their experiences. Thirdly, because, as is the case in this survey, most victims' sons and daughters are children, pre-teens or teenagers who are becoming aware of themselves, others and their relationship with the world, so we would need to study the before and after of an experience of this type to discover what

changed and how in their specific interaction with reality, their relationships, their implicit ideal models, their trust in others and their self-confidence.

None of the dimensions mentioned above concerning the circumstances and realities of minors affected by this particular manner of experiencing violence could be covered in this survey. Some of the conflicts, however, inasmuch as they are repeated in the narratives of the disabled women interviewed, can be regarded to be common to the various circumstances encountered.

The first of the common reactions detected among children who have experienced disability as a result of the violence discussed here is **bewilderment**. This bewilderment is felt by children who have had to tolerate scenes of violence, even when they did not witness them, as well as those who discover one day, without any obvious previous signs, that their own father has caused their mother irreparable damage. As a result, some of these minors have had to be treated for medical, as well as psychological, problems since physical symptoms have also surfaced.

- *...the children are in a very bad way... very bad. What do you expect? They're still suffering.. the eldest had a muscle contracture along the whole of the left side of his body which lasted seven months. He's better now, but you can hardly imagine what a state the poor boy was in. He couldn't sleep because of the pain and he couldn't do sport or anything else either. A lad of fifteen needs to let off steam, and he was so sad. All three of them were in a bad way, because the other two, a girl and another boy, they were often ill and they had always been very healthy children before, but this has been a disaster for them.*

- *...my daughter was in hospital with what we thought was glandular fever, but then it wasn't that, nobody knows what it was, and the doctor told my sister, because of course I couldn't look after her, and it was my sister who was at her bedside the whole time, she's ...'s godmother, and so, besides loving my daughters to bits, she was there day and night. When I could I went there, but I was in such a bad way that I couldn't move. I was having operations and other treatments until October, just a short while ago. But I think what my daughter had was because of all we've been through, because she was very good friends with her dad, she was the one that went with him everywhere. I really don't know whether what she had was typical of her age or was just another part of all this...*

Even in the absence of any obvious physical symptom, bewilderment, as a very general way to describe the minors' first reaction, is consistently present...

- *...they've made a huge effort, and I know they've done that for me. I think they're getting used to the idea, but it's been a very slow reaction. At first they didn't react at all. They couldn't believe it, and, of course, they were very angry at their father. But when I was able to communicate with them again, because during the first few months, I couldn't react myself for three months, I couldn't say anything, nothing at all, and then I saw that they were getting a little used to the idea. Of course they thought at first that I wasn't going to survive, then... but it's been traumatizing for them, naturally.*
- *My mother has been extremely important, because she came from... to be with the girls, and that gave me a chance to look after myself, but the youngest lost around six kilos. She wouldn't eat or sleep, she'd lay awake night after night. My mother was very worried about her. The eldest, who is twelve now, is different because anyway she understands, and besides, he's not her father, although they love each other a lot. That's the truth. But my youngest daughter is seven now, and when it happened she was only five, and she's his daughter and he was crazy about her.*
- *I don't know why, but at the beginning they didn't ask after their father. None of them, as if their father had never existed, and that was very strange. But none of them said anything. I think they decided not to say anything in front of me, because I was expecting questions and to have to explain to them. Silence. Their entire response was silence, and another very curious thing (laughing) is that they stopped being naughty. They behaved very well and they didn't do anything wrong at all. They were very good.*
- *...not at all well, poor thing. He's had a worse time of it than I have, because he'd had to put with all his father's craziness when he was very young... unwell, very. He's a boy with attention span problems, with all kinds of problems, who's very behind in his speaking, even today, and look he's a lad of sixteen, a fantastic boy, but he's coming along... he's coming along when you consider that he didn't speak for nearly two years. He didn't say anything, nothing at all.*

An account of the various circumstances these children have had to experience would most likely demonstrate the extent to which they have been

very directly affected by witnessing and living with their mother's disability caused by the violent acts of their biological or substitute fathers. Regardless of whether their symptoms are expressed or contained, the mere description of their unavoidable circumstances proves that they have been structurally affected by experiencing the damage afflicting the central family figure, their mother, and, therefore also themselves.

FATHER VIOLENT WITH THE MOTHER: This may be stating the obvious, but it is important to recognize that this is a type of socialization for these children, which will have unpredictable consequences on their future lives. Even when, according to their mothers, the children were not usually present during scenes of physical violence, they must inexcusably have perceived the atmosphere of pre-violence tension. Their mothers' depression after an act of violence, which can spread across the entire family unit, would have very likely not gone unnoticed, either.

- *No, no, the children never found out because it always happened when they were asleep, or when they were out. But they often asked me what had happened, because my eye was like this or when I had my arm in plaster... or when I was swollen because he hit me... I think that's when they sensed something, but I don't know what they sensed...*
- *My son not so much, but my daughter sometimes got underneath the armchair and didn't want to come out. That did happen. But, in general, they were not there, except that last time that he came into the house, and then it was my daughter who saved me.*

FATHER FEARED AND LOVED AT THE SAME TIME: The heart of this conflict for the children of violent fathers, and which is repeated as a theme throughout this report, is the inevitable twofold association which develops in the relationship between them and their biological or substitute fathers. On the one hand, they know him to be responsible for the harm caused to their mother, and, by extension, themselves, but at the same time a person they love and, in many cases, who they know loves them. This twofold association alters the formation of affective and emotional logic, which requires good to be loved and evil rejected. However, in these cases, good and evil are combined in the same person, who can hardly be banished from their affective world because he is, or fulfils the role of, their father, and thus encompasses the prerogatives that our culture, and, in general, Western culture, reserves for this paternal figure: authority, law, responsibility, the principle of order,

bonding with, and at the same time separation from, the mother. Consequently, he is not a figure they can easily disassociate themselves from in the conflict. He is not just another adult, a distant figure who they can hate, or be angry at, or banish forever. He is the central father figure who has given them affection, and who, not without internal conflict, they feel affection for as well, although at the same time a figure they fear and mistrust.

- *...he's been a very good father, very loving to the children, very involved in their upbringing and spending lots of time with them. That's why it's been so hard for my children to accept all that happened... They call him a bastard, even though they know I don't like them swearing, I've never liked it. But they are really hurting because of everything that's happened, and I'm very worried because my son was especially very close to his father, and now he feels a huge void... but they don't want to see him, they don't want to have anything to do with him.*
- *I've had many doubts because he's their father and as ... has such a fragile personality because of everything that's happened, because of what he's had to experience, I don't know if it's a good or a bad thing if he doesn't see him, but he doesn't want to see him, that's the truth. I think it's good that he doesn't want to see him, but at the same time I wonder how this boy will turn out... Will he never see his father again? And his father being the way he is, I know he's capable of doing anything, as he has already, to see him... But... he's very reserved and doesn't say anything. He doesn't want anyone to even bring it up, although sometimes I've heard him call out to his father in his sleep...*

COMING TO TERMS WITH THE FAMILY BREAKDOWN: This is not easy for minors growing up in a culture in which ideal family units are still portrayed in all cultural avenues as the best way to achieve happiness and virtually the only source of good. Coming to terms with the breakdown of an affective group involves two very complex steps: first, all the members participating in a family project will need to recognize that it has failed and mourn that failure without shutting themselves off from the opportunity of other structures in the future which will work and satisfy each and every one of them. Second, outside their domestic circle, they will have to own up to their flawed family structure, the impossibility of «being like any other family» for other relatives, friends, colleagues, neighbours, etc., whilst suffering the pain of their current circumstances.

- *...well, it's not easy for anybody. Your dad is in jail because he wanted to kill your mother. Just imagine, not wanting to see your father who just a*

couple of days ago was superman, more or less, is a very heavy load to bear. It's very difficult, I try, when I can, to talk to them about it, but I'm not in a position to convey strength to anyone, and they don't ask me to either... But I realize that they don't want to see anybody, that they're really distancing themselves from their friends. Not my daughter so much, because we women are different, and she has very good friends, but the boy, you can tell that he doesn't know how to come to terms with all that's happened.

- If only I could take them away to live somewhere else, but our financial situation, which is not bad, is not good either, and it's not bad because I've always been a very prudent person, and because the studio's doing all right, but we can't move and do what I would really like to do because I'm not in any position to make those changes... I can't. I have to study Braille and I have to use my strength to try to get better, since I'm in a situation that's not going to change. So I told them all, we got together and talked, that everyone has to try to help their brothers and sisters, and they have to face facts. But it's not easy. My daughter is taking it worse than the boys. They have more of a problem when someone phones to see how we are. I realize that they don't want to pick up the house phone. And they don't want to talk about it with their friends. They don't want their friends to come to our house either. Sometimes I tell them, don't go out, invite your friends round here, but they don't want to. None of them wants to, and that's when I realize that they're not taking it very well.*

- ...the only thing he wants us to do is move again. But we've moved I don't know how many times. But he's very afraid that his father might find out where we live, and also that he might turn up one day when he's with his friends from school. That really scares him because he's lied to them... he mustn't hear me and he's told them that his father is dead because he really hates having to talk about all this. In one of the houses that we got through the social service he told them that his father lived in America, the things he makes up, and here he's said that he's dead. He's taking it really, really ...really badly. I didn't tell him you were coming to talk about this because he doesn't want anybody to know anything. He takes it badly, but really badly.*

MOTHER'S SUFFERING: The mother suffers in multiple ways, not only from the damage caused by her physical or sensory disability, but also from other psychological, emotional and moral aspects. As the children have no specific knowledge of the scope of her suffering, they can do nothing more than imagine the unthinkable, which they have no access to, and which,

however, is present in their relationship with the special central figure in their lives.

- *Of course, you realize that they're looking at you with a lost look, all of them.. not just one, every one of them, and you realize that they're trying to get on with their lives as normal, but when they look at you, when they ask you how you are, they're asking something else, which you can't reply to either, because you're not going to tell them how bad you feel. My children are all I have right now in my life, my children and my parents. But I don't want them to convey that to them, because I think It's been a terrible blow for them, because it's their dad who's in prison, not some guy passing by in the street... and I can assure you that I never, ever say anything bad about him to them...*
- *THE THING IS IT'LL BE DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO HAVE A RELATIONSHIP WITH THEIR FATHER AFTER WHAT'S HAPPENED, ESPECIALLY IF THEIR FATHER IS THE PERSON RESPONSIBLE...*
- *Of course they don't want to have anything to do with him, nothing at all. But... you can see that they're not OK.*
- *My daughters? My daughters? My daughters look at me without looking me in the eye, poor things, I think because they don't accept what's happened... Imagine what it's like for them. He's the father of one of them and as if he were the father for the other, because he's the person she lived with for eleven years, so it's as if he were, because I'm not in touch with my first daughter's father. I don't even know if he lives in Spain or not... so, how are they going to feel? Bad, very bad. Besides, what they feel the worst about is that I'm having such a bad time, not just because of the pain, but because I'm not in well in any respect, because this is the worst thing that has ever happened to me, and it's the worst thing that has ever happened to them...*
- *...however hard I try to hide it, the truth is I don't know how, because you can't hide how bad something like this has made you feel. How can you hide it? Tell me, how? And the two of them feel very bad. I can see that they're very sad, my daughter more than my son... but also because they experience things differently, not because one is better than the other. And then, if you think about if for a moment, how would you feel? I mean, how would I, as a daughter, feel if my father had left my mother crippled for the rest of her life? Bad, very bad.*

TOTAL ABSENCE OF THE FATHER: It is not just the father's physical presence which disappears, but also his authority, the rules the paternal figure

stands for, and whose structure has collapsed in the strictest sense of the term. Besides the actual person, the family has lost the important function of the paternal role as the figure who organizes everyone's identity and sets their limits so they can function as a group. The personification of the family identity, the place reserved to the person whose name is borne by the family unit (in a modernized embodiment of "in the name of the father"), has vanished. Consequently, his necessary absence after what has happened leaves a power void and a symbolic gap, which the family unit must restore over time, although it will never be able to hide the gaping wound that makes them different from other families.

- *...it was very tough for them, really tough. Of course it was tough for me too, but I think it's different. Because I realized immediately that they didn't want our neighbours, friends, the people in the shop who know us to find out. Imagine, the three of them were born here, so they've watched them grow up... and it affected my children really badly, not so much my older son, but it was worse for the boy in the middle and my younger daughter, at least it was more difficult for them. And they said to me: mum, it's really terrible that he's not here, but we also have to listen to our friends saying that he's a bastard because of what he did to you, and they're right. And, naturally, that's what they think too. But it's very difficult because he's their father. The eldest has told his mates that he doesn't have a father any more, because it's as if he's dead. That's what his best friend's mother told me that my son had told hers...*
- *The most difficult thing for me and for them was when I returned home after months of being in hospital, because until then nobody had touched anything, his clothes were in the wardrobe, his books, his CDs. Everything was the same, and after I came home, a week or so later things had to be sorted out. I had to get rid of his clothes and his things. My daughter... talked to her grandmother, to his mother, whom I refuse to speak to because when I told her what he was doing to me, she said how dare I slander the father of my children in that way. Unbelievable... But the thing is that I had to get rid of everything, and the truth is that they both behaved like little heroines. They carted everything off and the youngest, who was twelve at the time, she wanted to burn it all, or throw it in the bin, nobody to touch it or use it because she was so angry that she asked her sister and me never to mention his name again, and asked if she could tell everyone that her father had died. Naturally, I understand her. It's easier to say that your father's dead than to acknowledge that he's alive and in prison because he blinded your mother ...*
- *I think it's best that his father goes to prison so that my son can relax, honestly I do, because otherwise I'm worried that something terrible*

might happen and if he comes here... Have you seen the size of my son? And he's only sixteen years old. But he's suffered so much because of all this... Look how he scarred my face, just let me take the scarf off... look... and this is when you realize that the boy is right. He used to have a father but now he doesn't. And he never will again. It's over and done with.

MOTHER'S DEPENDENCE: In these families, dependence is a two-way street, for just as minors depend on their mother, a woman disabled as a result of violence also depends on her children in all respects. This is not just a case of logistical dependence. Above all, the mother's dependence is emotional, for she feels and acknowledges, even externally, that her only reason to keep on living is her children, because it will be difficult for her to have any other goal in life. This mother's love may become a millstone around the children's necks as far as their own independent personal development is concerned. Given the irreversible nature of the impairment, and the logical fact that everyone involved will get older, the future does not look very rosy for young people who will have to live their lives overshadowed by family and personal tragedy.

- *...my children and nothing else. I don't have any other reason to live than them, and they are now all I have left in life. And that's quite enough because three children are great encouragement for me and they know it. They know that if I keep on going it's only because of them and for them.*
- *What do you want me to say? I only feel like keeping on going because of my son, because having to go through what he and I have... and you know, it may have been worse for him, poor thing...But, anyway, we're together now, and we'll always be together, I'm sure about that, because that bastard will never manage to separate us again... my son is mine and mine alone, and I'm going to defend that come what may.*
- *The girls are all that matter to me. My parents have asked me to go back to... and I said no, because I want them to continue their education here in Spain. I want them to have the opportunity to study. The eldest is training to be a professional singer and she's very good, and I want to give them a better life, to be somebody in the future. And the three of us have a very good time together, we're very good friends, they really guide me in every respect, and they have a very good time here, with just the three of us...*

- YES, BUT YOU'RE A YOUNG, ATTRACTIVE WOMAN. ARE YOU REALLY GIVING UP ON THE POSSIBILITY OF FINDING ANOTHER MAN TO BE HAPPY WITH?
- *The only thing I want now and for the rest of my life is to be with my two daughters, as I have been there for them, and I'm sure both of them will be there for the three of us, for each other and for me...*
- *I can't think about anything else but my children. There is no other reason, there honestly is nothing else I care about, not even my father. I really want them to get over this, to do well in life, and leave all this behind us as far as possible... I don't think they can forget it. Unfortunately, there's no way of forgetting what we've been through, and that we still are going through to some extent... but anyway... I think the three of us will get over it, I really do.*

SORROWFUL ATMOSPHERE IN THE HOME: The backdrop for all the issues discussed here, which crops up in all the narratives compiled in this survey, is the intense sorrow that pervades these homes, in which a wrong is very slowly being redressed, although the wound may never quite heal. These women recognize sorrow in themselves and also in their immediate circle, especially in their children. That sorrow prevents their situations from returning to normal, and them from venting all the negative energy accumulated in the wake of their experience, because that negativity is at odds with a figure who plays a key affective role in their lives.

Sometimes the mother must even impose such domestic grief on the youngest children, whose own feelings and emotions are likely to move in a different direction and at a different pace from what adults consider appropriate. In other words, whilst adults control their emotions according to rigorous and unwritten but socially accepted standards, young children and teenagers, have a timeframe of their own, which does not follow the same pattern as adult grief:

- *It's not easy, believe me... I have to battle with the three of them every day because oh, you know, it's different with the eldest now, but the others want to go out to a shopping centre, they want you to buy them something, they want this and that... and to go out with their friends and sometimes I have to explain to them that times are a little hard for us right now, and not just when they're feeling down. I have to tell them that it's inappropriate to be going out and putting music on at odd hours, and the like... more than ever before we have to be a well-mannered family, that comes first, being a family, and then being well-mannered*

and responsible, and them first, but it's not very easy for them to understand you.

- *Of course, on the one hand you realize that being what they are, you can't make them be quiet because they're children, and because they wind each other up, and they're like this every day, but I'm not in a happy mood, and they shouldn't be either. They should get used to the idea that their father's dead and that they have to be very sad because they'll never see their father again... And for the youngest, it's easier for the two eldest to understand, but for the little ones it isn't... and you have to keep on telling them not to shout, not to jump, not to do this or that... because we're a sad family, but children can't put on much of an act...*

FINANCIAL CONFLICTS: Apart from one very specific exception, most of the women contacted for this survey have limited incomes, and, in a number of cases, a distinct shortage of cash. As the male head of the household is absent in the homes described, which are based on the types of partnering most common to the working middle classes, and the mother is physically unable to engage in productive or lucrative activities, the family's finances are obviously far from buoyant.

For the youngest children, who tend to display impassivity toward the events that culminated in the harrowing situation affecting their family, the lack of any gratifying incentives in their immediate surrounds would appear to seek an outlet able to put them on a par with their peers. And that outlet is avid consumption. Their demands in that regard, one of the issues most frequently mentioned by their mothers, clash with the family's new financial situation.

Immigrants who have become disabled as a result of their partners' violence are even more severely disadvantaged, since they cannot even count on the help of one of the most important supports in the administration of family finances, their family circle:

- *...it's as if nothing is good enough... and actually we have very little money even though I get help from social service and they give me a bag of food every week, and that's a great help... but then it's very difficult for the children to accept those limitations, because we both always worked, but, of course... we don't get ...'s income any more, and I get a disability pension, but how is a family with three children and one adult supposed to live on that? I also get help from my family, who are very generous, but we're not well-off either, and the children don't understand that. They want*

this or that brand of trainers and mobiles and also computer games, and all those things that I say no to, but you can't say no to absolutely everything, because they have to let off steam sometime and feel that they fit in, and I can see that. But the social service doesn't understand any of that. I also need someone to do the housework for me, because my mother and my sister are doing it for me at the moment as well as they can... my mother is 76, poor thing, and she does more than she can... but I'm very worried. There are days when I don't know how we're going to make it to the end of the month. And what have I to see for it? Just this flat, nothing else. But, what can I do? If I sold it, where would we go? What would I do? Pay rent. But that would be worse in the long-run. I don't know, I really don't know what to do...

- *There aren't many things in our home because we live off another family, but my family in... can't help because they're poor, and there are five of us here, and that means food and school and clothes and many things. I can't save because since I've lost my sight, I still can't do the housework, and the children don't know how ... You realize how important a mother and a family are when these things happen. They don't always happen, but if they do, you don't know what to do.*

- *Making ends meet with is one of the most difficult things for us at the moment because they're not old enough to work, because I want them to keep on studying, but I don't know how I'm going to manage that... of course at school they say it isn't a problem, they give them their lunch, but I don't want them to be a charity case, because they feel really ashamed... because of course if they're going for free, you can't send them all dressed up, and they want this and that, and they're at an age when they want these nice things they see other girls have, and I can't buy them... They understand that we're going through a bad patch right now, but it's been a year and a half, and I also need an operation to see if this can be covered up a bit, but what can I do?*

SOCIETY'S LOOK OF PITY: This look of pity is necessary because it is the way society expresses moral rejection of what has happened. Therefore, it is a look the family unit, the victim of this type of uncontrolled violence, will have to get used to.

Obviously, this is not easy for children, and it especially offends the sensitivities of teenagers and pre-teens, because they lack the ability to express their conflicts. The look of pity they receive is both critical of the incident and disapproving of the sad reflection on society. It's a way of saying

that excess, abuse of others, whether weaker or not, will not be tolerated. That is why an adult reacts differently to condolence from the people around her. She receives it as a sign of support, of empathy, of rejection of the perpetrator, of indignation, as a way of drawing limits to what is allowed and tolerated, and defining what cannot be forgiven, regardless of the letter of the law and how justice unfolds. However, for the children it is impossible to understand all these nuances, and that makes it difficult to cope with society's presence, because they are placed exactly on the opposite side, the losers' side, from where they want to be.

- *...at first they didn't want to leave the house, they were in such a bad way... they didn't even want to look out the front door.*
- *BECAUSE THEY WERE SCARED, OR WHY?*
- *No, they weren't scared. I don't think they ever felt scared. They were ashamed, really uncomfortable about being seen like that and looked upon with affection... the most communicative of my children, who is the one in the middle, said to me "... I don't like it when they look at me with pity as if I was a wretch... dad may be a shithead", that's what he said to me, "but I don't want people to feel sorry for me. I want them to look at me with admiration" (laughing).*
- *OF COURSE, THEY FELT ASHAMED*
- *Very much so, because our neighbours were very kind... naturally with all the hullabaloo at five in the morning... the next morning with the ambulances and all the racket, everyone found out about it. And my sisters and my parents were already here by the morning, I found out about all this later,... because I was unconscious and I woke up thirty days later in the ...centre. But my mum and my sister told me that at eight o'clock in the morning all the neighbours were here asking if there was anything they could do to help... And my children didn't want to come out of their room because they heard everyone saying how sorry they were.*
- *It's worse for them than for me. Of course, the pain they feel is different. Anyway, I think they'll get over this in the same way they'll have to get over other setbacks... the problem is that this has caught them at the worst of ages... my daughter stopped talking. She's fifteen now and she was eleven then, but she's always been a very lively girl, and she just didn't want to speak to anyone, she didn't want to go out, she didn't want to go to school, she told me that she wanted us to move, that she didn't want to live around here anymore, because she said everyone thought*

that she and her brothers were the ones who had done this to me... and when I told her that no-one could say that because no-one believed that at all, on the contrary, people felt very sorry for them, the poor thing burst into tears.

BREAKDOWN OF SOCIO-CULTURAL PROTOTYPES: These children have seen how their ideal models, mentioned earlier, have vanished into thin air, despite their apparent solidity. According to these models the family is a sacred, or at least an unassailable institution, based on mutual respect, in which the father, as the head of the household, wields the maximum authority and is respected and loved by both the mother and children. In that institution, “pater” signifies fairness, the backbone of the clan, the inheritance of eternal values, care for the weakest, and so on. The effect of these children’s experience is their negative and adverse valuation of a model in crisis for them but at the same time prevalent in their surrounds and in their most immediate culture. Consequently, these young people, especially youngsters in the intermediate ages, show signs of the bewilderment described earlier. After the experience of being secondary but direct victims of the violence perpetrated by their biological or substitute fathers, they feel that the functional framework that still exists for everyone else is no longer valid for them. They sense that the most immediate prototypes on which to base their proposals for building their future have broken down:

- *...because you can’t just make up authority. What can you say to him? Do you say that he must do this or that because otherwise his father will come?... Do you say that his father who’s in jail because he threw me from the fourth floor and left me quadriplegic will be angry if he doesn’t study? You see, it’s very difficult to wield authority because what worked before immediately by just saying to him “I’ll tell your father”, or any other stupid thing we say which we also learnt from our parents, is pointless now, because they don’t care about that at all, and because it’s very hard to acknowledge it, but that’s the way it is... These children have no authority at home any more and the only thing I can think of when they don’t want to do something I think is good for them is to ask them to do it for me as a favour. But instead of telling them that they have to do it for their own good, since there’s no way that sinks in, I have to ask them to do it for me, which I don’t like doing at all, because it means acknowledging that you have no control over what they do.*
- *How am I going to be able to encourage him, with everything that’s happened to him, poor thing... You know he had a really bad time... he had to be with that shithead of a father for nearly three years, and now it*

turns out, if he had been a different kind of father, but no... And now what's happening is that he can't be bothered with anything, I think he might be a bit involved in drugs and everything, and all because he gets in with the wrong crowd here, and I feel really bad about that, but I can't move away because I depend on the social service and where would we go anyway? We don't have anyone. I don't have a family. He's shut himself off from everything that makes him feel ashamed. And of course as he's so big, I can't get him to see sense. He just tells me to leave him alone all day, to leave him alone... and he won't budge. And that's when you realize how important a father is, because these are things fathers deal with. But not only does he not have one, he's got a shithead of a dad, which is much worse... And I tell him that.

- *The good thing is that as they were very young, for them, the father issue will be bad for them, but later on, because at least for the time being they know that I'm the one in charge and that they have to do things very well because mummy can't see and that is something they have to help so that we can all get over it together... well, getting over it, quite the opposite, we will get used to the idea and live like this because that's the way things turned out... But to do that, I need to know that they are going to respond to my authority because the father's, which they see on TV, which they hear their mates talk about, they know, even though they were very young when it happened, they know that their father is not a figure of authority. But I always tell them not to say anything when people are talking about fathers.*

AWARENESS OF GROUP ANOMIE: This occurs even though this concept was not used or identified in any of the interviews. One of the things in which all the narratives concur is that neither the women nor their children will ever be able to put this experience of violence behind them, and that the adversity of their situation runs much deeper than the actual physical disability. Rather, the most harmful sequel is the psychological scars that the family unit, and in particular the children, will bear forever. These scars, this wound, more than physical pain (which many of these mothers feel) and deep depression, mean having to own that they are part of a non-standard family unit, different from all others they know. The family exists as such not because of the love binding them, which also exists, but because of the sorrow, the shame and the stigma of being pointed to as a group that suffered the horror of the violence perpetrated by the one person who should have protected them all.

- *really, bad, really bad... How do you think I feel and my children feel when it was my husband and their father who cause all this grief, crippling me*

for the rest of my life and shaming my children into having to hide the reason why their mother is in a wheelchair from everyone...

11.2. OTHER AGENTS INVOLVED IN THE FAMILY CRISES OF WOMEN DISABLED AS A RESULT OF VIOLENCE

Other agents in the family unit, besides the disabled woman and her children, are also directly affected by the events, albeit in different ways or from a variety of perspectives. These people are the abused and disabled woman's closest circle: her parents and siblings. In such situations the female figure is hegemonic for her ability to nurture, accompany, console, soothe and share, as opposed to the masculine profile, which is still distant, inhibited, in short, devoid of the mediating skills so highly developed among and for women. This should not be construed to mean that men do not feel sorrow, drama, anger, and many even humiliation, to know that a woman in their family (daughter, sister, sister-in-law...) has been a victim of gender-based violence so severe as to be disabling. On the contrary, emotionally speaking, incredulity, uneasiness and conflict may feasibly be more intense among men than among women. It is the women, however, who will be expected to take over household logistics, take part in the ritual of rebuilding some form of daily discipline, nurture the children, perform the variety of tasks that will have to be tackled to get the home up and running again. From what we have gathered so far, the presence of a network of sisters and mothers is one of the most important items in the strategy to come to terms with the new situation:

- ...the first person my children call is my sister, one of them, and she phones the other sisters, and this is how this home has managed remain more or less functional, thanks to them, as they grew very close to my children whilst I was hovering between life and death.*
- Let's see... thanks to my mother, who is the one who immediately dealt with everything and came within 24 hours. In one day, my mother was here, she went to the airport in ... bought her ticket there and she came to be with my children because my sister was in ... but she couldn't travel because she has four very young children. My mother, my sister with two of her children arrived later, one still breastfeeding, and my dad also came. But for a year and a half, the person who has been here for me with money, doing the chores, doing the school run for my daughters is my mother...*

- *What I need is for my family to be near me. I need my sisters and my mother because we're all very alone here, the children and I, very alone. But my mother and my sisters are in ..., and if I go back there, I won't have a life because his family might kill me. Here, on the other hand, they won't hurt me or my children. I need my family because I won't be able to learn to work without my sight otherwise. My sisters are coming in January.*

- *WILL OTHER SIBLINGS COME OR JUST YOUR SISTER?*

- *It's good with my sister because she's a hard worker and she knows the children and she's got enough strength to run the house and help out with everything.*

- *We get by thanks to my mum, my sister, and to a lesser extent some friends, very good friends, who also help us out with many things. But especially my mum and my sister. My sister, who is younger than I am, she's come to live with me until things get sorted out a bit, and my mother comes every day. And she lives in ... but not a day goes by without her arriving with food, clothes, toys, two mobile phones. Well, my mum and my dad, because he's the one that provides the money to buy everything, but it's my mum who travels every day, who helps out with whatever she can, of course. Without her I couldn't do anything. After my children, my mum is my other reason for living, honestly, and for years we got on really badly. But that changed, unfortunately, with what happened to me. Now I have got my mum back. Of all things...*

The main support provided by the disabled woman's immediate kin is indisputably moral and emotional. However, the help they provide can be divided into two distinct types, with the two genders performing a different role in each because their skills differ.

On the one hand, in the logistical sphere, women are more important than men given the traditional connection between the domestic realm and female culture. Whilst for men the home is a private space for relaxation, for women it is where they are most active, regardless of whether they have paid jobs in the public sphere. For men and women both, the spatial asymmetry is most visible in the different meanings attached to the home: domestic for the latter and private for the former, and those gender lines are never crossed.

- *Of course, there comes a time when you have to learn to do things even if you have lost your sight because you have to learn to do the washing, move around the house, wash up, iron... the things that you know you*

will have to keep on doing, and if you don't do them, another woman will, but I'll have to control them all the same... but most likely I'll have to do them, because my mother can't come round here to iron for my children forever...

- *Anyway, even though I can't do it now because my face is like this, I hope to take over all the household chores soon. That's one of my objectives. My brother, who comes on Saturdays to take the children to football, laughs and says if he were in my shoes, he wouldn't do anything for ten years. Naturally, I say to him that I can do nothing, and you never do anything because our other sister and our mother run their homes, mine and do anything that needs doing.*

Female cultures are essential for women who are facing a new situation because of their violence-induced disability. Female cultures, and above all their heteronomy (the capacity to perform various roles at the same time) and their relationship with everything fungible (that which is done to be undone and needs to be done again) underpin the importance of female identity in the logistics of daily life.

On the other hand, there is the **attitudinal sphere** in which men play a very important role, as they are the ones who will continue to represent the public image of the group formed by the disabled woman and her minor children. The following quote highlights this attitudinal aspect.

- *You see it's impossible to run a house without a woman. That's how it is here and in China. But I must also say that my brothers have played a very important role because they called his family, his parents and his siblings... he has eight, eight brothers and sisters in total, and they're all living. And my two brothers told them that if they ever saw anyone in their family go near my children, even if it was to give them a kiss, they would knife them and if for any reason ... comes out of prison, it would be better if he left the country because they would kill him.*
- **AND WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT WHAT YOUR BROTHERS DID?**
- *My brothers are angels and they're not going to hurt anybody... But what should I say? Probably because I know they won't do anything, I'm grateful to them, because we women can't say things like that, we don't know how to do it or anything like that... that's why I felt protected by them taking this attitude. And I feel sorry for my parents-in-law because they are wonderful people and this has destroyed them, because they really are good people... but when you're feeling worthless because of everything*

that's gone on and your brothers do this, it does you a lot of good ...a lot of good.

Consequently, men and women play different roles in logistics and attitudes, which are not complementary, for they do not converge at all. However, both defend the affective dimensions of each gender's cultural identity.

The "other agents" affected by male violence capable of causing an irreversible disability include the woman's in-laws, i.e. the perpetrator's blood family. They are heavily affected by the shock wave of the violence unleashed and by the symbolic weight of the social reproof to which it leads. This family unit necessarily feels the impact of this tragedy in one way or another, but the manner in which the members react to it vary.

One of the possible disproportionate emotional reactions is assuming responsibility for what has happened, as if the particular attitudes of one member of the family were shared by the entire group. This position of misunderstood family responsibility, halfway between primitive communitarianism and metastatic logic, is usually found in a group blaming themselves. Instead of trying to compensate, which is always impossible but worth attempting, they all turn inward in their powerless sorrow, seeking isolation or even relocating to get away from the social situation in which they have been identified as the perpetrator's relations. They even lose touch with their son's family, i.e. the victim and the children directly affected, as a way of mistakenly demonstrating their guilt.

- *...well, what's happened with them has been incredible... because I used to get on with them really well, especially with his parents, who were... always there for you, his parents, his grandparents, everyone. They're a well known family in..., which is a small town where everyone knows everyone else. Well, their reaction was to leave town. Just like that, from one day to the next. The whole town was astounded, because they are really nice people and nobody blamed them at all, I didn't. And they've stopped seeing my children. My children wanted to contact them, and their aunts and uncles as well, who have also left, with my children's cousins. It's as if the earth had swallowed them all up. Someone in town told us that they'd gone to live in... because they had some land there, and nobody knew them there. I don't know why they did that, because they've always been good people, they're nothing like their son who turned out bad, honestly... but, anyway, they decided to abandon us and that's that.*

- *No, his mother, because his father died when he was young... But I haven't heard from her. And his mother used to visit us quite often before. His sister, his sister has two children the same age as mine. We used to see them a lot... But they haven't come to visit me, not even when I was in hospital all those months, and they had enough time to do it... but they didn't come. I think it's because they felt bad, as what happened was so awful, inexplicable to anyone outside, not for me, since I should have been more cautious and known that something like that was going to happen, but, you know. But what you were asking me about his family, I haven't heard from them at all, and, naturally, my children and I aren't happy with that attitude. They knew that ... was a violent person, because he was like that with his sister and mother sometimes. Always with women, you see...*

At the opposite extreme, another mistake made by the victim's in-laws is to redirect the guilt to the victim, or at least to characterize her as an accomplice, in the more palatable version of events. Naturally, this stance is terrible for the abused woman and for her immediate family, because looking for a scapegoat, making out that she is a propitiatory victim as a way to make light of her actual status as a victim, is the most aggressive means of tackling these situations:

- *... rubbish... utter rubbish is what's come out of their mouths, and they haven't done anything... But it's because they're a herd of swine, Sorry, but they are. Do you know what they've said about me? What his siblings and his parents have said? They said I was asking for it because I wasn't a good mother to my children and he got fed up with me. They should be ashamed of themselves... they've been telling this story to everyone in... and, naturally, they know it'll get back to me. And they're full of themselves because I don't have a family, because I don't have any brothers, because otherwise they'd go there and burn their house down...*
- *The worst thing that has happened to me after all this is that his parents felt so bad that they told my children that I must have done something very bad, because otherwise why would their father do something like this to me... It's unbelievable. Well, I have stopped them seeing my children and my children don't even talk to them. That's it forever, it's over, and I know that they're not missing out on anything by not seeing me, but they can't see my children either. And that will hurt them, my children, I mean, but I have to do it because it's unacceptable.*
- *...in my culture, your husband's family doesn't take responsibility for the wife and children. Also, they have to stand up for their son in jail and*

they're not going to come here to help my children and me. And that can't be. My children don't want to see his parents, and they don't want to have anything to do with their uncle, who was very good with them. But it's better like this... because they have to look after their son, and now they say that I'm to blame. And that's not true, I didn't do anything bad, nothing, nothing...

The in-law families of gender-based violence victims emerge as a social segment that has been largely overlooked by social service institutions, even though they implicitly require actions, recommendations and proposals from such domains.

12 RELATIONAL SITUATION OF DISABLED GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE VICTIMS

In the two previous sections we have taken a detailed look at the various self-perceptive, perceptive and relational difficulties that face disabled women and their minor children as a result of the violence perpetrated against them. We have also seen that many of these women were victimized for a long time before they were disabled, and that, in all cases, the violent assault was perpetrated by men who are generally a central part of their affective and relational lives, and who therefore also have direct bonds with the minors affected.

We would now like to focus on a particular trait, which has certain anticipatory characteristics, shared by all these disabled women: namely, their tendency to isolate themselves from all kinds of relationships, i.e. male and female friends, acquaintances and neighbours, before the violence that led to their present predicament occurred. We cannot claim that such a trait is deterministic, for not all women who isolate themselves from non-hierarchical relationships in which roles are very unspecific, such as with friends or acquaintances (unlike the roles in a family, whose structure is less flexible) are prone to suffer such significant aggression. On the contrary, we merely intend to state the obvious, which is only noted after the event and never before, although this does not mean that it goes unnoticed: ***the tendency of women living with violent or potentially violent men to isolate themselves from their relationships, which reduces their protective devices to a minimum and makes them readily vulnerable and susceptible to becoming the abuser's victims.***

According to the narratives in the cases related here, every woman who had been abused, or threatened with abuse, in a more or less systematic manner, had long since begun to shrink away from her relationships until she had found herself quite alone:

- *I don't really know why, but of course, when you feel as if you're leading a double life for a long time, and, in my case it was for several years... and you don't dare tell anyone anything, not your friends, nobody... you go through times when you even have to hide yourself away so that people can't see you've been hit, don't see you with a black eye.. or with your arm*

in plaster, well... there comes a time when you realize that you're isolating yourself because you don't really care about the things other people care about, because you're so involved in your own troubles that you realize one day, you realize afterwards, of course, that you've distanced yourself from everyone, and nobody calls you anymore because you've separated yourself from people.

- I have... a lot of female friends... I've always loved being with people, and the truth is that I've known some very good people, but with everything that's happened, I don't have much contact with them, and I distanced myself from them before they did, that's the truth...*
- AND WHY DID YOU DISTANCE YOURSELF FROM YOUR FRIENDS?... I DON'T KNOW*
- I don't know why. The fact is one fine day you realize that you don't see anybody any more, that on Sundays, which can be an extremely long day, nobody phones, but they're only doing what you didn't do... if the days go by, Christmas, like now, birthdays, whatever, and you don't call anybody, then people stop calling you. And why did I stop seeing my friends? I don't really know... I only know that I gradually drifted apart from everyone.*
- The worst is the loneliness you fall into. The days go by and the phone doesn't ring, and you don't call anyone either, and it was like that all the time, as if you were entering a void. He actually never liked my friends much, and there came a time when I felt it was an effort for me to be in the middle because as I was always afraid that he would get very violent, because he had outbursts that left you stunned, about stupid things, honestly, because he always wanted to pass as an intellectual with big ideas with people who didn't want that, and who weren't intellectual at all, of course... The fact is that I'm the one who didn't do anything to defend my right to see the people I wanted to see. I took refuge in my children, my mother and sisters, and people drifted away.. or rather I distanced myself...*
- I realized that I was very much alone, and it's not that the others left me, it was me who distanced myself from people. I wasn't interested in anyone else. I thought about nothing else all day, always the same, with no interest in doing anything, no vitality. It was like a thing, an entity, something like that... I didn't want anything and I was obsessed with knowing that something was going to happen...*

The relational logic between both processes is inferred by the order of events of these accounts: these women's prior isolation and their subsequent

defencelessness. However, as can be gleaned these narratives, the isolation and distancing from the relationship circle seems to be due to two different aspects that lead to the same result: ***the women abandon their relationships***. This seems to happen because of one and the same representational impossibility: on the one hand, they find it difficult to be a mediator (relational self) between their partner, who is not accepted by others and who, in turn, does not accept them. This role as a mediator is far more frequent among women than men, as it is culturally encouraged in the construction of the female identity. Further to this principle of responsibility of mediation between and caring for others, whoever the others may be, women's right to a relationship with them is only legitimated if they're able to bond. This imperative often leads them to cancel out their relationship options, because others, whoever they are, have to accept and like each other, even love each other, for the women to allow themselves to give way to their own feelings.

- *...it wasn't as if he told me not to see my friends... or my family... but you know what happens if your friends don't like the man you're with and if he doesn't like them, or your family, it doesn't matter... well, you end up breaking off contact with them because you can't be in the middle with them not liking each other...*

Moreover, women also experience difficulties in conveying to family and friends their troubling and uncertain position, even before an unfortunate event occurs. Such difficulties, which we have addressed extensively in these pages, involve twofold distress, unease and shame, which constantly feed on each other:

- *...fear and shame, as I said, and you don't know where one begins and the other ends, because both of them cause a knot in your stomach, and you feel as if you're going to fall, that's what I felt, that if I walked, took one step, I would fall, worse than if I didn't walk, when I would also fall...*

Consequently, this isolation can be regarded to be highly symptomatic, because women in this situation unwittingly but actively help to create the circumstances in which the violence against them can occur.

- *I've thought about it a lot, because it was something I regretted so many times, because I've had a lot of time to think about it... honestly I have... Because one day when I was in hospital I realized: shit! Of course.. in the end what happened, happened because I disappeared from everyone's radar and he knew that the coast was clear. I didn't speak to the*

neighbours, I'd had a fight with my sister because of him, that's another story, and I'd stopped seeing my friends because they were always going on about him being an idiot, and be careful and this and that... and then, I said, of course, I didn't want any trouble, so I just dropped out of everyone's lives, and look what happened, life is just a bowl of cherries.

- *What do I regret most? That I listened to him and gave up my life, my friends and my circle, my faculty mates, I gave up everything... and you never get that back, because now it would be people seeing me because they feel sorry for me and I don't want that... and people who were very loyal and very close to me and who meant a lot to me because we were together during the years of the changing political scene and in the union, so many things we did together... But I just drifted away and I regret that, because I'm not going to get that life and those interests back.*

Each of these women, in their own way, went into isolation in the phases prior to the eruption of the conclusive violence that led to their current disabilities. In light of that, all women must be made to understand that their family, friends, neighbours, acquaintances, etc., can be a support to cushion any possible experiences of violence. Keeping these relationships alive and making sure that no violent person isolates them may be a future guarantee of not just physical survival, but emotional, psychological and relational survival as well.

Another interesting development involves the victim's closest family members, her children but also her parents and siblings. Devastated by the shame of what has happened within their group and by the guilt they feel for not interfering, for their silence, that stemmed not from indulgence but from misplaced respect, also tend to drift apart from people outside their family after the event. Sometimes the disabled woman's family even suggest that she should remain confined at home as the best way of jointly confronting this new stage in their lives.

- *Now it's my parents and my children who want me to be at home all day, and it's true that I find it difficult to get about in this wheelchair, everything takes a lot of organization, which I'd just as soon not go into, but, do you know what? I've started to want to live and go out, even though it's so complicated, with special taxis, or whatever, I don't care. I have to go to physiotherapy and I have to see people, and one day I was talking to a friend and now she's invited me to a New Year's Eve dinner, people I haven't seen for nine years. And do you know what? I'm going to go...*

- *I THINK IT'S REALLY GREAT THAT YOU'RE GOING, ESPECIALLY IF IT'S SOMETHING YOU LIKE, THEN YOU SHOULD DO IT...*
- *I haven't often felt like doing things in life, and as I feel that I've been born again, I tell my children: you must think that you have an eighteen-month-old mother, which is how long it's been since I survived this and I was on the verge of not pulling through... And now I want to do some of the things that were forbidden for me, but less by him than by myself, for all those years...*
- *I'm looking forward to things settling down a bit and getting back together with my friends, and for my children to stay with my parents one night and to go out, even if it's just down to the coffee shop round the corner, so that I can forget about all this a bit... even if I can't see. Don't other blind women find their way around?... My mother gets really so het up about it... But I say to her, cut it out, I was with a man for many years who would hardly let me breathe, so don't you, who I love more than anybody else, start telling me what I can't do, please...*
- *...My family are on edge, they've always been a bit like that... but this... Do you know what they want me to do now? To go to live in an aunt's house, who's about eighty and she lives in... hidden away in the mountains, with my son, because then there... nobody will bump into us and in the meantime I can look after my aunt... My family is unbelievable... they'll do anything to get rid of the millstone around their necks. The only thing they want is for me to disappear, no matter how ...*

Consequently, families, who can play an extremely important role by being there for these women and their children, can also hamper the social recovery and mainstreaming of women disabled as a result of gender-based violence. The pivotal position of the disabled woman's mother, her children's maternal grandmother (when there are children) is crucial in both logistical and attitudinal aspects, and, therefore, the view she adopts is vital. She is the person best equipped to step in for her grandchildren's mother after these children have suffered one of the worst experiences in their lives. At the same time, she can oversee her daughter's care and rehabilitation, so her flexibility and strength are essential for the entire family unit.

- *My mother's been so important because she's the one who was with the children when I was in hospital, and she was able to dish out the discipline, but, at the same time, she often explained, because my children have told me this, she explained that their dad is still their father, and they have to accept that he's a bad person, but they can't solve this*

by saying that he isn't their father any more... My mum is a very wise woman, and she's been able to sit down and work it out with them, she's listened to them. She's been wonderful, she really has. If I'm a bit better now, it's down to her rather than anyone else. Even more than my children. Really.

13 SUMMARY

The pages below contain general conclusions drawn from the survey “THE PROCESSES AND REALITIES FACING WOMEN DISABLED AS A RESULT OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE” commissioned by the Special Government Agency on Gender-based Violence.

We’ll begin by reviewing the objectives, the profile of the interviewees and the field report, to then discuss the most cross-wise and strategic inferences drawn from the endeavour.

SURVEY OBJECTIVES

- Relationship processes triggering acquired disability.
- Family structure and dysfunction.
- Interviewees’ relations with their ingroups.
- Social inclusion and exclusion resulting from disability and the reasons leading up to it.
- Interviewees’ portrayal of themselves and their ingroups.

SPECIFICATIONS SHEET

Preliminary note:

- More than in other surveys, the interviewees’ identity in the present study must remain absolutely anonymous and under no circumstances may/should they be identified.
- The anonymity necessary to guarantee their non-identification has obliged us to deconstruct the names of people and places referred to by the interviewees to ensure that neither they nor their situations or relationships can be recognized.

- The general conclusions addressed below are the result of complex, difficult, at times disturbing and always arduous field work, which had to be conducted outside standard social research networks and without being able to resort to institutional channels which, for reasons of personal data protection, could not be tapped as a source of information.
- We wish to thank all our interviewees most sincerely.

INTERVIEWEE PROFILE

- The nine women interviewed were between the ages of 25 and 50, i.e., young and middle-aged adults, all in their prime and with prospects for future development, at least chronologically speaking.
- These women presently live in different regions of Spain.
- Unlike their age, their educational profile varies widely, for some of the women have primary schooling only, others have secondary schooling, and yet others a higher education (university graduates).
- Generally speaking, these women are from backgrounds typical of the urban middle classes that began to prevail in Spain in the nineteen fifties and sixties. At this time none has a middle class income, given their acquired disability and dependence on public pensions and other types of support. Two immigrant women who have lived in Spain for over 10 years were also included in the group.
- The interviewees' disabilities are summarized in the table below.

INTERVIEWEE 1	QUADRIPLEGIA
INTERVIEWEE 2	HEARING LOSS (95 %)
INTERVIEWEE 3	3 RD DEGREE BURNS ON FACE AND PART OF BODY
INTERVIEWEES 4, 5 AND 9	BLINDNESS
INTERVIEWEE 6	PARAPLEGIA
INTERVIEWEE 7	MENTAL DISABILITY
INTERVIEWEE 8	MULTIPLE PHYSICAL AND SENSORY DISABILITY

THE ABUSE EXPERIENCE

Relationship patterns

- The research sample is based on a short empirical base, which is consistent with its dual dimension: on the one hand, the number of cases is very small, and on the other the approach, consisting in experiential histories, is more intensive than extensive.
- This brief sampling of cases of acquired disability due to violence perpetrated against women by their partners or ex-partners can readily be seen to cover a wide range of relationships that reveal that abuse cannot be anticipated on the grounds of typologies of objective circumstances.
- Extreme physical violence with sequels consisting in severe disability appeared in all these types of relationships: from relationships that lasted nearly twenty-five years of spousal violence, to sporadic relationships with no terminological structure (not sweethearts, not engaged), including common-law couples and institutional couples with deep and shared religious convictions.
- Perhaps the trait common to all, according to the interviewees' own narratives, is that none of the women involved believed that the violence would reach the extreme of limiting their existence so drastically and profoundly, disabling them physically, sensorially and psychologically.
- This lack of foresight would appear to characterize the **structural difficulty inherent in acknowledging that they were playing a victim's role**, even though in several cases their partners had clearly voiced threats of violence, directed at and reserved for them.
- The conclusion drawn is that a very high degree of violence, in the presence or absence of threats, was experienced by these women from an ambiguous position:

**“MY PARTNER BEHAVES VIOLENTLY.
AND YET, IT’S NOT DANGEROUS TO BE AT HIS SIDE
BECAUSE HE WON’T HURT ME/ HE LOVES ME”**

- *“I never thought that he would hit me, never, ever. He would go on rages, but it never occurred to me that he would come after me.”*
 - *“All those years beatings, all those years of threats, it’s as though you get used to it and I never thought he’d hurt me.”*
 - *“I saw him strike his brothers, his mother, a stranger once after a minor car accident, but I never thought that he’d turn against me.”*
 - *“How could I think that a man who came to see me at three a.m. because he loved me would throw acid in my face?”*
- In other words, despite these women’s accurate “diagnosis” of their partners’ personalities, they never realized that the conflict impacted the relationship itself. At no time did these women understand that the problem wasn’t only that their partners were violent, but that their relationship was truly dangerous; that there is no such thing as a violent personality that doesn’t affect his affections and anyone forming part of them.
 - They were so convinced that their relationship was not a danger zone and were into such denial about being the primary victims, that many of the interviewees had children with these men, based on one of two possible premises:
 - A) With children, he would change, be more understanding, less violent and more tolerant.
 - B) If he was «unbearable», motherhood would be a refuge, a way to compensate having to be with him, having to put up with him.
 - Both premises are false (as these histories show) and appear to be based on the same recurrent dual error observed in these women, furthered by cultural references:
 - The failure to recognize that violent personalities grow within the relationship itself in the absence of limits established in due time.
 - The failure to admit that many of them are/were abused women who lived in constant danger, and that twofold ignorance, which was not present in all cases, stems from two conflicts relating to social reality:

- 1) The failure to accommodate their identity as abused women even where abuse existed, or to acknowledge that their partners were violent males.
 - 2) The social shame of having to acknowledge their predicament, leading them to pathologically conceal their plight as abused women from their families, friends and public institutions.
- The shame of being identified as an abused woman generates deep and dramatic affliction as well as a tendency to cover up for the perpetrator and engage in moral self-censuring. This leaves or left them continually exposed to everyday violence, at least symbolically, for abusers know that their power rests on their ability to inhibit the victim so she sees herself as an accomplice and responsible for her own circumstances.
 - The women who had borne systematic abuse for a longer time clearly expressed their inability to identify themselves as abused because of the lack of any definition of this situation in society, institutions or the media.
 - *“I knew full well that he was violent because he had already tried to stab me and he’d beaten me terribly a few times. But I didn’t know that I was an abused woman. It wasn’t until those cases started to be publicized and they started to be talked about by that woman on television and all. That’s when I realized that it wasn’t just that my ex-husband was violent, it was that I was an abused woman...”*
 - All the interviewees noted, recurrently, that their relationships with these abusive males were characterized by a twofold bond, the abuse/affection dichotomy characteristic of gender violence, which arbitrarily marked the pattern of their ties to them and governed their life together, in which they were in a position of subordinate uncertainty:
 - *“I never knew why he was going to explode. It could be for the stupidest thing on earth... and just a minute before everything was just fine! What could have happened? What did I do wrong?”*
 - *“Oddly, we agreed about all the important things, and never argued. Our intimacy was fine, but suddenly, for no reason, everything would go wrong and then he sensed that I was being disrespectful and that’s when the beatings would start and...”*

THE RELATIONSHIP WITH SONS AND DAUGHTERS

- The relationship with sons and daughters, if any, does not appear to follow any single pattern either, even though the children, who form part of the bond, are also marked by the abuse.
- Some of these men who abused their partners were not physically violent with their children:
 - *“Never, even though he put me in this wheelchair. I have to admit that he was an excellent father, very much wanting to be a father and he never, ever, set a hand on the children, either the boy or the girl.”*
- Men whose violence consisted in competing for the mother’s role:
 - *“...it all started when I said we should get a separation. He’d never hit me until then, it was because I asked him for a separation and he knew that he was going to be separated from his daughter and that drove him mad. Actually, he’d always been violent, but it was when he saw that he could be deprived of close contact with his daughter, that’s when things got awful...”*
- Fathers who, in their abusive pathology, inflicted much the same abuse and cruelty on their children as they did on their partners:
 - *“But when he was abusing me, that’s when I got custody of ..., who was only four years old. Whole days with nothing to eat, the baby went to nursery school with no breakfast. Sometimes, confined to the house for a week because he’d broken something, or he’d make him sleep on the floor.”*
- Irrespective of specific characteristics, all abusive fathers’ children are psychologically harmed. Although the resulting disorders are beyond the bounds of this research, they merit deeper study by the institutions in future.
- As in the case of adult women, no children escape unscathed from the experience of an abusive father, regardless of the children’s age and whether or not they were the direct targets of his violence.
- But this analysis cannot focus exclusively on the hypothesis that men’s flawed identity as fathers can explain violence, for violence against women also exists after the children grow up and leave home and among childless couples.

THE PERPETRATORS

- Our impression of them in the present survey is inevitably drawn from the narratives and the profile sketched of them by the interviewees, a bias that can obviously not be overlooked.
- Despite the personality differences, a number of common traits seem to re-appear in these abusive males:
 - Need for constant confirmation that they are the centre of their partners' lives.
 - Need to be the couple's sole representative and even represent their partners in the public domain.
 - Inability to bear any sign of their partners' independence from the relationship.
 - Adherence to very traditional values in their relationships, regardless of ideology or political leanings.
 - Tendency to have conflictive relationships with other males (family, work and so on) and scant disposition to communicate with other women.
 - Public behaviour in keeping with serious, polite, self-assured, orderly and homebound personalities.
 - Cyclothymic expression of affection: none of the men described by the interviewees would appear to be unpleasant and even less to be in a constant state of violent rage: they are, rather, ambiguous and paradoxical and their reactions unpredictable.

ABUSED WOMEN

- There is less unanimity among the women in terms of attitude, and yet all seem to be afflicted by a remarkable near-sightedness that prevents them from focusing on their good and bad qualities, aptitudes and flaws.
- Very generally speaking, the following character traits appear to be present in all these women:

- General sensation of living on the fringe, on the outskirts of their affective relationships because their partners occupy the centre.
- Awareness of being the link between different family members (children, parents-in-law...), without asking anything in return, out of a sense of responsibility towards others, including their partners.
- Extreme difficulty to think of themselves as independent persons with an individual self because they were trained to be heteronomous, with a relational self.
- Adherence to liberal values and attitudes whilst putting up with traditionally-minded, intolerant and violent men for love and out of responsibility.
- Strong feminist convictions and defence of equality in public life, alongside the inability to put those convictions into practice in their private lives
- Explicit lack of self-confidence.
- Visibly depressive tone and latent anxiety visible among these severely disabled women, expressed repeatedly during the interviews.

Their outlook on life is nonetheless surprisingly resilient, despite their circumstances and the violence inflicted on them.

FAMILY STRUCTURE AND DYSFUNCTION

- In all the cases of disability caused by gender-based violence contacted for this survey, the family fell apart as a result of that violence.
- Even when new families with children were not formed, the devastating effects of the violence and concomitant disability caused very clear signs of family dysfunction, both in the abuser's and the abused woman's families.

INITIAL RELATIONSHIP STRUCTURES

- The interviewees represented a cross-section of the most common relationship and family structures prevailing in Spain:
 - Couples married in the church.
 - Couples with civil marriages.
 - Common-law couples.
 - Second relationships with children from the first.
 - Couples not living together.
 - Dates with friends.
- Asymmetric violence cannot be said to be associated with any one of the possible family structures more than any of the others and none goes by special rules that would anticipate dramatic outcomes.
- This infers that from the perspective of the initial structure of these relationships, the presence of violence so severe as to cause disability is a response, as noted above, to two main factors:
 - A) Ambiguous when not wholly polarized masculine conduct, in which affection and abuse exist side-by-side.
 - B) Women painfully inhibited by shame and the lack of self-esteem. these two factors together lead to their inability to set immediate limits after the first signs of violence which, except when unprecedented and in very casual relationships, appears with frequent and disciplined periodicity. in this regard, the fact that they have endured gender violence with serious consequences must be taken into consideration.

“We were a normal couple, one of the crowd, and he had plenty of good qualities, he was very loving, even with my first daughter, from a prior marriage. but i never knew why, almost once a week he invented an excuse to beat me.”

“what’s pretty much unbelievable is that you would say we were a perfect couple... loving, tremendously loving... but when he would say, let’s go into the kitchen, if it wasn’t once

a week it was every two, that was it and that's when all hell would break loose."

FAMILY DYSFUNCTION: METASTASIS

- The mere appearance of a disability is enough to change the course of a family's life.
- If the disability is caused by violence perpetrated by a family member or an outsider, and directed at one of the women in the unit, the resulting disability has a metastatic effect, impacting every member in the group.
- Obviously the severity of the impact starts with the woman who has been violently disabled, continues with her children, affects her, and also his, siblings and parents, and even other relations who feel that the existence of an abuser in the family is a stigma strongly rejected by society.
- For the children, the second line of direct victims, the list of adverse consequences is very long indeed: bewilderment, coming to terms with the fact that their father radically abused their mother, and the social shame involved in identifying with this family group.
- Major conflicts facing the children include:
 - Father violent with their mother.
 - Father feared and often loved.
 - Family breakdown.
 - Mother's suffering.
 - Total absence of the father.
 - Mother's dependence.
 - Sorrowful atmosphere in the home.
 - Financial conflicts.
 - Society's look of pity.
 - Breakdown of socio-cultural prototypes.
 - Awareness of group anomie.

FAMILY DYSFUNCTION FOR OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNIT

- The next group of agents directly affected are the disabled woman's parents and siblings, who are impacted on both a logistic and attitudinal level.
 - LOGISTIC: once the abused woman has become disabled, her need for her parents' and siblings' help is constant, as the new situation requires a different way of coping with everyday life.
 - ATTITUDINAL: both her and his families as a group take part of the blame for what has happened. They feel guilty for not knowing, for doing nothing, for abandoning her, or they simply feel ashamed because of how an experience of this kind in their own family can affect them socially .

WOMEN DISABLED AS A RESULT OF VIOLENCE AND THEIR FAMILY UNITS. RELATIONSHIPS

- Any woman who has been abused or threatened with abuse more or less systematically for a period of time is a woman who has shrunk away from her relationships with friends acquaintances and family, etc., until she has found herself quite alone.
- With only one exception, in all the cases of disability due to gender-based violence interviewed, we found that the female victim had become socially isolated prior to the violent events. The tendency is for these women to shut themselves away out of shame, gradually losing people to talk to, and keen on concealing their shameful situation.
- It is very enlightening to see that all the experiences of prolonged abuse occur in circumstances in which the victim has no friend or trusted family member in whom to confide, i.e. no explicit, supportive relational networks.
- After the advent of the violence-mediated disability, it is the other members of the family who tend to seek isolation. They mistakenly feel shame and guilt for the stigma of the abuse, which leads them nowhere.

- The role played by the victims' mothers, and, naturally, the children's grandmothers, when there are children, is instrumental to group reorganization, despite the dire initial circumstances.

THE COMPLEX PROCESS OF INCLUSION / EXCLUSION OF WOMEN DISABLED AS A RESULT OF VIOLENCE

- Any acquired disability involves some form of social exclusion, as the person suffering the impairment will have to learn how to live within their new possibilities and limits in their interaction with society.
- If this disability is the result of violence perpetrated by a woman's partner, her loss of identity, self-esteem and confidence in her self-worth, her social shame and lack of defined motivational horizons all converge to heighten that feeling of exclusion.
- This feeling of exclusion taints each and every one of the aspects of these women's lives.
- Consequently, what these women perceive, more than their exclusion *per se*, is that they will be conclusively included in exclusion as their only possible horizon from now on for the rest of their lives.

**ASPECTS OF
SELF-PORTRAYAL
AFFECTED BY
VIOLENCE-INDUCED
DISABILITY**

- Self-confidence.
- Work as satisfaction.
- Relationship with children as guide and mentor.
- Expectations around new relationships.
- Equal status in the private domain.
- Actual prospects for independence.
- Freedom of time and space.
- Pleasure derived from leisure.
- Feminine appeal.
- The will to live.
- The potential for heteronomy.
- Satisfaction in living.
- And so on.

- Out of all their shattered identities, only their role as mother to minor children seems to afford them any satisfaction, although it is limited to the responsibility they have towards their children of not abandoning their roles.

“I don’t really feel like living, I really don’t. Only my children make me want to open my eyes, although I’m a living corpse.”

“What do I look forward to? Nothing. I only hope to be with my children until they’ve grown up, although I’ll never be able to see them again.”

“My live is over. Of course, being able to say something to my daughter, and not much else. There’s nothing else.”

Social and institutional support of all gender-based violence victims, education, prevention and sensitization are the tools our democratic society can use to reduce, overcome and eradicate gender-based violence.



In compliance with the terms of Article 30 of Organic Law 1/2004 of 28 December on Comprehensive Protection Measures against Gender-Based Violence, on 12 May 2009 the Plenum of the State Observatory on Violence against Women discussed and adopted its Second Annual Report.

The Report consists of a first chapter containing statistics drawn up by the Government Delegation on Gender Violence and a second chapter containing the findings of a study on Processes and realities of women with disabilities due to gender-based violence, led by Cristina Santamarina.



SECRETARÍA GENERAL
DE POLÍTICAS
DE IGUALDAD

DELEGACIÓN
DEL GOBIERNO
PARA LA VIOLENCIA
DE GÉNERO