

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION¹

1.1 Motivation.

The persistence of gender-based violence in the present is one of the main afflictions that our 21st century societies continue to suffer. It is entirely incompatible with the idea of social progress and development. Although there are differences in how it affects countries, gender-based violence has devastating effects on many areas of society and the economy. The damage it causes means that not only the victims who suffer the violence and the people around them have to pay a high price, but so does society as a whole.

The sheer scale and seriousness of this violence against women (the World Health Organization - hereafter WHO - estimates that 30% of women worldwide will experience it) has made it the focus of various international organizations. Gender-based violence (GV) has been recognised as a serious abuse of human rights and a significant public health issue that *affects every aspect of the lives of the women victims and all sectors of society* (Joachim, 2000; Mayhew and Watts, 2002).

This recognition is the result of the combined efforts of international grassroots social organizations of women², international experts³ and committed governments who, in recent decades and especially at the end of the last century, managed to transform public opinion on this topic (Heise, 1996).

The many agreements and declarations that emerged from international congresses during the nineties were also decisive in underlining and reinforcing the importance and scale of the problem. It is through these international agreements that governments have come to

¹ The authors would like to express their gratitude to the Government Delegation for Gender-based Violence, which forms part of the Ministry of the Presidency, Relations with Parliament and Equality, for the initiative to carry out the study presented here. We would like to offer special thanks to the team at the Sub-directorate General of Awareness, Prevention and Knowledge of Gender Violence for their valuable ideas and comments, and their patience and dedication over many working meetings and for reading of the draft versions of the text. Thanks are also due to Ms Rosa María López, Programme Coordinator at the Sub-directorate General for Quality and Innovation at the Ministry of Health, Consumption and Social Welfare, for the information provided and her willingness to respond to our enquiries.

² Martínez Martín et al. (2004) trace this recognition back to the USA and Europe, highlighting the role of several women, including Kate Millet, Andrea Dworkin, Diana Russell, Susan Brownmiller and Eleonor Holmes Norton, who understood this violence as an expression of a patriarchal society.

³ The activities of the research community were particularly relevant, with an increase in the number of clinical and epidemiological studies published that have established the link between exposure to gender violence and health (Martínez Martín et al., 2004).

recognise the need to develop *broad multi-sectoral approaches to prevent and respond to gender-based violence*, making commitments to implement the institutional and legislative reforms that are required to achieve this objective.

The following are among the most significant of these International Declarations and Conferences:

- The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) by the UN in 1975 affirmed that gender-based violence is the most frequent and least recognised form of attack against human rights.
- The World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna 1993) was held by the UN and established that "the human rights of women and the girl child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights".
- The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (resolution 48/104 adopted in the 85th Plenary Session, of 20 December 1993), defined the concept of Gender-based Violence and began discussing physical, sexual and psychological violence.
- The International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994) (United Nations 1994), which focused on ideas such as sexual and reproductive health, as well as the actions to be taken in pursuit of gender equality, making it possible to situate the right to family planning at the centre of development policies.
- The Fourth⁴ World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995) (United Nations, 1995) was a turning point in the global agenda on gender equality. The Declaration and Platform for Action, created in Beijing and adopted unanimously by 189 countries, constitute a programme for female empowerment and their creation drew heavily on the key document in world politics on gender equality. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action established a series of strategic goals and measures to support women's progress and to achieve gender equality in 12 vital areas, including issues related with GV.
- As regards the question of health, the WHO affirmed in the 49th World Health Assembly in 1996 that violence is a priority for public health around the world and requested the member states to evaluate the scale of the problem in their territories (WHO, 1996). The report published by the organization showed that this violence is

⁴ The United Nations has organized four world conferences on women's rights, held in Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). The Beijing Conference was followed by a series of five-year reviews.

present in every country of the world, whether developed, developing or underdeveloped⁵, and affects women of all ages.

- At the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, signed in Istanbul in 2011, the States declared that they would "*create a Europe free of violence against women and domestic violence*". The goals established include a) protection for women against all forms of violence, and to prevent, investigate and eliminate violence against women and domestic violence; b) contributing to the elimination of discrimination against women and to promote real equality between men and women; c) establishing a global framework, policies and measures to protect and support female victims; d) promoting international cooperation to eliminate violence against women and domestic violence; e) help and support to enable law enforcement agencies to cooperate effectively and adopt an integrated approach to enable violence against women and domestic violence to be eliminated (European Council, 2011).

Gender-based violence is not therefore to be considered a problem of individuals, but as one affecting society as a whole, so a rigorous estimate of the costs it generates will provide a powerful argument in favour of stronger efforts to eradicate it. This overall prevalence of 30% estimated by the WHO (2013), means that nearly one out of every three women who have been in a relationship have suffered some form of physical and/or sexual violence from their partner at some point in their lives. This clearly shows the intensity with which violence against women persists on a global scale.

Our country is no exception, and many efforts have been made in recent years to draw attention to the problem that this kind of violence represents. In general, they have been studies that aim to establish the scale, prevalence and effects, the causes and the actions taken to eradicate it, among other aspects (Red2Red Consultores, 2013; Miguel Luken, 2015, for the Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality). The public administrations, the academic world, social organizations and the private sector have all played a part in carrying out these studies.

⁵ According to the WHO (2013), the global prevalence of Gender-based Violence (inflicted by a partner or ex-partner) in 2010 affected around 30% of women. Although there are significant differences in some geographical areas, this prevalence is, in general, very high. The highest rates are to be found in the regions of South-east Asia (37.7%), Eastern Europe (37%) and Africa (36.6%). While still significant, America (29.8%), Europe (25.4%) and the Western Pacific (24.6%) are below the global average. The prevalence in the group of highest income countries was 23.3%.

Even so, very little has been said about the analysis of the economic cost of the problem of gender-based violence in Spain. The most thorough studies of this problem were those made for Andalusia by the Andalusian Women's Institute (2004), by the Centro Reina Sofia for its Study of Violence (2006) in the Community of Valencia, and that made by Red2Red Consultores for the Community of Madrid (2007).

This situation stands in contrast with the growing amount of research in the international arena, especially in developed countries, as indicated by Duvvury et al. (2013) and Council of Europe (2012), although it is also happening in developing countries

We can find studies about their respective countries that have been carried out in the United Kingdom (Walby, 2004 and 2009); Australia (Access Economics, 2004; National Council to Reduce Violence Against Women and Their Children, 2009, hereafter NCRVAWTC; KPMG, 2016); Canada (McInturff, 2013; Zhang et al., 2012) and Switzerland (Stern et al., 2013), among others.

The economic cost of gender-based violence in the area of the European Union has been estimated at 109,125,574,091 euros per year, distributed into medical care, social services, legal proceedings and the financial losses caused by gender-based violence (Walby and Olive, 2014, for the European Institute for Gender Equality); this figure represents around 0.8% of the GDP of the 28 member states. The estimated economic costs for Spain in this study amounted to 10,125,331,271 euros.

Despite the differences in the scope of these studies, their methodologies and the data they use, they all coincide in the evidence they provide of the enormous costs that gender-based violence imposes on society. This may range between 1 and 2% of GDP, which represents a serious impact on the economy. Even so, most of these studies agree that they are probably underestimating the real economic costs of gender violence by using prudent estimates based on conservative assumptions and considering only those areas where the costs are more "easily" assessed (KPMG, 2014; KPMG, 2016).

1.1.1. How do the general public see the problem of gender-based violence?

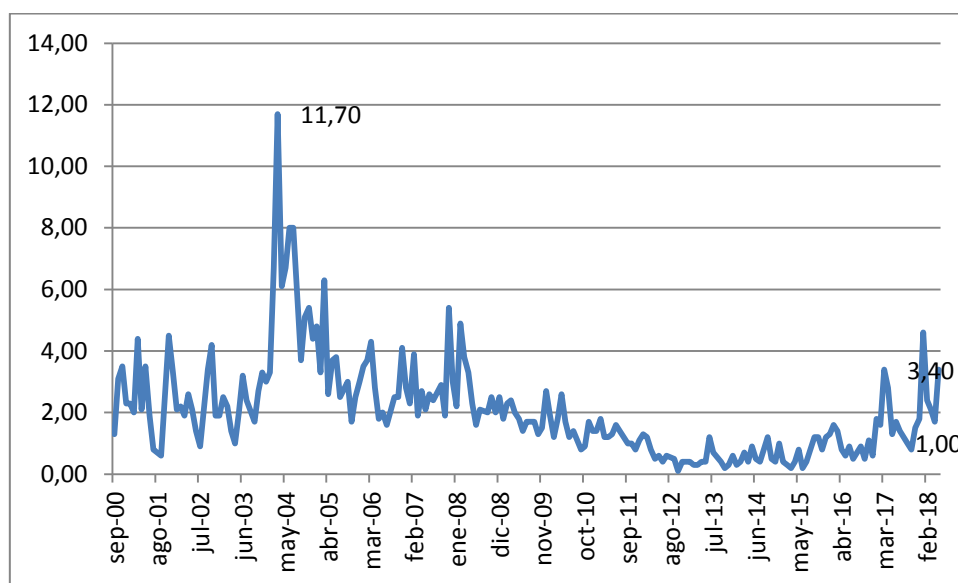
We should find out how concerned people in this country are about the problem of gender-based violence and compare this with the perception that is prevalent in the European Union. The barometers of the Centre for Sociological Research (CIS) and the Eurobarometer of the European Commission, which analyse changes in public opinion in Spain and the European Union respectively, can shed some light on this question. The report *Percepción social de la*

violencia de género [Social perception of gender-based violence] (Meil Landwerlin (2012) for the Government Delegation for Gender-based Violence for the Ministry of Health and Social Security and Equality), was based on field work carried out by the CIS (*Estudio CIS Nº 2968*) on this topic, although it is somewhat out of date, having been carried out in 2012.

The set questions that the CIS asks the general public about every month (a sample of around 2,500 Spaniards of both sexes aged 18 and over) include one that is of particular interest, because it asks about the *Main problems of the country in the opinion of the person interviewed*. This information is then used to create an indicator of the perception of the main problems of Spain, which groups together the percentages of persons interviewed who spontaneously state that a particular issue is one of the three main problems that currently affect Spain. Unemployment and corruption, first, and fraud, second, are the two issues that most worry Spaniards. There is also a gap between them and the others, because they are among the most important problems for more than 74% and nearly 37% of interviewees respectively (in data from December 2016).

Although it produces much lower numbers, the problem of violence against women is always mentioned, albeit at different rates depending on the time of asking, as shown in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 Percentage of Spaniards aged 18 or over who mention violence against women as one of the three main problems of Spain.



Source: Own material based on data from the CIS Barometer.

On one occasion, in the year when the Organic Law on Integral Protection Measures against Gender-based Violence was passed, it was considered to be one of the three most important problems in Spain by nearly 12% of the persons interviewed, but the value normally varies between 0.5% and 6%. If we bear in mind that these answers are offered spontaneously, these figures can be seen in a positive light, because they show that the problem is never completely overlooked by society. It does, however, reflect the very limited recognition of the true scale of the problem, especially when we take into account the fact that there are around 2.6 million women who are currently suffering⁶ some type of GV in Spain (according to the Macro survey 2015), which places it in an order of magnitude that is not very much lower than the number of those currently unemployed, at 5 million. For three quarters of the public interviewed, however, unemployment is clearly much more prominent in the concerns they expressed, because gender violence was included among the most important of the country's problems by only 2%.

The national field study on the social perception of gender-based violence was carried out by the CIS between 19 November and 3 December 2012 on a total of 2,580 residents of both sexes, aged 18 and over. It contained a very wide range of questions on the topic and produced the following data. A very high percentage, at 92%, of those interviewed considered that the violence inflicted by men on their wives or ex-wives, partners or ex-partners, was

⁶ Understood as being the 12 months prior to the interviews, which took place in the last quarter of 2014.

totally unacceptable, but 5.3% considered that it is something inevitable that is always happening, while 1.7% even stated that it is acceptable under certain circumstances (question 7).

When questioned about the different forms of abuse, the majority stated that they are all unacceptable and should always be punishable by law. However, it must also be noted that some people show greater tolerance to certain types of gender-based violence. For example, verbal mistreatment, verbal threats and the restriction of freedom are considered acceptable under certain circumstances by 2.5%, 1.7% and 1.7% respectively, or are considered unacceptable but not always punishable by law by 32.6%, 27.6% and 10% respectively (question 11). This should be seen in the context that 30.2% state that they know of a woman in their closest social circle who suffers abuse on the part of her partner or ex-partner (question 13)

Respondents also frequently state that the reason why we are hearing more and more news items about GV is because violence against women is on the increase (28.1%), although even more people say that the reason is that more cases are being reported (66.3%). Finally, 60.1% of the women and men who answer know of or have heard of the Integrated Law against Gender-based Violence, and 85.9% are satisfied that there is specific legislation to deal with GV, expressing a certain level of interest in the problem. However, 39.2% of those asked said that it was the first time they had heard of it (questions 17 and 19).

For its part, the Eurobarometer has the advantage of devoting a special edition specifically to the problem of gender-based violence in 2016⁷. By showing aggregate data for the group of EU countries alongside national figures, it enables us to see how Spanish people perceive this form of violence in comparison with the average of the European Union. The information offered by this *Eurobarometer Special 449 Gender-based Violence* is very detailed and we can only mention some of the questions that are of greater importance for us.⁸

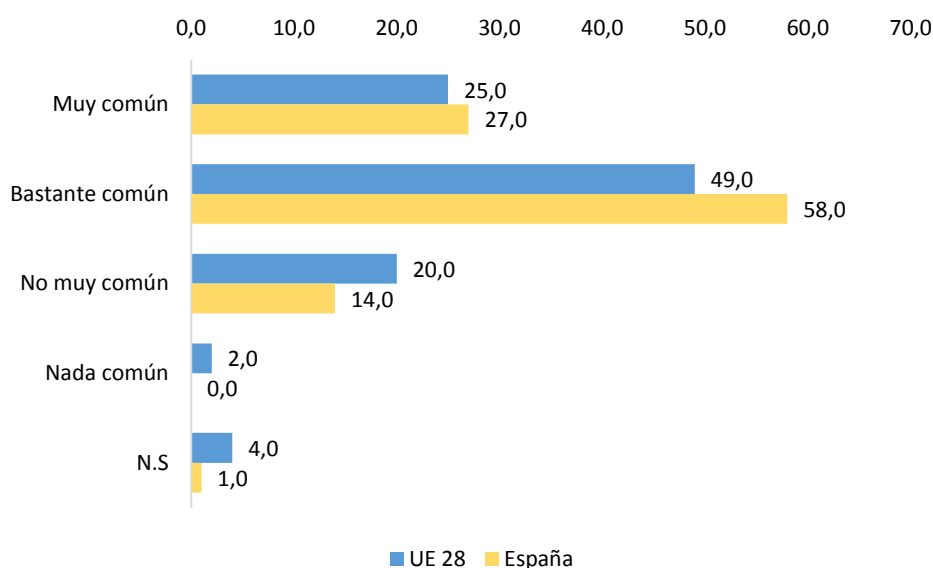
First of all, it should be noted that the general public, in Europe as a whole and Spain in particular, is clearly aware that violence against women is a real problem in their countries. In the EU 28, 74% of those interviewed said that domestic violence against women is common or

⁷ The Eurobarometer uses a broad definition of gender-based violence that includes "domestic violence, sexual harassment, sexual assault, cyber harassment and other harmful practices".

⁸ To obtain more details you can consult the Eurobarometer Special 449 at the European Commission Portal <http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/instruments/SPECIAL/surveyKy/2115> (consulted on 26 June 2018).

very common, and this percentage rises to 85% in the case of Spain (see Figure 1.2) The difference between the percentage of those who claim it is common or very common and those who say that it is not very common or uncommon (the balance of the answers) is 52 percentage points (pp) in the EU and 71 pp in Spain, showing that the first answer is clearly in the majority. It is also worth noting that there is a widespread view that violence against women is unacceptable and should always be punished by the law, as expressed by 84% of the people interviewed in EU28 and 94% of Spaniards.

Figure 1.2 In general, do you think that violence against women (in our country) is common? (%)

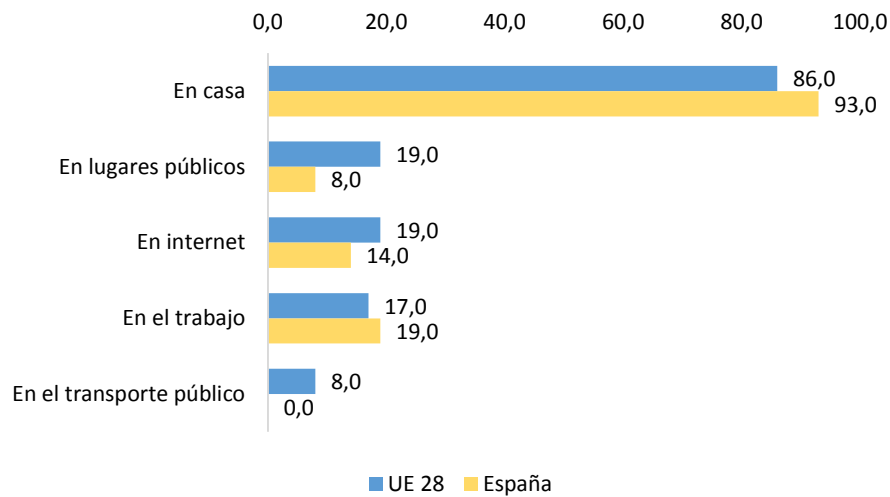


Source: Own material based on Special Eurobarometer 449 Gender-based Violence

The result above can be qualified by another question that enables us to focus more closely on the perception of gender-based violence⁹. 93% of the Spanish people consulted (compared with 86% of the EU28) say that violence against women is more likely to occur at home (Figure 1.3), with a much smaller number saying that it is more likely to occur at work (17% EU, 19% Spain), online (19% EU, 14% Spain) or in public places (19% EU, 8% Spain). We can therefore conclude that violence against women is seen as something that generally occurs in family relations and within the privacy afforded by the coexistence of the household in a shared living space.

Figure 1.3 In your opinion, where is violence against women more likely to occur? (%)

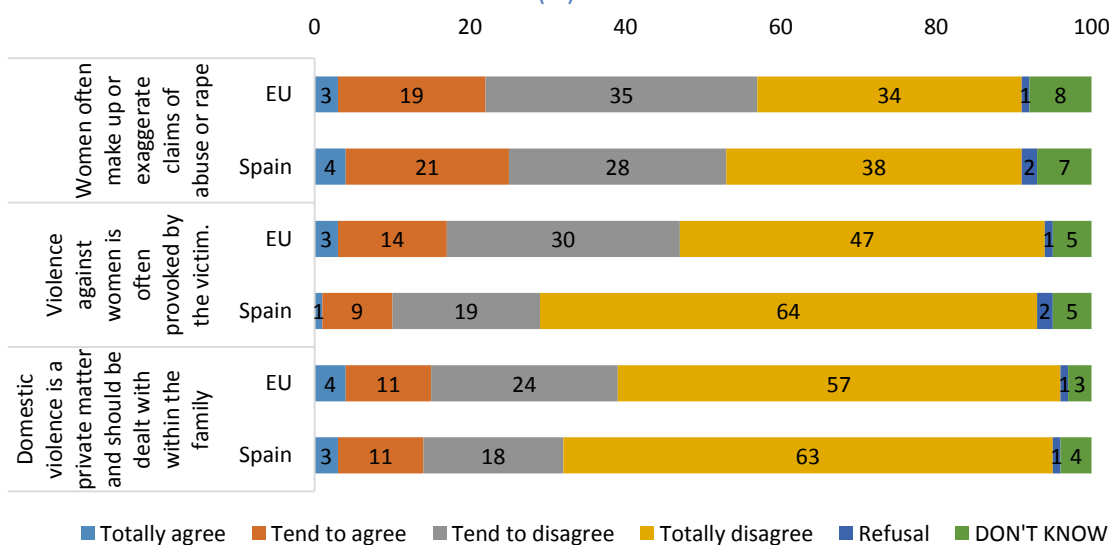
⁹ Broad definition of gender-based violence as explained in note 8.



Source: Own material based on Special Eurobarometer 449 Gender-based Violence

Finally, Figure 1.4 shows how strongly some people hold on to the ideas that put women’s behaviour at the centre of the problem and reduce it to a problem that should be dealt with in privacy. In general, these opinions are relatively uncommon, although it is striking that the percentage of people holding them reaches numbers like the following: in Spain, 10% tend to agree or completely agree with the statement that *violence against women is often provoked by the victim*, while 25% agree with another statement that women invent or exaggerate accusations about abuse or rape; 14% agree with the idea that *domestic violence is a private matter and should be dealt with inside the family*. In the EU, these percentages are 17%, 22% and 15% respectively.

Figure 1.4 Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements (%).



Source: Own material based on Special Eurobarometer 449 Gender-based Violence.

Ultimately, although there is still a long way to go, it should be noted that there are highly significant indications of institutional and social awareness of the issue of gender-based violence in Spain, and that it is considered a social problem that needs to be addressed as more than just a private matter. One of these is the Organic Law for Gender-based Violence from 2004, mentioned previously, which is one of the most advanced in the European Union, and then there is the more recent State Pact against Gender Violence, which was passed by Parliament in September 2017 and ratified by all the autonomous communities and local councils, who unanimously signed over 200 measures intended to bring an end to this type of violence.

The importance that Spanish institutions assign to the issue of gender violence is reflected in the State budget, a part of which is specifically designated to combat gender-based violence. After assigning 25,228 million euros in 2016 and 27,728 million euros in 2017, the signing of the State Pact against Gender Violence in 2018 means that 200 million (0.06% of the overall budget) has been earmarked for this year, divided among 80 million for the National Administration, 100 million for the governments of the Autonomous Communities and another 20 million for local councils (Ministry of Taxes and Public Services. Secretary of State for Budgets and Spending and the Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality, 2018).

To counter these developments, questions are sometimes raised about the existence of false accusations of GV. The figures included in the Report by the State Prosecutor's Office (hereafter FGE), (2017: 460), are abundantly clear. The total number of accusations of violence

against women made between 2009 and 2016 amounted to 1,055,912, and there were only 75 verdicts of false accusations in that same period, which means that only 0.0075% of the cases have been showed to be false. While if we include cases that are still pending a verdict, 194, this would represent 0.0184% of the cases. As the FGE itself states, this tiny percentage is enough to refute the voices that allude to the abundance of false accusations in relation with gender-based violence.

1.1.2. The "why" and "what for" of the studies dealing with the economic cost of gender-based violence.

The reason for carrying out research into the economic costs of gender-based violence is that these studies will enable us to assess the drain on financial resources suffered by the various agents that are affected by this violence. It is not just the effects on the victims, the people in their social circles and their abusers that need to be counted, but the impact for companies and the private sector, different levels of the civil service, society at large and future generations.

On the other hand, this type of research also offers us a vantage point from which to assess the economic costs of the different types of intervention or the absence of intervention, and to reinforce the line of reasoning that can guide us towards improving, generating and assigning priority to new policies to prevent and ameliorate this problem more efficiently.

For example, from the perspective of companies, revealing the financial cost of the drop in productivity that can result from a case of gender-based violence (absenteeism, delays and distractions, the cost of hiring replacements, etc.), can encourage them to apply policies to tackle this problem, through programmes aimed at managers within the company, applying pressure on political agents and governments and starting up programmes to prevent violence or support the victims, or for the rehabilitation of the employees who are aggressors. As regards the public administration, awareness of the financial dimension of the problem makes it easier for those making political decisions to appreciate the importance of taking action on this matter, as well as assessing the financial resources required for the intervention and the economic benefits that this intervention can provide in comparison with alternatives.

This type of study therefore enables us to tackle two different issues: to calculate the economic costs of not addressing the problem of gender-based violence for the various groups affected, and to estimate the potential gains that would derive from a significant reduction of

the prevalence of gender-based violence based on a more effective coordinated response at national level.

Awareness of the economic cost of gender-based violence for society in general will help to reduce any existing social acceptance of it (or at least a certain degree of tolerance), thereby contributing actively towards its elimination.

Finally, studying the economic costs of gender-based violence means that we can know the cost of prevention and intervention, which are considerably lower when the situation is detected early than when the problem is more firmly established. All these reasons contribute to considering this type of study as an investment to detect and prevent gender-based violence in good time and to set up intervention programmes that will generate considerable savings for society in the future. It has been claimed that raising the budget for prevention policies in the group of EU 25 countries by 1 additional euro can save 87 euros in the total costs that arise from gender-based violence, 30 euros of which correspond to direct costs (PSYTEL, 2006).

1.1.3. What do we know about the economic costs/effects of gender-based violence?

It is important to be aware that episodes of gender-based violence are multiple and combined, so that a woman who suffers physical or sexual violence may be subjected to other kinds of abuse, such as psychological, emotional or financial control. Gender Violence is cyclical, rather than sporadic, in the sense that it passes through periods of violence followed by reconciliation, although the violence tends to become more severe (Vara Horna et al., 2017:23-24). Both aspects must be taken into consideration when estimating the economic costs of GV.

At **aggregate** or macroeconomic level, the economic costs of gender-based violence affect the whole of society, hobbling its GDP and the economic standard of living of a country through its aggregate demand and supply (Duvvury et al., 2013; KPMG, 2014; Day et al., 2005).

In terms of **aggregate demand**, these costs take the form of the increased resources assigned by the public health system and private systems to deal with the problem of gender-based violence instead of other goals and priorities, or the increased public spending on items such as the police, judiciary, prisons, social services, shelters, etc. Then there is the support for the victims of violence and penalties for the aggressors, the financial help or subsidies for the families, etc.

As regards aggregate supply, these effects are apparent in the reduced levels of productivity, production and competitiveness. They are also present in the economic handicap of women being prevented from working by their partner, as this reduces the pool of available labour on the market. Then there is the cost of absenteeism and instability in the place of work for the employer and the lowered income earned by the victim throughout her working life, etc.

These direct consequences also produce knock-on effects at a second level through the multiplying function generated in the economy on the agents and sectors who are indirectly related with this problem.

The economic costs can also be estimated from a **microeconomic perspective**, in the individual effects it has on each of the parties involved, the victims and the aggressors, their friends and families, their employers, the private and public sectors and social organizations, etc.

A number of studies have distinguished between four types of costs, depending on their type (Duvvury et al., 2013; Day et al., 2005):

- *Tangible direct costs*. These are derived from the use of goods and services and represent financial expenditure for specific individuals or agents (e.g., the cost for the public sector of the police force, judiciary and social services arising from GV crimes, and support for the victims).
- *Tangible indirect costs*. These are costs that can be linked but which do not involve any financial outlay on the part of the agents involved. They can be calculated but are estimated in terms of opportunity cost rather than real expenditure (e.g., loss of income caused by female 'inactivity' or the reduced profit margins of companies).
- *Intangible direct costs*. These are derived from the direct consequences of the violence against the victims, such as premature death, pain and suffering, but which are hard to calculate in terms of monetary sums. They do represent, however, an undeniable loss of quality of life for those who suffer them.
- *Intangible indirect costs*. These are non-monetary costs that arise for people who are in the victims' closest circles. The most significant are those which affect family members, especially the children and/or minors who, as witnesses or indirect victims of violence, usually suffer significant negative psychological consequences. Other family members and friends often have to bear these costs that, like all intangibles, are difficult to calculate.

Even so, studies often include estimates of these tangible direct costs and, to a limited extent, the tangible indirect costs as well. It is much less common, however, to find calculations of the

intangible direct costs, while estimates of intangible indirect costs are practically inexistent. We must take special note of the Australian study, which estimated the intangible costs at 40% of the total estimated cost of gender-based violence (NCRVAWTC, 2009). The Swiss study concluded that the intangible costs of gender-based violence (over the course of a lifetime) amounted to 2 billion Swiss francs (Stern et al., 2013).

The lack of information and the limits imposed by the method mean that calculating the intangible costs is a challenge, which is why many studies omit them. This study includes an approximation to these intangibles, but clearly separates them from the estimation of the tangible costs.

We must also consider the multi-dimensional aspect of the costs of gender-based violence that was latent in several of the studies. One of the usual ways to estimate these costs appropriately is to define them in terms of cost categories, dimensions or itineraries depending on the consequences and the services that are employed as a result of gender-based violence (Martínez Martín et al., 2004; KPMG, 2014; Duvvury et al., 2013; NCRVAWTC, 2009; Access Economics, 2004; Day et al., 2005)

The cost categories that are most commonly included in these studies are: the judiciary, medical treatments, social services, education, business costs, personal and family costs, intangible costs (especially the pain and suffering for loss of life or effects on other generations), costs associated with consumption and production, costs associated with transfers and support, etc.

Finally, a discussion of the effects and costs of GV must also include the question of **time**. Economic costs can be estimated in the short term -generally a particular year - and over a lifetime. The differences between each estimate is determined by conceptual but also methodological considerations (Access Economics, 2004).

When the impact of violence is examined from the point of view of the temporal framework, it is important to note that we can use three different definitions to approach the question: the first is to take **new cases** of GV into account in a specified period of time, normally one year, which is referred to as its **incidence**; the second is to consider the number of women who are victims of GV (not necessarily for the first time) in a specified period of time, normally one year, which is referred to as its **prevalence-year**; the third is to consider the number of women who have been victims of GV at any time in their lives, which is referred to as **prevalence-life**.

One final point is the need to be aware of the enormous difficulty faced by any attempt to make generalizations about this issue. Any appropriate assessment of the methods used should not ignore aspects such as the stage or time in the cycle in which we find the issue of violence, as this will affect its intensity, or the fact that each victim's experience is bound to be different.

1.1.4. What are the results of this type of study?

Despite the limits on making any comparative analysis of the estimates of the global economic cost of gender-based violence (due to the scope and definition of gender-based violence, the cost categories considered, the lack of data, target population, etc.) these analyses are the essential starting point for discovering the scale of the costs and for advancing in the development and application of methods to assess the specific situations encountered.

It is important to note that the estimates of these global costs are far from insignificant, varying in a range between 0.03% to more than 2% of GDP in some countries (KPMG, 2016, 2014). In 2006, the European Council estimated that the cost of violence in the EU varied between 20 and 60 euros per person per year (Council of Europe, 2006) and that the overall cost for that same year could be as much as 16 billion euros (PSYTEL, 2006). Another more recent study estimated the economic cost at 228 billion euros in 2011, which is the equivalent of 1.8% of the EU GDP (European Parliament, 2013), and Walby and Olive (2014) estimated the cost of gender-based violence at 109,125,574,091 euros, which is 0.8% of the GDP of the group of EU 28 countries.

In terms of categories, the intangible costs, although difficult to quantify, are significant in some studies, but also those costs related with consumption and production. The costs related with public services are listed below, with the costs derived from transfers or financial support for the victims and their families, the cost of medical treatments and the costs of the repercussions on the following generation (European Parliament, 2013; NCRVAWTC, 2009). In other studies, the costs related with the employment and social itineraries and those related with the children are the most important, at 82% of the total (Andalusian Women's Institute, 2004).

As regards the affected group, one very important part of these costs, more than half in some cases, usually derive from the prevention and care for the victims and survivors of violence. After this, another significant cost for an affected group is that assigned to the public sector, followed by those which are caused by the effect on the community. The economic costs that

arise from the effects on the children, the aggressors, companies and the family and friends are detailed below (NCRVAWTC, 2009). In some cases, the costs that affect the employers can be third in terms of importance, reaching slightly over 15% of the total costs (Martínez Martín et al., 2004, for the Andalusian Women's Institute).

1.2 Objective.

The aim of this research is to make an estimate of the economic costs derived from gender-based violence in Spain in 2016.

Gender-based violence has been defined as the object of this research in the terms included in Article 1 of Organic Law 1/2004, of 28 December (hereafter LOVG, from the Spanish title), of Integral Protection Measures against Gender Violence, which states that "*The aim of this Law is to act against violence exercised by men over women as a manifestation of discrimination, inequality and relations of power by those who are or who have been their spouses or to whom they are or have been bound by an emotional relation, even without cohabitation.* It therefore does not take certain types of violence into account which are considered under other similar terms, such as violence against women (which also includes acts of violence against women outside the condition of partners or ex-partners); or domestic violence (which includes violence in the home between any of the members of the family, even when this violence does not take place between the relationship of the couple).

It is essential that the objective of the study is based on a clear definition of what gender-based violence means. We must take the variations in the use of the term into account, along with other similar concepts that are used both informally and by the various national and international institutions and experts on the subject (violence against women, domestic violence, gender violence, intimate partner violence...). This question is dealt with at greater length in the second chapter.

The fact that the consequences of gender-based violence are highly diverse, and that the groups affected extend beyond the women who are direct victims of the violence themselves, means that the estimate has to be approached from a multi-dimensional perspective. The frame of reference is current legislation to prevent and combat gender-based violence and its repercussions in different areas, such as criminal and civil law, and legislation that deals with social, employment, financial and educational issues. This is then followed up by a wide-ranging analysis of the different types of economic costs that affect the women who are the victims, their children and family members, their social circle, business, the public sector, the

third sector and society in general. The assessment of costs will focus on those which are related with the productive environment at work, healthcare, legal issues, the need for shelter and accommodation and those arising from the actions of Third Sector organizations and associations and intangible costs.

The assessment of tangible direct costs will refer to the monetary value of the goods and services consumed in the prevention and treatment of gender-based violence. Tangible indirect costs will refer to the value of the resources lost as a consequence of these losses in the productive sphere or lost income from the greater female inactivity or unemployment that gender-based violence provokes. Intangible costs will be assessed apart and in relation with the information available.

The indicator to be used in most of the estimations will be that of prevalence-year, which is defined as the number of women aged over 15 who are victims of any kind of violence on the part of their partners or ex-partners in the previous 12 months. We should note, however, that this criteria underestimates the true scale of the cost of gender-based violence against women, inasmuch as past violence (included in prevalence-life) continues to have effects in the present day and therefore continues to generate costs (for example, more frequent use of medical services, days lost to sickness, etc.). On the other hand, the legal aspect takes into consideration the definition of institutional frequency, which is determined by the number of cases of women who have suffered gender-based violence and have taken legal action against their aggressor and are therefore officially recognised as victims of GV.

1.3 Methodology

The methodology chosen for this study to reach a monetary estimate of the impact caused by gender-based violence is one in accordance with the Accounting Model, which is the method most commonly used in similar studies (there is a review of the methodological approaches used in Ashe et al., 2017).

This methodology adopts a microeconomic perspective which consists in adding up the costs of the different effects of gender-based violence, previously classified in a double entry table that reflects the nature of this effect and the agent who has to bear it. Each of these potential consequences of gender-based violence is rated in terms of the use of different goods and services, on the part of the victims and by the persons and public and private organizations in their circle, as well as the opportunity cost of the things they do not do, which have been assessed using the information available and by establishing appropriate hypotheses.

This methodology has required work to be carried out on three fronts:

- First, to determine the categories for classifying the different effects produced by gender-based violence and the social groups who have to bear these costs and whether they are tangible or intangible, direct or indirect. An exhaustive analysis of the different studies made on the issue that is the subject of this work was carried out in the first phase, to ensure that all the elements needed to analyse the economic effects of gender-based violence are included in it.
- Secondly, to determine the frequency with which each of the defined effect categories occur for each of the identified groups, analysing the prevalence of gender-based violence in terms of population and institutions. This part of the research makes use of a very wide information data set, in some cases using microdata. The 2015 Macro Survey on Violence against Women (MSSSI, 2015) (hereafter Macro Survey 2015) is a fundamental source of data for exploitation, analysis and application for the study.
- Third, to monetize the costs. In the case of direct costs, estimate the unit costs of using each resource or service that would be applied in the cases detected in the previous phase, or alternatively, to assess the percentage of the total cost of each service that can be attributed to GV. In the case of indirect costs, estimate the costs of waiving resources that would otherwise apply in the cases detected in the previous phase. In this way, we can come close to estimating the cost of GV for society in general in relation with most of the cost categories established, and for most of the groups identified, adding them together for the total cost.

2016 was used as the base year for the estimated costs. The prevalence-year indicators obtained from the sample values of the Macro Survey 2015 are extrapolated to the population data using the INE statistics of women aged 15 or more in 2016.

Table 1.1 shows the breakdown, to the extent permitted by the information, of the type of group affected by each type of effect: female victims, family and friends including their abusers, the public sector, third sector organizations and employers. This combination of the effect categories studied and the type of agent who must bear them determines the contents of the cost matrix, in which the estimated total costs of the cases included in the table can be separated and broken down.

Table 1.1 Classification of the costs associated with gender-based violence.

GROUP AFFECTED/ EFFECTS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE BY CATEGORY	Female victims	family and friends	Public sector	Third sector	Employers	Society in general
Work	X	X	X	X	X	X
Medical care	X	X	X	X		X
Legal	X	X	X	X	X	X
Other categories:						
Financial situation	X	X	X	X	X	
Accommodation						
Social support						
Intangible costs	X	X				X

Source: Author.

The sources of information used to make this estimate of the costs are diverse and related to the type of effect considered in each case. Detailed use of statistics and official medical, judicial and police records, employment records and the budgets of public bodies, among others, were used to determine the scale of the unit costs with as much precision as possible. Naturally, the Macro Survey of Violence against Women 2015 by the Government Delegation for Gender-based Violence had a significant role, especially in determining the prevalence and types of violence, along with a wide range of aspects that were highly relevant to the study. A great number of secondary sources of information have also been used (see chapter 3).

1.4 Structure of the study.

Besides the introductory chapter, the study consists of another nine chapters which are organized as follows. **Chapter 2** is a review of financial literature on the economic costs of gender-based violence, founded on the debate over the definition and scope of the term, an analysis of the nature of the costs and the types of agents who must bear them, an evaluation of the results of studies carried out in other countries, the identification of the relation between gender-based violence and economic growth, and the advantages and disadvantages that may arise from interventions in questions of gender-based violence. It should be noted that because the study focuses on the consequences of gender-based violence and does not seek to explain its causes, the review of the literature has adopted this perspective.

Chapter 3 is devoted to describing two highly significant aspects. First of all, the different methodological approaches included in the specialised literature that can be used to estimate the costs of gender-based violence, highlighting the strengths and limitations of each one. Secondly, it looks into the main sources of data that can be used and which have been used in

this study to address the question of estimating the costs of gender-based violence in Spain, emphasising the role of the Government Delegation for Gender-based Violence.

The Macro Survey of Violence against Women of 2015 was made by the Government Delegation for Gender-based Violence as part of its statistical work, and **chapter 4** will consist of a descriptive analysis of it. The introduction is followed by the two main methodological aspects of the 2015 Macro Survey and a description of the characteristics of the sample used and the Spanish population as a frame of reference. The fourth section examines the characteristics of women who were victims of some kind of gender-based violence in the twelve months prior to the interview on the part of their partners or ex-partners, to offer a profile that considers aspects such as their age, education level, employment status and nationality, to compare against that of women who have not been the object of this type of violence. The fifth part focuses on the aggressors and aims to create a profile of their characteristics. The chapter ends with a final section of conclusions.

The empiric process of evaluating the financial cost of Gender-based violence in Spain is the subject of the other five chapters (chapters 5 to 9). **Chapter 5** is an analysis of the effects and costs of gender-based violence from the perspective of the workplace, both in terms of the link between women and their 'inactivity' and unemployment, and in its connections with the situation of employment. It begins by presenting the results of the figures from the Macro Survey 2015 dealing with questions related with the careers of female victims and that of their aggressors (section 5.2). This is followed by a detailed description of the effects of GV on the employment status of women and their professional careers, the consequences in terms of performance in paid and unpaid work and the effects on companies of gender violence suffered by their employees. Headings four and five examine the estimates of the costs associated with each of the impacts described. The sixth and last part adds all these estimates together and presents the result in a summary and as a conclusion.

Chapter 6 looks at the extent to which the effects of GV influence the health of women and the Spanish health system, and the costs that the presence of GV imposes on the national health system. The second section makes use of the questions in the Macro Survey 2015 which were related with this topic, presenting data on the effects of GV on the health of its victims and showing evidence of the demands placed on the health system by victims of GV and the use they make of it. The third part is devoted to identifying the impacts and costs of GV on health and the health system, while headings 6.4 and 6.5 deal with the estimation of the costs

of GV for the services of the Spanish national health service. The conclusions of the chapter are included in the sixth section.

Chapter 7 studies the scope of the impacts of GV from the perspective of its legal consequences, with a detailed examination of the implications for the public sector and estimates of the costs that these impacts impose on the public sector due to the increased use of the services it provides for legal issues. The second section of the chapter examines and analyses the questions in the Macro Survey 2015 which are related with the legal itinerary and the decisions that women who suffer GV must take when reporting the abuse and their use of support services. Section 7.3 describes the impacts at the different stages of this course of action in cases of gender-based violence in Spain, and includes the framework on which the structure of section 4 is based, as it presents the estimates for each cost category considered: information, legal advice and support, police services, the judicial and the prison services. The fifth part contains the commentary on the aggregate results and the conclusions.

Chapter 8 examines the scope of the impacts and financial costs that derive from GV in other areas not covered in the previous chapters and identifies those costs which are incurred by other agents who have not been included in the other sections because of the difficulty in obtaining information about them. Heading 8.2 focuses on the situation of financial vulnerability that GV provokes in its victims and their families, both during the violent relationship and once it has ended. Heading 8.3 considers the need to provide victims of gender violence and their families with accommodation. It estimates the costs based on the expense of moving and the accommodation provided for victims of GV. Section 8.4 deals with the scope of the actions of Third Sector organizations and associations in relation with GV, while section 8.5 contains an estimate of the financial costs incurred by the Autonomous Communities in any aspects related with GV that have not been included in the previous chapters and sections due to problems in breaking down the information. Finally, section 8.6 shows the main conclusions and the sum of these estimates.

Chapter 9 is devoted to estimating the intangible economic costs, understood as those which are borne by the victim herself and society, but which do not arise from any monetary transaction. They distinguish between the cost of the pain and suffering for the victims and the costs derived from the premature loss of life dues to GV in terms of lowered productivity.

The summary of all the estimates made of the costs and the presentation of conclusions, limits of the study and proposals for new lines of investigation in **chapter 10** conclude the research.

CHAPTER 10. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

The main objective of this research has been to analyse the impact of gender-based violence in Spain and to estimate its costs in 2016.

The concept of gender-based violence is aligned with that defined in the LOVG of 2004 as a manifestation of discrimination, inequality and relations of power of men over women by those who are or who have been their spouses or to whom they are or have been bound by an emotional relation, even without cohabitation. It also considers the definitions of violence proposed by the UN and the Istanbul Convention, which include physical and sexual violence, psychological and financial violence. Bearing this in mind, it has attempted to evaluate the costs derived from the presence of women who have suffered some type of violence on the part of their male partners or ex-partners during the year.

Therefore, it has not taken certain types of violence into account which are considered under other similar terms, such as violence against women (which also includes acts of violence against women outside the condition of partners or ex-partners); or domestic violence (which includes violence in the home between any of the members of the family, even when this violence does not take place between the relationship of the couple).

The intention has been to offer a wide focus that could include estimates of direct and indirect costs, accepting the widest possible range of cost categories and agents affected whenever the information available provided reasonable robust grounds to ensure their inclusion. This work has opted to use the Accounting Model as its basis. This is the methodology that is most commonly used internationally and the one which is best suited to the aim of obtaining estimates over a wide range of cost types incurred and the agents they affect, which can later be added together to arrive at a total annual cost. Both the ascending bottom-up approach and the proportional top-down approach are used. This accounting model has been combined with other methods that are used to estimate certain cost categories; for example, the analysis of the loss of quality of life, which is used to assess both the life years adjusted for disability (DALY) and years of lost life (YLL), which is very useful for assigning the economic costs that arise from the reduction of life years or quality of life due to GV, which is why it has been applied when estimating intangible costs.

The complexity and breadth of the analysis led to its being divided into itineraries (a regular practice in studies on this topic), and in nearly all cases, more than one estimate was made. These estimates varied in their methodological perspective and/or the hypothesis they were

based on, as well as the advantages and limitations that each offers. In all cases, our aim has been to make a prudent estimate that should be considered as a lower limit, accompanied by alternative estimates that are based on less restrictive principles. This has resulted in an interval or range of values within which it is highly likely that we can place a situation as complex as this.

The part of the study which examines the impacts and the cost estimates has been divided into five chapters. The first itinerary to be examined is the productive one related with work, which includes aspects deriving from inactivity and unemployment among women, problems derived from absenteeism and the lowered productivity of women who are in employment. The second itinerary to be defined is that of medical care, which looks at GV as a problem of Public Health and describes the damage inflicted on physical and sexual health, as well as the mental health of the victims. From here it estimates the costs arising from the services required to care for them. The costs of GV that derive from its legal repercussions are the subject of the third section. In this case, the study has used the amounts taken from the public expenditure figures to assign a value to each of the areas. The fourth section groups together several categories of impacts and costs that are caused by GV: the costs that derive from the financial vulnerability of the victim, the costs related with their need for accommodation and the costs derived from Third Sector organizations and the authorities of the Autonomous Communities. Finally, the fifth section takes a close look at what are considered intangible costs, both those that are caused as a result of the pain and suffering inflicted on the victims (and their families and friends) and those attributed to the premature loss of life caused by GV.

Throughout the process, this research has offered evidence and results that cast light on the broad and complex series of questions that were raised. This **final chapter has three goals**. First of all, to express the most significant findings in a coherent way. Secondly, to bring together all the cost estimates made in order to create an aggregate of them all and to compare them against those obtained in other studies. Thirdly, to point out what may be considered the main challenges for the future, both in terms of the research itself and in that of gathering, organizing and making a synthesis of the information on this topic.

10.1 The main questions raised and the most significant results by chapters.

What are the reasons for carrying out research that tries to quantify the economic costs of gender-based violence in Spain? Is GV an issue that interests or worries Spaniards? What is

the use of this type of research that estimates the costs of GV? These are some of the questions raised in Chapter 1.

- According to the evidence that can be extracted from the Social Perception of Gender-based Violence survey and the Eurobarometer, we can assume that GV is considered unacceptable by a majority of Spaniards, who feel that it should be punished by the law, although some forms of gender-based violence are considered more tolerable than others, or even inevitable. The number of cases is considered to be high, and it is often viewed as a common or very common problem. However, it is much less of a concern than other problems, such as unemployment and corruption. It is also notable that nearly half of the population do not know of the LOVG, but the majority agree with its existence.
- Ultimately, although there is still a long way to go, it should be noted that there are highly significant indications that institutional and social awareness of the issue of gender-based violence exists in Spain, and that it is considered a social problem and needs to be addressed as more than a private matter. One of these is the existence of the Organic Law 1/2004, of 28 December, for Integral Protection Measures against Gender Violence (LOGV), which is a reference for many European and Latin American countries in terms of advanced legislation, and the more recent State Pact against Gender Violence, which was passed by Parliament in September 2017 and ratified by all the Autonomous Communities and Cities with a Statute of Autonomy, and the Spanish Federation of Municipal and Provincial Authorities, who unanimously signed over 200 measures intended to eradicate this type of violence.
- The importance of carrying out research into the economic costs of gender-based violence is that these studies will enable us to assess the financial resources, in the form of the agents involved, that are diverted towards this violence. It is not just the effects on the victims, the people in their social circles and their abusers that need to be counted, but the companies and the private sector, the different levels of the civil service, society at large and future generations. They can also help to improve the effectiveness of the public policies that aim to eradicate the problem.
- This type of study enables us to tackle two different issues: to calculate the economic costs of not tackling the problem of gender-based violence for the various groups affected, and to estimate the potential gains that would derive from a significant reduction of the prevalence of gender-based violence based on a more effective coordinated response at national level.

- All these reasons contribute to considering this type of study as an investment to detect and prevent gender-based violence in good time and to set up intervention programmes that will generate considerable savings for society in the future.

What type of costs does GV cause? Apart from the woman who suffers the aggressions, who else is affected? is there significant evidence? What are the results? These are some of the questions raised in Chapter 2.

- A review of the studies, evidence and results of interest related with the costs of GV have served to support the main decisions on methodology adopted in this study. These include the definition and scope of the term, the cost categories to be estimated, the types of agents who have to bear these costs, the timing of the impacts and the distinction between the indicators of prevalence and the occurrence of GV. The results that were produced by other research projects also offer a point of reference, subject to all due caution, from which to assess the results returned from this study.
- The cost categories include both direct and indirect, tangible and intangible costs.
 - **Tangible direct costs** refer to the money paid in relation with the provision of a broad range of resources and services for women who have been subjected to gender-based violence. These costs include payments in relation with specific sectors, such as medical care, the legal system, police, etc., and are all focused on the immediate tangible costs for the agents involved, victims, companies and the public sector.
 - **Intangible direct costs** are those which arise directly from the violence that is committed against the victim, which include premature death, pain and suffering. They are very difficult to assess because they do not involve any monetary payment, even though they represent a significant loss to the wellbeing of society.
 - **Tangible indirect costs** are those which can be attributed, but which are not accompanied by any monetary payment on the part of any agent. They are estimated in terms of opportunity costs. They are usually based on lost working hours or low productivity on the part of the persons suffering violence, but can also include other types of expenses, from the replacement of lost or damaged domestic appliances, the cost of moving house or changing schools, or settlement of the debts owed by the ex-partner.

- **Intangible indirect costs** are non-monetary costs that arise for people who are in the victims' circle. They include the pain, fear and suffering of children and other family members who witness or are affected indirectly by the abuse, who usually suffer significant harmful psychological effects.
- Studies usually assign these costs to the victim of GV but also to other agents, such as the aggressor, the children, family and friends, companies, local and regional authorities and the rest of society. These are the agents who have been considered in the study.
- This study has made separate estimates for tangible and intangible costs. The tangible costs analysed were classified into three itineraries, namely a work-related itinerary, a medical itinerary and a legal itinerary, with a fourth section to include other tangible direct costs; they are all added together at the end of the study to obtain an estimate of the total cost of GV in 2016. The intangible costs, however, are not added to the total because they are effects that apply equally to the year in question and to the whole lifetime.
- Global studies reveal that GV is a problem that affects predominately low-income countries as much as it does high-income countries. In general, they show that the prevalence-life of physical violence in relationships is higher in countries which are in developing regions. As regards the results of the costs of GV in terms of GDP, the impact seems to vary within a range of values that extends from 0.01% and 2% of GDP, although there are some less developed areas where the levels are higher, such as Peru and Bolivia (3.7% and 6.5% of GDP, respectively).

Which methods and what type of information can we use to analyse the economic costs of gender-based violence? What different methodological approaches already exist in the literature and how much margin do they offer to the different costs? What are their main advantages and disadvantages? What is the scope of the sources of information in Spain when tackling the issue of GV? What should the methodological guidelines of this work be when calculating the economic costs of GV in Spain? Chapter 3 deals with these questions, and these are some of its most significant conclusions:

- Having analysed the nine most important methodologies, no one method can be regarded as superior to the others. Each of them approaches the problem from a different perspective, and the choice of one or the other will depend on the goal of the study and the data available. Even so, the **accounting model** is the method most

commonly used, because it allows us to estimate direct and indirect costs, to integrate the different aspects into which the problem has been divided and can also be used with another method of estimation in any of the cost categories that are considered. However, the way the information is integrated in this method can lead to issues of underestimation and problems of double counting, so it must be applied with the utmost rigour.

- The loss of quality of life enables us to estimate the present value of the years of future life without the long-term harm caused by GV. Applying the willingness to pay methodology is useful if we want to estimate the long-term intangible direct costs of the pain and suffering endured by the victims of GV.
- This study has preferred to apply the accounting model to measure the costs associated with GV in Spain. To determine the unit costs in the accounting model, we used both the ascending, bottom-up approach and the descending, top-down approach. The information about prevalence-year of GV has been estimated alongside the costs of all the other aspects under consideration.
- Spain has a large number of indicators of GV as a result of the efforts of various Public Authorities and private organizations to make the true extent of the problem visible. The work carried out by the Government Delegation for Gender-based Violence should be singled out, given that its duties include the management of "an information system based on the collection, analysis and publication of data on violence against women provided by public authorities and other entities". The Statistics Bulletin on GV, the Annual report by the State Observatory on Violence against Women and, above all, the Macro Survey of Violence against Women, are all fundamental supports for the objective of this work.

How far do the effects of GV on the employment status of women and their professional careers reach? What are the consequences in terms of performance in paid and unpaid work? How can we evaluate the cost of these impacts? How much does the GV suffered by their female workers cost companies? These relatively lesser-known aspects of the negative impact of gender-based violence have been considered in detail in [Chapter 5](#). We can highlight the following from the results obtained:

- Gender-based violence generates costs for the work or productive itinerary of the victims, but also for the aggressor, family members and friends, companies, the public sector and third sector. They are derived from absences, delays and distractions at the

place of work, staff rotation, the risk of accidents at work, from benefit payments and the unemployment that affects the victims, measures to get them back to work, orientation programmes and reinsertion into society and employment.

- The effects of gender-based violence are not only felt by women in formal employment positions, or the self-employed, but by women who do unpaid domestic housework and who spend their time bringing up the children or looking after their own parents. Although this work does not entail any monetary transaction, these activities and services can be hindered when the mental and physical health of a victim of GV is affected, resulting in a decline in wellbeing in the home or the need to incur additional costs to pay others to do these jobs.
- There are two methodological approaches to consider when estimating these effects, but both of them use the accounting model in which the unit costs are determined using an ascending, bottom-up perspective.
- The first method uses the ideas of Zhang et al. (2012), which considers two groups of agents: the active and inactive victims. There are also definitions of ten situations in which to estimate the costs of the impact of GV: *increased inactivity and unemployment; difficulty in accessing education and training; difficulty in providing domestic services; difficulty in caring for young children; penalised remuneration due to absences at work caused by medical and legal procedures; payments for time lost at work due to physical injuries and deteriorated mental health; lost production due to absences at work caused by the deterioration of physical and mental health; lowered productivity due to delays and distractions at work; increased administrative work for the employer arising from absences at work; benefit payments for unemployment.*
- Three estimates were made in this first approximation in relation with different groups: the victims of physical and/or sexual violence with damage, injuries or illnesses that limit daily activity (Group A), female victims of any type of GV who suffer any damages, injuries or illnesses that limit their daily activity (option B) and the victims of any kind of physical and/or sexual violence, distinguishing between moderate and severe violence (option C).
- The second methodological approximation was based on Dubourg et al. (2005), which requires us to identify the number of cases of female victims affected by physical and/or sexual violence (the figures are drawn from the Macro Survey of 2015) and to apply a weighted unit cost for the probability of spending time away from work (that is taken from the aforementioned study).

- The first method results in amounts of 354,750,623 euros (option A), 710,882,100 euros (option B) and 796,623,357 euros (option C), equivalent to the loss of respective productivity of 14,164, 28,383 and 31,807 women in full-time employment working at zero productivity for a whole year (taking as a reference the salary earned by women in the Salary Structure Survey of 2016). In all three options, we can see that the largest part of the costs when viewed as percentages, despite the difference in size, come from the increase in female inactivity, the effect of GV on mental health, the effects of physical injuries and the penalties suffered in their salaries caused by the need to attend medical appointments and legal proceedings. In the most restrictive option (option A), the largest part of the costs is borne by the victims (55.1%), followed by the employers (21.7%). The order of the agents is reversed in options B and C, where the employers bear 42.3% and 47.8% respectively, while the victims bear 37.8% and 33.5%, respectively.
- The second method resulted in estimated costs of GV through the loss of economic production at 3,639,749,999 euros, which is the equivalent of 145,323 women in full-time employment working at zero productivity for a whole year, taking as a reference the salary earned by women in the Salary Structure Survey of 2016. The largest losses in economic production were generated as a result of severe sexual violence, followed by moderate sexual violence, severe physical violence and finally moderate physical violence.

What are the effects of GV on the health of women and the health system? How far do these effects reach? What would the approximate cost of these impacts be for the national health system. The analysis made in [Chapter 6](#) can offer some answers:

- GV can be seen as a public health issue due to the extent of its effects on the physical and mental health of the women who suffer from it (in the short, medium and long term), and because it increases the risk of suffering from poor health and because it worsens the perception of health. The above is enough to show that GV has a significant effect on health systems because it leads to increased use of medical services.
- Despite the recognition of this impact, the real assessment of the use of medical services by female victims of GV is far from complete. On the one hand, this is because the victims do not tell anyone that they are suffering GV, and on the other

because of the lack of resources and/or sufficient training for medical professionals in the health system to detect it and record it effectively.

- The methodology that was used to attempt an estimation of the cost of GV in the medical sector relies on two main approximations that form part of the accounting model in its ascending, or bottom-up approach. On one hand, the proposal by Zhang et al. (2012), applied to two alternative options (A and B), and the second was that proposed by Dubourg et al. (2005). They only consider the tangible direct costs that are borne by the public sector.
- The first methodological approach needs to determine the unit costs of the different medical services that the victims were provided with (primary care, specialist and emergency treatment, psychotherapy and pharmacological treatments, training activities and preventive actions), together with information about the prevalence-year of the gender-based violence and the effects it has had on the physical and mental health of the victims in forcing them to request medical services. In option A, the total cost of GV in this itinerary is estimated by multiplying the number of female victims of physical and/or sexual violence in the last 12 months who have requested medical or psychological services by the estimated number of times that they have requested the services and the unit cost that is assigned to these. In option B, the total cost of GV in this itinerary is estimated by multiplying the number of female victims of any kind of GV in the last 12 months (although with the limitation that only those who have also suffered Physical or Sexual Violence and fear throughout their lives can be identified), and who have requested medical or psychological services by the estimated number of times that they have requested the services and the unit cost that is assigned to these.
- As a result, estimate 1 of the costs of medical treatment in option A, the most conservative, amounts to €254,123,003, as the sum of the cost of the medical treatment actually dispensed (87% of the total), the pharmaceutical expense (3.1%) and supplementary services in accordance with the integral health model applied in Spain, including psychological and social services, training activities and prevention policies (9.9%). Option B has a rather wider scope, reaching a sum of €517,839,880, 91.8% of which is made up of the medical treatments, 3.3% consists of pharmaceutical expense and 4.9% consists of supplementary services. On the other hand, the widest estimate of all, the second approximation, offers total costs amounting to €2,483,646,332.

What is the scope of the impacts of GV from the legal perspective? What type of impacts and costs derive from the different agents who are involved in each of the stages that legal proceedings call for? How do they affect the services provided by the public sector? How much does GV cost the public sector due to the increased use of the services it provides for legal issues? Chapter 7 is devoted to answering these questions, and these are some of its most significant conclusions:

- The legal repercussions of GV are very significant, because the most common way for a woman to terminate a violent relationship and to escape from her aggressor is to start legal proceedings against him. It is also the route that enables female victims of GV to be recognised "officially" as such and to gain access to the public services, protective measures and financial support that is made available under the Law.
- The number of women who engage with the legal system and thereby gain access to the services provided by the institutions within this system represent a very small percentage when compared with the figures for the frequency of GV in the population that are derived from the 2015 Macro Survey (the percentage of legal actions is just over 25%). The fact is that acts of gender-based violence are not always picked up by the different structures and jurisdictions of the legal system, so that the frequency shown by institutions is far smaller than the frequency among the whole population. If all of the violence that occurs were to be declared, investigated and resolved, the costs deriving from the legal itinerary would undergo a dramatic increase.
- The cost estimates were based on the idea of prevalence, so the aim is to offer the costs of GV in 2016 regardless of the time passed since the woman in question began to suffer from the problem. Unlike the process for other chapters, the key point for the estimate is the prevalence at the institutional level, which means the number of victims who have gained access to the goods and services provided by institutions (in this case, those registered in the legal system and courts).
- There are two methodological approaches that are considered to estimate the legal costs, both of which use the accounting model. The first, which is based on Zhang et al. (2012), determine the unit costs from a proportional descending, or top-down perspective, which draws on the public budgets and calculates the proportion of these which can be attributed to cases of gender-based violence. The second, which is based on Dubourg et al. (2005) uses the ascending or bottom-up perspective.
- The costs attributed to legal assistance, police work, the judicial and prison systems have all been evaluated. The cost of each category which is attributed to gender-based

violence is produced by multiplying the prevalence-year of the institution by the unit costs for the type of service, which are then added up to obtain the total cost for the itinerary.

- A theoretical approximation of the main impacts and costs had already been prepared for the different agents involved in one way or another, which called for a very thorough analysis of the different stages through which these cases of GV pass when they are reported and handled by institutions. The legal itinerary of a case in Spain can be summed up in the following four stages: information stage, preliminary advice and legal assistance; police stage; court stage; prison stage. Each of these can generate impacts and costs for the women who were abused, the people who are in their immediate social circle, in companies, the third sector and above all, the public sector. The estimate, however, only considers the tangible direct costs that are borne by the public sector.
- The estimated costs for the public sector that are obtained by using the two approximations result in radically different figures. The estimate offered by the first methodological approximation and the more conservative of the two, which is the lowest figure for total costs, amounts to 502, 245 million euros. Most of this comes from the impact on the police services (51%), although there are also very significant costs for the justice system (22.8%), especially in relation with criminal proceedings, and the penitentiary institutions (22.6%). The estimate offered by the second methodological approximation reaches a total of €2,247, 601,161. In this case, it is also police work which creates the largest part of the amount (44.2% of the total), followed by the justice system (23.7%), prisons (19.85%) and information and advice (12.2%).

What other tangible direct costs does GV generate? What kind of impacts and costs derive from the situation of economic vulnerability that affects the victims and their families? What type of economic costs derive from the victim's need for sheltered accommodation? How much does GV cost the Third Sector organizations as a result of the increased use of their services and activities to deal with the problem? What other costs arise from the Autonomous Communities resources that the Public Sector assigns to the victims of GV?

These are some of the questions raised in [Chapter 8](#), and the main results are as follows:

- Other tangible direct costs not covered in the previous chapters are those related with the vulnerability of the victim, their need for accommodation, the actions of Third Sector organizations and the actions of the Authorities in the Autonomous Communities.

- The effects of GV on the victim's situation of economic vulnerability and that of their families should not be overlooked. Although we cannot obtain a quantitative estimate of these, the analysis already made reveals that gender-based violence has a significant impact on the effective ability of victims of GV to control their income and financial resources and to understand the degree of financial dependence they have on other people or social benefits. According to the Macro Survey of 2015, 38% of women victims state that their net family income is below 1,200 euros per month, as opposed to 34.2% of those who are not victims (a difference of 3.8 percentage points). In contrast, 33.4% say that they have no personal income at all, whereas 27.8% of non-victims do not (a difference of 5.6 percentage points). 64.8% of women who are victims of GV declare that the head of the family or the person who brings in the most income to the home is "another person" (mainly the partner or spouse).
- The accounting model methodology was used to estimate the costs of victims' need for accommodation and activities of Third Sector organizations, combining the ascending approximation with the prevalence-year figure.
- It was estimated that the total cost of the accommodation needed by the victims of GV amounted to 167,171,335 euros and is the result of adding together the cost of transport and moving home (15,320,960 euros) and the costs of sheltered accommodation and transition (151,850,375 euros). The first type of cost is borne by the victim, while the second is paid by the public sector.
- When it comes to examining the scope of the actions by Third Sector organizations and associations on questions of GV, it should be emphasised that their work essentially focuses on two areas: making services and guidance available for female victims and raising awareness and making campaigns to address the issue. The Annual Reports on the activities of these organizations and the information available on their websites and social network make it possible to analyse the actions they have carried out and the services they provide to victims of GV. Alternatively, drawing on the calculation of unit cost per user, and taking into account that the number of victims of GV who, according to the Macro Survey 2015, contacted an NGO/women's organization was 39,174, we can work out that the total economic costs derived from the services that these organizations provided for the victims amounted to 2,722,593 euros.

What is the full extent of the impacts of GV in terms of intangible costs? These are some of the questions raised in [Chapter 9](#), and the main results are as follows:

- The intangible costs that are attributed to GV derive, on one hand, from the pain and suffering caused to the victims, and on the other, to the remuneration that is lost through the premature deaths that are the outcome of GV. There are other intangible costs that other agents have to bear. One of the most important of these falls on the children, but it is not included within the estimates of this study.
- These intangible types of costs are assessed through the QALY, DALY and VAN methods, and fall on the victims and on society in general.
- The application of these methodologies to make an estimate of these costs resulted in ranges of values; the first one estimated a range between 4,839,637,909 euros and 14,799,968,286 euros for the intangible costs of pain and suffering for the victims, and a range of 19,134,316 euros to 19,608,290 euros for premature deaths.

10.2. Summary of the results of the estimates for the costs of GV in Spain, and comparisons with other studies.

This section contains a summary of the results of the estimates that were included in chapters 5 to 9, showing the costs of GV in Spain in all the areas which were included for consideration. If we consider only the tangible costs, the results obtained would be within a broad range of values that runs from 1,281,012,528 euros, which is the most conservative of all the possible estimates, and 8,540,891,420, which is the highest of the estimates.

First of all, there is the breakdown of the results of applying the first methodology to the agent who suffers this cost (Tables 10.1, 10.2 and 10.3). These estimates represent what we could consider a minimum threshold or base level for estimating the economic costs of GV. These are followed by the results of the second methodology for estimating based on the groups of agents affected (Table 10.4), which results in a higher cost estimate that could be considered as the ceiling or maximum threshold for the economic costs of GV. What is more, Table 10.5 consolidates the global results of all the estimated made for Spain in the course of this study for the purpose of comparison, showing the results as a percentage of GDP and as a cost per person. Finally, Table 10.6 presents the results obtained from other studies of particular interest, which enable us to make some further comparisons within the limitations imposed by the differences in methodologies, periods, countries and the types of impacts and agents to consider, among other issues.

The most interesting figures in relation with these comparisons are those that appear as a percentage of GDP or in terms of costs per person, precisely because it overcomes one of the issues raised, that of the size of the country.

It should be noted that the calculation of annual costs (with both methods) did not involve adding the intangible costs to the rest of the tangible costs obtained from the different itineraries. The reason for this is that these intangible costs represent losses that apply over a person's whole life, making it impossible to consider them within the estimation of the annual costs. As we can see, the amounts resulting from the estimate of these intangible costs are very significant in all cases, with totals that range between 4,858,772,203 euros and 14,819,576,576 euros (between 3.2 and 1.7 times the tangible costs, respectively).

First of all, Tables 10.1 to 10.3, which show the results of the first methodology for the estimation, offer calculations of the annual tangible costs that amount to 1,281,012,528 euros, 2,178,780,997 euros and 2,264,522,253 euros respectively for each of the three options considered within this method.

On the other hand, when taking the annual costs into account, the three itineraries analysed, work-related, medical and legal, account for 87% (option A) and 92% of the annual costs of GV (options B and C).

The relative importance of each itinerary in the total economic costs varies depending on the option applied. The weight of the work-related itinerary varies between 28% and 35% (options A and C, respectively), while the weight of the medical itinerary varies between 20% and 24% (options A and B, respectively) and the costs of the legal itinerary range between 34% and 29% (options C and A respectively).

By the type of agent, the highest costs for all three options are borne by the public sector (with percentages between 68% and 76% for options C and A, respectively). The costs borne by the victim come next, in second place, with 16% of the total (in option A). In options B and C, however, the second largest costs are borne by the employers, with 14% and 17% of the total annual costs, respectively.

The costs borne by the employers are in third place, (with 6% in option A), while it is the victims (with 13% and 12% in options B and C, respectively).

The next largest costs are supported by family members and friends, with 1% and 3% (options A and B, respectively) followed by the costs that fall to the Third Sector organizations, which represent between 0.1% (under options B and C) and 0.2% (under option A) of the total annual costs.

As already mentioned, the application of the second estimation method offers larger sized results, amounting to 8,540,891,420 euros (compared with 1,281,012,528 euros obtained with the first method and in the most conservative scenario possible).

In this case, the relative weight of the three itineraries that were analysed account for 98% of the annual economic costs: work (42.6%), medical treatment (29.1%) and legal (26.3). Of the types of agent that have to bear these costs, the results show that it is the public sector that bears the largest part (57.2% of the total) followed by society in general (42.6%) and the victims (0.2%). It should be remembered, as mentioned in chapters 5, 6 and 7, that the aggregation of the information in the second methodology means that it cannot offer a precise distribution to the agents that bear the costs.

Table 10.1 The tangible and intangible economic costs of GV in Spain in 2016 by type of cost and type of agent who bears it. Estimate 1, option A. Amounts in euros.

TYPE OF COST/TYPE OF AGENT	Victims	Family members and friends	Employers	The public sector	Third sector	Society in general	ALL AGENTS ALL COSTS	% of the total
Labour cost	195,451,370	15,490,984	77,076,469	66,731,801			354,750,624	27.7
Medical costs				254,123,003			254,123,003	19.8
Legal cost				502,244,973			502,244,973	39.2
Accommodation	15,320,960			151,850,375			167,171,335	13.0
Various itineraries					2,722,593		2,722,593	0.2
Total tangible economic costs	210,772,330	15,490,984	77,076,469	974,950,152	2,722,593	0	1,281,012,528	100
% of the total	16.5	1.2	6.0	76.1	0.2	0,0	100	
Intangible costs (lifelong)								
Pain and suffering	4,839,637,887	-	-	-	-	-	4,839,637,887	
Loss of life	-	-	-	-	-	19,134,316	19,134,316	
Total intangible costs	4,839,637,887	-	-	-	-	19,134,316	4,858,772,203	

Source: Author.

Table 10.2 The tangible and intangible economic costs of GV in Spain in 2016 by type of cost and type of agent who bears it. Estimate 1, option B. Amounts in euros.

TYPE OF COST/TYPE OF AGENT	Victims	Family members and friends	Employers	The public sector	Third sector	Society in general	ALL AGENTS ALL COSTS	% of the total
Labour cost	269,060,135	62,403,657	300,803,467	78,614,841			710,882,100	32.6
Medical Costs				517,839,880			517,839,880	23.8
Legal cost				780,165,089			780,165,089	35.8
Accommodation	15,320,960			151,850,375			167,171,335	7.7
Various itineraries					2,722,593		2,722,593	0.1
Total tangible economic costs	284,381,095	62,403,657	300,803,467	1,528,470,185	2,722,593	0	2,178,780,997	100
% of the total	13.1	2.9	13.8	70.2	0.1	0,0	100	
Intangible costs (lifelong)								
Pain and suffering	4,839,637,887	-	-	-	-	-	4,839,637,887	
Loss of life	-	-	-	-	-	19,134,316	19,134,316	
Total intangible costs	4,839,637,887	-	-	-	-	19,134,316	4,858,772,203	

Source: Author.

Table 10.3 The tangible and intangible economic costs of GV in Spain in 2016 by type of cost and type of agent who bears it. Estimate 1, option C. Amounts in euros.

TYPE OF COST/TYPE OF AGENT	Victims	Family members and friends	Employers	The public sector	Third sector	Society in general	ALL AGENTS ALL COSTS	% of the total
Labour cost	266,691,298	49,251,765	380,510,383	100,169,910			796,623,357	35.2
Medical Costs				517,839,880			517,839,880	22.9
Legal cost				780,165,089			780,165,089	34.5
Accommodation	15,320,960			151,850,375			167,171,335	7.4
Various itineraries					2,722,593		2,722,593	0.1
Total tangible economic costs	282,012,258	49,251,765	380,510,383	1,550,025,254	2,722,593	0	2,264,522,253	100
% of the total	12.5	2.2	16.8	68.4	0.1	0,0	100	
Intangible costs (lifelong)								
Pain and suffering	4,839,637,887	-	-	-	-	-	4,839,637,887	
Loss of life	-	-	-	-	-	19,134,316	19,134,316	
Total intangible costs	4,839,637,887	-	-	-	-	19,134,316	4,858,772,203	

Source: Author.

Table 10.4 The tangible and intangible economic costs of GV in Spain in 2016 by type of cost and type of agent who bears it. Estimate 2. Amounts in euros.

TYPE OF COST/TYPE OF AGENT	Victims	Family members and friends	Employers	The public sector	Third sector	Society in general	ALL AGENTS ALL COSTS	% of the total
Labour cost						3,639,749,999	3,639,749,999	42.6
Medical Costs				2,483,646,332			2,483,646,332	29.1
Legal cost				2,247,601,161			2,247,601,161	26.3
Accommodation	15,320,960			151,850,375			167,171,335	2.0
Various itineraries					2,722,593		2,722,593	0,0
Economic costs total tangible costs	15,320,960	0	0	4,883,097,868	2,722,593	3,639,749,999	8,540,891,420	100
% of the total	0.2	0,0	0,0	57.2	0,0	42.6	100	
Intangible costs (lifelong)								
Pain and suffering	14,799,968,286	-	-	-	-	-	14,799,968,286	
Loss of life	-	-	-	-	-	19,608,290	19,608,290	
Total intangible costs	14,799,968,286	-	-	-	-	19,608,290	14,819,576,576	

Source: Author.

Table 10.5 Summary of the estimates of tangible and intangible economic costs of GV in Spain in 2016. Totals and by type of cost.

Total itineraries Option within the same method	Methodology estimate 1 (euros)			Methodology estimate 2 (euros)
	A	B	C	
Labour Costs (chapter 5)	354,750,624	710,882,100	796,623,357	3,639,749,999
Medical Costs (chapter 6)	254,123,003	517,839,880	517,839,880	2,483,646,332
Legal Costs (chapter 7)	502,244,973	780,165,089	780,165,089	2,247,601,161
Other costs (chapter 8)	169,893,928	169,893,928	169,893,928	169,893,928
Total tangible economic costs	1,281,012,528	2,178,780,997	2,264,522,254	8,540,891,420
Intangible costs (lifelong (chapter9)	4,858,772,203	4,858,772,203	4,858,772,203	14,819,576,576
Intangible costs as % of GDP	0.11	0.19	0.20	0.76
Tangible costs per person (€)	27.6	46.9	48.8	183.9
Spanish GDP and Population data				
Spanish GDP (at current prices, National Accounts, INE)	€1,118,522,000,000			
Spanish Population (Population Statistics, INE)	46,440,099 persons			

Source: Author.

As we can see in Table 10.5, the estimate of tangible economic costs made in Spain varies between 0.11% and 0.76% of GDP. The most conservative estimate therefore returns a value that is not greatly different from that obtained in the work of Zhang et al. (2012) for Canada in 2009, which was 0.09% of GDP and by Nectoux et al. (2011) for France of 0.11% of GDP. The highest estimate closely resembles that reported by Walby and Olive (2014) for the United Kingdom, which is the equivalent of 0.57%, and Access Economics for Australia, at 0.61% (Table 10.6)

In terms of cost per person, the estimated results for Spain vary between 32.6 euros per year in the most conservative estimate, and 185.9 euros per year in the highest of the estimates made. Table 10.6 also shows that, although costs are expressed in local currency, in comparative terms the estimated costs per person in Australia come to 231.89 Australian dollars, followed by 97.82 pounds sterling for the United Kingdom, 40.87 Canadian dollars and the 30.66 euros of France.

Table 10.6 Comparison of estimated tangible costs in Spain and other studies.

	Walby and Olive (2014) in 2012 for the United Kingdom	Zhang et al. (2012) in 2009 for Canada	Access Economics (2004) in 2002/2003 for Australia	Nectoux et al. (2011) in 2005/2006 for France
Total tangible costs (*)	6,455,502,531	1,522,986,450	4,557,000,000	1,937,015,203
GDP at current prices (*)	1,126,463,000,000	1,567,365,000,000	753,943,000,000	1,765,905,000,000
Total tangible costs as % of GDP	0.573	0.097	0.604	0.110
Population	59,119,673	33,628,571	19,651,400	63,179,351
Tangible costs per person	109.19	45.29	231.89	30.66
Intangible costs	13,877,165,000	3,316,987,271	3,521,000,000	534,698,000

Source: Authors, based on Walby and Olive (2014), Zhang et al. (2012), Access Economics (2004) and Nectoux et al. (2011). Note: The GDP data at current prices and the resident population (ILO method), were obtained from the database of the World Development Indicators (WDI). (*) Expressed in national currency units.

10.3 General limits of the study and recommendations for improvement.

The study presented in this work was prepared in accordance with international guidelines and with previous studies carried out on the estimation of the costs of Gender-based Violence in different geographical locations. Nevertheless, due to the scale of the problem to be studied, this work cannot avoid certain limitations due to the sources of the statistical information that were used in the estimation methods and aggregation of costs, besides the difficulties in defining the object of the study itself.

This section is intended to serve as a guide to the main limitations that were encountered when making the work, so that the following section can specify the possible recommendations that can be made for the creation of future studies on this topic.

The ultimate goal of this work is to obtain an estimate of the costs of GV in Spain in 2016. We must therefore limit the time horizon of the events considered and the costs that have been generated by GV. To achieve this, the concept of prevalence-year was chosen as the way to consider the events being analysed, while prevalence-life was disregarded, which could lead to a considerable underestimation of the cost of GV in 2016. For example, a woman who has suffered violence in her life, but not during the year in question (and who is therefore excluded from this study) is likely to continue generating costs, because GV can have an impact that

lasts for many years, especially in terms of health (due to medical appointments, for example) or on the workplace (sick pay, absences, etc.). In the legal sphere, in contrast, the study includes events that continue to generate costs in 2016, even when they may derive from situations of violence that occurred in the past.

The Macro Survey 2015 was used as the main source of information. Although this operation is a fundamental part of the study of prevalence of GV in the Spanish population, **its objectives do not include the provision of information about the costs of this violence.** For this and other reasons, it suffers from a series of **limitations** for carrying out this type of study that effectively mean that the results that can be obtained from using its microdata must be subject to a series of essential precautions.

First of all, the population considered is that of women aged 16 or more who are residents in Spain. This decision takes into account the legal requirement for asking a person to complete a survey without the need for the presence or permission of their parents but excludes from of the population surveyed any girls aged under 16 who may also be suffering some kind of GV. Wherever possible, this source has been supplemented with other statistical sources that offer a more rounded picture, including the group of women who are excluded because of their age.

Secondly, the sample was designed so that it would be representative at national level but does not enable estimates to be made in individual territories, such as Autonomous Communities or Provinces. This cannot be overcome in relation with the Macro Survey, but an increase in the sample size would be welcome if it could be used to represent each Autonomous Community. This would also avoid problems in the representation of the results, because the size of the sample is so small in some contexts that any extrapolation of the conclusions from this sample to the whole population would be highly unreliable.

Thirdly, there are some modules in the survey that show gaps that are enough to prevent any estimate of some interesting parameters in the studies that rely on the 2015 Macro Survey. For example, module 2 contains questions about physical injuries suffered, but the information is rather limited, and it would be interesting to know how serious these injuries were or how long the treatment received for them lasted, and so on. Module 3, which deals with the relationship between the woman and her aggressor or aggressors, only addresses women who have suffered physical and/or sexual violence or who have been afraid of this, leaving out women who did not suffer this way, but faced financial violence, psychologically controlling or emotional violence. As indicated previously, this choice was based on the Directives of the United Nations for producing statistics on violence against women, which only ask questions

about actions reported, injuries received from violence, the search for formal or informal support, etc. on the part of women who have suffered physical and/or sexual violence from a partner or ex-partner, because it is felt that the measurement of psychological violence is not yet sufficiently rigorous to use. The GDGV decided to ask these questions of women who claimed to have been afraid of a partner or ex-partner, using this variable as a proxy for psychological violence. As regards the respondents' information about work, there is no information about whether they have missed work because of GV, or how many days were lost to this absence, etc.

The final results of the estimates of the tangible economic costs of GV can be placed within a wide range of values, from 1,281,012,528 euros to 8,540,891,420 euros. It must be noted, however, that most of the estimates are based on a consideration of the number of female victims of GV, according to the Macro Survey 2015, and rarely do they refer to the number of violent acts suffered by these women during the year. This consideration is significant because it means that **the real economic costs may be higher than the estimates that are the result of this study.**

Second generation impacts, which are those that affect the children of women who suffer GV have been omitted from the global analysis, not because they are less important but because of the increased complexity that would be involved in expanding the number of itineraries and related agents to be considered in this studio. These impacts would include their medical treatment and that of any other relatives or friends whose physical health was affected by becoming involved in witnessing violence or by trying to defend the victims from their aggressor.

The estimations of the work-related itinerary did not consider the effects that companies have to deal with, such as lost working days, delays and/or distraction caused by the workers who are aggressors. The limited information available on this question prevents them from being included in the itinerary. Nor is the impact on productivity at work that is caused by colleagues who may witness acts of violence against women workers on the part of their partners and who are then required to attend court hearings to give their testimony.

The estimates of costs for the work-related itinerary that is offered by most studies rely on surveys that offer clear clues about the scale of these impacts and how business activity, or the unpaid activity at home can be affected by episodes of GV. The Macro Survey 2015 only allows us to identify the employment situation of the victim and the aggressor, but not to infer in

which cases the violence suffered by the victims have resulted in working days lost to absence, because of hospital treatment or because the physical and/or mental damage inflicted has been so great. It can tell us nothing about cases where there is no external sign of gender-based violence but the mental state of the affected victim leads to distractions and increased levels of risk at work. Nor can it give us any information about working days lost as a result of medical or legal procedures. It has been necessary, in these cases, to fall back on information from studies dealing with related aspects, to make different hypotheses and to exploit the secondary information that can help us to define these impacts with more precision. If this information were available, it would allow us to perfect our calculations and offer results that are closer to the real situation.

The information available in relation with the medical itinerary, when combined with that of the Macro Survey, does not allow us to determine the scope of the injuries suffered by female victims of GV (hospitalization and recovery time, etc.) nor the use (frequency and duration) this group makes of the medical services and treatments that they require. This is an area where progress should be made in the future, especially when we consider that the different types of injuries (physical, sexual and reproductive and/or psychological) are often caused simultaneously. It would enable us to better understand the cause-effect of GV on the health system and to assess the medical resources that are currently assigned to deal with these situations.

Although there have been advances in the health information systems used to detect cases of GV, the fact that many women do not reveal the true cause of their condition represents an important barrier to detection, regardless of how they access the health system. This means that the data that is available from hospitals and clinics tends to underestimate the number of injuries caused by GV. Furthermore, when this information is collected, there is rarely enough detail on the cause of the injuries, the full extent of the injuries that have been inflicted or the medical procedures that have been dispensed. We should also consider the widespread use of specific indicators in relation with the courses of treatments that the victims follow.

The legal itinerary has focused exclusively on the impact of GV on the public sector. This has meant that the costs which are borne by other agents, namely the victim or the third sector have not generally been taken into account, although some specific aspects have been included under other chapters. Even so, some of the costs that the victim has to bear are not included because they derive from court actions taken as a result of GV, but which are not registered under this type of violence because charges have not been brought. For example,

costs related with separation, divorces, non-payment of alimony, etc. that affect the woman who, because she is not recognised as a victim of GV, cannot benefit from the rights that derive from this condition.

The estimate of the costs could be more precise in some respects if cases of GV were classified by the type of crime, or especially by the seriousness of the aggression. For example, the information that the police keep on file does not offer this level of detail. In other cases, such as court records, this detail is available and can be used as the basis for making more precise estimates in the future, when combined with first-hand information about the unit costs that the different crimes can cause, depending on their seriousness. One very important aspect would be to attain standardised criteria for classifying crimes of gender-based violence among all the jurisdictions that are involved in the process (police, courts, prisons).

In assessing the actions of Third Sector organizations, the financial costs incurred by the services they provide for victims of GV have been estimated without great precision. The part of these costs that correspond to other these organizations' activities related with campaigns to spread messages and awareness of GV cannot be included in the calculation of the costs.

The main limitation affecting the estimate of the financial costs of the resources that regional authorities make available to the victims, as well as the children and minors who are in their care, is that this estimate has been inferred from the amounts accumulated between 2005-2014, which means that it is probably an underestimation of the real cost of these actions in more recent years. Although these costs have been studied, they have not been included in the aggregate estimate because to do so would lead to problems of double accounting for some of the items (which would be impossible to identify because of the limitations of the information we are working with).

One aspect which it will be important to include in future studies is the increasing level of private sector concern about GV and the effects it has on performance, in relation with the employee and for the organization. The idea that GV is a problem that only affects the private lives of the people involved appears to be waning, although there is still a long way to go. It is not only a question of the attitude of organizations and the actions they can take, but also of the workers' attitude when making the problem explicit, overcoming the stigma attached and making use of the support programmes that exist in the place of work.

Estimating and calculating the economic costs derived from GV are very complex undertakings because of their multi-dimensional nature and the many factors that affect them, as we have

seen in this study. It is essential that we remain alert to advances in research in this area, so we can pick up any new ideas and improvements to the methodological approaches and think about adapting them to the situation in Spain.

We cannot overlook the fact that the data that enables us to analyse the costs of GV in such depth not only comes from administrative records, but from statistical operations designed *ad hoc* to obtain them. The important work that the Government Delegation for Gender-based Violence carries out should be stressed. Its functions include "the preparation, promotion and distribution of reports, studies and research into questions related with the different forms of violence against women" and "the design, drafting and continuous updating of an information system based on the collection, analysis and publication of data on violence against women provided by public authorities and other entities, to raise awareness and to assess the situation and the level of effectiveness of the measures introduced"¹⁰. It must take into account the need to study these aspects further in order to carry out these functions and to reinforce its role in coordinating actions between institutions.

This study, which is certainly the first of its kind because it is the first to analyse the impacts and costs of GV in Spain, will necessarily be the starting point for future studies. The results it has obtained and the challenges it has identified can be addressed in the future with methodological improvements. They can modify the way data is collected and processed, and how the base information is organized, extending the nature of the costs and types of agents included to ensure that the calculations obtained are more precise and accurate.

¹⁰ In accordance with the definition of the functions of the Government Delegation for Gender-based Violence included in RD 816/2018, of 6 July, published in the BOE dated 7 July 2018.