

স্বাক্ষরিত - ৪  
২৬  
২০/০২/০৯

# Domestic Violence against Women in Bangladesh

A Thesis  
for the Degree of  
Master of Philosophy  
in Public Administration

Dhaka University Library

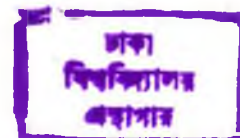


400642

Submitted by Nadira Sultana  
Registration no: 147/97-98

400642

Department of Public Administration  
University of Dhaka  
Dhaka, Bangladesh,  
2002



## Declaration

I do hereby declare that this thesis entitled “Domestic Violence against Women in Bangladesh” submitted to the University of Dhaka for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Public Administration, is my own work (except where indicated and acknowledge otherwise in this text), and has not at any time been previously submitted to this university or any other university/institution for aware of any degree/diploma at any level.

*Nadira Sultana*  
10/03/2002  
/ Nadira Sultana

400642



## To Whom It May Concern

This is to certify that Nadira Sultana, Registration no-147, Session 1997-1998, an M. Phil researcher of the Department of Public Administration, University of Dhaka, has completed her thesis entitled 'Domestic Violence against Women in Bangladesh'. The report is not presented anywhere else.

*N. Mahtab*

Dr. Nazmunnessa Mahtab  
Professor & Supervisor  
Department of Public Administration  
University of Dhaka

*Professor*  
*Dept. of Public Administration*  
*University of Dhaka.*

400642



**DEDICATED  
TO  
MY BELOVED  
PARENTS  
AND  
ALL WELL WISHERS**

# **Domestic Violence against Women in Bangladesh**

# *Table of Contents*

- a. *Acknowledgement*
- b. *Abstract*

## **Chapter 1**

1.1 Introduction	2
1.2 Definition of Violence	3
1.3 Type of Violence	5
1.4 Family Violence	5
1.5 Violence Outside Home	5
1.6 Domestic Violence	6
1.7 Other Types of Violence	6
1.8 Background of the Study	7
1.9 Objective of the Study	7

## **Chapter 2**

2.1 Theory	10
2.1.1 Theories of Aggression	10
2.1.2 Theories of Feminism	13
2.2 Review of literature	18
2.3 Causes of violence	19

## **Chapter 3**

3.1 Methodology	30
3.2 Mode of data collection	30
3.3 Problems of data collection	31
3.4 Sample	31

## **Chapter 4**

4.1 Women in General	34
4.1.1 Physical Violence	34
4.1.2 Psychological Violence	35
4.1.2.1 Verbal and emotional Abuse	36
4.1.2.2 Control over movement	37

4.1.2.3	Curtaining and isolation	37
4.1.3	Sexual Violence	38
4.1.4	Suicide	39
4.1.5	Femicide	41
4.2	Working Woman	43
4.2.1	Violence resulted from handling various responsibilities	43
4.2.2	Financial abuse	44
4.2.3	Violence resulting from suspicious and jealousy	45
4.3	Divorced Women	45
4.3.1	Difficulties in getting divorce and sabotage	46
4.3.2	Socially disgraced	47
4.3.3	Child custody dispute	47
4.4	Specific type of violence	48
4.1.1	Dowry related violence	48
4.1.2	Polygamy	54
4.1.3	Violence against reproductive choices	56
4.1.4	Giving birth to a girl child	57
4.1.5	Lodging a false case	58
 <b>Chapter 5</b>		
5.1	GOB and NGOs initiative to prevent violence	61
5.2	Recommendations	63
5.3	Conclusion	67
 <i>Annexure</i>		
<i>References</i>		
		71
		72

## *Acknowledgement*

I sincerely express my profound, sincere appreciation, and deepest sense of respect to my honorable teacher and research supervisor Dr. Nazmunnessa Mahtab, Professor of the Department of Public Administration, Dhaka University, Dhaka, for her efficient and scholastic guidance, kind supervision, solitary instruction, continuous inspiration, valuable advice and suggestions for the successful completion of the research work and preparation of this manuscript.

I am also grateful to “women for women” a research and study group. Its library provides me with necessary books. I acknowledge my debts to the library of World Bank, UNICEF Bangladesh, BRAC, Grameen Trust, and Ain O Shalish Kendra for helping me with their recent book and journals.

Cordial thanks and sincere gratitude are also due to all my honorable teachers, Department of Public Administration, Dhaka University, for the valuable suggestions, constructive criticism and encouragement during the study.

I feel proud of my parents, sisters, and relatives for their blessing, inspiration and sacrifice during the whole period of study. Sincere and cordial thanks are extended to all friends, who helped to collect data for the research. **Finally** I thank my dearest brother for helping me with the typing. Without his help I couldn't finish my research with in time.

Finally, I also thank the staff of the Department of Public Administration, Dhaka University, for their cooperation during my work.



# *Abstract*

Domestic violence against women is increasing day by day. In view of the fact that there has been a noticeable increase in the rate of the incidence of domestic violence against women in Bangladesh, the present study is conducted to identify the following issues.

- i) To identify the nature of domestic violence
- ii) To identify the reason responsible for violence, and
- iii) To suggest solution to check domestic violence against women in Bangladesh.

The study is an exploratory research that attempts to develop a general understanding and common familiarity with the problem. There is not enough work has been done on this issue. Therefore, I think my thesis will be an attempt to provide significant information for further research.

The thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter is the introductory chapter includes the definition of violence and its nature. Here, Domestic Violence is being defined as... “A pattern of criminal and non criminal abusive behaviors-physical emotional and/or sexual-that one individual in an intimate relationship uses to gain control over their partner.”

The second chapter provides a brief discussion of the theories of aggression and violence; and the theories of feminism to find out the root of violence and hierarchical gender relation in society. Review of the literature highlighted the magnitude of domestic violence identified by different scholars. They focus on patriarchy, acceptance of violence and cultural realities, and inefficiency from the part of the government as factor responsible for domestic violence.

Chapter three of the report stated the methodology of the research. It deals primarily with the approaches and technique involve in the study. Both primary and secondary methods of data collection are used to gather information on domestic violence.

The next chapter deals with the major findings of the research designed on the three types of selected samples on women. These are women in general (marital violence), working women, and divorced women. Married women faced physical, psychological and sexual violence. A leading cause of mortality among women in Bangladesh is suicide where the cause of death is more likely to be murder. Femicide – murder of women by their batterers – is increasing day by day and

women between the ages of 11 to 25 is most frequent victim of such violence. It is accepted by the scholars that the economic dependence of women on men has a serious impact on women's vulnerability and oppression. But the study identifies that workingwomen face some other types of violence in addition to that violence faced by the women not working outside. Divorced women also faced some other forms of violence by their former husbands. Especially divorce is not easy to get as husbands make troubles. Besides there are various types of violence discussed separately. Dowry related violence, polygamy, violence against reproductive choice are also analyzed. Dowry related violence is the highest form of recorded violence against women in Bangladesh. I have discussed four different ways of giving and receiving dowry in Bangladesh. Polygamy is legal and socially allowed in the country. It causes considerable trouble for women. Religious interpretation has contributed a lot to continue the practice of polygamy in Bangladesh. There are another type of violence resulted from giving birth to a girl child. It is serious cause of violence against mother. Both mother and infant have to suffer a lot.

The concluding chapter provides the suggestion to check violence against women in Bangladesh. It is difficult to combat violence against women by focusing on a single cause of violence or by adapting strategies that has been successful in reducing violence against women of a particular community. There are different interrelated and complicated factors involve in domestic violence.

The first duty is to pass progressive legislation and reforming the existing legal system. Implementation of existing law and giving exemplary punishment can be successful strategy to check the increasing rate of violence against women. A separate law and women right commission can guarantee such success. Gender sensitivity training should be provided to the media persons, police, film directors, teachers, political leaders, *Imam*, religious leaders, government officers, and NGO workers to make the development activities more egalitarian. Religious interpretation needs to be reexamined and curricula of educational institution should be thus revised. Replacing patriarchic values by gradually creating egalitarian values can be the best way to solve the problem. Government and NGOs are working together to improve the situation of women in Bangladesh. It is not true that no change has been made so far. The increasing rate of female education is the biggest success in this regard. We hope to see a very peaceful violence free society in near future.

# Chapter-1

## 1.1.Introduction

Women are often in great danger in the place where they should be safest: within their families. For many, 'homes' are where they face a regime of terror and violence at the hand of somebody they should be able to trust and rely. Violence against women continues to be a global epidemic that kills, tortures, and maims—physically, psychologically, sexually and economically. It is the most pervasive form of human rights violations, denying women equality, security, dignity, self-worth, and their right to enjoy fundamental freedoms. The global dimensions of violence are alarming (UNICEF: 2000;1). Violence against women is prevalent in every country, cutting across boundaries of culture, class, education, income, ethnicity, age. Some societies proscribe violence against women, the reality is that violence against women's human right are often sanctioned under the grub of cultural practices and norms, or through misinterpretation of religious tenets (UNICEF: 2000;6 & Dasgupta: 1999). Violence against women is the gravest in South Asia as strong traditions and social stigmas made women the object of violence from birth to old age (Women Health Weekly; 1998). The notion of Sati, dowry death, arranged marriage, extended family, all evoke the vision of oppression (Dasgupta; 1999).

Domestic violence against women is relatively hidden and ignorant form of violence against women. Earlier it was not taken seriously and it was considered as a family matter. It was not until the Women's Movement brought the issue of domestic violence out into the open in the late '70s, and insisted that it was a crime and should be treated as such by the police and the courts, that legislation was passed to criminalize it. In recent years, there has been a greater understanding of the problem of domestic violence, its causes and consequences, and an international consensus has developed on the need to deal with the issue. The convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Platform for Action adopted at the Fourth International Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, all reflected this consensus. In 1994, the Commission on Human Rights Appointed the first UN Special Reporter on Violence against Women, entrusting her with the task of analyzing and documenting the phenomenon. But progress has been slow because attitudes are deeply entrenched and, to some extent, effective strategies to address domestic violence are still being defined. As a result, women worldwide continue to suffer, with estimates varying from 20 to 50 per cent from country to country (UNICEF 2000:1).

Domestic violence against women is also pervasive in Bangladesh. The grave social problem has not yet received inadequate attention from Bangladeshi researchers. The sharpening of the focus on women's issue which follows the UN

declaration of the women's decade, the fourth world conference on women declaration on the elimination of all forms of violence against women and the publicity given by paper and various women's group to the abuse of young married women due to non payment of dowry, a very recent phenomena among the Bangladeshi Muslims, have been instrumental in bringing domestic violence against women to the public attention (Jahan; 1994:1).

The limited news coverage also suggested that while men figure both as aggressors and victims in family violence, the overwhelming majority of women figure only as victims of domestic violence. It is also suggests that the member of family victims of abnormal death including homicide occurring at the family home is considerable but the number of women who suffer from beating and treacherous from of danger which threatens the safety of a Bangladeshi women lies hidden right in her home which is socially regarded the safest place for her.

Raising pressure from women's group for exemplary punishment through organized protest, involved both male and female concerned citizen, resulted in recognition of the need for action against women by the government and the public. Several government legislation and non-government effort have been taken to reduce violence against women. The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961, the Dowry Prohibition Act 1980, the Cruelty to Women (Deterrent Punishment) Ordinance 1983, the Family Courts Ordinance 1985, the Women and Children Repression (Special Provision) Ordinance 1995, the Suppression of Violence against Women and Children Act 2000, are the results of such movement and government's concern over the issue.

But due to imperfect understanding of the problem the efforts have met with a limited success. Lack of systematic information and analysis of the problem are the major drawbacks for policy formulation and action for reducing domestic violence.

## **1.2 Definition of Violence**

There is no universally accepted definition of violence against women. Defining violence is extremely difficult. Etymologically the word originated from Latin 'Violentia' which in legal term refers to "exertion of physical force considering its effect on another than the agent, sometimes the overcoming or prevention of resistance by threats of committing such an act."

The definition of violence as an act that involves the use of force is a very broad one and for that the reason it may be brought of as vague (Jahan; 1984:7).

Violence against women, broadly defined would include any act involving use of force, coercion with intent of perpetuation/ promotion of hierarchical gender relations in all social structure (A PWLD, '90 cited in Jahan; 1994:7).

This definition would include any violence of a woman's basic rights on grounds of gender as an act of violence. The above definition includes (i) physical violence ii) sexual violence iii) psychological violence iv) Vicarious violence i.e. violence directed against something some person held dear by the victim.

Some include psychological and emotional abuse, financial abuse, sexual coercion, as well as legal, physical and sexual assault as legally defined (e.g., Dekeseredy & Kelly, 1993; Koss& Gidyez, 1985 cited in Dobash & Dobash 1998:34).

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) defines violence against as "any act of gender based violence that resulted in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary prevention of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life".

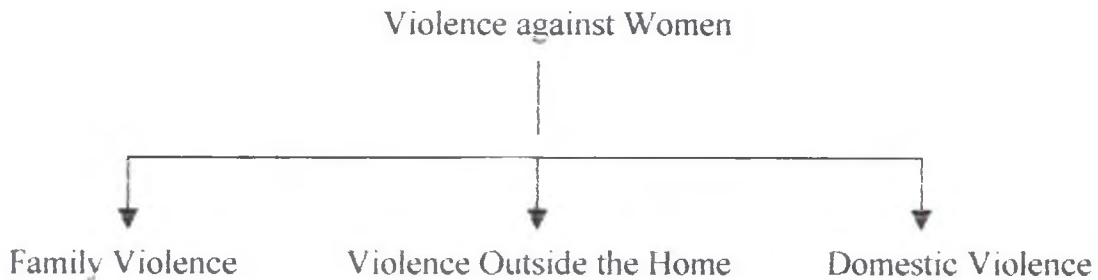
This definition refers to the gender-based roots of violence, recognizing that "violence against women is one of the crucial mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men". It broadens the definition of violence by including both the physical and psychological harm done towards women, and it includes acts in both public and private life. The Declaration defines violence against women as encompassing, but not limited to, three areas: violence occurring in the family, with in the general community, and violence perpetrated or condoned by the State.

From the above discussion, we find some specific type of behavior as violence against women.

- i) Physical abuse (pushing, pitching, spitting, slapping, biting, punching, grabbing, throwing acid/boiled water, pulling by hair, choking, burning, clubbing, stabbing, shooting and so on).
- ii) Sexual abuse (physical attack on the victim's erogenous organs, e.g., breast/genitals, or forced sexual activities such as forcing unwanted sexual acts or forcing sex with others).
- iii) Psychological abuse (using psychological weapons such as verbal threats to degrade herself, excessive controlling, curtailing and/or disruption of routine activities such as sleeping or eating habits, social relationship, access to money; verbal insult and so on).
- iv) Economic abuse (denial of fund, refusal to contribute financially, denial of food and basic needs, and controlling access to health care, employment, ect.).
- v) Vicarious violence (damage or destruction of property, assault on pets or even children).

## 1.3 TYPES OF VIOLENCES

Violence against women can be broadly divided into the following way.



### 1.4 Family Violence

Family violence includes violence perpetrated by intimate partners and other family members. Domestic violence is included in this type of violence. UNICEF and UN describe family violence as domestic violence but Brandwein (1999) and Johnson Country Coalition against Domestic Violence Mission Statement, Iowa City defined these two in two different ways. According to Brandwein family violence is employed to include not only partner but also other abuse in the family.

### 1.5 Violence Outside the Home

According to a sub regional expert Group meeting on violence against women held in Srilanka (December 14-16,1997) violence outside the home refers to the violence inflicted on women by strangers (who are not relatives or partners) outside the home- in the public places such as streets, workplaces or in custody, or in situations of civil conflict or war. Some of these types of violence are mentioned below.

**i) Acid Throwing, Burning:** Sometimes family members quarrel over non-payment of dowry or disobedience and boy for refusing the proposal of marriage attacks girls.

**ii) Physical Violence:** Sometimes women have to face physical attack by strangers, coworkers, or others outside home.

**iii) Sexual harassment:** Women faced it in everywhere including in streets, public transports, and co-educational institution or even in work place.

**iv) Rape:** Rape is on the increase in Bangladesh. Sometimes victims are murdered. Some new dimensions are introduced these days. These are gang rape, custodial rape and child rape.

**v) Trafficking:** A related phenomenon in the tremendous increase is trafficking girls and women for immoral purposes.

## **1.6 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE**

Here the term “domestic” refers to the types of relationships involved rather than the place where the violent act occurs.

The term “domestic violence” includes violence against women and girls by an intimate partner, including a cohabiting partner, and by other family members, whether this violence occurs within or beyond the confines of the home (UNICEF; 2000:1).

Domestic violence is used to denote spousal or other intimate partner abuse, whereas family violence, the more generic term, is employed to include not only partner but also other abuse in the family (et al Brandwein; 1999:6).

Domestic Violence can be defined as... “a pattern of criminal and non-criminal abusive behaviors-physical emotional and/or sexual-that one individual in an intimate relationship uses to gain control over their partner.” (Johnson Country Coalition Against Domestic Violence Mission Statement, Iowa City, Iowa)

## **1.7 Other Type Of Violence**

There are some other types of violence that need to be mentioned. These are

- Community violence through assurance of fatwa
- Violence of basic rights at the work place
- Violence of reproductive right.



## 1.8 Background of the Study

Violence in the domestic life is perhaps as old as the institution (family) itself. It has been treated as a taboo subject for centuries. No one was allowed to talk about it and no one did anything to prevent it. Yet in all societies there are various forms of violence against women that are proscribed but tolerated because of local custom and norms. Over the past 100 years, women's movements have won a whole range of rights for women to participate as equal citizens. However, the achievements have been much greater in the public sphere than in the private arena. There is a need for concerted effort to address the problem of domestic violence- manifested in so many different ways- which leaves women serious impaired both emotionally and physically. The grave social problem has yet received inadequate attention from researchers. Only few researches have been done very recently. But it seems not adequate to address all the issues relating to domestic violence against women in Bangladesh. Domestic violence against women has become the most sensitive issues of discussion in the United States. Shamita Das Dasgupta (2000) has worked on the south Asian women. Her attention was especially on Indian women. Bangladeshi women need to be separately and specially identified.

Domestic violence in Bangladesh is pervasive and also increasing day by day. The UNFPA Report 2000 reported that Bangladesh is in the second highest position where women are frequently victims of violence form their male counterpart. So we need to work to comprehend the nature, causes, and contributing factors to this violence.

Besides, I have an interest about the issue since my school life. There are many incidents taken place around us. It is easy for me to identify the nature, causes and factors involve in the issue. Therefore I have chosen it as my research area.

## 1.9 Objective of the Study

The objective of the study is to gather information regarding the nature of domestic violence against women in Bangladesh. In view of the fact that there has been a noticeable increase in the rate of the incidence of domestic violence against women in Bangladesh the present study is conducted to identify the following issues.

- i. To identify the nature of domestic violence
- ii. To identify the reason responsible for violence, and
- iii. To suggest solution to check domestic violence against women in Bangladesh.

The study is an exploratory research that attempts to develop a general understanding and common familiarity with the problem. There is not enough work has been done on this issue. Therefore, I think my thesis will be an attempt to provide significant information for further research.

The hypothesis formulate with respect to the major variables under investigation were more general rather than specific in nature. These hypotheses are:

- i) Domestic Violence is available in every class
- ii) Hierarchical gender relation in society and the attitude of the male member in the family are responsible for domestic violence.

# CHAPTER - 2

## 2.1 Theory

Different theories especially psychological, social scientist and different feminist scholars tried to identify the nature of the source and reason of the phenomena of violence and aggression. Sigmund Freud, Hartmen, Anna Freud, Baron, Watson, Moyer, Eran, Bandura, Wihaan and Lorenz are the most notable among them. Here, we will try to identify the theories developed different times to explain the act of violence and aggression and its reason specially from psycho analysis and from the feminist point of view.

### 2.1.1 Theories of Aggression

With regard to the source of aggression psychologist have offered various explanations that have offered various explanations that have taken the form of different theories of aggression and violence. Some theories have taken the view that aggression is universal in human, an integral part of over nature. These theories have come both psychoanalysis and biology, while socio psychology has suggested that violence is reaction to the common human predicament of frustration. Broadly speaking these theories may fall in there categories.

2.1.1.1 Aggression as an innate behavior

2.1.1.2 Aggression as an elicited drive

2.1.1.3 Aggression as a learned behavior

#### 2.1.1.1 Aggression as an innate behavior

The act of violence and aggression has been described as an act of innate in humans. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Philosopher Thomas Hobbs wrote that were it not for the roles and laws enforced by organized societies, human could work only destroy one another. It describes that people have a driving force inside them and it predisposes them to act aggressively. Instinct theories and biological theories take the position that people are aggressive by nature (Feroza Begum and Hamida Akter Begum 1993:13).

##### **i) Instinct theory**

Instinct theory, one of the oldest theories, implies that a behavior is inherited and common to all members of the species. Frued the oldest and the best-known exponent of the view point. According to him, societies' function is to control the expression of death instinct (Thanatos), channeling the aggression

into the socially acceptable behavior whenever possible. Freud believed that aggression in an inborn drive and encouraged to express this inborn drive in a socially accepted non-harmful way or otherwise it would be released in a violent way.

Hartman et. al.(1949) and Anna Freud (1949) held same explanation analyzing the aggressive behavior. They wrote that aggressive constantly is generated within the body.

Lorenz (1952,1966,1974), one of the ethology's founders has similar view regarding the human aggression. Like many other species human being have an innate fighting instinct. Unlike other species it involves a very mental process, where they calculate the benefit of aggressive behavior. But the ethnological theory of aggression has ignored the impact of culture and social learning upon human being.

Wilson (1975) and Barash (1977) provided a socio-biological theory of aggression. They opined that social behavior is a result of social evolution.

## **ii) Biological theory**

Biological theory implies that the cause of aggression originated from within the individuals. Here these theories try to recognize the specific organisms involve in such behavior. Several type of research has been carried out to explore the cause and effect relationship of aggressive behavior with the biological mechanism.

Moyer (1971) discovered some central neural centers that invoke violent behavior.

Mocoby and Gacklin (1980) made some specific gender based analysis. They claimed that sex differences causes aggressive behavior and mentioned that males are more violent than females because of their differences in hormone.

Jacobs, Bruntan and Melville (1965) recognized an unusually high number of abnormalities in sex-type genes among prison inmates. It made them to conclude that abnormality in hormone might be related to aggressive behavior (Begum and Begum 1993:13).

Even if we accept the view the biological mechanism plays a role to instigate violence, what triggers these mechanisms still remains unexplained. It appears that in order to understand aggression one must investigate the ways in which the external conditions affect when and how people aggress (Worchl and Copper, 1983).

### 2.1.1.2 Aggression as an Elicited Drive

Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mower and Sears are the pioneer of these theories. It explains aggression as an externally elicited drive that resulted from a frustration. According to these theories frustration fuel instigation to aggression. These theories are popularly known as frustration aggression hypothesis.

Leonard Berkowiz (1965) made some further development of this theory. He stated that frustration aggression have to be addressed in three different ways.

**First:** All frustration does not necessarily result in aggression.

**Second:** Aggression will not take place unless there are suitable cues available.

**Third:** Frustration may lead to aggressive behavior when previously learned aggressive habits are aroused.

The drive theories stated that aggression stems from particular environment conditions that serve to arouse a strong motive to engage in harm producing behaviors. They are very optimistic regarding controlling the aggressive behavior by removing frustration and pain.

### 2.1.1.3 Aggression as Learned Social Behavior

Aggression as learned social behavior is the most popular theory of aggression. It postulates that batterers learn their behavior through the process of socialization, and that violent behavior is learnt from their childhood. This approach is relatively new in explaining the nature of human aggression social view. Bandura (1973), Baron (1977), and Zillman (1979) are the pioneer of the social learning theory. They oppose that aggressive behavior is not either a result of built in urges towards such behavior or aggressive drives resulted from frustration. Rather they engaged in aggressive actions because

- They have learned such responses through past experience
- Either they receive or expect various forms of reward for performing such behavior
- They are directly encouraged to aggress against others by specific social conditions.

This view regards aggression mainly as a specific form of social behavior, a form that is both acquired and maintained in much the same manner, as many other form of behavior (Begum and Begum 1993:13).

Gender related roles specific to cultural norms are patterned, learned, and transmitted from generation to generation, and male violence supporting female subordination is nurtured in the home (Bowher 1986; Yllo and Boggard 1988 in Sharma 1998; 65).

It may be noted here that the social learning view is much more optimistic with respect to the prevention or control of aggression than other approaches. There are so far two reasons.

**First:** Aggression is a learned form of behaviors.

**Second:** If aggression is stimulated by specific social conditions, its occurrence can be prevented through alteration of such conditions.

For these reasons, the social learning view seems to be the most optimistic or helpful of all the theories that are considered before.

But no Western theory of social science is enough to analyze all factors involved in male violence against women. The feminist theory offers an important insight into this problem (Sharma 1998: 65).

## **2.1.2. Theories of Feminism**

There is no single theory of feminism like any other complex political philosophy. Feminism has generated a rich variety of ideas and the situation of women and different theories explain the causes of expirations, oppression in different ways. There are basically three types of theories of feminism.

### **2.1.2.1 Liberal Feminism**

Liberal Feminism suggests that social institutions like the family, the education system and roles, which are performed unconsciously and became an integral part of a person's identity, train individuals. Thus boys learn to be competitive, unemotional and outward looking, while girls learn to be submissive to express their feelings and to look for their satisfactions in personal and family affairs. These socially constructed male /female roles than become the basis of a status

system which place women in an inferior position. In de behavior's phrase; one is not borne but rather became a women. Sexual roles have been building up over a long period of historical time and have become embedded in our culture.

Actually liberal feminism identified discrimination as a learned social behavior.

## 2.1.2.2 Socialist Feminism

Engels argued that women's oppression originated in the first division of labor between men and women, a division that had been sharpened by the advent of capitalism and the bourgeois family. Wives take as the characteristics of subordinated class, of even of slaves, while patriarchal heads of household act out the role of employers or owners.

### Pillars of Socialist Feminism

The main pillars of the socialist feminist analysis may be summed up under there heading; wage labor, the family and ideology.

#### i) Wage Labor

Socialist holds that the root cause of all oppression is economic, though feminist societies and from their own experiences that powerful cultural mechanism also work to perpetuate women's inequality. Like any oppressed group, women provide a pool of labor for low paid and unpleasant work. This exploitation is seemed to differ from men's in at least three ways.

- Women from a reserve army of productive labor with low wages, no prospects, and a total lack of security.
  - They perform unpaid work in the family.
  - They are super exploited by capitalism as concerned and sex objects.

#### ii) The Family

The critique of the traditional family has a long history in socialist through Marx and Engels called for its abolitions and modern socialist feminists continue to agree that the family is at least in need of profound transformation. The division of labor between families in terms of wealth, status and opportunities reproduce directly the divisions in the wider society. Children born into each isolated unit inherit the life-chances of their parents. Wealth, education and privilege are thus transmitted directly through the family, as are poverty and disadvantages. For this



reason alone, socialist feminists must necessarily believe that a more equal society cannot be on this foundation.

### **iii) Ideology**

Ideology is much abused word. Strictly interpreted it refers to the ways in which, ideas are used by powerful groups to control and mystify the less powerful. Marxist feminists have been particularly keen to develop the theory of ideology since economic exploitation at work and in the family do not by themselves seem wholly to explain the long subordination of women. They believe that domestic work, maternity, sex and the socialization of children are more than just practical obstacles of equality; they are manipulated to create a psychological state in women that makes their inequality seem natural to them.

## **2.1.2.3 Radical Feminism**

Radical Feminism is highly different in locating the origins of women's oppression. One of the first and still one of the best arguments for radical feminism appear in Stulamith Firestan's book "The Dialectic of Sex" in which the author claimed both to encompass and enlarge socialism by grounding Marxist theory more deeply in objective biological conditions. The theory of the class system become the theory of the sex or class system in which the economic oppression of women was only a secondary result of their biological and psychological oppression by men.

### **Four Themes**

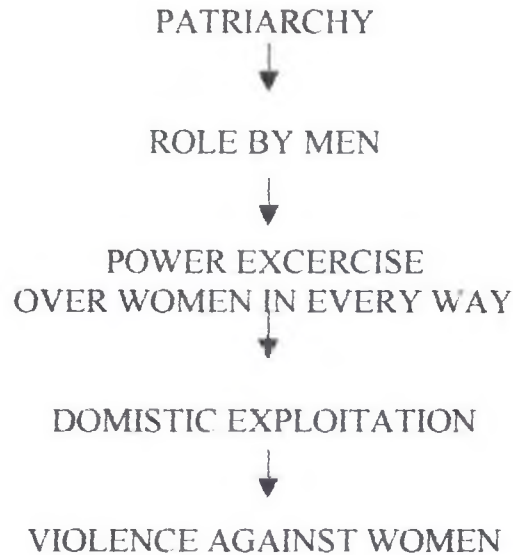
The radical theory is here divided into four themes

- Patriarchy
- Family
- Sexual
- Women's history

### **Patriarchy**

In its original meaning, patriarchy is literally ruled by the father or by paternal right, radical feminists, however, have used it to describe the historic dominance of men over women. Radical feminists identified man as the enemy. Men benefit from their power over women in every way from ego satisfaction, to economic and domestic exploitation, sexual domination and political power. They believe that patriarchy is maintained by violence. All violence towards women was taken to be evidence of the intention of men to retain this

power. The theory of patriarchy labeled all women as victims and men as oppressors.



### *How Patriarchy Causes Violence against Women*

#### **The Family**

Radical feminists took up the socialist critique of the family and carried it a stage further. While socialists saw the monogamous, heterosexual family as an important institution supporting male power, most radical theories saw it as among the basic sources and perhaps the basic sources of the power. In the family, they argued economic dependence; psychological annihilation, sexual exploitation, child bearing and housework oppress women. Radical families most radical demand was therefore for the elimination of the role and function of the mother and thus the marriage based nuclear family.

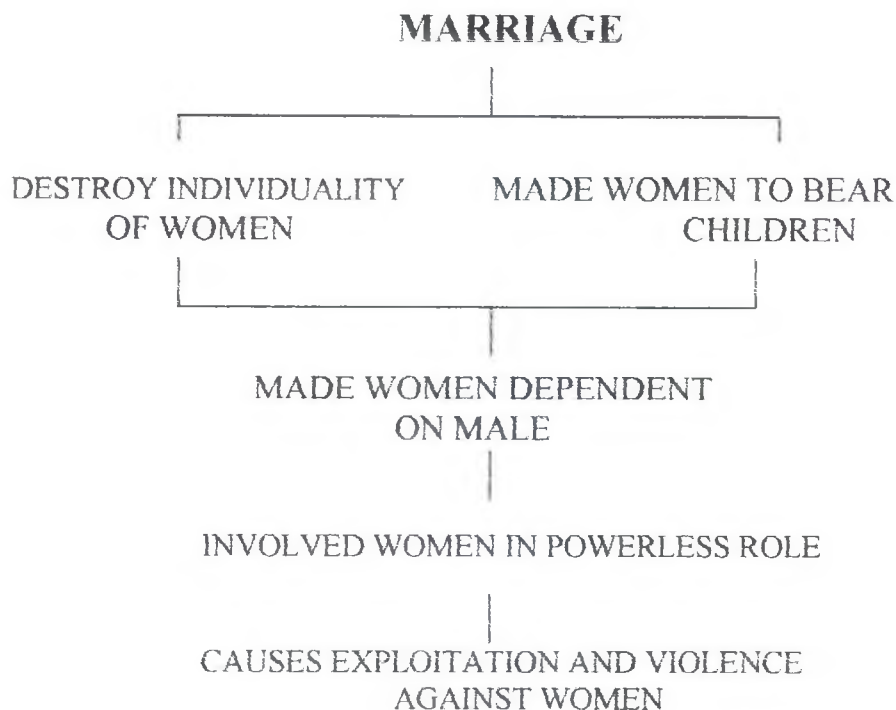
#### **Sexuality**

Sexuality provides the biological link between woman and man, which makes their antagonism unique. According to radical feminist man is the intimate entry the minimal demand of radical feminist was that women should have control over

their own sexuality. This meant an end to the double standard and end to monogamy in marriage goal shared by many liberal and socialist feminists.

### Women's history

History has a special importance for radical feminist theory. Although many feminists have documented the historic exploitation of women as a consciousness raising device, the radical concept of patriarchy must be far back in time when women were either the equals or the superior of men. At some historical moment men must have gained supremacy and instituted the rule of patriarchy. When, how and why this changed happened is clearly of the great significance to groups, which aim to reserve it.



### *How Marriage Causes Violence against Women*

## **2.2 Review of Literature**

Some researches have been done on violence against women in Bangladesh. It is considered as a very crucial issue all over the world. A significant number of studies were conducted on the issue in United States, India, and some other developed and developing countries. But the issue of domestic violence has seldom become a concern of studies and research in Bangladesh. Some scholars made some random studies on some forms of domestic violence with other forms of violence that occurs outside home and inflicted on women by strangers.

Jahan (1983) in her article draws attention, for the need for research without which plans and program would remain unrealistic. This paper raises many issues especially related to the improvement of knowledge and services related to this concern but lack ideas about how to improve news coverings on the issue of women and violence that is so crucial.

Akanda and Shamim (1984) confine itself to the analysis of violence cases leading to murder. The one-year study is very significant for understanding the issue. They basically made comprehensive study of rural and urban violence against women.

Shamima Islam and Jakia Begum (1985) covered the women's decade to introduce systematic inquiry into the problem of violence against women in Bangladesh. It addressed the behavioral dimension of violence against women. Murder, suicide, rape, kidnapping, acid burn were the main forms of violence discussed in their study. No specific inquiry was made against domestic violence.

Hartmann and Boyce (1990) analyzed some observations made on a village named kanti. They focused on domestic violence physical, psychological and dowry related violence. They analyzed the social stigma, poverty and religious belief responsible for domestic violence.

Begum and Begum (1993) attempted to explore some psychological and socio demographic characteristics associated with aggression and violence among young adults. Their study was concentrated on the person's characteristics of the persons involved in aggressive behavior. They identified that violence in the family, and deprivation from love and affection made some young violent. But it is only conducted on general aggression and violence no specific study was done on violence against women.

Heise, L. (1994) identified some dimensions of violence throughout a woman life. He classified the cycle of abuse that manifests itself in many forms throughout their lives. It started from pre-birth stage to the end of her life (UNICEF; 2000:3).

### Examples of Violence against Women Throughout the Life Cycle

<u>Phase</u>	<u>Type of Violence</u>
Pre-birth	Sex-selective abortion; effects of battering during pregnancy on birth outcomes.
Infancy	Female infanticide; Physical, sexual and psychological abuse.
Girlhood	Child Marriage; Female genital mutilation; Physical, sexual and psychological abuse; incest; child prostitution and pornography
Adolescence & Adulthood	Dating and courtship violence, economically coerced sex; incest; sexual abuse in the workplace; rape; sexual harassment; forced prostitution and pornography; trafficking in women; partner violence; marital rape; dowry abuse and murders; partner homicide; psychological abuse; abuse with wife with disabilities; forced pregnancy
Elderly	Forced Suicide or homicide of widows for economic reasons; sexual, physical and psychological abuse.

(Source: "violence Against Women", WHO, FRH/WHD/97.8)

UNICEF (2000) conducted a very extensive study on domestic violence against women and children that covered almost every type of domestic violence against women and children. It identified twelve different forms of domestic violence that include physical abuse, sexual abuse and rape in intimate relationships, psychological and emotional abuse, femicide, sexual abuse of children and adolescents forced prostitution, sex-selective abortion, female infanticide and differential access to food and medical care, traditional and cultural practices affecting the health and living of women, dowry related violence, death by kitchen fire, acid attacks, killing in the name of honor, early marriages.

UNFPA Report 2000 analyzed the impact of domestic violence on reproductive health. Domestic violence causes some serious hazards to reproductive health such as unsafe abortion, persistent gynecological problems, psychological problems, and others.

Hamida A Begum (2000) stated three types of domestic violence against women in Bangladesh. These are (a) Beating/physical abuse of married women by husbands and in-Laws, (b) Verbal abuse, mental torture, deprivation of food and other resources, (c) Incest. According to her culture influence violence against women. She described gender-based violence as a learned behavior. A person's lack of development of self esteem and respect for others, lack of confidence in

the ability to meet one's needs, lack of adequate interpersonal skills, lack of impulse control and inability to empathize with others are crucial in this context.

Sadaf Saaz Siddiqi (2000) carried out a study on perpetrators of violence against women. An extensive interview was taken on men who were not accused of any crimes under the law, as well as those who were either under trial or convicted under the law. The study disclosed some limitations of judiciary.

Mahfuza Khanam (2000) conducted a research on dowry related violence against women of lower socio-economic classes. It was aimed to explore the occurrences and types of dowry related violence in the lower socio-economic classes. She stated that taking money was the most common form of dowry practiced in these classes. Inability to pay the money causes violence in their lives. She also added that some attempted to commit suicide and some others take the shelter of *Gram Shalish*.

Saira Rahman Khan (2001) analyzed violence against women from legal perspective. Her opinion highlighted the limitation of legal definition of violence. She discussed two different types of violence as domestic violence i.e., dowry demands and polygamy. She also discussed the issue of religious decree and violence in the guise of religion.

A study conducted by Sumaiya Khair (2001) tried to identify the male perceptions regarding violence against women. The study aims to explore men's understanding of and experiences regarding violence against women as perceived by them. A total of 100 young men were selected randomly from five sectors, namely students, young professionals, doctors, government officials and men from low-income groups. 78% of the respondents claimed that they know what was meant by domestic violence. A total of 96% referred to the throwing of acid as an act constituting domestic violence. 94% state that the act comprised beating. While 88% thought that the use of foul language constituted domestic violence another 73% referred to scolding as an essential ingredient.

Another study conducted by Hossain and Imam (2001) to collect data regarding men's perception on violence against women in Bangladesh. A total of 100 samples were interviewed to gather information on male perception on violence against women in domestic sphere. The study identified that there is no significant difference of opinions depending on the levels of education on the question of women's subordination. Out of total 75 responses, 26 responses found patriarchy as the cause of women's subordination where 27 responses found 'lack of physical, mental and intellectual capability' of women responsible for their subordinate position in our society. The students, teachers and doctors did not think did not think that men enjoy more rights than women, though there is social and economic dependency on men.

## 2.3 Causes of Violence

There are many causes of domestic violence or violence against women that directly or indirectly reinforces the incident. The problem is that domestic violence (except some extreme form of domestic violence) is the most unreported type of violence in the society. A study showed that some immediate causes of violence against women are talking back, not obeying the husband, refusing sex, not having food ready on time, failing to care for the children or home, questioning the man about money or girl-friends or going somewhere without his permission (Armstrong: 1998; 149 and Visaria: 1999; 9-17).

There is no one single factor to account for violence perpetrated against women. Several complex and interconnected institutionalized social and cultural factors have kept women particularly vulnerable to the violence directed at them.

Heise (1994) discussed some factors that perpetuate domestic violence against women. These factors are shown in the following table.

---

Table 1-Factors that perpetuate domestic violence

---

Cultural	Gender specific socialization
	Cultural definitions of appropriate sex roles
	Expectations of roles with in relationship
	Belief in the inherent superiority of males
	Values that give men proprietary rights over women and girls
	Notion of the family as the private sphere and under male control
	Customs of marriage (bride price/dowry)
	Acceptability of violence as a means to resolve conflict
Economic	Women economic dependence on men
	Limited access to cash and credit

---

---

	Discriminatory laws regarding inheritance, property rights, use of community lands, and maintenance after divorce or widowhood
	Limited access to employment in formal and informal sectors
	Limited access to education and training for women
Legal	Lesser legal status of women either by written law and /or by practice
	Laws regarding divorce, child custody, maintenance and inheritance
	Legal definitions of rape and domestic abuse
	Low levels of legal literacy among women
	Insensitive treatment of women and girls by police and judiciary
Political	Under-representation of women in power, politics, the media and in the legal and medical professions
	Domestic violence not taken seriously
	Notions of family being private and beyond control of the state
	Risk of challenge to status quo/religious laws
	Limited organization of women as a political force
	Limited participation of women in organized political system

---

(UNICEF, Innocent Digest, No.6, 2000:7)

Sarla Sharma (1998) discussed six major contributing factors of violence as identified by Straus and Gelles (1990) and Straus and Smith (1990) in "Physical violence in American Families: Risk Factors and Adoption to violence in 8,145 Families". The factors are: (1) Stressful life events; (2) intra-family conflict; (3) male dominance in the family and in the society; (4) cultural norms of family violence; (5) family socialization for violence; and (6) pervasiveness of violence in the society.



Factors Responsible For Violence	Issues Involve in the Following Factors
Stressful Life Events	Abject poverty, losing jobs, conflict with supervisor or co-workers tent to vent husbands' frustration and anger through violence against his family member specially his wife.
Intra-family Conflict	Husbands sexual jealousy, wife's' adhere to the prescribed female role, greed (dowry), female chastity before marriage cause violence against intimate partners
Male dominance	Social and religious tradition contribute to male dominance in family and society
Cultural Norms	Cultural norms and expectations play a significant role in abetting violence
Family Socialization for Violence	Men learn aggressive behavior from his family through personal experiences.
Pervasiveness of violence in the society	Domestic violence is considered as a private affairs of a married couple, which in turn plays an important role to increase the rate of violence.

(Source: Adapted from Sharma 1998:67-73)

400642

Roushan Jahan (2000) argued that marriage exhibits unequal gender position especially the socio-cultural and legal sanction of husbands' proprietary rights over a wife. She confirmed that three sets of factors responsible for all domestic violence:

- i. Individual psychological factors, particularly the interpersonal spouse dynamics within the family home
- ii. The situational socio-structural factors that aggravate stress and conflict
- iii. The factors legitimizing male dominance i.e. socio-cultural factors.

Pial Das (2000) focused on gender based power relations, sexuality, self-identity and social institution as a root of violence against women and children. She recommended analyzing violence from psychological perspective.

Syed M. Hashemi (2000) disclosed that micro credit has both negative and positive impact on male's violence against women in rural Bangladesh. When women challenge gender norms, however they sometimes provoke violence.

From above discussion the following causes can be identified. The reasons are separately identified and discussed below.

### **i) Universal Acceptance of Gender Inequality and Patriarchy**

The universal acceptance of gender inequality buttressed by social and religious sanctions in favors of male dominance of women in every sphere of life, including the right of a husband to physically chastise a wife. The discrimination between man and women is available all over the world. Patriarchy and physical strength make them superior and ideology make them more powerful. Patriarchy is literally rule by father or by paternal right. The unquestioning acceptance of patriarchal gender ideology and gender relations in all the social structures, including family, community and the state contributed directly to domestic violence. Most Bangladeshi men (women also) have a traditional patriarchal attitude. They firmly believe that a woman's place is in the work and their job outside the home is just a fancy to be indulged in and she should be at home in time to cook, clean and look after the children –or woe betide her (Khan, Saira Rahman; 2001; 122). A study conducted by Hossain and Imam (2001) on Rajshahi city showed that sixteen per cent of his respondent (all respondents of the study were male) replied that the existing patriarchic social system is responsible for domestic violence against women and the twelve per cent believe failure in continuation of lineage as a result of giving birth to female child (in the absence of male child) is responsible for torturing/humiliating women.

### **ii) Acceptance of Violence and Cultural Realities**

In many cultures women are socialized to accept physical and emotional chastisements as a husband's marital prerogative, limiting the range of behavior they consider abuse (Heise, Pitanguy and Germain, 1999:5). The acceptance of physical violence and other violence committed by a husband or brothers or father of any other members of the family contributed lot to increase domestic violence in Bangladesh. Unfortunately, many people think that men are superior and women must be chastised. Many women have been brought up on the belief that it is acceptable for their father's to beat their mothers and themselves and for their husband's to do the same once they are married (Khan; 2001:162). The UNFPA Report 2000 reported that many cultures condone or at least tolerate a certain

amount of violence against women. Men are seen as having a right to discipline their wives as they see fit. The right of a husband to beat or physically intimidate his wife is a deeply held conviction in many societies. The acceptance of physical violence committed by a husband as legitimate discipline causes a wife to suffer such violence without much protest and publicity. Beside deprivation of food and other resources verbal abuse also accepted without more protection. A Slum-dwelling woman as interviewed informed that it is not wrong that a man beat his wife if find that his wife is not doing her duties properly.

### **iii) Pressure to Keep the Marriage Successful**

Divorce is a curse for women in our society. Divorced women rarely get married again and the middle class women face much pressure to keep the marriage going. A study conducted by Roushan Jahan shows that sometimes treated very badly if she failed to do her household properly. Shahida, a young wife was beaten up by her husband, as she did not have rice ready. This sort of incident happens very frequently but she blames herself, as she has to keep her marriage going on. If a woman gets a divorce it dishonors her family. So she faces everything to save the faces of her parents (Jahan; 1994:22).

### **iv) Poverty**

Poverty is also a variable that causes domestic violence. A study (Boyce and Hartmann, 1990:70-98) identified that a poor women is relatively more victim of different types of domestic violence than a rich woman. A poor girl, Sheerin reported me that her husband tortures her for dowry when he is in short of money. Physical violence were frequent an outlet for men's sense of powerlessness and frustration in the face of grinding poverty. The wife of a sharecropper confided, 'when my husband's stomach is empty, he beats me, but when it's full, there is peace' (Boyce and Hartmann, 1990:89). Poverty may be an influencing factor but not all poor farmers or poor labors wife as affected by physical violence. though poverty and violence are strong associated, violence in every society across any or all socio-economic statuses (et al Brandwein 1999:80).

### **v) Hierarchical Gender Relation**

Irrespective of national affluence or level of development, women are vulnerable to exploitation, oppression and all other types of explicit violence from men in all societies where cultural norms, tradition and legal system sanction women's subordination to men. For instance in the U.S.A., one of the richest and most development of nations, violence occurs in 25 percent of all marriages (Straus et. al.80). Male domination and women's subordination was basic tenets of Bangladeshi social structure several mechanisms and institutions maintain male dominance in all social structures. A major one is the propagation of gender ideology through sanction of religious texts and their gender-selective interpretation by the community leaders. The community violence through issuance of fatwa is one of such example. The practice of polygamy, men's sole

right to divorce wife by pronouncing divorce three times, and wife's haven lies under the foot of husbands are some of such examples of gender-selective interpretation of religious texts by community leaders (Boyce and Hartmann; 1990:82-92 and Khan; 2001:86-97). The other mechanisms are: domestication of women and labor, gender division of labor, sex role stereotyping during childhood socialization.

#### **v) Law and State's Attitude to Women's Subordination**

Theoretically Bangladeshi state regards men and women as equal. The constitution of 1972 grants all citizens equal rights. Moreover, the state has been signatory to many UN conventions designed to eliminate discrimination. However, the state's concern to preserve the existing patriarchy is clear from the ways laws operate in respect to violence against women. The Bangladesh legal system based mainly on the British penal code and common law has done little to diminish women's vulnerability to violence. In many instances of rape, molestation and sexual harassment technicalities and legal loopholes deprive women of justice, especially where the aggressions are in a dominant socio-economic position. The procedure accorded to religious laws in all personal matters curtails the rights of Muslims and Hindu women in marriage, divorce, inheritance, custody and guardianship (Khan; 2001:80-108 and Jahan 1994:111).

#### **vi) Increasing Use of Violence in the Public Arena**

A family or a relationship between men and women cannot be separated from the impact of incidents taking place in the public area. It seems that Bangladeshi society does not appear as a conspicuously peace loving and peace maintaining society. Increasing use of violence in the political arena and a corresponding deterioration of the law and order situation has not spared women (Jahan; 1984:102). During British period the Zamindars and during the war for liberation the Pakistani military raped and abused thousands of women (The Daily Ittfaq 1996, 26<sup>th</sup> March and other dailies). In the last two decades, the muscleman and student cadres of various political parties have committed various acts of violence against women and escaped punishment. At the same time, there is an increase in incidence of general violence, specially purse snatching, acid throwing, armed robbery and gunshot injuries, particularly in the urban areas. Important factors contributing to such violence in the public area are:

- Easier access to firearms, acids and other lethal weapons.
- Increasing exposure to violence through popular reading, theaters, films and television shows mostly modeled on foreign materials.
- Increasing number of unemployed youths desperate for jobs, hiring and protection of armed cadres by political parties.
- Corruption and collusion among the members of law enforcement agencies, criminal justice personnel and the power holders contribute significantly to this phenomenon. The police point to lack of necessary

logistical support and impacts, inadequate numbers of available personnel's and pressure from powerful vested interest groups as factors abstracting them.

Women are becoming increasingly vulnerable to such violence in the public area.

#### **vii)) Violence Resulting form Development Polices and Process**

Available reports indicate that women free considerable violence, especially affected their health, labor force participation, bodily security and safely due to the uneven process of development and inappropriate polices pursued at the national level. Macro economic forces such as globalization affected their situation. The number of men working abroad has increased significantly. The likelihood of their carrying and transmitting various forms of STD, especially HIV/Aids to their wives is a serious issue. The focus on women as the major target group in family planning polices and programs and the system of service delivery expose them to serious health hazard caused by severe side effects and indiscriminate use of methods. It increases women's vulnerability and causes dispute in family.

#### **viii) Gaps and Limitation Action of against Violence**

Violence against women is today a pathetic reality, despite Government and NGO interventions. But the silver lining is the strong public opinion against it. On many occasion, people demonstrated their opposition even at the cost of blood. Yasmin rape case is a glaring instance where seven people were killed while protesting the wrong. Eternal vigilance of the people culminated in the death sentence of the killer husband of young Rima. Still violence against women persists. The reason is the gaps and weakness in the interventionist policies and measures.

#### **ix) General Law and Order Situation**

Over the last decades law and other situation have been deteriorating. It is often complained that political violence has been at the root of the situation. Armed miscreants often subscribe their allegiance to political parties who support and protect the miscreants. Miscreants are miscreants and it is only natural that their mischief will spill over to violence against women is difficult to control and for doing this firm political and commitment is required.

#### **x) Administrative Inefficiency and Corruption**

Complained registered in the police station often result in futile report as the police file to establish a case or to nab the culprit due to gross inefficiency in making proper investigation or due to corruption. In the power structure of the village, the police tends to side wide the economically and politically powerful for personal gains.

## **xi) Legal System**

The existing attitude of the legal system towards women is paternalistic. The laws on rape, abduction and wrongful confinement were dandified as merely mother and wife is the property of the husband. Rather than protecting the women, the purpose of the laws on rape and abduction is to protect a man's private property, his wife and daughters. Throughout the legal history this attitude had influenced judicial decisions that tended to weigh against women and towards giving the men the benefit of doubt. The sentional 1979 rape case judgment in India rears out the male bias of the legal system.

## **xii) Movies and Cinema**

Steve Derne explores the most popular medium in India, Hindi cinema, as a contributing factor in violence against women. In a society where all sexual expressions are repressed and most communication regarding sex is a taboo, Hindi movie an important role in educating men about sex. However, this medium also irrevocably connects sex with violence, and it convinces young men that force and love are synonymous. Through content analysis of films and interviews with filmgoers, Derne convincingly delineates the relationship between abuse and cinema. This is also true for Bangladesh as it is a big market for Hindi movies. The Bangladeshi movies are just the copy of Hindi movies. Almost every people watch Hindi movies and those who cannot afford to a videocassette recorder visit cinema hall where Bangladeshi movies are showed.

# CHAPTER-3

## 3.1 METHODOLOGY

It is not easy to identify the actual picture of domestic violence against women in Bangladesh. The closed family structure and also women unwillingness to tell about the problem make it quite difficult. Both primary and secondary methods of data collection are used to gather information on domestic violence. The newspaper, police files indicate only the serious or fatal injury as domestic violence. Data relating to the other dimensions of domestic violence are collected from primary sources. The extreme violence specially murder, death, and sexual abuse are collected from secondary data.

### 3.1.1 Primary data

Each part of the findings include primary data are collected especially from relatives neighbor and from friends. Case study based on interview is the mode of data collection. All of them are quite interest in the regard and very conscious about their rights and problems. The list of the married women is presented in the Annex-1

### 3.1.2 Secondary data

The secondary data collected form same pre-selected organizations working on violence. The Daily Star, the Daily Independent, Prothom Alo, Bhorer Kagoj, Sangbad, Janakantha, Inquilab, and the Daily Ittefaq are also used as a source of secondary information. Women for women, Ain-O-Shalish Kandra, Ministry of Women and Children Affairs are the sample organization provided the data and information on domestic violence.

## 3.2 Mode Of Data Collection

Data regarding domestic violence are scattered all around. Some archival researches and necessary book are necessary to carry out the research. But very few books and researches are available on domestic violence against women in Bangladesh. So I have to Study books and research report dealing with violence against women, human rights, and legal rights of women, marriage and dowry. Some selected samples are taken for case study analysis. However, interview method is used fro collecting life stories. No structured questionnaire was followed. Most of the stories are taken from neighbors and friends. Therefore,



observation is a big mode of data collection. Some secondary data is also included to show the rate of violence against women in Bangladesh.

### **3.3 Problems of Data Collection**

Domestic violence is a very sensitive issue. It is very difficult to collect information on domestic violence. Besides what is presented in the research report- is only a part of the actual picture. The major problems of data collected are

#### **Privacy**

As a result of the privacy of the respondent gets disturbed and the true picture of the respondents mind and thought do not come into expression. On the other hand shame, fear of reprisal make women reluctant to talk about violence.

#### **Reliability of data**

The data presented form secondary source is not reliable enough. Most of the information from newspaper is not reliable. The newspaper only covers the story of killing or serious violence. But it is only a part of the actual picture. Most of the cases remain unknown to us.

### **3.4 SAMPLES**

To identify the nature of domestic violence in Bangladesh, I have selected samples on three different categories. These are women in general, working women, and divorced. The help of secondary data is taken when it seems to me that primary data are not enough to explain the situation. Case study method is widely used both on the based on primary and secondary data. The background of the samples is enclosed in the Annexure.

# **CHAPTER-4**

## 4.1 Women in General

Marriage is a social contract made between a woman and a man as wife and husband. Here, religion plays a significant role in marriage. Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and Buddhism are the main religions of the country. About eighty five per cent of the population of the country is Muslim by faith. In Islam, the concept of marriage is similar to a legal contract. There is a formal offer to marry and a formal acceptance by the parties concerned. Like usual contracts, both parties-the women and the man agree. In Hindu religion 'marriage is seen as a holy union for the performance of religious duties and is a sacrament' (All Indian Reports (Bombay (SC) 81.Vol. 32 in Khan; 2001). According to Brierly in his "major Legal Systems of World", 'marriage regarded as sacrament by the Hindu religion was traditionally analyzed in Hindu law as gift of the wife by the parent to the husband; the wife being the object of the contract, did not have to consent' (Khan; 2001:83-110). Research report or even the study shows that the most dangerous and unsafe relationship in the family from a women point is the marital dyad. It also shows that couples trapped in a violent wedlock generally feature in newspaper of a crisis point which may be preceded by a long period of simmering violence. Wife abuse is the widest prevalent form of abusive violence suffered by Bangladeshi women in family. These types of violence start from the very day of her marriage.

### 4.1.1 Physical Violence

Physical violence involves the use of physical force with or without weapon. It appears that there is no set pattern in the type of violence and the use of objects in marital violence. However in cases of wife abuse, it appears that beating was perceived more as a punishment a teaching of lesson rather than an income to inflict serious wounds ending the relationship. The most common and frequent type of violence in the marital context is pushing and shoving. The other type of violence which follows are: slapping, kicking, and punching with a stick or whatever sticks like objects are available. Sometimes they also used a sharp object like knives or daos. Physical violence nearly always accompanied by psychological abuse, which can be demeaning and degrading.

#### **A case of Shaheen**

Shaheen was a twenty-seven years old woman and had been married for five years. Her husband Bazlo was a cleaner. She had a four years old boy. Shaheen's mother with her family also lived in the next house. Bazlo was known to everyone in our locality for his aggressive behavior towards his family. He beat

his wife very often, and sometimes pulling by the hair and kicking her. Last August he became very furious and torched her wife mercilessly because he lost some money and accused Shaheen for this. Later, some young boys of our locality decided to take action against him. Bazlo was a very clever man, he quickly made apology. Only after two months he shifted his house to a slum area and promised everyone not to beat her like that again. But he did not change his behavior. Only after few days Shaheen came back with his son to her mother and now trying to make a living by herself.

Bazlo had some other bad habits. He was convicted of having affair with other girls. But Shaheen never asked her husband anything about it. But her husband used to beat her at times of petty matters. Sometimes he was so cruel that it started bleeding.

Bazlo and Shaheen came from a poor family. Bazlo had an unhappy childhood and had the experience of having his mother beaten by his father. Sometimes he asked the neighbors the he did it to teach her a good lesson. Sometimes he asked to bring money from her mother whenever he needed money.

A perpetrator tried to rationalize his behavior. When he attacked his wife physically he always explained it as a right thing to do. Cultural ideology provides legitimacy for violence against women in certain circumstance. The study conducted by Boyce and Hertmann showed that there is a value that husbands can beat his wife and if he is not happy with her. Besides most of the time the perpetrator had a past experience of these type of behavior done by his relative or neighbors. The case of Rashada, which I have discussed later shows that her husband's family had a tradition of beating wives. A child in his adult life can repeat experiences during childhood, such as witnessing domestic violence. Violence may be learnt as a means of resolving conflict by imposing it on the victim. The physical punishment of wives has been particularly sanctioned under the notion of entitlement and ownership of women.

#### **4.1.2 Psychological Violence**

Psychological violence is committed against wife by using psychological weapons such as verbal treats of violence against the victim or a person dear to her, forcing the victim to degraded herself, excessive controlling, curtaining and disruption of routine, social relationship, access to money, verbal insult and so on. Physical violence is all most always accompanied by psychological abuse. Women often assert that prolonged psychological abuse and degradation are more difficult to bear than physical pain (Crowell & Ann 1996 cited in UNFPA Report 2000:26). Some forms of psychological violence are discussed below.

#### 4.1.2.1 Verbal and Emotional Abuse

Verbal abuse and emotional abuse are very common in every society. An abuser may attack his wife just before the wife is going out the door. He may tell her that she is stupid, doesn't look nice, or otherwise tear down her ability to concentrate at work. He may call her several times during the day and remind her that she considers his day or his problems. Husbands use their verbal weapon to control her wife. The study conducted by Jahan (1994) showed that wife has to suffer if she fails to handle household affairs properly. She identifies some issues that usually fuel the verbal abuse these are handling of expense, care of the children, household affairs, suspicion, in-law troubles, childbirth, ill health of the wife, sudden financial loss, unsatisfactory relationship with co-workers etc.

Most of the time abuser accused their wives for everything. This type of psychological violence includes verbal abuse, verbal insult, threat of violence, and threat of divorce. In-law troubles can create a considerable problem for women in the family. Especially mother in law, sister in law, father in law and also brother in law cause trouble between husband and wife. Women suffer from illness more than the husbands. Most of the time, they suffer from the complexity arises from giving birth to her children. It causes dissatisfaction and wives sometimes are scolded for their ill health.

##### **A case of Rabea**

Rabea was a student of the Department of Sociology, University of Dhaka, when she was married. Her husband, Shahidullah was an Assistant Professor of the Department of Statistics. Rabea was the third child of her parents. It was an arranged marriage. During her marriage an uncle from the bridegroom family told Rabea's parents to give some money instead of the furniture they might give to the groom. Rabea's parents agreed. But problem started from the wedding day. Shahidullah's father was not happy with the hospitalities given by the Rabea's father. After few days, the mother in law started asking for furniture. Rabea's father gave them the money to buy furniture but she did not stop. Rabea worked in the kitchen, did all watching and cleaning to make her mother-in-law happy. But all her efforts failed to stop her. She was always telling lies about Rabea to her son and her husband. They did not like Rabea to visit her parents. She did it without telling it to her husband. Her father in law never liked her going anywhere with her husband. Verbal abuse was a matter of every day's life. Her husband never protected her and sometimes joined with his parents. They always blamed her for everything. Although she was a very nice looking healthy woman they blamed her for not having a child yet, for not so nice looking and not being so healthy. She said that I was just like a maidservant in that family. After two years, she came back to her parents and decided to get a divorce. Her family agreed with her and provided all necessary supports. Now she is working as a counselor investigator in American Embassy.

An abuser always thinks that he is better than the victim or she is not worth of him. It makes him to condemn her always for everything she does. Here Reabe's husband tries to make Rabea understand that she is not pretty enough for her or he could have marry a better wife. An abuser does these to make the wife feel ashamed of herself and to make her more obedient. Rebea came of a middle class family and both of the families are highly educated. But the abusive behavior experienced by her is more or less same by the other women of other socioeconomic statuses.

#### **4.1.2.2 Control over Movement**

An abuser sometimes tries to lock up his wife, as he doesn't like his wife to talk with other people. Usually he does not trust his wife. Being very suspicious they locked up their wives. Abuser thinks that his wife may have a relation with somebody else and so it is wise to control her movement. Sometimes they do it out of anger to take a revenge on his wife or somebody else. Reta was a victim of such abusive behavior by her husband.

#### **A case of Reta Begum**

Reta begum was married to a police constable. Her home district was in Barisal. On her wedding day, one of her relatives told something unpleasant to her husband. Actually she was joking with him. But he took it very seriously and took revenge. He didn't let his wife visit her parents for three years and always locked up her when he was out. It was difficult for Reta to bear such an insult. He sometimes used to insult his in laws. Everybody knew him for his bad temper. But Reta always kept quite. Reta told me that except this he was good to her and caring. After three year when their first child was born he change his mind and let his wife and child visit his in laws.

Doing whatever they like without thinking about his wife's feeling is another side of the abusers' behavior. They consider wife like other properties they posses. They never respect their wives emotions, likings or disliking. Their ego is the most significant issues to them. Wives have to suffer a lot to save their honors. They have to stop taking to the people that their husband thinks not well. Abusive husband may not allow her to visit her parents and relatives at times she need. Every time they need permission from their husbands to visit parents. The case of Rabea is another example that I have discussed earlier.

#### **4.1.2.3 Curtaining and Isolation**

An abuser may try to isolate his wife socially. He may not like his wife to go outside. He uses various devices to stop her wife going outside or to keep wife at home (et al. Brandwein 1999:81-85 and et al. Dobash and Dobash 1998:33-35). Sometimes he may use false religious interpretation or remind her that her

responsibility is to handling household activities and bearing and rearing children. Sometimes they forced their wives to stop going to work. They don't allow their wives to visit their relatives and friends; and make their wives think that they should be always available at home for them.

### **A Case of Zakia Begum**

Zakia Begum was married to an Imam who worked for a mosque at Ibrahimpur in Dhaka. Since her marriage she has been facing various problem. She had been married for seven years when I meet her. She had two children - a son of about five years old and a daughter of about one and half year. She lived in a small rented room of about fifteen square feet, as her husband could not afford more than that. She had no separate kitchen and she had to cook in that room. During summer there are extremes of temperature but she could not open the window. If she did it her husband scolded her and shut the window. Sometimes the heat became unbearable. The window was at the roadside. If she kept the window open people from the street might look inside the house. Therefore her husband always forced her not to open the window. He also did not like his wife to visit neighbors and never allowed her to go to marketplace. Sometimes she protected but it was no uses but worsen the situation. He used false religious interpretation to keep her at home.

Conservative observers of society believe that when women should be kept at home otherwise they become disrespectful and no longer adhere to male dominance. Women have to face the traditional barriers and cultural hangovers that keep them at home. They receive confusing and contradictory messages about their gender roles from the family, peers, neighborhood and society. It makes women feel insecure and powerless.

### **4.1.3 Sexual Violence**

Sexual abuse and rape by husband is not considered a crime in Bangladesh and the assumption behind this, is that once a woman enters into a contract of marriage, the husband has the right to unlimited sexual access to his wife. But sexual harassment by some other person with the consent of husband is highly condemned by the society and it is considered as a punishable offence. Some husband forced their wives to have relationship with his friends or tried to earn some money. They use wives as mean to earn his living.

### **A case of Rahima**

Four years ago, Rahima got married to Ali Akbar at the time, used to work as a bus contractor. Akbar took Rahima to *Chittagong* and they started living in a rented house in the *Bayjid Bostami* colony under *Panchlaich Thana*. Akbar supplied sex-workers to a regular client. His second wife Banu Akter was his loyal partner on his illegal business. Akbar wanted Rahima to involve in prostitution. When she refused to comply with his orders, she was beaten up. She complained to the local elites many times about her predicament, but fearing unpleasant repercussion nobody came to Rahima's rescue. One day Rahima lodged a complaint to the police. The police raided Akbar's usual hangouts, tag along Rahima with them to identify her husband. But having received word of Rahima's visit to the police station, Akbar went into hiding. Since she went to the police, Rahima took refuge at a relative's house. The following day she went to Akbar's house to collect her personal belongings. As soon as she entered, Akbar and his friend Monto followed her and locked the room. Then they started attacking her and indiscriminately with sharp weapons. The injuries she received were overwhelming. Attempted had also been taken to separate her right ear from the head. Her ear was critically damaged. They dumped her body on the railway tracks right behind the Bangladesh Oxygen Office in *Chittagong*. The railway police rescued her body and took her to the hospital. She was under treatment in the hospital for three months. Rahima returned to her father's house with the help of hospital staff. Later Raunaq Jahan, the project coordinator of the Women Health Coalition, arranged for Rahim's operation and rehabilitation in another organization.

Here the husband married her only to use her as a sex worker. He forced her to work as a sex worker but she refused to do so. She tried to stop him and failed. Finally, informed the police and attacked by her husband. Using wife as a mean of income is not very unusual in our society. Dowry is one of them. But sexual harassment or using as a sex working is relatively new phenomena in the society. Wife is not considered as a partner but as a sex object to earn money.

#### **4.1.4 Suicide**

Suicide is one of the leading causes of mortality among women worldwide. More than 300,000 women kill themselves every year. In developing countries, it is the second highest cause of death among women 15-44 years of age (Yusuf, Akter, Rahamn, Elihi and Rochat; 2000). UNFPA report 2001 considered domestic violence as a frequent cause of suicides among women. One study found that one fourth of all suicide was preceded by abuse (UN 1995. Population and development, vol. 1: Programme of Action adopted at the international Conference on Population and development: Cairo, 5-13 September 1994, Paragraph 8.25, cited in UNFPA report 2001:29). The study conducted by Boyce and Hartmann showed that suicide in Kanti and Borobari (Two villages) is a long



and exclusively female one spanning both rich and poor. Most of the time the causes are household dispute, dowry, polygamy, insult, physical violence etc (Boyce and Hartmann 1990, Prothom Alo 2000).

Ain O Salish Kendro (a local NGO) provides data on the suicide followed by dowry related violence.

### Suicide

Ain-O-Salish Kandra  
Documentation Unit

Year/Age	Below 25	25-30	30+	Not mentioned	Total
1996	2	-	-	-	2
1997	2	-	-	6	8
1998	5	-	-	2	7
1999	4	-	1	-	5
2000	2	2	-	5	9

**Source** Aiker Kagoj, Bhorer Kagoj, Sangbad, Ittefaq.  
Janakantha, Inqilab, Dinkal, Banglabazar and Daily Star.

The data provided above only shows the incidence of suicide relating to dowry. It indicates that the number of suicide is increasing. But dowry may be only one reason of suicide there are many other reason responsible for suicide. The helplessness of woman made them think that killing herself is the proper solution of her problem. An abuser provides the fire, socio cultural environment provide the fuel and the victim sets fire on herself.

### A case of Reheba

Raheba was about 29 years old when she committed suicide. She had a very unhappy married life with her abusive husband. It was her second marriage. She was first married to a Kabir Rahman who was working in Singapore. Her parents arranged the marriage. After fifteen days of their marriage her husband left for Singapore. He was supposed to take his wife later but instead of taking her he stopped contacting her. She was living with her parents in Muhammadpur. Her in laws never came to visit her. When she went to visit them they treated strangely. One year later her husband came back from Singapore and didn't go to fetch her or even did not let her know about his arrival. She was always living with her parents and never received any maintenance from her husband. When she noticed that her husband had come back from abroad she went to her in laws family and for the first time she understood that they did not want to continue the marriage.

They told her that she was not good and nice enough for the family. They were looking for another bride for their son. She felt ashamed and finally she asked for divorce.

Two years later, she was married again. It was not an arranged marriage. She was working in a private organization where she met somebody whom she was in love with. Only after two months of her marriage she realized that she was being cheated. Her present husband had another wife in the village and she was his second wife. He wanted to take the money she earned and started insulting her. She was very unhappy and always blamed herself for being married again. She could not bear such insult. One day she hanged herself with a ceiling fan.

Here two abusers had cheated her. When she was first married to Kabir the family and her husband did not accept her. Although it was an arranged marriage, they suddenly changed their mind the reason behind this was not identified. Getting a divorce was not that difficult for her as her parents provided her all necessary support. She had to face other difficulties that every divorcee faced in our society after divorce. She was the one who was to be blamed. No matter what happens the liability always fall upon the women. But she tried once more. This time she chose somebody by herself and being cheated again. Her second husband was very abusive.

When violence and ill treatment are persistent features of a woman's life, suicide becomes their ultimate choice. Making a good marriage is the solo responsibility of a woman in our society and if she fails not only the society but also she herself holds her responsible for this. This is the perpetrator who led her towards such demise. Here a victim feels helpless, as society never provides her the shelter she needed for survival.

#### 4.1.5 Femicide

Femicide-murder of women by their batterers-is another phenomenon that should be reflected as a separate category when recording domestic Violence. Marriage is regarded as a sacred institution that must be protected at all costs. In the eyes of society a women ultimate goal to life is to make a good marriage and a broken marriage is invariably attributed to an inadequacy on her part. So she tries her best to make a good marriage but she is always not become successful. Sometimes, she has to lose her life for making a good marriage.

Murdered by husband is the notable domestic violence against wife in these days. The following data shows the number of recorded killing husband by her husband.

Domestic violence  
Murdered by husband  
Ain-O-Shalish Kendra  
Documentation unit

Year / Age	11-25	26-30	30+	Not mentioned	Total
1996	17	4	5	8	34
1997	90	23	27	39	179
1998	73	69	25	33	200
1999	115	79	18	34	246
2000	80	53	25	68	226
Total	375	223	100	182	885

**Source** Ajker Kagoj, Bhorer Kagoj, Sangbad, Ittefaq, Janakantha, Inqilab, Dinkal, Banglabazar and Daily Star.

- The data shows that the age between 11 and 25 is the most frequent victim of domestic violence in Bangladesh.
- The number of murder is increasing day by day
- The rate of murder drastically increased after 1996

### **A Case of Dolly**

Nargis Akhtar Dolly of Naranyanganj got married for a year but lived with her mother. Her husband Ismail Hossain, a driver of General Insurance Company never gave her expenses. A few months before the incident took place he rented a house for them but he had a male friend living with them. Suddenly one day he left her again this time stranded in their new house with two months rent due.

For a long time she could not trace him out. Finally she found that he was living on the top floor of a four-storied house in Maghbazar with friends. She went to him urging him to return and give her money to pay the dues, he assured her some money and ask him to return the next day. She brought her younger brother, who was mentally handicapped along with her. Hossain was talking to them on the roof and asked the brother to bring some water for him from the room, meanwhile Hossain and his friends pushed Dolly off the roof. Unfortunately her's was not an instant death. She fell on the gate and her legs were pierced into the iron rod on the gate, she remained hanging on the gate like that for two hours until slowly she bled to death. The police came and bought her dead body down. No neighbor came to her rescue, no one bothered to ask for her statement. Because there was no witness to the murder and the statement of a mentally handicapped child is no witness to the murder they escape. Moreover he was inside the room when the incident was taken place. Police instead of looking for the real criminals locked up the brother (Star magazine, July 31- August 6. 1998).

Wife is socialized to prepare for paying any price to keeping the marriage going. Sometimes they do it at the cost of life. The immediate causes of murder vary widely. Dowry is one of the biggest causes of murder. There are other causes such as household dispute, handling expenses, childcare etc. Aggressors committing extreme violence against women have different Psychological characteristics than others. Here we find that the perpetrator is not living a normal life. He sometimes lives with his friends and his source of income is totally identified. A study conducted by Begum and Rahamn (1998) showed that the aggressors committing violence against women were significantly weaker moral and religious values compared to non-aggressors. Obviously the weak moral and religious values have made them less inhibited in engaging themselves in violent acts such as rape murder etc.

## **4.2 Working Women**

The number of women working outside is increasing day by day. From the lower class to the upper class everywhere women are working outside their home. The garments sector is totally based on female labor force. Women are also working in the construction sides both in rural and urban areas. The middle and upper class women are working in banks, educational institutions, media, civil service, and multi national companies and in NGOs. It helps them to become economically empowered but the oppression against them is not reduced in some cases it has increased.

### **4.2.1 Violence resulted from Handling Various Responsibilities**

Women has increased share in income, producing activity but there has been little change in the division of other domestic responsibilities, even in those countries where the needs is most recognized and the domestic partnership theories are most promulgated (Women 2000: No.3, 1988:13). A study indicated that a North American father contributes only one fifth of the increased workload resulting from the presence of a child less than 10 years of age in a family (Palties: 1987:34). These burdens are more devastating in Bangladesh. Here, men are not accustomed in handling household affairs or even taking care of children. Man always looks down upon the household activities and think it is not mans job. So a women worked outside has to look after her children and also handle the household affair alone. It increases her workload and sometimes she fails to mange everything properly. Most of the time, husbands instead of helping the wife started to accuse her for not being a good house maker.

Besides a workingwoman faces considerable troubles from her in laws. Sometimes, they are not willing to see their daughter in law working outside. There are some husbands who are not allowing her wife to earn some money.

### **A Case of Dilara Begum**

Dilara Begum joined in a private bank after two years of her marriage. She had to work in the office from 9:00 am to 7:00 pm in every working day. She had a son of about six months old. She has to do all household activities - cooking, watching, cleaning and taking care of her child. Sometimes relatives and friends visit their house so she had to take care of them also. Once her son became seriously ill she had to wake up all the night but her husband never came to help her. The child cried all the night. She has to everything by herself. If she failed to do anything in time her husband blamed her.

Almost all workingwomen face this sort of problem. The traditional division of labor makes husbands think that it is the wife's responsibility to all household activities. They may allow their wives to help him by earning some money for the family but not allow themselves to work in the kitchen. Many men think that it is shameful to help women in the kitchen. Women are born to work in the kitchen and to bear and rear children. A wife who works outside is always overloaded with responsibilities.

## **4.2.2 Financial Abuse**

Workingwomen may have more problems with their husbands in the handing of household expenses. Some times husband denied providing money for household expenses. Therefore the wife suffers a lot. She has to take care of the children, handling household activities, performing the duties of a wife and overall providing maintenance for the family.

### **A Case of Nabila**

Nabila is an officer of a private bank. She was married three years ago. She has a son of one year old. Her husband works for a private organization. Her husband doesn't give her money for handling the expenses. He never took her to doctors when she was pregnant. When she was in the hospital for delivery didn't want to pay the bill. For his son he once visited the doctor and it was done only after his wife's request. He always avoids spending money and forced his wife to spend money for his parents and relatives. It becomes very difficult for Nabila when she needs money. Sometime she borrows money from her colleagues and relatives. Her husband gave her money only two times after their marriage. If she asks him what is he doing with the money her husband explain that he is saving money for her and for their son.

A workingwoman also face considerable trouble from her husband because they are not always intended to pay for household expenses. One of the samples Dilshad Begum, said her husband stopped giving money for household expenses since she joined the service. There are many husbands who like to take money from their wives for various purposes. Wives do not always have the freedom to spend her money as the way by the husband. Habiba Khatun, domestic worker, informed me that her husband takes all her money so she always tries to keep her income away from her husband. Her husband thinks that she sends money to her parents and will spend them for unnecessary purpose. If he can take the money he will be able to use it for some necessary purpose.

### **4.2.3 Violence Resulting from Suspicion and Jealousy**

Wives suffer a lot for husbands' jealousy and suspicious behavior. They always keep an eye on their wives so that they could not have any adultery relationship with other. Wives of all jealousy and suspicious husbands' have experience but those who work outside has to face it seriously.

#### **A case of Kakoli**

Kakoli understood that it was very difficult for her husband to provide the maintenance for the whole family. So she started searching for a job. She managed to get a job in a local school. She had to go there every morning. One day she noticed that her husband was following her and he watched her from a distance. Only after few days, he began to ask her about her male colleagues. He became very controlling and did not like her relative or friends around. She had a grandfather who loved her very much and used to visit her often. He began to use insulting word about him. He became increasingly abusive. She realized that her husband become suspicious. Finally she left her job.

Abuser's jealousy and suspicious nature is another cause of domestic violence in the society. Workingwoman is the frequent victim of use violence. Usually he is suspicious of everything and everybody. Some abusers use verbal insults, threat their wives with separation, divorce and second marriage.

### **4.3 Divorced Women**

A divorced woman is the most deprived and vulnerable woman in society. She faced scandal and her family always held her responsible for separation. In the

eyes of society, a woman's ultimate goal in life is to make a good marriage and a broken marriage is attributed to and inadequacy on her part.

### 4.3.1 Difficulties in Getting Divorce and Sabotage

Getting a divorce is very not easy for woman in our society. She may not get support for her relatives. Most of the time she is the one who is blamed for getting a divorce. There are some legal-discriminations in the society. In village, a man can divorce his wife by pronouncing *Talaq* (I divorce you) three times although it is not legally granted. But if a woman wants to get a divorce she to prove in the court that she is physically injured by her husband etc. She can divorce her husband without going to the court only in case of written permission (*Talaq-e-Tafweez*) in 'Kabin' provides her the power to divorce her husband (Bhuiyan, 1986:7). Sometimes pressure comes from the part of the husband to keep the marriage going on. They use sabotage attack on their wives for the survival of their ego.

#### A Case of Sazeda

Sazeda Rehman was married to a businessman, named Firowz Hossain in 1993. Sazeda was the forth child of her parents and her father was a very big businessman living in Banani. After marriage she spent most of her time in her fathers residence at Banani and never told anybody what was her problem. Nine years had passed one day she told her younger sister that her husband was addicted to heroin and some other drugs and it was very difficult for her to cope with him. She tried several times to stop him but failed. Her husband had some other physical problems. Doctors claimed that they would not be able to take children. So she always avoided her husband and her family members. Sazeda's younger sister, Farhana encouraged her to take a decision and let it know everybody. Finally she decided to get a divorce. But it was not easy for her as her elder sister and her husband did not want the divorce. She had lost her father some day ago and now her elder sister (*murabbi*) and her husband become very important persons for their family, as they have no elder brother. Her elder sister and her husband was the matchmaker and it would socially degrade them if she gets the divorce. It became more difficult when her husband realized that her wife was going to divorce him finally. He started crying over the telephone, and threatening that if she did so he would hang himself etc. It really frightened her and she also know that he would not change him if her go back to his house.

Threat of death and suicide are the ultimate weapon of sabotage. When a woman decides to leave an abusive relationship she faces considerable trouble. Husband tries to convinced wife and if he fails to succeed he uses sabotage attack.

### 4.3.2 Socially disgraced

A divorced woman is socially disgraced. She is looked down upon by her family members and by the society. If she wants any legal remedy her character is questioned in court but not her husbands'.

I have discussed the stories of Rabea, Rasheda, and Masuda. All the ladies got their divorce from their husbands and everybody blamed their husbands for telling false stories and lying about them. Rabea's husband tells their relatives and friends that she does help her mother in handling household works. She has a very bad temper and ill health. Rasheda's husband had lodged a false case against her and hold her responsible for stealing money. After divorced Masuda's husband started telling stories that she had a habit of spending too much and send money to her parents. He also blamed her for bad tempered. When Sazeda tried to get a divorce from her husband her husband began to make story of having adulterous relation with a men.

Divorce is condemned in Bangladeshi society so an abuser always tried to escape it. They hold their wives responsible for the divorce. Most of the time they made some false stories about their wives, as the reasons are not enough for the society to blame their wives. It also makes their second marriage easier. Rabea's husband married only after few months of their divorce. So did Masuda's husband. The case of Sazeda is a different one. Her husband doesn't want to lose his face in the society therefore he instigates to make some story.

A divorced woman has to face a lot in the society. Sometimes she is not accepted in her own family. She has to make a living by herself. Besides the perpetrator is degrading her socially that makes her absolutely vulnerable.

### 4.3.3 Child Custody Dispute

After divorce the children custody often result in bitter and hospital battle between husbands and wives. It causes a lot of suffering to the mother. Under both Muslim and Hindu laws, a father is considered the natural guardian. Under Islamic law the mother can have custody of a male child till he is seven after which the father gain custody and female child who has reached puberty. Courts have ordered that women access to their children in court buildings, lawyers, chambers and after in the presence of the father and both parties lawyers. But it is not so easy to gain a verdict in her favor. Sometimes husbands usually ignore them and tried to harass his ex-wife. A mother intense pain and agony knows no bound when she is separated from her small children. A mother's life and home are broken, she has a stigma attached to her name, and she loses her reputation.



### **A case of Serina**

Serina, a British citizen, was married to a Bangladeshi and come to Bangladesh with her husband and four children. Six months later her husband abducted the children, issued a Muslim notice of divorce to Serina. She returned to England and obtained orders for custody of her children but her husband ignored it. They then started proceedings the High Court of Dhaka in July 1995. After a long struggle she was allowed to see her children for a few minutes in the opposites parties chamber and her next access was for two hours in her lawyers chamber with her ex-husband. Finally, she received an order giving her custody of her three younger children, but not the eldest child.

### **A case of Samia**

When Samia and her husband had a divorce their son was eighteen month old. Four months following the divorce Samia's husband look their son under the pretence of a visit and refused to send him back to her. Samia failed a case in family court after eight months the judge ruled in her favor. Her husband appeal in this situation and she again won custody when her son was three years old. Unfortunately, she was victimized by miscommunication and negligence of the legal system itself; her lawers failed to inform her about notices asking her to appear in court. With the help of Ain-O-Shalish Kendra she challenge the courts decision. Samia's son is now five year's old and the case is still pending in court. She could only see her son occasionally.

## **4.4 Specific Type of Violence**

There is some other violence that needed to be mentioned separately.

### **4.4.1 Dowry Related Violence**

The definition of the term 'dowry' in the Dowry Prohibition Act is 'property or valuable security given or agreed to be given as consideration for the marriage of the parties'. Dowry is a very old phenomenon in this subcontinent. In Hindu religion there is no property right for daughters. During the wedding, bride's father gives bridegroom some money and other gifts. This is usually known as dowry. Forty years ago, the dowry system was not prevalent among Muslims in rural Bangladesh. In Islam, Muslim man has to pay *Deenmahar* to the bride during marriage. Ramakrishna Mukhejee, in his pioneer study of Bengal villages in the early 1940s, reported that the giving of bride prices (*Deenmahar*) among Muslims was declining, and that the dowry system, a traditional practice among upper-caste Hindus, was making its first appearance among the better-off Muslim families (Mukherjee, R 1971:272-5 cited from Hartmann, B and Boyce, J, K, 1990:83). Now days the dowry system plays a key role in most wedding

arrangement of Muslim family. The size of the dowry has become a status symbol to some families. Some of the families don't consider it as an illegal or shameful. Sometimes there is a contract made by the parties on the dowry demands and some times there is no such agreements but later the bridegroom or his family started demanding the dowry. Dowry is widely practiced in all social class regard less to their educational background or level of income. The study shows that even a university teacher receives dowry from his father in law. For women, marriage is more of a social compulsion and often takes place in response to sudden economic crisis or social vulnerability of external nature. For men, it is often part of a livelihood strategy to undertake ambitious economic plans at the expenses of their wives (Matin 1998:8). Most secondary data shows that the most violent form of violence has been resulted form dowry specially, which involves money. Dowry related violence started from a mild verbal abuse to killing or burning.

According to Roushan Jahan and Mahmuda Islam, the second highest number of women became victim of violence due to non-payment of dowry (Jahan and Islam 1994: 70). The Dowry prohibition Act 1980 was passed to eradicate dowry system and declared it as a punishable offence. But data provided by different study groups shows that the number of dowry related violence has been increasing day by day.

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>Number of incident recorded</b>
1996	77
1997	177
1998	239
1999	253
2000	281

Source: Ain O Salish Kendro

Ain-o-Salish Kendra provides data on dowry related violence shows how brutal it could be. The data relating to dowry related violence in 2000 shown in the next page.

## Dowry related violence 2000

Ain-O-Salish Kandra

Documentation Unit

Criteria\ Age	0-12	13-18	19-24	25-30	30+	Not mentioned	Total	%
Physical torture		8	18	8	1	32	67	23.84
Death from physical torture		18	64	40	8	46	179	63.70
Acid throwing	2	2	5	3	1	5	18	6.41
Suicide		1	1	2		5	9	3.20
Rape		1				1	2	0.71
Abandoned			1	2		3	6	2.14
Total	2	30	92	55	10	91	281	100

Source: Ajker Kagoj, Bhorer Kagoj, Sangbad, Ittefaq.  
Janakantha, Inqilab, Dinkal, Banglabazar, Daily Star.

But the number of death is very high within the period of one year. In the following figure, it is tried to find out the relationship between the age and the victim of dowry violence. It is quite high at the age of 16 to 26. Also other types of violence are high against the women at these ages. Death by physical torture is the highest recorded incident of violence. It covers percent of total dowry related violence against women in the year 2000.

## Different Ways of Giving or Receiving Dowry

The study identified four different ways of giving and receiving dowry. The upper class and the educated families don't use the term dowry. They like giving and receiving valuable things and consider it as a custom of marriage or status symbol. The case of Rabea is one of them where the educated parent doesn't consider giving or receiving valuable things as dowry but it caused problem after marriage. This sort of attitude helps to spread the evil very quickly. There are many ways of giving or receiving dowry. The ways are

- i) Receiving money
- ii) Taking Land or other property
- iii) Giving a job to the bridegroom
- iv) Giving jewelry, furniture or other things

### **i) Giving or Receiving money**

Saira Rahman Khan (2001) blamed the rising unemployment young males in the rural Bangladesh. Her study disclosed that some parents take dowry to send their son to the Middle East or sometimes to invest capital in the business. A Praptti from Nartsindi wrote in a daily newspaper that she was a victim of dowry. The prospective bridegroom's family always demanded money and valuable jewelry. They said that they had to spend a lot of amount of money for the bridegroom's education so it was the time to get the return from the prospective bride's father (The Daily Ittafaq, 2<sup>nd</sup> February, 2002). The incident of receiving money is also available both in the rural and urban area.

### **A CASE OF AASHA**

Aasha was the second child of her parents. She passed her Master of Science degree from National University. Now her parents were looking for a suitable husband for her. Her family members never considered receiving or giving dowry as an illegal act. They had given dowry money of about two-lak taka to the husband of their first daughter (Aasha's elder sister). Now they were facing various problems with the marriage. They had to give money whenever the husband needed it. Aasha was working as a spoken English teacher in a spoken English school and earned a little amount of money. Her parents were very eager to arrange a marriage for her. She had a young sister passed higher secondary certificate examination. They were also trying to arrange marriage for her. Sometimes, groom's family visited their house to watch the prospective bride. Her family didn't bother to send both of the sisters together in front them to choose their prospective bride between them. It became very difficult for Aasha to face the situation. When she was talking to me she was crying. Last December her parents arrange a marriage ceremony. Her prospective groom was a businessman named Sariful Islam. He passed his Master degree from Dhaka University. He demanded two-lak taka from her parents. They agreed to give him the money. The parents of the prospective groom decide to hold the marriage after one month (because it was Ramadan) but the groom demanded the money at once. He said that he needs the money immediately for his business. Aasha's Father did not agree, he informed Sariful Islam that he could take the money only after the marriage. He agreed and fixed the date of the ceremony on 4<sup>th</sup> Ramadan. Sariful Islam took some money from Aasha's father, as he had no money to do the shopping for marriage. After shopping Sariful went to his home district Noakhali to fetch his parents. But his parents denied coming, as they didn't like the marriage to be held at Ramadan. Aasha's father became very anxious as he already invited guest for the marriage ceremony and sent his son-in-law, Shibli to see about the matter. Shibli managed them somehow and brought them. Every thing was going very fine. The most shocking new came after the *Gayee Halod*

party. The bridegroom demanded five-lak taka. They tried to change the decision of the bridegroom but failed. The amount was very big for Aasha's father. Finally Aasha's father decided to put an end to it. This was not an end Aasha's father still looking for a bridegroom for Aasha. It had become too difficult for him as once the marriage was arranged for her. Aasha was feeling ashamed and she told me that a woman could not bear such an insult.

In Bangladeshi society, when an arranged marriage is declared and then if it is cancelled whatever the reason it has the absolute blame fall upon the girl. Aasha is facing the same problem now. She has a very unfavorable situation in her own family. She explained the situation as a bargain that usually take place in a market. Her father told her that boys are very expensive. When he arranged the marriage for her, she was opposing the dowry but her father told her that such a boy was difficult to buy at such a low price (only two lak taka) so it would be wise for her to agree. But it is not the boy who thinks that he is being sold but the girl. And here his father doesn't like to give the share of his property to his girl child. The above study also disclosed that her father gave her education but didn't want to spend as much as he spent for his son. They wanted to give the money to the prospective bridegroom but not to their daughter. It reflected a kind of patriarchal attitude of the society.

## ii) Giving Jewelry, Furniture or Others

Giving jewelry, furniture or other valuable things are the most widely used from of dowry available in Bangladesh. Some of the groom's family mentions me that it is necessary to their face in the society. Some others say that it is a custom in our society so it is not necessary to ask for jewelry and furniture. The groom feels pride if he gets valuable gifts from his father in law and like to discuss it with his friends and colleagues. Sometime neighbors and relatives come to see what he gets from his father in law. Most of the educated families say that they dislike dowry but they encourage these sorts of behaviors.

### **A Case of Runu**

Runu was 27 years old when she was married. Her father died when she was sixteen. Runu was the second daughter of the family. Runu is an M Phil student of a College and also working in a Buying House at Banani as a computer operator. Her younger sister a first year honors student and her younger brother is a college student. The only earning member of the family was their elder brother, an army official living in Jessor Cantonment with his wife and children. Runu got married in November 1998 with a Shamun Ahmed, working in a buying house at

Banani. Runu's mother spent a big amount of money to buy furniture and ornaments for her daughter in the wedding. But when Runu went to her in law's house she knew that they were expecting a color television also. Shmun's elder brother in his marriage ceremony got a color television from his father in law. Runu's mother was not aware of it. Now, verbal abuse becomes a matter of every day's life to Runu. The mother was feeling guilty, as it was not possible for her to buy a color television because her elder son already denied spending more money for her sister.

This is a very common picture in Bangladesh. A valuable gift for the groom and the bride makes the family happy. They show it to their neighbors and friends. It acts as a status symbol. It does differ whether the bride has education or not, have a job or not. Elora (working women) faced some difficulties after her marriage her mother in law ask for more furniture but she told me that I just keep quiet and her husband ask her for money to buy land. But when she refused telling that I have no money her husband become very angry and stared telling that she was lying. It was the first day when she was in her in laws house. There was no such agreement made before the marriage that the bride had to pay dowry but she face it. Later none of them raised this issue again.

#### iv) Giving Land or Other Property

Especially in the upper class, the custom of giving and receiving land or apartment is widely practiced. Sometimes the groom demanded to give it to him or sometimes demanded to give it to the prospective bride. But most of the cases the wife is not handling the property. Husband uses the income from the property and sometimes forced his wife to sell it or to give it to the bank for money.

#### A case of Munni

Munni was married to a government official when she was 24 years old. Her husband was her cousin. Her father has a fast land property in Dhaka. After the engagement her father in law demanded a five katha of land from her father. It was actually her husbands' demand. First her father who is also a government official refused to give the land. But the groom family made him to agree with their demand. After several heated sessions a compromise was reached. **Munni's** husband is the only son of his parents who has such a good job. His father is a farmer living in a village where the custom of giving dowry is very common. In the wedding her father in law played a very significant role in the bargaining.

Munni said she does have to face much trouble after her marriage for any more dowries but it was very difficult for her bear such an insult. She is always thinking that actually the property not she was married to her husband. She also noted that she did not suffer much as she is a relative to her husband. So he has some people in the family to protect her always.

#### iv) Giving Job to the Groom

Giving job is another type of dowry practice in the country. Unemployment problem is responsible for such type of dowry. But sometimes it causes various problems. Sometimes the wife is being divorced or physically and psychologically oppressed. Recruitment in this country is often biased to nepotism. We have very limited job opportunities so man sometimes marry in those family that can provide them job in a important position. Most of the time this marriage causes problem.

#### A case of Mazeda Begum

Mazeda Begum was married when she was about 17 years old. Her family was a very well to do family in the village and her uncles were civil servants working in different important position of ministries. She was married to a Nurul Islam from a village about seven kilometers away from her village. Nurul Islam was graduated but he had no job. Before the wedding, they demanded a job for their son. Mazeda's family took it very easily and agreed. Mazeda had a very black skin and she was not highly educated. Her family did like female education for some superstitious beliefs. Nurul did not like her black skin but he needed a job and he had some relationship with other women also. Only after few months she started facing problem. She experienced almost all type of violence such as physical, psychological, reproductive. She gave birth to a son when she was only 19 years old. Nurul Islam never wanted any more children. One day she forgot to put salt on the curry and it made him angry. He started shouting and beating her when her protest he pronounced divorce three times. It was so simple. Mazeda's relatives tried to fix it again but failed. He did not agree to take her. Their son was about ten years old and Nurul was not interest about his son. Mazeda wanted to have her son with her. Nurul Islam married twice after that divorce.

### **4.4.2 Polygamy**

Polygamy is permitted in Bangladesh. It is widely practiced in rural area. Both Muslim and Hindu people believes that it is approved by their religions. The concept of polygamy began as a result of the death of men in the battlefields of ancient Isalm. A Muslim would marry war widows or orphans to provide them

shelter and protection. Although there is no war or war widows some religious leaders continue to persist that polygamy as a fundamental right for Muslim women. Some Muslim Countries like Tunisia, Morocco and Iraq have declared polygamy illegal. Unfortunately, instead of banning the practice although, the Government of Bangladesh has sanctioned it even further by passing a law to regulate it (Saira 2001:86). In Hindu community polygamy is widely accepted.

Saira Rahman Khan (2001; 86) identifies two different reasons responsible for polygamy- the inability to bear children or a male heir and a men's unbridled lust.

A study conducted by Boyce and Hartmann show that some villager took second wife, as they were tired of the first wife but reluctant to divorce her. They explained that they need the first wife for taking care of children and doing household. The philosophy seems to be: keep the old one for work and the new one for sex (Boyce and Hartmann; 1990:89).

## A case of Masuda

Masuda was married when she was about eighteen years old. She was a very beautiful woman. Her husband was about 28 years old. Her in laws informed her father that the prospective groom had a job. But they were lying. After one year he get a job in a Mudrasha. She had to live with her father in laws' house more than seven years. She was a healthy women but her husband had some physical problems. But he denied visiting doctors not even allowed her wife to visit doctors. After fourteen years of her marriage, once his husband become seriously ill, he went to a hospital and the doctors identified the difficulties with him. Then he was given proper treatment and finally he overcame it. Only after few days he became pregnant but she failed to understand it. Her husband was taking her to a village doctor to see what was the problem with her. The village doctor was giving her some medicine made off plants. During fourth month of he pregnancy she lost her child and realized that she was carrying. She was taken to the hospital after 24 hours and the doctors were not ready to the surgery that was very urgent for her. After one month her relatives brought her Dhaka and admitted to a clinic. But it was to late she had already got an infection inside her. Doctor somehow saved her life but chance of being a month become a little bit difficult. Doctor asked her husband to bring her again after few months but he did not. He never spent money for her wife's treatment all the time her relative were supporting her. Four years passed like this her husband never took any step. Then her sisters brought her Dhaka for treatment again. At that time her husband didn't stop her to come. When her relatives admitted her in a hospital her husband went back to his place and married another woman. She tried to fail a case against his husband but she realized that her relative might support her for the time being. But there was no body to look after her after getting the divorce.



Here the story is that she does not have any child so her husband married but there are many stories that sometimes husband marry more than once having more than one child. The legal status of women in Bangladesh is not very favorable for women. Having permission from the Union Parishad member a husband can marry if he does not have any children. Masuda was asking me the if she filled a case against her husband would she going to have something from her husband that might be enough for her to living expenses. Getting a divorce is not easy for a wife who is economically depended on her husband. Besides social stigma made women unable to return to her paternal home.

#### **4.4.3 Violence against Reproductive Choice**

Parents like boy child and sometimes wives have to give birth quite a number of children until she become successful in giving birth to a boy. . A mother of a boy is more honored in the family. The case of Momena Begum shows that her mother had to give birth to eight children for another boy. This type of incidence is very high in the rural area where man sometimes gets married more than once if his wife fails to give him a baby boy. It is the mother who is hold responsible here for giving birth to a girl child. Mother has to suffer a lot for giving birth to a girl child. To often childbirth causes complexity and death of mother. Husband and in-laws sometimes forced mother to get an abortion in our country if they identify that the prospective child is a girl child. Mother has no say in deciding the number of children.

##### **A Case of Momena Khatun**

Momena Khatun was a 76 years old woman living in Bogra. She had eight children. Her first child was a boy and the rest of her children were girls. Her husband wanted another son so she had to give birth to seven more children. But she failed to give birth to a boy child. She never complained to anybody about it. When she gave birth to the seventh daughter her husband became very angry and she didn't go to see his baby girl.

Sometimes wife does not have any say in decision making in the family. They have no right deciding the number of children she is going to have. If she failed to give birth to a boy mother has to suffer a lot. She has to try again and again. In village, sometimes husband marry more than once for a male heir. (Saira Rahman Khan; 2001:127). Mother who gives birth to boy child becomes powerful person in the family and if she fails she is sometimes considered as worthless.

##### **A case of Shanaz Begum**

Shanaz Begum is about 45 years old woman living at East Raza Bazar in Dhaka. She received her master degree from University of Dhaka. Her husband is a

businessman and also highly educated. They are married 25 years ago. They have one son studying in Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology and one daughter studying in a college. Six years ago she became pregnant. She wanted to have the baby but her husband didn't like it. He forced her to have an abortion. It caused her many difficulties. Saida parvin has two children, one boy and a girl. It was four years ago, when she became pregnant, but her husband was not willing to have another child. So he forced her to get abortion. Later it caused many complexities and illness and she suffered a lot.

The case of Shanaz Begum also shows that wife are force to have abortion even if it causes serious complication. In Bangladesh most of the birth control program is to be the responsibility of women not the husbands and the decision is taken by the husbands.

#### **4.4.4 Giving birth to a Girl child**

Tremendous gender inequity is also rampant in the provision of parental and service to the children. Girl children are often neglected. If a mother gives birth to a girl child her in laws started looking down upon her. Male child is considered as future breadwinner and girl child a temporary guest who will leave home at marriage. Sometimes when a girl child was born her family refuse to take care of her. It causes a lot of suffering to the mother. It is important not to bear children- it is a question of family honor. In addition, when children suffer, their mothers bear the pain, and when children die, their mothers bear the blame (Kabir, 2001). A Raushan Ara from Uttara model Town wrote in a Daily new paper that one of her friends husband blamed her for giving birth to girl child and called her prostitute (The Daily Ittafeq, February 9, 2002). This is also a reason that men show for taking another wife.

#### **A Case of Neela Chowdhury**

Neela Chowdury has come from a very well to do family. Her husband family was also highly educated. She was the second daughter in law in the family. Their first daughter in law had one daughter when Neela Chowdhury gave birth to her first child. Unfortunately the child was a girl.

Her father in law was very angry he did not go to the hospital to see his grandchild. The family did not welcome the child. Only the young mother had to take the whole responsibility of handling the child. She didn't have any experience so she had to suffer a lot. When the child was only three months old

she become seriously ill. She was dyeing. Neela Chowdhury informed her mother and then her in laws take the matter seriously.

This type of violence is available not only in Dhaka but also everywhere in Bangladesh. The inequity is very high in rural area. This is one of the reasons of high girl child mortality rate in Bangladesh. The case of Roshana of a village, Kanti is one of them. Where her husband married her to have a male heir and she was beaten always for not being pregnant (Boyce and Hartmann: 1990:76-81). Sometimes women have to undergo a succession of closed spaced births for giving a birth to a breadwinner.

#### **4.4.5 Lodging a False Case**

Sometimes batterer lodge case against wife to embrace his wife. There are many reasons responsible for this. A batterer fills case against wife to take revenge. He does it to protect himself from being accused of beating or killing wife. The study finds out that when a batterer fill a case against his wife it becomes easy for him to protect himself. The case of Masuda shows that when she knew that her husband married another lady, she and her relatives decide to lodge a case against him. Knowing that her husband visited a lawyer to fill a case against her accusing her for taking money and jewelry. In Bangladesh a false case degrades a woman more than it degrades a man socially. A batterer does it to satisfy his vindictive streak.

##### **A case of Rasheda**

Rasheda was 28 years old woman living in Jessore. She was the eldest among her four sisters. She came of a middle class family. She was married when she was a student of class nine and had been married for thirteen years. Her husband, Zahid was an honors student as he was married. For the first six months of her marriage she lived a peaceful life. Later she came to know that her husband had an adulterous relation with his sister in law (wife of his brother). Zahid started beating her for nothing. He used to become angry for anything. He beat her all the time and screamed at her so much that the other women came to rescue her. After two years she became pregnant. Her husband didn't like it. He beats her often so that she might lose her child. Her mother in law was a kind lady. She always tried to protect Rasheda from her son's anger. Rasheda had a good relationship with other ladies of the house except that sister in law who had adulterous relation with her husband. The other brothers also beat their wives.

During her delivery she went to her parents house. She stayed there for five months after her son was born. Her husband and other relatives went to see her son once. She came back with her son when the child was five months old. Her husband was very angry to see her and tried to beat her but her mother in law

protected her that day. She started to live with her mother in law, as her husband didn't want to stay with her. One day her husband wanted a pot and she could not hurry. It made him very angry and started beating her. He beat her so severely that she started bleeding insight. Rasheda's mother in law admitted her to a hospital. She was there for more than six months and had to undergo a big surgery. Rasheda's husband and his family became anxious if any thing happened to her, her family might fill a case against them. So they first made a GD (General Dairy) and later lodge a false case against her accusing her for stealing money and jewelry. They had a position of power in the society so they could easily escape.

# **CHAPTER-5**

## 5.1 Government and NGO's Intervention

In the eighties, the increasingly vocal and wide spread demand for public action against gender violence has led to a series of steps and measures undertaken by the GOB and NGOs to reduce violence against women. Their activities can be broadly divided into two types.

SL	Government of Bangladesh	Non government organization
1.	Constitutional provision	
2.	Legislation	
3.	Enactment of New Law	
4.	Ministry	
5.	CEDAW	
6.	National Action Plan	
7.	National Policy for the Advancement of women	

SL	Support Service	
1.	Shelter house	1.1 Shelter house
2.	Rehabilitation	1.2 Rehabilitation
3.	Legal Aid	1.3 Legal aid
4.	Advocacy	1.4 Advocacy
5.	Counseling	1.5 Counseling
6.	Training	1.6 Sensitization
7.	Sensitization	1.7 Training
8.	Projects	1.8 Legal education 1.9 Media service

### 1) Constitutional Provision

Part III fundamental rights of the constitution provided basic safeguard for women. The provisions include the rights of women are

- i. Article 9: Women participate in local government
- ii. Article 10: Participation of opportunity for every citizen
- iii. Article 19: Equality of opportunity for every citizen
- iv. Article 29: Equal opportunity in public employment
- v. Article 65: Thirty seats exclusively for women member (MP)

## 2) Legislation

Different law and legislation are to compile violence. These are

- b. Child marriage restraint act of 1929.
- c. Muslim family law ordinance of 1961
- d. Muslim Marriage and divorce registration act of 1974
- e. Family court ordinance of 1985
- f. Dowry prohibition act of 1980 and its amendment of 1986
- g. Suppression of immoral trafficking act of 1993
- h. Women and children repression act of 1995

## 3) Enactment of New Law

Government time to time makes law regarding violence against women. The women and children repression act of 1998 is going to be passed by the parliament.

## 4) Ministry

- a) Ministry of home: It sets up four women investigation cells in four police station, staffed by women officers. The cells have been set up to facilitate women's accuse to the police. They receive complaints and carry out investigation.
- b) **Mowca:** It has a violence cell for national level.
- c) **Penal code:** The penal code traditional provides some anti-violence measure.
- d) **Nari Nirjatan protirod cell:** Nari Nirjatan protirod cell work specific cases.

## 5) CEDAW

Article 6 of CEDAW states to stop violence and trafficking of women and take different step to implement it Bangladesh has already ratified it.

## 6) National Action Plan

In the National Policy for the Advancement of Women adopted on 8<sup>th</sup> March 1997 that includes among 14 article of the policy article 3 directories involve the clause regarding violence against women.

### Support service

- 1) **Shelter house:** The department of women affairs is running a women's support center in Dhaka and in five divisional head quarters to provide shelter and other support. Jatiyo Mohila Sangstha, Mohila Parishad, Utsha Bangladesh and Protibha Bikash Kendra, Teresa HHome Provide shelter for women.
- 2) **Rehabilitation:** GOB has some homes for rehabilitation is terms of psychological counseling or even vocational training for suitable

employment. Bangladesh jatiyo Mohiola Ainjibi Samity and other NGOs provides rehabilitation facilities.

- 3) **Legal aid:** Legal aid cell of MOWCA, Ain-O-Salish Kendra, Mohila Ainjibi Samity, Mohila Parishad, BLAST provide legal aid support.
- 4) **Advocacy:** Samility Nari Samaj, a network of women's organizations works for lobbying and advocacy issues related to violence.
- 5) **Counseling:** The DWA runs a cell for providing counseling service and other NGOs, those provide legal aid also provide counseling service.
- 6) **Sensitization:** NGOs like BRAC, GSS, Proshika and institution like Grameen Bank implement programs for sensitization women. GOB also uses media for these purposes.
- 7) **Training:** All shelter houses provide adult literacy and skill training.
- 8) **Legal education:** GOB uses media BLAST, Mohila Ainjibi Samity and other NGOs provide it.
- 9) **Medical service:** Medical service such as Thana health complex, Mother Teresa Home and other missionaries provide medical service to the victims.
- 10) **Projects:** GOB is undertaking two projects to combat violence against women.
  - a) Raising awareness of women
  - b) Provide support to the victims.

## 5.2 Recommendations

Domestic violence is a complex phenomenon resulted from several complexes and interconnected institutionalized social and cultural factors, belief in the inherent superiority of males, lesser legal status of women. Considering the interconnections between the factors responsible for domestic violence strategies and interventions should be designed within a comprehensive and integrated framework. Ending domestic violence against women requires long-term commitment and strategies concerning all parts of society. Some immediate measures and strategies which are likely to initiate a process of change in attitudes values and practices, which would strengthen women's social position enhance their status, facilitates the achievement of gender equity, undermine the basis of the ideology of gender hierarchy, and unequal gender relation and ultimately succeed in reducing gender violence both at home suggested below:

### 1) Progressive Legislation

Laws have great symbolic value; progressive legislation especially in matters relating to family life must be promulgated. Their own religious and customary laws in matters relating to personal life govern the different communities of Bangladesh. Although they differ in a great extend they all have discrimination against women. So we need to draft special law having special remedies and



procedures. Appointments of an ombudsman who will undertake the responsibility of gender issue may facilitate the program. Besides law regarding banning the practice of polygamy, giving Hindu women the right of property should be made.

## **2) Legal Reform**

Khan (2000) has emphasized on reforming the existing law for the protection of women. The demand for legal reform should be a broad based one, coming not only from the women but also from a wide section of the society. Women's groups must motivate human rights organization, NGOs, political parties and rural communities to demand the abrogation of all discriminatory laws. Laws relating to divorce, Guardianship and custody need to be changed. Legal procedure needs to be simplified. Court fees should not be high; the time and expenses involving legal action should be minimized in order to be a viable option for women, especially poor women. Corruption in the lower judiciary and in the law enforcing agencies has already been discussed. Government and civil society should take more appropriate steps to check them.

## **4) Exemplary punishment**

Exemplary punishment should be given to persons found guilty for the crimes against women which deters punishment is provided for. Dowry related violence is increasing day by day. Government and civil society should have taken a joint venture to combat dowry violence. Besides extreme violence must be taken seriously. There ought to be a separate judicial set up to handle extreme violence against women. Exemplary punishment always plays an effective role in combating violence.

## **5) Setting up an Independent Law and Women Right Commission**

Government is always under pressure from different pressure groups. Therefore it becomes difficult for government to act independently. Moreover, religious extremists and patriarchal attitudes of the society influence the government. The practice of Fatwa could be an appropriate example. To investigate all existing law, drawbacks of legal system, and procedural complexity of administration an independent and separate Law and Women Right Commission should be set up. Law and Women Right Commission can guarantee implementation of laws. Different religious communities, women group, NGOs, academicians, experts and international women groups should represent the commission.

## **6) Providing Training to Combat Violence**

Domestic violence is a problem that is deeply rooted in the culture and societal attitudes. People from all walks of life are consciously or unconsciously contributing to the cultural and societal attitude working against women.

Therefore, government and other women groups to make people conscious about gender issue should introduce an extensive training program. Especially the media persons, film directors, teachers, Imam and other religious leaders, NGO workers, police and other people involved in law enforcing agencies should be included in the training program. The major objective of their involvement is to make their activities a gender neutral to initiate change in the attitude of the society.

#### **7) Marriage counseling**

Offering special session of marriage counseling should be given high priority consideration by NGOs, women organizations and grass root level bodies. In addition, they may organize informal open forum on family relations involving cross-generational repression. Marriage counseling can be a successful tool for reducing violence against women committed by their male partner. It has been using all over the world as an effective mechanism for solving crisis among partners. Naree Pokha is providing counseling service to the women survived from domestic violence.

#### **8) Encourage Continuing Research**

Domestic violence is a very poorly documented issue in Bangladesh. Although Domestic violence is available in all society and all classes there are significant differences in the magnitude and nature of the problem. Different types of strategies are needed to address the problem for different culture and society. Therefore research and documentation should be encouraged and undertaken by government, civil society and other research group in a very extensive manner. A national commission on the status of women including the situation of violence against women should be constituted comprising of experts in the field. An effective pulmonary step would be to require police files to keep gender disaggregated data crimes. The national census questionnaires should accommodate information on gender violence. It will help policymakers to take proper policy guideline and reinforces governments' silence.

#### **9) Re examining Religious Interpretation**

Religion plays an important role in the life of Bangladeshi women. Islam, Hindu, Christian and Buddhism are the major religions of the country. Religious leaders have a significant contribution in deciding the code of family life. There are some false religious interpretations regarding role of women in the society, status of women in married life, divorcing husband, guardianship etc. Some interpretation allows male violence against women in the family in a certain degree. In rural area, the religious interpretation becomes the most important issue in deciding status of women in the family. The religious leader describes curtaining, control over movement, psychological violence and physical violence as religiously accepted behavior. So we need to build up a religiously scholar society who can

provide us with the appropriate religious interpretation and re examine the interpretation of religious texts and doctrines from the perspective of promoting equality and dignity for women. Religious leaders at all levels have a responsibility to ensure that religious interpretations are not used to oppress women.

### **10) Strengthening Supportive Services**

I asked some of the victims “why don’t they leave their husbands?” –it may save their lives. Most of them answered that have no place to go, or there is no body to protect them. Women doesn’t want to become a burden of her father or brother’s family and they don’t have any source of income. GOB and NGOs are running various supportive services include shelter house, rehabilitation, legal aid, advocacy, counseling, sensitization, legal education and emergency medical treatment whenever needed. But it seems very limited for such large number of victims. The programs carried out by GOB and NGOs are not successful enough to bring sustainable development to the victims’ lives. A more extensive and comprehensive program has to be introduced. The program must have include following issues

- Ensure that all victims have a safe place to return,
- Expand service, seek and use survivor input,
- Increase the cultural and linguistic competence of community programs,
- Expand the availability of culturally competent and cultural specific services,
- Develop new leadership,
- Protect privacy and confidentiality,
- Inform policy makers,
- Build partnerships with community groups,
- Increase organizational capacity.

### **12) Reforming Education System**

Curricula that teach non-violence, conflict resolution, human rights and gender issues should be included in primary, secondary level, universities, professional collages, madrasha, other training settings. Both boys and girls should be given proper knowledge about their gender role, right and duties in the family. It will help boys to understand their role and responsibilities in the family; and make them respect their female partners. For girls these curricula can make them understand their role and reduce their confusion regarding gender role. It may be also helpful for changing the attitude of society that domestic violence is a private matter etc.

### **13) Propagating Values**

The whole cultural apparatus and media, newspaper, radio, television, films, literature are powerful instruments for propagating values regarding gender equity. These should be constantly monitored so that stereotype portrayal of women may be stopped. A strong egalitarian value should take place replacing the patriarchic values.

### **19) Lurching from Family**

A mother can act as an effective agent of change in social system. She can teach her children about the egalitarian norm, gender equity etc. This type of attribute can only be strongly built up in a family. So the consciousness rising of mother should be given more emphasized.

## **5.3 Concluding Remarks**

It is an everyday fact of life that a huge percentage of women all over the world are victims of domestic violence. Wife abuse knows no class, race cultural or religious distinctions. It is a legal, economic, educational, health, developmental and, above all, a human rights issue. The cycle of abuse, a pattern of reoccurring behaviors, is all too familiar to most victims of domestic violence. Some societies proscribe violence against women; the reality is that violence against women often sanctioned under the goals of cultural practices and norms, or through misinterpretation of religious tenets.

Violence against women has become a global phenomenon. As many as 15 million women all over the world had been abused at one time or the other during their lives. Beating by male partners is the single most significant cause of injury to women in the United State (Sha 1995:388). Bu the West has historically perceived South Asia as a bastion of violence patriarchy in which all women are subjugated and maltreated. The dowry death, the strict division of labor, curtaining, arranged marriage, son preference all manifested a relatively different from of domestic violence that need to be separately addressed.

Domestic violence against women is very pervasive in Bangladesh. A study conducted by Heise and Gottemoeller (1999) shows that Bangladesh stands in the second highest position in the case of beating wives. Bangladesh is a very gender insensitive region. There is insensitivity and apathy not only in the legal and judicial system but also in the society as a whole. It is still common for people to take domestic violence for granted and conclude that little can be done about it. The increasing incident of dowry related violence finally made some researchers and policy makers to bring domestic violence against women in public attention. Only few researchers have started working on it. But it is not adequate to address

all the issues relating to domestic violence against women in Bangladesh. I tried to comprehend the nature, causes and contributing factors to this violence.

To identify the various type of violence faced by married women nineteen samples. Three different types of samples are collected. These are women in general (marital violence), working women, and divorced women. 6 of them are from middle class, 3 of them are from lower class, 4 of them are from upper class, 3 of them are from lower middle class, 4 of them are from upper middle class. The study shows that there is domestic violence in every socio economic class. The socio economic class or the levels of education don't have impact on it. Even a highly educated person is abusive towards their wives. Therefore it can be stated that my hypothesis regarding availability of domestic violence against women is a valid hypothesis.

The second hypothesis is about the reason responsible for violence. The study shows that the patriarchic attitude has a serious impact on domestic violence. When question was asked Bazlo why she was beating his wife. He answered that to teach her a good lesson. Patriarchic attitude make them thing that they are they are superior and always right. Women are supposed to impose to impress them always. The study also shows that poverty bleed violence. But it is applicable for all men. Not all men become abusive for poverty. It is accepted by the scholars that the economic dependence of women on men has a serious impact on women's vulnerability and oppression. But the study discovers that workingwomen face some other types of violence in addition to that violence faced by the women not working outside. These are financial abuse and psychological abuses resulted from disputes regarding handling too many responsibilities and household affairs; and husbands' jealousy and suspicions about wives job and colleagues. Divorced women also faced some violence. These are financial abuse, psychological abuses resulted from disputes regarding handling too many responsibilities and household affairs; and husbands' jealousy and suspicions about wives job and colleagues. The legal system has failed to provide egalitarian values of justice for women. All the religious-personal law is unfair towards women on the ground of marriage, divorce, inheritance and maintenance. Women irrespective of religious and social status are victimized by the patriarchal legal system of the country. It is said that man makes the law to strengthen their position in the society. The psychological violence identified that he is the person to decide the code of behavior for his wife. Usually a woman's extend of freedom is decided by her husband. The study reveals that husband learn the abusive behavior in his childhood from his father. If parents are too permissive about the abusive behavior of their children it may induce them to become violent.

Dowry related violence is the highest from of recorded violence against women in Bangladesh. I have discussed four different ways of giving and receiving dowry in Bangladesh. It is originated from the Hindu patriarchic values where women

are not given share to her father's property. Dowry system allowed them to take some valuable possession from their father. Now it has become a cause of death and violence for women in Bangladesh. Polygamy is legal and socially allowed in the country. It causes considerable trouble for women. Religious interpretation has contributed a lot to continue the practice of polygamy in Bangladesh. There are another type of violence resulted from giving birth to a girl child. It is serious cause of violence against mother. Both mother and infant have to suffer a lot. Parent likes male heir, as they are breadwinner. So mother giving birth to male child hold responsible for this.

Divorced women also face some other forms of violence by their husbands. Especially divorce is not will to do it. Although Muslim marriage is said to be a contract between two partners it is only the husband who has been granted the plenary power to put an end to the contract. The custody of children is not a guaranteed right in any of the religious-personal right in any of the religious-personal law practiced in Bangladesh. Mother always has to suffer for losing her child. Lodging a false case against women, who doesn't want to continue his married life, is available in society. Sometimes abusive husband does it to protect their shin. The case of Reshada shows her abusive husband filled a case to protect himself from being accused of beating wife severely.

The concluding chapter provides the suggestion to check violence against women in Bangladesh. It is difficult to combat violence against women by focusing on a single cause of violence or by adapting strategies that has been successful in reducing violence against women of a particular community. There are different interrelated and complicated factors involve in domestic violence. We need to include all people, all organizations, and all sectors involve in it. The strategies need to be addressed by the following groups:

- The victim
- The family
- The batterer
- The government
- The mass media
- The legal system
- The education
- The health care system
- The NGOs
- Aid agencies
- The international community.

The first duty is to pass progressive legislation and reforming the existing legal system. Implementation of existing law and giving exemplary punishment can be successful strategy to check the increasing rate of violence against women. A separate law and women right commission can guarantee such success. Gender

sensitivity training should be provided to the media persons, police, directors, teachers, political leaders, *Imam*, religious leaders, government officials and NGO workers to make the development activities more egalitarian. Religious interpretation needs to be reexamined and curricula of educational institutions should be thus revised. Replacing patriarchic values by gradually creating egalitarian values can be the best way to solve the problem.

From the intensive study, we find that domestic violence is available in all classes and all society. Women whether she is rich or poor, young or old, educated or not faces discriminatory treatment that increases the hierarchical gender relation with her family members. Family is regarded as the safest place for women and the oldest form of human organization. But how far it has developed or changed to meet the value of gender equity. Technological innovations and science have insured radical change in our life style but the values, norms and attitudes of hierarchical gender relation within and outside the home has not changed much. There is no society that has able to insure gender equality in the world.

NGOs and GOB is increasing emphasizing on economic empowerment to reduce gender inequality. But the study has found out that it has nothing to do with discrimination and violence. The patriarchy, hierarchical gender relation is based on the value and attitude regarding gender discrepancy. Formulation of policies reforming the old legislations and enactment of new laws would not do much unless and until we have succeeded in changing the attitude of males. It is identified that the aggressors believe that it is necessary for the welfare of the family and society. Some of them also respond that they did it to size her up. It shows their attitude regarding violence against women. One of the interviewees, Jahanara Begum said girls must have learned to be a submissive wife from childhood otherwise she will face considerable trouble from her domestic violence. Not only the male's attitude but also women should first establish the value of gender equity by introducing equal treatment for both boys and girls in the family. It is not possible for a mother to introduce such a norm in family alone. All family members must also be aware of gender equity. It will have a long-term effect on society. Government and NGOs may introduce more awareness programs programmed on the issue. Besides law enforcement agencies should act honestly and sincerely to implement the existing rules. Domestic violence and violence against women is as old as civilization. So we cannot think that it will disappear within a short period of time. Long-term policies and programs must be taken to combat violence and also women must have to be treated as equal men and their rights should be treated as human rights.

## Annex-1

## A list of Samples

Sl no	Name	Age	Married Life	Husband Occupation	Educational background of husbands	Socio economic status
1.	Shaheen	27	5 years	Cleaner	Primary	Low Class
2.	Rabea	25	2 years	University Teacher	PhD	Upper middle class
3.	Reta Begum	28	4 years	Police constable	Secondary level	Lower middle class
4.	Rahima	24	3 years	Bus contactor	Primary	Lower class
5.	Raheba	28	2 months	Employee of a private organization	M A	Middle class
6.	Dolly	21	1 year	Driver	Primary	Lower class
7	Dilara	29	2 years	Businessman	MA	Middle class
8	Nabila	28	4 years	Executive Director	B Sc in Eng	Upper middle class
9	Kakoli	21	4 years	Government employee	BA	Middle class
10	Samia	33	1 year		BA	Upper class
11	Aasha	25		Businessman		Upper middle class
12	Munni	30	6 years	Government official	B Sc in Eng	Upper Class
13	Runu	30	3 years	Work in a buying house	MA	Middle Class
14	Mazeda Begum	37	12 years	Government officer	BA	Middle class
15	Masuda	38	20 years	Teacher	Secondary level	Lower middle class
16	Momena Khatun	76	60 years	Farmer and small business man	Secondary level	Lower middle class
17	Shanaz Begum	45	25 years	Businessman	B Sc in Eng	Upper class
18	Neela Chowdhury	52	32 years	Government official	B Sc in Eng	Upper class
19	Reshada	28	4 years	Businessman	BA	Middle class



## REFERENCES

1. Ahmed, A Lavina, (2002) In Search of a Women Friendly Legal System, Star Week end Magazine, March 8,2002, Dhaka.
2. Begum H Akter and Rahman, Naila (1998); Violence against Women: Some Psychological Characteristics of Aggressors, Journal of Bangladesh Psychological Studies, Vol.8, p.1-8
3. Bhuiyan, R (1986) The Legal Rights of Muslim Women in Marriage & Divorce; Women for Women, Dhaka.
4. Begum, F and Begum, A. Hamida (1993), Explaining Aggression and Violence: A Probe into Social Psychological Factors, Social Vision, Dhaka.
5. Begum, A. Hamida. (2000) Keynote Speech on 'Violence Against Women and Children' presented in a International Psychological Conference on 'Violence Against Women and Children' jointly organized by the Department of Psychology, University of Dhaka, and The British Council, Bangladesh, Held in February 6-8, 1999.
6. Brandwein, Ruth A, (et al. 1999) Bettered Women, Children, and Welfare Reform: The Ties That Bind, (Sage series on Violence against Women) SAGE Publication International Educational and Professional Publisher. Thousand oaks London New Delhi
7. Conveying Concerns, (Report based on gender based women violence) (1998)
8. Dobash R. Emerson and Dobash P Russell (1998) Rethinking Violence against Women (Sage Series on Violence against Women), Thousand Osaks, London, New Delhi, SAGE Publication International Educational and Professional Publisher.
9. Dasgupta D Shamita, Guest Editor's Introduction. Violence Against Women, vol.5.no.5,May1999,(.../fulltext.asp/resultSetId=R00000001&hitNum=2&booleanTeam=violence%20and%20women%8/20/01)
10. Hashemi, S. M. (2000) Men's Violence Against Women in Rural Bangladesh: Undermined or Exacerbated by Micro credit Programmes? A contribution from the International Psychological Conference on 'Violence Against Women and Children' jointly organized by the Department of Psychology, University of Dhaka, and The British Council, Bangladesh, Held in February 6-8, 1999

11. Hartmann, B and Boyce, James. K (1990). *A quiet Violence: View From a Bangladesh Village*. Dhaka, University Press Ltd.
12. Hossain, K Tobarak (2001) *Males' Perception on Violence Against Women in Bangladesh: A Study on Rajshahi City*, A report presented on a two days workshop on Violence Against Women- International and Bangladesh Perspective, Organized jointly by Department for International Development and British Council on 11-12 November 2001 at British Council Auditorium.
13. Heise, L Lori; Pitanguy, Jacqueline and Germain, Adrienne (1999) *Violence against Women: The hidden Health Burden*, The World Bank Discussion paper, USA, The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
14. Kabir, A.K.M. Enayet (2001) *For an end to women's exploitation by our male-dominated society*, Independent (an week end Magazine)
15. Jahan, R (1994) *Hidden Danger: Women and Family Violence in Bangladesh*, Women for Women, Dhaka.
16. Jahan, R and Islam, M (1995); *Violence Against Women in Bangladesh: Analysis and Action*, Women for Women, Dhaka.
18. Jahan, R. (2000) *Ties That Strangle*, A contribution from the International Psychological Conference on 'Violence Against Women and Children jointly organized by the Department of Psychology, University of Dhaka, and The British Council, Bangladesh, Held in February 6-8, 1999.
19. Khan, S Rahman (2001) *The Socio-legal Status of Bangali Women in Bangladesh: Implications for development*. Dhaka: University Press Ltd.
20. Kabeer, N (1996) *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. New Delhi, Kali for Women
21. Kadetotad, N.K, (1979) *Family and Marriage: A Comparative Study of Malmaddi and Haveripeth Communities in Dharwar*. Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation
22. Kabir, A.K.M. Enayet (2001) *For an end to women's exploitation by our male-dominated society*, Independent (an week end Magazine)
23. Khair, Sumaiya (2001) *Exploring Male Perceptions Regarding Violence Against Women: A Study*, A report presented on a two days workshop on

Violence Against Women- International and Bangladesh Perspective, Organized jointly by Department for International Development and British Council on 11-12 November 2001 at British Council Auditorium.

24. Khanam, M. (2000) Dowry related Violence Against the Women of Lower Socio-Economic Classes, A contribution from the International Psychological Conference on 'Violence Against Women and Children' jointly organized by the Department of Psychology, University of Dhaka, and The British Council, Bangladesh, Held in February 6-8, 1999.

25. Lee, A McClung and Lee E Briant, (1968) Marriage and Family. New York, Barnes & Noble, INC.

26. Lawyers' Collection, Domestic Violence: legal Aid Hand book-1(1992), Kali for women, New Delhi.

27. Nilufar Matin (1998) vulnerability, Marriage and Violence: Restructuring of intra-household relationship in a resource poor urban community in Bangladesh (Working Draft) Dhaka, prepared for European Network of Bangladesh Studies 1998.

28. Pial Das (2000) Attacking the Roots of Violence Against Women and Children, A contribution from the International Psychological Conference on 'Violence Against Women and Children' jointly organized by the Department of Psychology, University of Dhaka, and The British Council, Bangladesh, Held in February 6-8, 1999

29. Rahman, S. (2001), Reflections on Women and Violence in 2000, Dhaka, The Daily Star February 11, 2001.

30. Sharma Sarla, (1998) Domestic Violence against Women: An International Perspective. Journal of Asian Women, Vol. 6, Research Institute of Asian Women, The Sookmyung Women's University Press

31. Siddiqi, S. Sadaf. (2000) Interviews with Perpetrators of Violence Against Women and Children,' A contribution from the International Psychological Conference on 'Violence Against Women and Children' jointly organized by the Department of Psychology, University of Dhaka, and The British Council, Bangladesh, Held in February 6-8, 1999.

32. Santiago, Irene. M and Friendlander, Eva (1995) Look at the World Through Women's Eyes: Plenary Speeches from the NGO Forum on Women, Bijing '95 New York.

33. Rashid B, Raffat (1998) When Terror Strikes at Home, Star Weekend Magazine Vol 3 Issue 110 (July 31,1998) Dhaka.
34. Rahman, S. (2001), Reflections on Women and Violence in 2000, Dhaka, The Daily Star February 11, 2001.
35. Tsun-yin, Echo, Luo, (1998) Gender Violence and Women's Movement. Journal of Asian Women, Vol. 6, Research Institute of Asian Women, The Sookmyung Women's University Press.
36. The Daily Ittafeq
37. The Encyclopedia of women's Studies (In two Volumes) 1995 Giri Raj Shah, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi.
38. UNICEF, (2000) Domestic Violence against Women and Girls, Prepared to contribute to dialogue and discussion of the issue of domestic violence prior to the Beijing + 5 meeting on 5 June 2000. Florence, Italy.
39. UNFPA, (2000) The State of World Population 2000: Lives Together Worlds Apart, Men and Women in a time of Change.
40. U.S Department of State, International Information Programs, Domestic Violence Awareness Month, October 2000, <http://www.usinfo.state.gov/usa/womrts/dvmonth.htm>
41. Urbar, R Hammeal (2001) Housing and Bettering Women: Increasing Battering Women's Access to Federal Housing Programs, Building Comprehensive Solution to Domestic Violence, Publication #5, A Policy and Practice Paper. <http://www.vaw.umn.edu/FinalDocument/housing.asp#1>.
42. Violence against Women on line Resources, <http://www.vaw.umn.edu/>
43. Women 2000: Social Support Measure for the Advancement of Women (Published to promote the goals of the Nairobi Forward Looking strategies for the Advancement of Women) No 3,1998 Vienna, Austria, Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs.