

The Anti-Domestic Violence Policy Analysis in Georgia

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Abstract

Domestic violence is an extremely problematic issue nowadays in Georgia. According to the National Study on Domestic Violence conducted by UNFPA, every eleventh married woman is a victim of domestic violence in Georgia. Georgian law on the prevention of domestic violence, protection and assistance for victims of domestic violence was adopted in 2006. The adoption of this law, however, may be insufficient to overcome the problem. The success of state policy in combating the domestic violence depends on the way in which the state perceives the problem. Consequently, the aim of this research is to examine: A) what is perceived as the cause of domestic violence; B) who is perceived to be a victim of domestic violence and C) how has the state policy been framed?

The research applied a Critical Frame Analyses as a tool to analyze policy processes and outcomes concerning domestic violence. Method of frame analyses was developed within the MAGEEQ¹ project which was a comparative study on the framing of gender inequality as a policy problem in Europe. In the framework of our study research instrument was developed and contextualized based on the mentioned approach. The distinction was made between the Diagnosis, the attribution of causality (problem representation) and the Prognosis, the resulting call for action (ways proposed to resolve the problem). Accordingly, the set of sensitizing questions were addressed in the sections of diagnosis and prognosis of the instrument and these questions were analyzed from a gender perspective in order to screen how gender interferes with social categories, norms, mechanisms and institutions addressed in the policy documents. Apart from these two key sections the instrument enables to identify the “Voice” of the document which classifies a) who has a voice in defining the problem; b) is the “voice” subjective or objective (presenting a certain standpoint or an objective reality). To present the policy frames identified in our research the “gender continuum” frames were obtained consisting of: Gender Equality Frame, Women Centered Frame and De-gendered frame. The set of the indicators were defined in order to identify specific frames in the policy documents. In addition, the study gives a description of policy changes by highlighting the framing of domestic violence policy. The analysis is based on in-depth qualitative analysis of policy documents, laws and parliamentary debates. In order to ensure the credibility of the data the project researchers were

¹MAGEEQ – Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality – A Critical Frame Analysis of Gender Policies in Europe

working independently and at the last stage the findings have been consolidated. This process contributed to avoid any biased conclusions.

According to the research findings, the de-gendered frame is dominant in anti-domestic violence normative acts, which suggests that domestic violence is not viewed in terms of gender equality, and women are not considered to be the primary victim of domestic violence.

Key words: domestic violence, the law, policy, gender inequality, critical frame analyses, gender equality continuum, in-depth qualitative analyses.

Introduction

Domestic violence is one of the most problematic issues throughout the world. This is a universal phenomenon, which may touch upon any member of society, notwithstanding his racial social or cultural belonging. Violence against women is especially widespread, as most often women are the victims of domestic violence (Council of Europe Convention, 2011). According to UN data around 70% of women are subjected to domestic violence throughout their lives. According to the WB data women in the age group of 15-44 are more subjected to the risk of domestic violence, than the risk of cancer, plane crash, war or malaria². The above referred data confirms, that as a result of domestic violence women's rights are violated and their involvement in social life and their economic or social well-being is undermined.

The study conducted by UNICEF in 2012 stresses the complexity of the domestic violence. According to the results of the study, domestic violence is a cyclic process and it enhances the risk of continuation of violent behavior patterns in the future generation as well. Domestic violence is a norm, which hinders development of an individual as well as a progressive society.

The issue of domestic violence became topical on the international level by the end of the 20th century. Starting from the 90s international organizations recognized domestic violence as one of the most urgent problems and started to combat it. By that time the problem of domestic violence has ceased being the family matter and was acknowledged as a societal problem: if previously it was considered, that domestic violence is a problem of specific families and a "private matter", presently it is considered that the problem needs to be addressed at the state level.

All the above referred indicates to the universal character of the problem of domestic violence and its topicality. Starting from the end of the 20th century major changes were captured at the state level policies to overcome the problem. In 2003 only 45 countries had adopted the law on domestic violence, while by 2006 the number of such countries increased to 60 (Sabedashvili, 2011) and in 2011 it reached 126, out of 196 countries in the world³.

² UN Department of Public Information, 2009

³UN Women, Progress of the World's Women: In Pursuit of Justice, 2011

Domestic violence is a particularly problematic issue in contemporary Georgia as well. In the culture, where men have dominant role, the facts of discrimination and disparagement of women occur quite frequently. The recent studies conducted in Georgia indicate that domestic violence is widespread in Georgian society. According to statistical data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia⁴ 1360 cases of domestic violence were registered during the period of 2007-2012. However, it should be noted that official data is significantly lower, than the data provided by NGOs. For instance, according to the data of the State Statistical Department 166 women were registered as victims of violence in 2010, while according to the results of the National Study on Domestic Violence against Women, funded by UNFPA and conducted in the same 2010, every 11th married woman is a victim of domestic violence, 34.7% out of which were subjected to physical violence and 35.9% were controlled by their spouses (Chitashvili et al, 2010).

The above written difference between the state and the NGO data can be ascribed to the fact, that the rate of referral to state bodies is quite low (Chitashvili et al, 2010). According to the UNFPA funded National Study 78% of respondents consider, that domestic violence is a family matter and it should be solved within the family. Consequently, in case of domestic violence only 1,2% of respondents have referred to the state bodies (such as police, hospitals, court) (Chitashvili et al, 2010).

For the purpose of finding effective solution to the problem the Parliament of Georgia has adopted the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection and Assistance of Victims of Domestic Violence in 2006, which stipulates for protection of victims of violence and punishment of perpetrators. According to article 3 of the above referred law “Domestic violence implies the violation of constitutional rights and freedoms of one family member by the other, by imposing physical, psychological, economic or sexual violence or coercion” (The Collection of Normative Acts, 2010). The facts of domestic violence are identified and eliminated through application of criminal, civil and administrative-legal mechanisms, stipulated by the law. The Law also provides restraining and protective orders, which on the one hand protect the victims of domestic violence and on the other hand restrict certain actions of the perpetrator. (The Collection of Normative Acts, 2010).

⁴http://police.ge/files/pdf/statistika%20da%20kylevebi/geo/sxvadasxva%20statistika/ojaxuri_dzaladoba-saboloo%281%29.pdf

Adoption of the law was a major step forward to overcome the issue. By adoption of the law the state acknowledges existence of the problem and elaborates relevant policy for its elimination. The adoption of this law, however, may be insufficient to overcome the problem. The study revealed that efforts of relevant governmental bodies and NGOs are not sufficient to successfully cope with the problem of domestic violence (Javakhishvili and Tsuladze, 2011).

The success of state policy in combating the domestic violence depends on the way in which the state perceives the problem: what is considered as the root cause of domestic violence and what mechanisms are adopted to combat the problem. According to the European Convention, the cause of domestic violence is gender inequality, existing in the structure of the society, namely the subordinated role of women. Subsequently, mostly the victims of domestic violence worldwide are women. According to the convention, in the process of directing efforts towards elimination of violence against women and domestic violence it is important to acknowledge that violence is an expression of historically established inequality between men and women (Council of Europe Convention, 2011).

Consequently, it is significant to analyze the state policy focusing on the ways of perception of domestic violence and its elimination. Current study contains an overview of other studies as well as national and international documents on the issues of domestic violence and gender equality. Next, the description of methodology of the study is provided and finally main findings are presented, on the basis of which recommendations are developed.

Overview of Documents

Various Strategies and documents have been developed worldwide on elimination of domestic violence by different units. All the international documents, including the United Nations Work on Violence against Women (1989); The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW), acknowledge that violence against women is a consequence of gender inequality and imbalance between women and men.

On April 7, 2011 the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe has adopted Convention on Prevention and Combating of Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, which was signed on May 11, 2011 in Istanbul. The European Convention is the first European legally binding document, directed towards elimination and prevention of violence and domestic violence. The Convention was adopted after the campaign, conducted in the Council of Europe member countries directed towards lobbying the need of adoption of international standards for successful combating of domestic violence and implementation of effective measures for protection of victims of such violence on a national level.

According to the convention, recognizing the realization of *de jure* and *de facto* equality between women and men is a key element in the prevention of violence against women. Furthermore, “recognizing the structural nature of violence against women as gender-based violence, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men” is important (Council of Europe Convention, 2011). It is also necessary to acknowledge, that women and girls are exposed to a higher risk of gender-based violence than men. However, men might become victims of domestic violence too. Besides, children become victims of domestic violence, even in case of being witnesses of violence in the family. Accordingly, one of the main purposes of the Convention is to contribute to the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and to promote substantive equality between women and men, including through empowering women.

In the frame of the Convention definition of domestic violence was elaborated, according to which, domestic violence shall mean all acts of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence that occur within the family or domestic unit or between former or current spouses or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the

victim (Council of Europe Convention, 2011). Different types of violence were identified: physical, psychological, coercion, economic and sexual.

Apart from the above mentioned, the Council of Europe Convention focuses on three main issues: prevention of violence – through public awareness rising, education and training of professionals; protection and support for victims of violence – through provision of information and services; initiation of judicial proceedings – through application of law, international cooperation and development of monitoring mechanisms. Currently, the Government of Georgia works on bringing national legislation in compliance with requirements of the convention for the purpose of its ratification.

The factors occurring on an international level have positively influenced the efforts aimed at eliminating the problem of domestic violence in Georgia. Namely, integration in international society has created platform for further development of legislation and policy on elimination and prevention of domestic violence.

Georgia has acceded to The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) adopted by the UN General Assembly on 24 September 1994 with no reservations. The convention is considered as an international instrument for protection of women's rights. The Convention dwells upon the notion of equality and the ways of attaining it. The convention obligates the states to provide women with real opportunities for enjoying equal rights. Since the Parliament of Georgia ratified the Convention the government is responsible for fulfilling all parts of the convention, including:

- Elimination of discrimination against women through constitutional, legislative and other relevant mechanisms;
- To take all appropriate measures for modifying or abolishing of existing civil, criminal and labor laws and regulations on discrimination.
- Introduce the provisions on equality between women and men in the Constitution and/or other relevant legislative documents.

Elaboration of Anti-Domestic Violence Law of Georgia

The Georgian Parliament adopted the Law on Elimination of Domestic Violence and Protection and Support of its Victims in 2006. The law was initiated by local non-governmental organizations supported by international donors. The law defined the notion of domestic violence and created legal basis for issuing restraining and protective orders, as

well as defined those actions, which shall be qualified as domestic violence, set the mechanisms for its identification and prevention and stipulated for guarantees of legal and social protection of victims of domestic violence. Starting from 2006 whole range of amendments was made to a number of legislative acts. Namely, these are: the Administrative Procedural Code, the Law on Police and the Law on Weapons (Chitashvili et al, 2010). A State Inter-agency Council on Domestic Violence was set up in 2008. The council was responsible to support and strengthen the implementation of the law on domestic violence. The adoption of the law was followed by the need to establish the national Referral Mechanism for the victims of domestic violence. The mechanism adopted and approved by the Inter-agency Council in 2009. The adoption of the law was also followed by the elaboration of the periodic 2-year action plans for prevention of domestic violence and protection and support of its victims. Number of amendments was introduced to the Law on Domestic Violence related legal acts, which were approved by the Parliament of Georgia on December 28, 2009. The Amendments were also made in the Criminal Code of Georgia and as well as the Administrative Procedure.

Another package of the draft amendments prepared in 2013, clearly delimitated distribution of responsibilities between different state agencies. The amendments were accepted by the Parliament. In the same year two more packages of draft amendments were prepared. Namely: amendments initiated by the Interagency Council on Promotion of Measures Targeted towards Prevention of Domestic Violence and UN WOMEN Georgian representation; and draft amendments, prepared by the Anti-violence Network of Georgia, which were submitted to the legislative body of Georgia for its consideration. The process of consideration of proposed draft amendments is still ongoing.

It's worth to note that a gender Equality Council was established prior to adoption of the Law on Elimination of Domestic Violence and Protection and Support in 2004. The Council prepared National Concept on Gender Equality in 2006. The Council has also developed the draft law on Gender Equality, which entered into force in April, 2010. In accordance with the above mentioned law the Gender Equality Council became a permanent body under the Parliament of Georgia.

Overview of the Studies

Starting from 1997 the EU countries have embarked towards active elaboration and adoption of policies against domestic violence and supporting gender equality. The study conducted by

Andrea Krizsan et al, aimed at analyzing the above mentioned policies. The study was conducted within the framework of projects MAGEEQ⁵ and QUING⁶. The main purpose of the project QUING was to compare gender equality policies developed by different European countries (27 EU countries including Croatia and Turkey) and it had two main directions: 1. what does gender equality policy cover? 2. What are the differences and similarities between elaborated policies? QUING project applied Policy Frame Analyses approach which was further developed within the multidisciplinary research project – MAGEEQ. Within the two above mentioned projects comparative analysis of the state policies was conducted and various reports were released on the basis of analysis of the texts and laws on domestic violence. One of the released documents, that should be mentioned here is a study conducted in 1995-2004, in the frame of which legislative frameworks and documents of European countries on elimination and prevention of domestic violence, as well as debates preceding development and adoption of these laws, were analyzed. (Krizsan et al, 2007). How the domestic violence is perceived by the countries and whether the problem is considered to be related with the gender inequality was evaluated within the framework of the study. According to the results, in European countries, including EU countries domestic violence is perceived as a problem of violation of human rights, although in some cases (e.g. Spain) it is considered as a problem ensuing from gender inequality. However, it should be noted, that in EU countries domestic violence is defined in relation to gender equality. For the majority of the EU countries domestic violence is not a private matter. It is a social problem and the states are obligated to ensure its elimination. However, there is a possibility that state might fail to address the problem (Krizsan et al., 2007).

The purpose of the present study is to analyze the anti-domestic violence policy in Georgia and capture the dynamics of the changes made in the policy throughout the years. Specifically, state level policy documents regulating the issues relate to domestic violence and gender equality were analyzed by applying Policy Frame Analyses approach.

⁵MAGEEQ – Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality – A Critical Frame Analysis of Gender Policies in Europe

⁶QUING – Quality in Gender +Equality Policies www.quing.eu

The key research questions are:

- How does the state perceive the problem of domestic violence and what are the ways of its solution?
- Specifically to which policy analyses frames does this vision correspond?
- What is the dynamics of the changes in the state policy according to the policy frame analyses?

Methodology

The research applied a Policy Frame Analyses as an approach to analyze policy processes and outcomes concerning domestic violence. Verloo defines a policy frame as an “organizing principle that transforms fragmentary or incidental information into a structured and meaningful problem, in which a solution is implicitly or explicitly included” (2005: 20; Dombos, 2012).

Policy frames related to domestic violence policy were developed within the project MAGEEQ and QUING.

The frames are defined according to two key questions:

- 1) What is the cause of the domestic violence?
- 2) Whose problem is domestic violence?

The cause of the problem may be gender inequality, existing in the structure of the society and/or the policy adopted by the state who fails to combat the issue and etc. This problem may be related to women and men in unequal power relations, as well as other citizens: victims and perpetrators regardless their gender (Krizsan et al. 2007).

Five major and eight minor frames were developed within the above mentioned projects. The major frames consist of 3 gender continuum⁷ frames (gender equality frame, women-centered frame and de-gendered frame), as well as “failing state frame” and “social norms frame”. Definitions of each and every above stated frame are as follow:

⁷ „Gender continuum” – consists of three major frames, according to which the cause and the result of the problem of domestic violence are defined in the terms of gender equality.

Gender equality frame: this frame defines domestic violence as a problem related to gender inequality and as a form of gender discrimination. It interprets the phenomenon as a reflection of unequal power relations within the family and more broadly within society, viewing it as a universal problem of all social classes and groups regardless of economic situation, education or ethnicity. According to this frame the main causes of domestic violence are economic, financial and social dependency, and the exploitation of women within the family and society. The dependency is seen to cause violence. At the same time, according to this frame gender inequality is not only a cause of domestic violence. This frame views domestic violence as primarily a problem that affects women and often lists it together with other forms of gender discrimination or violence against women. The victims are primarily women and the responsibility for the phenomenon is assigned primarily to men. Domestic violence, for this frame is clearly a public matter of concern for the entirety of society and for the state and it is primarily a human rights issue. Therefore the necessity of state intervention is unquestionable.

Women-centered frame: describe the phenomenon in gender neutral human rights terms, but specify statistically the heightened incidence of domestic violence on women. However this frame doesn't make a connection to a social structural explanation. The victim group is defined a "victims including mainly women and children" in general terms, occasionally mentioning children, but never women. The solution to the problem offered by this frame is multifaceted: it requires complex coordinated action from all state and non-state actors. Accordingly, Responsibility for the problem lies with the state and the society.

De-gendered frame: This frame includes itself "implicit gender equality"⁸ and "individual rights" frames⁹. According to the frame the victim and perpetrator have no sex and no gender. Precisely, the problem of domestic violence lies on the individual level rather than the structure of the society. This frame also discuss the mechanism of reproduction of

⁸ Implicit Gender Equality Frame- Problem is discussed in gender-neutral terms. A woman is never considered as a victim of violence. Although the frame implicitly includes gender equality principles, as the ways of problem solution are based on the relevant internationally acknowledged documents on gender equality.

⁹ Individual Rights' Frame - While discussing domestic violence issue attention is paid not to the cause of the problem, but to its specific expressions. Dominant individual commits violence against subordinated one (it relates not to the man/woman dichotomy, rather strong/weak dichotomy, which excludes gender aspects). The focus made to protect of individual rights.

violence, how dependency contributes to the inability of victims to come forward with their problems and the necessity to return to the perpetrator, and how violence in the family reproduces violence from generation to generation. The perpetrator is considered as an empowered person, while the victim could be any with subordinated status (a child, an elderly person, disabled person and etc). The issue is represented in gender-neutral terms and the problem is seen as universal, as occurring across classes.

Failing state frame: This frame provides no substantive interpretation of the social problem behind the issue of domestic violence. It places the emphasis of the problem of domestic violence less in society and more on how a problem in society is dealt with. That, is the accent is more on the failure to address the problem than on the problem itself. Thus, the idea behind this frame is one of a state failing to solve a problem in society. The cause of such failure is ignoring of the problem, inadequate communication, cooperation and coordination.

Social Norms Frame: according to this frame the main problem behind domestic violence is to be found in social norms. Violence is part of social norms; society believes that violence is a normal part of a family life. The victims do not complain about the violence and don't try to step out of its cycle. The society doesn't find the violence problematic therefore; they do not come forward with their problem. The focus is rather made on acknowledgement of the problem, than the problem itself. Given framework includes **sub-group frame** as well focusing on the certain group as a most vulnerable to violence.

Minor frames

Privacy frame: it is considered, that domestic violence is a private matter therefore, it is not a matter of concern for the state.

Men as a victim: According to this frame, and completely shifting away from gender equality, it is men who face a problem when speaking about domestic violence. The main focus is completely given to protect men, who witnessed domestic violence. The solutions proposed to the problem are mild; it's proposed therapy instead of sanctions and mediation in the family instead of forced separation.

Family protection frame: This frame argues against domestic violence from a perspective that sees family as a unit to be protected. While this frame sees violence within the family as undesirable and something to be addressed by policy, the ultimate rationale of the frame is

not to protect the individual victims but to cease violence, while saving the unity of the family. This frame stays away from finding victims and perpetrators, or from diagnosing unequal power relations within the family dynamics. The solutions proposed by it are family support or specifically mediation of conflict as if partners in the conflict would be equal. This family protection frame contests one of the most basic tenets of gender equality resonant frames: the individual victim in need of support and protection

International Obligations Frame: protection of human rights and implementation of gender equality policy is important not because of the system of values, that each state has, but because this is the main precondition of democracy, modernization and way of approximation to Europe. Both the problem and the solution are defined with reference to the external authority of international obligations.

Public Health Policy: According to this frame, the problem of domestic violence is not a human rights issue, a health issue. This interpretation of the problem is largely devoid of gender sensitivity. Action within this frame is targeted primarily at the protection of victims and the prevention of violence.

Deviance Frame: Domestic violence isn't a universal problem but one that is typical for certain marginalized or deviant subgroup (alcoholism; socially excluded and vulnerable to different forms of deviance such as drug addiction or even other mental health problems). Consequently, the solution linked to domestic violence is addressing the patterns of social marginalization.

Perpetrator's rights frame: This frame argues that the real victim in domestic violence are perpetrators whose basic rights such as right to property, right to free movement, right to privacy or right to religious freedom are curtailed without due process by forcibly preventing them from returning home, approaching the victim or even entering church if that might be a location where they could encounter the victim.

The children rights framework: the real victims of domestic violence are children, and even if women are to be protected from violence this is not because of the violation of their individual rights, but due to their role as mothers, in order to better protect children victims. Policy responses in this approach only protect and support women with children, but not other women.

Research Instrument

As already written in the section of methodology, the research instrument applied in the study was developed within the projects MAGEEQ and QUING. The instrument was later modified according to the specificity and context of the study. The instrument of the study (please find attached annex # 1) contains items/questions, on the basis of which the analysis of the documents was accomplished.

The research instrument consists of two main sections: Diagnosis and Prognosis separately. Diagnosis is about the definition of the policy problems and main actors affected (in this case ‘who are the victims?’). Questions/items presented in the diagnosis section allow determining how the problem of domestic violence is discussed in the document, what is considered as the root causes of problem and whether gender perspective is considered as part of the issue. Prognosis section is about proposed policy solutions; its target groups and responsible actors. Determines who responsible stakeholders are and what mechanisms are adopted for the problem solution.

Apart from diagnosis and prognosis, the instrument allows to identify whose “voices” are present in the document; whether the “voice” of the document is subjective or objective; who are key actors and stakeholders, which key concepts are captured in the document and which documents were presented as a references, also, if the document considered the problem of domestic violence from gender perspective and/or other social inequalities (such as intersection with other inequalities).

The documents were analyzed in a detail way utilizing research instrument developed throughout the study. Specific indicators were developed for each policy frame (see annex 2), according to which it was defined which policy frame is appropriate for the specific document. To avoid biased conclusions each document was analyzed separately by all the researchers involved in the study. Afterwards, the findings were compared and consolidated.

List of the Analyzed Documents:

State policy documents were selected taking into consideration the purpose of the study. The documents were analysed through application of the methodology described above. The

methodology might also be used to analyse various materials developed by NGOs and other stakeholders, but this is a subject of another study.

Analyzed legal framework:

1. The Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence, Protection and Assistance of Victims of Domestic Violence, 2009
2. The Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence, Protection and Assistance of Victims of Domestic Violence, 2013
3. Package of draft amendments, elaborated by UN Women Georgia, 2013
4. Package of draft amendments, elaborated by the Anti-Violence Network of Georgia, 2013
5. The State Concept on the Gender Equality, 2006
6. The Draft Law of Georgia on Gender Equality – at the stage of consideration
7. The Law of Georgia on Gender Equality, 2010

Action Plans:

8. National Action Plan for the Prevention of Domestic Violence for the Years 2009-10
9. National Action Plan for the Prevention of Domestic Violence for the Years 2011-12
10. National Action Plan for the Prevention of Domestic Violence for the Years 2013-15
11. National Action Plan for Gender Equality for the Years of 2011-13
12. National Action Plan for Gender Equality for the Years 2014-16

Stenographic records of parliamentary discussions of the anti-domestic violence law amendments:

13. Parliamentary discussion of law amendments in 2009
14. Parliamentary discussions of law amendments in 2013

The law against domestic violence, adopted in 2006, together with the parliamentary discussion was not analyzed within the framework of the study, as these documents have already been analysed in T. Sabedashvili's thesis (2011): These two documents are adopted by state bodies and reflect national policy. The laws and amendments are prepared by the parliament and approved by the President of Georgia. The analyzed documents allow us to

observe how the state perceives the problem of domestic violence and what strategies are developed to overcome the issue. Taking into consideration that gender inequality is crosscutting with the domestic violence issue, the state documents related to gender equality, were also analyzed within the framework of the study.

Brief description of documents:

- The Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence, Protection and Assistance of Victims of Domestic Violence of 2009 incorporates amendments, entered into the law of 2006. The Law defines the scope of regulation, states its purpose and objectives which have to be reached. The Law also contains definition of terms, used in it and it also stipulates for the prevention mechanisms of domestic violence.
- The Amendments that entered into the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence, Protection and Assistance of Victims of Domestic Violence in 2013, are mainly related to the regulation of activities of the Interagency Council for Prevention of Domestic Violence.
- The action plans for the period of 2009-10, 2011-12 and 2013-15 contain statement of goals, objectives and actions, that need to be implemented for enforcement of the policy against domestic violence. The action plans also state the key stakeholders, responsible for implementation.
- Parliamentary discussions of the law amendments, 2009 and 2013: these documents are stenographic reports of the parliamentary discussions of the law amendments, which reflect opinions of the initiators of draft amendments and members of parliament on the amendments. Amendments entered in 2009 were more focused on elimination of drawbacks of the law and making substantive amendments, while amendments of the law, 2013 were only of administrative character.
- Amendments, initiated by the Anti-Violence Network of Georgia (AVNG) in 2013 were mainly related to involving of the local bodies of self-government into actions, directed against domestic violence.
- Amendments initiated by UN Women in 2013 were related to modifying the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence, Protection and Assistance of Victims of Domestic Violence, as well as making relevant amendments into the Code of Administrative Offences of Georgia and the Procedural Code.
- Gender Equality Concept was elaborated in 2006. A purpose of the Concept was

attaining gender equality in all spheres. The document contains definition of key terms, main directions, where gender equality needs to be achieved and its relevant mechanisms. The document also specifies the spheres of regulation, such as politics, economy and social sphere.

- Draft law on gender equality provides basis for equality of men and women in all spheres of public life and mechanisms of regulation.
- The Law on Gender Equality of 2010 provides basis for ensuring equality of men and women in all spheres of public life and mechanisms of regulation.
- Action Plans of Gender Equality for the period of 2011-13 and 2014-16 reflect specific activities and mechanisms for the implementation of the Law.

Interpretation and Analysis

Results are presented in two sections. The first section deals with the policy documents on elimination of domestic violence, while the second section discusses policy documents on gender equality.

1. The State's perspective on Domestic Violence according to the Policy Frames Analysis

The documents, analyzed through application of the methodology of the study, can be divided into objective and subjective types of documents. An Objective document represents documents, elaborated by the state, which do not express opinion of one specific person - such as, the law, national action plans and etc. On the other hand, subjective documents represent opinion and vision of specific persons or organizations, for example, parliamentary debates, where opinion of specific persons is expressed.

According to the policy frame analyses, two aspects of the analyzed materials have been identified: 1. How does the state perceive the problem of domestic violence: How is domestic violence defined and who is the victim? (Diagnosis) and 2. How does the state perceive ways of its solution: what is seen as a cause of the problem and what actions are undertaken to address it? (Prognosis)

1.1. What is domestic violence and who are its victims? (Diagnosis)

According to the analysed documents the state puts the problem of domestic violence in **de-gender** frame, i.e. it considers that this problem needs to be viewed as the issue of protection of human rights and does not consider it in the context of gender equality concept. According to the law domestic violence implies:

“Violation of constitutional rights and freedoms of one family member by the other, in conjunction with physical, psychological, economic or sexual violence and coercion or threat to undertake such actions.” (article 3).

The law does not consider domestic violence in the context of gender inequality and the main focus is on violation of rights of one family member by another one. Consequently, the state sees solution of the problem in acknowledging equality of individuals by protection of their rights and freedoms through introduction of effective normative mechanisms.

In an anti-domestic violence law the special section is devoted to the goals of its adoption, according to which for the state it is also important to protect unity and values of the family. According to the policy frame analyses such approach can be set in a **family protection frame**.

Purpose of the law is:

“Creation of firm legislative guarantees for the protection of rights and freedoms of the family members and their physical and mental integrity by recognizing equality in rights of members of the family” (article 2a).

The concepts, used for definition of the problem, lack gender component and are expressed in neutral terms. Also, according to the law, a victim of domestic violence and a perpetrator of such acts can be any family member, regardless of gender:

Victim- a family member, experiencing physical, psychological, sexual, economic violence or coercion, who was assigned the status of a victim by the relevant service of the Ministry of interior and/or judiciary organ and/or other agency, authorized to determine the status of a victim (article 4, f).

Abuser- a family member who inflicts physical, physical, psychological, sexual, economic violence or coercion against another family member. (article 4h)

Presenting victims and abusers in gender-neutral terms is one of the indications of de-gender frame. Within such frame problem is not described through use of gender concepts. i.e. violence is perceived not as a phenomenon rooted in the structure of the society, where men have dominant role, but as a problem, existing on an individual level, when one individual violates rights of another and there are the legal boundaries crossed between the two.

The law does not consider women as main victims of domestic violence in most cases. Out of all analyzed documents only one document contained mentioning of women as victims. Namely in the parliamentary discussion of amendments to the law in 2009, the presenter discusses the issue of bringing a child to a shelter and names a victim as a ‘mother’, which means, that this person implicitly perceives women as victims. Namely, the presenter states that “a mother has the right to bring a child to the shelter too” (R. Kervalishvili). The fact, that among all analyzed documents women were mentioned as victims only in one document, indicates that state policy documents do not perceive women as the most likely victims of violence.

In other documents, such as the action plans and the considerations of draft laws by the parliament, the problem is also described in gender-neutral terms. Thus, the action plans do not focus on activities that would enhance gender equality, empower women, or increase public awareness in regard to the given issues. The analysis of Parliamentary discussions also illustrated that the stakeholders do not consider the problem of domestic violence in gender inequality terms.

1.2. The Causes and Problem-Solving Approaches of Domestic Violence (Prognosis)

The methodology applied in the study also identifies how the state perceives the causes of domestic violence. The analyzed documents do not directly state the causes of the problem - contributing factors to the problem are not discussed and gender aspects are not mentioned explicitly or implicitly, as well. The problem is represented along material lines, i.e. resources that are substantial for elimination of domestic violence, development of effective legal framework and protection mechanisms, setting up of crisis centers and shelters. The problem is not considered in regard to gender stereotypes and perceptions. According to The Council of Europe Convention, consideration of the problem in the terms of gender equality

is essential, as much as patriarchal ideology, underlying traditions and customs, strengthens subordinated role of women in family and/or public life (2011). Besides, it should be noted that gender-related stereotypes are widespread in the Georgian society. According to the study of public perceptions on gender equality gender stereotypes are quite strong in Georgian society (UNDP, 2013) that promotes existence of domestic violence. Consequently, in-depth analysis and research of the problem is important aspect to combat the domestic violence.

However, the main strategies of fighting against domestic violence are focused on identification and prevention the facts of domestic violence. The problem is not explored thoroughly. According to Krizsan and Poppa the de-gendered policy is usually focused on the symptoms of the problem, rather than its causes (Krizsan, Poppa, 2010). Although the action plans include the research component, they are mostly focused on examination of current situation and providing statistical data, instead of exploring the phenomenon in-depth. The documents also mention information campaigns and awareness rising measures, however the action plans do not specify whether the activities imply gender equality aspects.

Providing the statistical data of the cases of domestic violence in accordance with the unified standard (action plan for the period of 2013-2015,1.5.1.)

Conducting the research on awareness regarding domestic violence (action plan for the period of 2013-2015,1.6.1.)

The above described problem-solving approaches clearly indicate, that the state policy perceives the problem of domestic violence superficially, focuses only on specific cases of domestic violence and does not consider gender inequality as the cause of the problem, while according to the Convention of the Council of Europe:

Only the prevention of crime is not sufficient in the problem-solving process and it is essential to promote equality between men and women and guarantee equal rights, authority and opportunities (Convention of the Council of Europe, 2011).

To attain the above mentioned, the state should elaborate complex policy towards prevention of violence against women to empower women and ensure gender equality. Identification of structural inequalities within the society and focusing on its elimination should be the part of the state policy, as well. (Convention of the Council of Europe, 2011).

1.3. Intersectionality

Consideration of intersectionality is essential in the process of domestic violence problem

analysis, i.e. whether the problem of domestic violence is discussed in relation to gender and other inequalities, or social disadvantages (race, class, age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, disabilities and etc). In other words, intersectionality means whether the state policy reflects the intersection of gender inequality and domestic violence regard to the most vulnerable groups. According to Verloo (2007) in the process of elaborating the anti-domestic violence policy together with gender inequality, other types on inequalities should be taken into consideration as well, so that the problem is dealt with in a more complex and effective manner.

The following intersectionalities were identified throughout the analyzed documents: under age persons, residents of rural areas, IDPs, ethnic minorities, persons with certain pshycho-social characteristics (alchohol and drug addicts, persons with mental disorders and etc).

The law and the action plans place special focus on underage persons, as the most vulnerable group to domestic violence, due to their specific needs. Such approach of the state fits with the **child rights frame**.

In case of abduction of a child by the violent parent or in case of real threat of other damage, the court may decide to prohibit the violent parent to visit the child until the change of circumstances (article 15).

As stated above, according to the law any family member can be a victim and/or perpetrator. These two categories are discussed in the terms of belonging to a certain group, rather then - gender. Thus, when we consider issues related to rehabilitation of an abuser, mostly they are considered as marginalized group, using alcohol or drug substances.

Measures targeted at rehabilitation of abusers imply implementation of activities directed to psycho-social assistance of the abuser, treatment and promotion of abstention from baneful habits (alcohol and drug addiction or mental disease, which does not preclude a person from being legally capable) for the purpose of averting of further expressions of violent behavior and ensuring safety of a victim (article 20).

Such approach fits within the **deviation frame**.

The action plans of anti domestic violence policy include educational campaigns directed to the specific social groups, such as IDPs, ethnic minorities and rural communities. Presumably these groups are considered as more vulnerable to domestic violence and sensitizing them to the problem is important.

Conducting of awareness raising meetings with the following target groups: a) rural population; b) Internally displaced persons; c) representatives of ethnic minorities (action plan for the period of 2011-2013. 3.2.2).

Such approach fits within the **sub-group frame**, which focuses on the specific social groups as risk groups from the standpoint of domestic violence.

Apparently the law and other policy documents more or less do cover different aspects of inequality, however they are not discussed in respect to gender inequality, i.e. it can be considered that intersectionality dimension is not presented properly. This once again indicates that the state policy fits within de-gendered frame.

2. Dynamics of Policy Transformation according to Results of Policy FrameAnalysis

Throughout the process of analysis it is necessary to observe how the state policy has evolved and transformed by years. For this purpose we conducted comparative analysis of the law and action plans directed towards elimination of domestic violence for the following years: 2006, 2009 and 2013. The analysis has revealed that according to policy frames the vision of the state remains unchanged. De-gender frame remains dominant.

According to the study, conducted by T. Sabedashvili (2011) de-gender frame is dominant in the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection and Assistance of Victims of Domestic Violence of 2006. As stated above, the study of T. Sabedashvili was also based on policy frames analysis. In the framework of the study the Georgian case was analyzed in relation to the international context. The study reflects parliamentary debates in the process of adoption of the law and the articles published in the media during 1991-2006. According to the study gender-neutral terms are used in the Georgian legislation. The law does not view women as the most likely victims of domestic violence and does not perceive gender inequality as the factor, causing domestic violence (Sabedashvili, 2011).

The draft version of the law, elaborated in Georgia was focusing on women, as the main victims of domestic violence, although after the first hearing of the draft law in the Parliament all women-centered terms were removed from the law and were replaced by gender-neutral terms (such as an “individual”, “victim” and etc). Consequently the law can be attributed to de-gender frame (Sabedashvili, 2011: 245).

Similarly to the Law of 2006 the amendments, entered into it in 2009 and 2013 also fit with the de-gender frame and as a result of their analysis we can state, that there are no major

differences between them. Amendments of 2009 and 2013 were of only technical character.

Thus, as a result of amending of the Law in 2009 the term “child” was replaced by the term ‘underage person’. Amendments that entered into the Law in 2013 are mainly related to redistribution of responsibility between state bodies. Namely, specific responsibilities were transferred from the President of Georgia to relevant governmental bodies. For example, after the amendments the government of Georgia is authorized to approve the composition of the Interagency Council and define the scope of its activities. Also, the government defines and adopts the rules of identification of victims and assigning to them the status of victims.¹⁰

It should be noted, that additional amendments were initiated in 2013. The amendments, initiated by AVNG are proposing active involvement of local bodies of self-government into activities, targeted towards elimination and prevention of domestic violence. Amendments, initiated by UN Women are mainly directed towards further improvement of the law from legal standpoint, clear definition of responsible agencies and stakeholders. Given amendments are also written in gender-neutral terms and fit with de-gender frame.

As to the process of consideration of initiated amendments in the parliament, it should be noted, that it was not characterized by indepth discussion of the substance of amendments and the focus was mainly placed on imporovement of specific mechanisms. However, it should be noted, that in the process of consideration of amendments proposed in 2009 by the parliament of Georgia, the weaknesses of the previous law, which have disturbed effective regulation and elimination of the problem of domestic violence, had been stressed. Such criticism of the state policy is an indication to the **weak state policy frame**.

The values and the discourse prevailing in the society were also discussed during the consideration of the amendments. It was underscored, that majority of the society does not refer to the state institutions in case of the domestic violence and the problem is still tabooed. According to the documents of consideration of amendments by the Parliament the amendments are necessary “so that it became easier for victims to refer to the state bodies” (2009, first hearing of the Parliament, Kervalishvili). This approach fits in the **frame of social norms**.

¹⁰Resolution on Entering of amendments of the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection and Assistance of Victims of Domestic Violence”, article 1, paragraph 2, 2013.

Despite the fact, that elements of different policy frames were identified, it should be mentioned, that de-gender frame remains prevalent. There are no statements, which would indicate that main cause of the problem is gender inequality and that the main victims are women. The mechanisms, which are being offered and discussed, are mainly directed towards solving the existing challenges or elimination of specific facts of domestic violence and do not identify the root cause. As it was stated above, the only occasion, when women-centered approach was voiced, was identified in a document of subjective type and the author of the statement, was a woman. It must be noted, that given opinion was stated in the process of consideration of draft amendments in the Parliament and it was not reflected in the Law. The frame of social norms was the only frame, which was seeking the cause of domestic violence in the societal discourse. This frame too was identified only in the process of consideration of amendments, entered in the law in 2009 and the person, who voiced such statement, was also a woman.

3. Analysis of Gender Equality Law

Since gender equality is directly linked to domestic violence the law of gender equality and its action plans were analyzed through application of the methodology utilized in the frame of the study.

The above referred documents focus on elimination of discrimination by gender. Discrimination includes in itself violence, although neither the law, nor the action plans focus explicitly on gender based violence; i.e. the Law does not contain provisions related to restriction of gender based violence and only action plan for the period of 2014-2016 contains one activity, directed towards introduction of effective legal mechanism for elimination of violence towards women. It should be noted, that similarly to the Law on Elimination of Domestic Violence, Gender Equality Law is also directed towards elimination of specific facts rather than in-depth and effective solution of the problem.

Moreover, similarly to the Law on Elimination of Domestic Violence the Law on Gender Equality does not view the problem as rooted in structural inequality and women are not considered as being in the subordinated position. However, on the other hand unlike the action plans on elimination of domestic violence the action plans on gender equality include activities, targeted towards empowering women.

For example, according to the action plans on gender equality women are less involved in peacebuilding, decision making, environmental protection processes and are less represented on political level and self-governement bodies. Action plans acknowledge the above written as a problem, which needs to be solved.

Promotion of active involvement of women in politics through raising of public awareness and inclusion of gender aspects in the programs of political parties (Gender equality action plan for the period of 2011-2013. 5.2.1)

Such approach allows us to assume, that in gender equality action plans we come across **women-centered frame**.

Gender-related values and perceptions are also perceived as the cause of gender inequality:

Conducting of trainings/workshops/conferences/actions for target groups (especially rural population, IDPs and ethnic minorities) on the following issues:

Gender stereotypes and gender discrimination (including discrimination on cultural/traditional basis) (gender equality plan for the period of 2011-2013. 2.3.3).

Women empowerment activities are mainly focused on vulnerable groups, such as women representative of IDPs, rural population and ethnic minority groups, while in action plans on elimination of domestic violence activities targeted towards vulnerable groups are represented without specification of gender:

Development of special programs for identification of local leader women (including women representatives of rural communities and ethnic minorities) and their capacity building and empowerment (gender equality plan for the period of 2011-2013. 5.2.3)

As a result of analysis an **International Obligation's Frame** was also identified in the documents. The frame implies that the solution of the problem is compliant with international commitments and obligations. The Law explicitly states, that it is based on international agreements and covenants and that Gender Equality Council is responsible to submit reports on fulfillment of international obligations to the Parliament.

Georgian legislation on gender equality is based on the Constitution of Georgia, international agreements and covenants, present Law and other relevant normative

acts (Chapter 2, article 4(3))

If on one hand domestic violence is of gender character and on the other hand gender equality should be ensured on the family level, it is obvious, that certain intersection should be between the Law on Elimination of domestic Violence and the Law on Gender Equality. However, despite the fact that gender Equality Law stipulates for acknowledgment of equal responsibility on the family level the action plan does not include activities related to ensuring equality in the family. The Law on Domestic Violence does not discuss domestic violence as a gender based violence and does not consider it as a result of gender inequality, prevailing in the society (de-gendered frame). As the state has the laws, regulating both spheres it means that the state acknowledges existence of both problems. However they are not viewed in relation to each other.

Conclusions

The analysis of the law revealed, that despite the other policy frames identified in specific occasions, the state policy against domestic violence is mainly fitting within de-gendered frame. This means, that domestic violence is not discussed in terms of gender inequality and is considered as the violation of individuals' rights, guaranteed by the Constitution. Any individual, regardless of gender can be a victim and/or a perpetrator. People with certain social status are considered as more vulnerable to domestic violence; however gender equality aspect is omitted in this regard, as well. The documents adopted by the state offer solutions to the problem without putting them into gender-related terms. The state policy is fitting within de-gendered frame, because it is directed to the specific manifestations of domestic violence instead of its causes. It means that the state vision is focused on prevention of the problem and solving of specific cases of domestic violence, rather than seeking the causes of the problem. This approach is reflected in the action plans as well.

According to the applied methodology, the dynamic of evolving of the state policy remains unchanged from the standpoint of policy frames. Since the period of the adoption the Law (in 2006) and till now de-gendered frame have been prevailed in the state policy documents. Packages of amendments are mainly focused on improvement of key mechanisms, stipulated by the law and elimination of legal flows.

The fact, that the state policy fits within de-gendered frame means, that the law does not reflect certain provisions of the Council of Europe Convention. Namely, that domestic

violence is one of the most widespread forms of gender-based violence (Council of Europe Convention, 2011) and consequently, women are the main victims of it. According to Georgian legislation domestic violence problem is mostly perceived as the violation of individual rights, which belongs to deviational groups or specific families, rather than the problem caused by structural gender inequality, as acknowledged in the Council of Europe Convention. Moreover, the Law on Gender Equality and relevant action plans do not present the domestic violence issue at all. This is indicating to the fact, that although the state acknowledges domestic violence as a problem, it does not perceive the problem as a manifestation of gender-based violence and gender inequality and does not take into consideration these aspects in the process of elaboration of the relevant policy.

How can be assessed such formulation of the law and approach to the problem solving? According to Krizsan (2010) on one hand, gender neutral law allows for broader interpretation of the notion of the victim and the abuser, i.e. anybody can face the problem. This makes the law extremely flexible to solve the specific cases of domestic violence effectively; however on the other hand, there is a risk that the problem of domestic violence will be discussed superficially and will not be explored in-depth. Also, according to the Council of Europe Convention there are many differences regard to the positions of men and women, consequently gender-neutral policy might have different impact on men and women.

Accordidng to Krizsan and Popa (2010) the anti-domestic violence policies in Central and Eastern European countires are also gender-neutral. According to the authors this can be indicating to the fact, that when international norms are adjusted/adapted to the context of specific countries, gender-sensitivity is more or less lost. In such cases the authors stress the importance of policy implementation – i.e. is it sufficiently gender-sensitive, or not? To what extent are independent feminist groups and NGOs involved in decision-making and implementation processes?

Limitations of the Study

Taking into consideration available financial and human resources, the analysis of Anti Domestic Violence Policy implementation was not provided within the research framework. This can be considered as limitation of the study that needs to be further examined in order to have an accurate understanding of the overall picture.

Recommendations:

1. According to international documents, domestic violence is one of the most widespread forms of gender-based violence. Therefore reflecting gender-based violence aspects in state policy against domestic violence is crucial. The state policy documents should explicitly state, that main victim of domestic violence are women and consequently activities should be directed to empowering of women.
2. One of the important steps towards solving the problem of domestic violence is providing profound analysis of causes of domestic violence. As the problem of domestic violence is ensuing from structural gender inequality, only specific cases of domestic violence should not be examined, rather the overall problem needs to be explored and analyzed thoroughly. Thus, the study should analyze structural inequality between men and women in Georgia.
3. According to the results, the problem is mainly explained by the material resources and the focus is not placed on the discursive aspect. The action plans should define the activities directed on modification of gender stereotypes prevailing in the society.
4. There is no link between the Gender Equality Law and Anti Domestic Violence Law. None of the laws are focused on the gender-based violence and the issue remains open. Consequently, it is recommended to consider aspects of gender-based violence in the relevant laws and ensure linkage between them.

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Appendix # 1: Research Instrument

Instruction:

Please include

- interpretation
- quotation

Number/Code/Title:

Full Title:

Country/Place:

Issue:

Date:

Type/Status of Document:

Actor(s) and gender of actor(s) (if applicable):

Event/reason/occasion of appearance:

Description/Brief overview of the document:

Voice

“Voice Speaking”

Speaker including persons or institution

Perspective

Text presents itself as objective or rather as subjective standpoint

References: words/concepts:

Where the given concepts come from

Reference: list of actors

Reference: documents

Diagnosis

What is represented as a problem?

Why is it seen as a problem?

To what extend is gender part of it?

Causality: What is seen as a cause of problem?

Dimensions of gender (social categories / identity / behaviour / norms & symbols / institutions):

If some reference to gender is made? which dimensions of gender are present in the text? Pay attention to explicit and implicit references.

If social categories are gendered what is their content?

Is there a distinction between social categories which is not gendered?

Intersectionality:

Does the text represent any other structural inequalities or exclusionary mechanisms as part of the Diagnosis?

Mechanisms (resources /norms & interpretations / legitimisation of violence):

which mechanisms are present to explain the problem of gender? Does the text draw a representation of the problem along material lines (resources), or along discursive lines (norms and interpretations), or through the use or legitimisation of violence?

Attribution of roles in diagnosis:

Who is seen as responsible as cause of the problem?

Problem holders (whose problem is it seen to be?) What are active / passive roles (perpetrators / victims etc)?

Prognosis

What to do? Which action is deemed necessary and why?

Hierarchy / priority in goals.

How to achieve goals (strategy / means / instruments)?

Dimensions of gender (social categories / identity / behaviour / norms & symbols / institutions):

If some reference to gender is made? which dimensions of gender are present in the text? Pay attention to explicit and implicit references.

If social categories are gendered what is their content?

Is there a distinction between social categories which is not gendered?

Intersectionality:

Does the text represent any other structural inequalities or exclusionary mechanisms as part of the Prognosis?

Mechanisms (resources /norms & interpretations / legitimisation of violence):

which mechanisms are present to explain the problem of gender? Does the text draw a representation of the problem along material lines (resources), or along discursive lines (norms and interpretations), or through the use or legitimisation of violence?

Attribution of roles in prognosis

Call for action and non-action (**who** should [not] do what?)

Who is acted upon? (target groups)

Comments:

Additional information:

Brief Analysis and conclusions:

Appendix # 2

List of indicators to identify policy frames

Major Frames:

Frame Indicator	Gender Equality Frame	Women Centered Frame	De-gendered Frame	Failing State Frame	Social Norms/ Sub-groups Frame
Diagnosis					
Cause of the problem/Relationship to Gender Inequality	Domestic violence is manifestation of gender inequality	DV is a violation of human rights, this frame specify statistically the heightened incidence of domestic violence on women. Domestic violence affects women disproportionately.	DV is a violation of human rights	The state fails to combat DV problem. The state isn't able to develop efficient policy against DV.	Social norms and values spread throughout the society.
Who are the victims?	Any family member; mostly women	Women Women and children	Any family member;		The most vulnerable group towards the problem.
Prognosis					
Problem Solution/Action taken	Complex set of measures: sanctioning of perpetrators; protection of victims; prevention; state responsibility with active NGO role				
Specific actions taken	Gender equality transformation of society, empowerment of women; support for autonomous organizing of women	Protection and support of women through establishing shelters and economic and psychological support (hence not with women empowerment	Complex and coordinated approach from the stakeholders; Improving institutional framework and cooperation; victim's	Improving institutional framework through increasing effectiveness of coordination and communication among the	The main accent is made to change these norms; breaking the stereotypes; empowering women as minorities; spreading idea of zero tolerance towards the

	against violence	mechanisms); awareness raising and information sharing on DV as a social issue (without focusing on gender equality).	protection and support; Preventing and sanctioning the problem through awareness raising on human rights; Application of restraining order	stakeholders. Awareness rising to understand the issue of DV (without focusing on gender equality).	violence.
Target group	Society	Women	Victim without gender		Representatives of specific social groups and minorities.

Minor Frames:

Frame Indicator	Confidentiality Frame	Men as a victim Frame	Family protection frame	International obligation frame	Public health frame
Diagnosis					
Cause of the problem/Relationship to Gender Inequality	Domestic violence is a private problem between two persons; causes aren't considered	The main accent is oriented to men who were victims of DV. The causes are: 1. sex-specific violence is replaced and women are represented as a perpetrator and men are considered as victims. 2. The sanctions linked to the domestic violence are violating men's rights and as a result weakening them.	Domestic Violence is a family problem and the solution should be made within the family itself.	The issue is discussed only according to the international regulations, obligations and standards. The main causes are considered as family and social values.	Domestic violence isn't considered as a human rights issue rather than as a public health issue. Such interpretation lacks gender sensitivity.

Who are the victims?	Any family members	Men	Any family members	Any family members	Any family members
Prognosis					
Problem Solution/Action taken	Complex set of measures: sanctioning of perpetrators; protection of victims; prevention; state responsibility with active NGO role				
Specific actions taken	The issue should be solved on the state level.	The ways of the solution should be "soft", such as therapy instead of sanctions; conciliation instead of separation.	Family is considered as a main unity in the society; accordingly, in case of external intervention the unity of the family should be saved.	The ways of the problem solution are defined according to the international obligations.	Defined activities are mostly consisting protection of the victims and prevention of the violence. All these goals should be accomplished through awareness raising and in-depth analysis.
Target Groups	Not applicable	Men	Family as a unit	Not applicable	Victims

Frame Dimension	Deviation Frame	Rights of perpetrator frame	Children's right frame
Diagnosis			
Cause of the problem/Relationship to Gender Inequality	Domestic Violence isn't a universal problem rather than that is a social problem of the excluded groups of society; domestic violence is considered to be an alcoholism problem or a problem of groups that are socially excluded and vulnerable to	This frame argues that the real victims in domestic violence are perpetrators whose basic rights such as right to property, right to free movement, right to privacy or right to religious freedom are curtailed without due process by forcibly preventing them from returning home, approaching the victim or even entering church if	The approach often name only children victims specifically, and discuss other victims without any specification. The frame argue in exclusive ways that the real victims of domestic violence are children and even if women are to be protected from violence this is not because of the violation of their individual

	different forms of deviance such as drug abuse, alcoholism or other mental health problems.	that might be a location where they could encounter the victim.	rights, but due to their role as mothers in order to better protect children victims.
Who are the victims?	Any members of family	Any members of family	Children
prognoses			
Problem Solution/Action taken	Complex set of measures: sanctioning of perpetrators; protection of victims; prevention; state responsibility with active NGO role		
Specific actions taken	The solutions to domestic violence are linked to the policies addressing patterns of social marginalization.	Focus is made to protect perpetrator's rights; protection of the victims from domestic violence even in severe cases that may endanger the right of life is seen as a secondary priority to classical liberal rights.	Increase child rights protection mechanism.
Target Groups	Certain marginalized or other deviant sub-groups.	Perpetrator	Children