Private Violence. A few Remarks about Sanitary Emergency

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Abstract. This article aims to establish the relationship between social isolation and the increase in violence against women during the sanitary emergency. Apparently, during the forced coexistence occurred a rapid regression of women and men to traditional roles. Data and journalistic articles reveal the output of a cultural system setting gender roles very close to traditional gender stereotypes, anchoring them to the construction of an unequal social environment. The social isolation of the first half of 2020 has shown highly alarming indicators relating to domestic violence. Through the analysis of the literature, reports, and an interview to an expert witness the actual trend seeing the downside of the role of women in society and of their civil rights has been examined. Violence as a social fact reveals itself as an attack on the identity of women, still harmful for the perpetration of gender stereotypes.

Emergency: Return to Traditional Roles?

This article aims to establish the relationship between social isolation and the increase in violence against women, taking into consideration the emergency social context, the consequent forced coexistence and a quick regression of women and men to apparently outdated traditional roles. The social isolation of the first half of 2020 has brought out alarming indicators related to domestic and family violence. Data from reports and journalistic articles show us a reality on which it is necessary to reflect: the role of women in society and the reality of civil rights.

One of the facts that emerged most clearly from the start of the lockdown was the one related to cases of domestic violence. Forced coexistence, together with the increase in stress levels caused by anxiety, lifestyle changes and worries for the future, created the conditions for the explosion of a new wave of gender-based violence. Regressing to a premodern time seemed in many cases a natural passage, according to the surveys of Fondazione Libellula. These papers talk about a new daily life for women who have experienced an overload of work caused by the return to a domestic role; with the schools shutting down, the absence of support networks or even home helps and babysitters, mothers have resumed a primary role of care as compared to work, while in some cases women without children have found themselves opposed to a changed partner. Furthermore, working women paid dearly their return home, as evidenced by:

a gender-oriented analysis of the typical risks of this working method [smart working] from postural and oculo-visual dysergonomies, to psycho-social risks related to technological applications: time porosity, hyperconnectivity, overworking, burnout (Malzani 2018, p.131).

Women who were already involved in family care have suffered more than men from overload stress, also because these risks are peculiar to the tertiary sectors in which women are employed the most (Lazzari 2020, Coveri and Montesano 2020). According to ISTAT (2019), working women take on about 4 hours a day of housework compared to 1.47 minutes for men: therefore, the low presence of women in the world of work (only 49,5% against 67,6% of men according to Eurostat) is not surprising.

The pay gap is high exclusively in the private sector; the disparity that, on the other hand, seems to persist both in the public and in the private sectors is related to the level women can reach high-level jobs are still quite rare. In this regard, the Global Gender Gap Report 2020 puts Italy at the 76th place out of

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153 on the theme of gender equality, or 19th out of 22 states of Western Europe and North America.

Figure. 1.

Gender gap: Western Europe and North America

Country	Rank		Score
	Regional	Global	
Iceland	1	1	0.877
Norway	2	2	0.842
Finland	3	3	0.832
Sweden	4	4	0.820
Ireland	5	7	0.798
Spain	6	8	0.795
Germany	7	10	0.787
Denmark	8	14	0.782
France	9	15	0.781
Switzerland	10	18	0.779
Canada	11	19	0.772
United Kingdom	12	21	0.767
Belgium	13	27	0.750
Austria	14	34	0.744
Portugal	15	35	0.744
Netherlands	16	38	0.736
Luxembourg	17	51	0.725
United States	18	53	0.724
Italy	19	76	0.707
Greece	20	84	0.701
Malta	21	90	0.693
Cyprus	22	91	0.692

Data WEF GGGR 2020

The ISTAT survey is very clear: to reduce the gender gap, action is needed at a cultural level. It is necessary to work on the stereotypes that, as shown in the table below, have never faded, even and especially among women. Most of the women's empowerment policies, even in this emergency phase, try to relieve them from some family burdens, a measure that is certainly necessary, but should be accompanied by an awareness campaign that revokes the spontaneity of attributing these burdens to the female gender.

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Figure. 2.

People aged 15 and more who are very or fairly agreeing with some stereotypes on gender roles, sorted by geographical area - Years 2013-2014 (%)
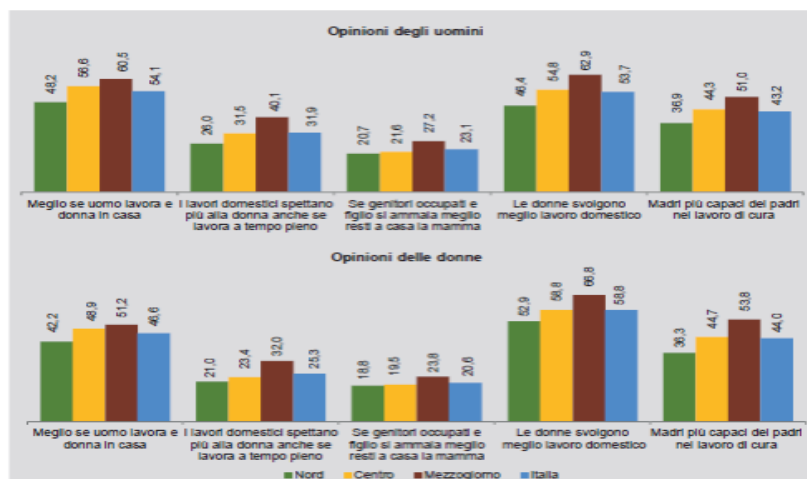
Source: Indagine Uso del tempo, ISTAT 2019

Life in quarantine had terrible consequences on the lives of women for whom home did not or no longer represent a safe place. News from China, shown how the number of cases of domestic violence rose sharply, and this then happened everywhere.

This contribution in no way intends to suggest pursuing an oppositional man/woman logic, but the issue of gender violence exists and cannot be ignored, nor can the problem of male violence be omitted. So, the contours of this phenomenon should be better defined, which is anything but easy; when you try to analyze a phenomenon, in fact, you try to frame its definition. In the case of violence against women and even more so of femicide, this knowledge is not easy to reach, as the recent definition of crimes, still in progress today, makes it hard to find comparable norms and data series. We live in a world of data, yet data regarding femicides are lacking. There are two main obstacles: for something to be measurable it must be a verifiable reality, but this is not the case with femicide because it refers only to murders animated by a particular gender hatred. And there is no precise knowledge of the violence, because in too many cases it is not reported.

The United Nations against Drugs and Crime (UNODC) dealt with the issue by examining the murders and then approximating the numbers of femicides by dividing crimes, where possible, by type. The global study reports:

Some 87,000 women and girls were intentionally killed in 2017, a decrease from 2012. The share of women killed by intimate partners or other family members, however, rose from 47% of all female homicide victims in 2012 to 58% in 2017, and the overall number who lost their lives to this type of homicide rose from 48,000 victims in 2012 to 50,000 in 2017. Home remains the most dangerous place for women, who continue to bear the heaviest burden of lethal victimization because of inequality and gender stereotypes (UNODC booklet 2019, p. 19).

Figure. 3.

Gender- based violence in the world.
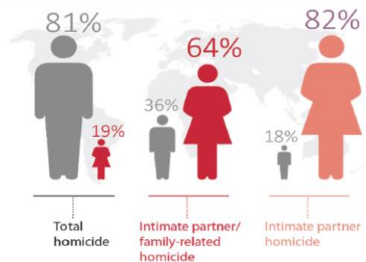

Data UNOCD 2019

In recent years, in Italy, Casa delle Donne in Bologna has collected data from the national and local press to remedy the lack of official data: however, a strong stance by the institutions is lacking so that the rule of law for personal integrity is hardly recognized at all. According to data from the EURES report "Femicide and gender-based violence in Italy", in 2018 there were 142 femicides (+ 0,7% compared to the previous year), of which 85% occurred in the family and, of these, 75% were committed by the partner or former partner (see also the CNR-IRPPS 2020 report, ISTAT 2019 Report). The 2019 State Police Report confirms the alarm, showing that in Italy the femicides committed in 2018 were 38% of the total murders.

As to March 2020, we can comment on the data of D.i.re. (2 March-5

April 2020): their 80 anti-violence centers scattered throughout the national territory were contacted by 2,867 women; during the month in question there was an increase on the monthly average for 2018 equal to 74,5%. Below is an overview of the contacts.

Figure. 4.

Data for region and first or further contact.
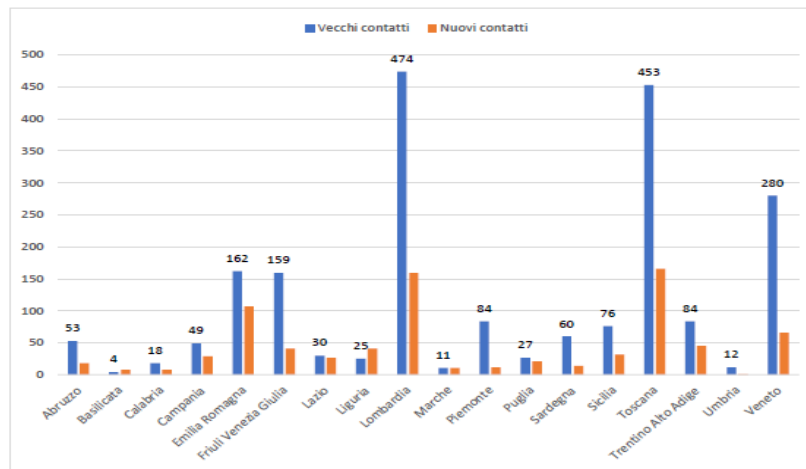
Data source: D.i.re. 2020.

According to the statement of the Ferrara commissioner the restrictions on freedom of movement seem to be linked to the increase in the amount of ill-treatment against family members and cohabitants. Certainly, there remains some doubt about standard procedures which provide – in the case of reports of attacks and injuries at home – that the commissioner, after having collected more information on the case, can proceed, even in the absence of judicial action, with the warning of the author of the violent gesture, which seems almost a notification of denunciation. According to a psychological survey on the quality of life during the health emergency, carried out on a sample of 716 Italians, a regression towards the primary needs (physiological and safety) is highlighted. "Regression significantly affects people who are most concerned, committed to change, and emotionally distressed" (Inconglito et al. 2020, p.4).

The accumulated stress in some cases became unsustainable: the regression to basic needs, to the restoration of a solid and reassuring order must have influenced gender relations, to the extreme. In the next paragraph we will discuss some key passages.

2.   Violence as a Social Fact

According to Cipolla's definition, violence is the "rupture of the dialogue between self and hetero" (1997, p. 31), the explanation in its dense essentiality is perfect. Many faced the difficult task of understanding violence; how, even if not explicit, it remains at a potential level in human relations not only at individual level, but also, by virtue of its structural nature, in the individual-society-context triad (Morin, 2001). Violence is inherent in confrontations between different powers and orders, the violent attack implies a denial of the identity, culture and communication of a subject or group. The breakdown of dialogue occurs because the way the other is built cannot be accepted, nor the way in which he manifests his need to be. Gallino's definition of violence is also enlightening, "an extreme form of material aggression carried out by an individual or collective subject, consisting in the physical attack, intentionally destructive, against people or things that represent a value either for the victim or for society in general" (Gallino 1993, p. 720). This definition links physical and symbolic violence in identifying the value of the object attacked as the actual target. Girard acutely reflected on classical tragedies to understand the relationship between the constitutive origins of society and violence; violence as a "circular force; it is therefore not a mere object that triggers violence, but the instinctive willingness of each individual to regulate their own mimetic behavior on the other" (Sannella 2017, p. 14). Violence, even in socialization, has a consequently high role in passing on and perpetuating knowledge related to order and roles. It can be understood from this analysis why violence is concentrated in the family, where relationships are often based on roles to be maintained and appropriate behaviors to learn:

The foundation of the problem lies in the formation and construction through the education of the role practice, in the transmission of the image of the fragile woman and the strong man and of the traditional sexual roles of the passive woman and the active man. Thus, there is sexual violence, violent relationship, erotic violence, which intertwine power, identity paths and violence (Fornari 2019, p. XXI; Corradi 2009).

As Sannella writes,

along the lines of Lagarde's thinking, for Spinelli femicide is a general category that collects all physically or psychologically violent social practices, which attack the integrity and mental and physical development, health, freedom or life of women, with the aim of destroying their identity through physical or psychological subjugation. Femicide, on the other hand, would be a sort of subset in which only the cases in which women are killed

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are included (2017, p. 72).

The body as a social object becomes the theatre of physical violence and the mind that of psychological violence. The conceptualization on the use of the terms "femicide", "feminicide" and "femmicide" is however hardly shared by the various authors. The online dictionary Treccani reports both "femmicide" and "femicide" as neologisms, but with different meanings: the former appeared in 2012 to indicate "Murder of women by men, in particular because of sexist mentality and behavior". The latter was inserted in 2008 with the definition: "Direct or provoked killing, physical elimination or moral annihilation of women and their social role".

Only part of the violence leaves tangible signs, but the introjection of the feeling of subordination, the perception of a continuous threat and control, create in the victim a state of discomfort that leaves invisible traces difficult to erase. The WHO has defined violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or real, against oneself, other people or against a group or community, from which they result, or from which they have a high probability of obtaining, injury, death, psychological damage, developmental impairment or deprivation" (WHO 2002, p. XX). The attack on a woman as a woman means that violence against a single woman is violence against all women, an aggression to the complex of rights and to the possible roles she can play in society: "Gender is a crucial dimension of personal life, social relationships and culture: it is an arena in which we are called to face, on a daily basis, very complex issues concerning identity, justice and even our very survival" (Connell 2011, p. 29).

For this reason, gender-based violence is a social problem of great importance that requires more reflection and strong interventions:

Violence never comes alone. It is always accompanied by, and occasionally confused with, its instigators (power, domination, hatred, rivalry or envy, duty or mere indifference). [...] In its most liminal logic, violence as a structuring force of power is also a channel of social production and a tool of order both in the micro and in the macro-sphere (Musso 2020, pp.7- 8).

The surfacing and conceptualization of these crimes has been slow and took a long time to get into common slang and culture. Stout, in one of the first demographic studies on the subject, conceptualizes the intimate femicide as the killing of women by the partner. Stout does not refer to the motivations, but Bartholini, linking on the studies on proximity violence, lists the salient characteristics of this violence: durée "that is, a temporal continuity of

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experiences concerning the inter-personal sphere of several subjects" (Bartholini 2013, p. 11); relational oppression and rituality that is expressed in a continuity between the parties which is the context of violence; asymmetry of power between victim/executioner/spectator, "in the relationship between persecutor and persecuted, executioner and victim that allows for the development of a dramatic representation" (ibid.); the patterns, the behaviors that arise from the adaptation of the subjects to the continuity of violence; the visible signs of violence.

With each violent act, the reconfirmation of roles reinforces the supported positions: the so-called momentary state of mental illness, in cases of domestic violence repeated over time, cannot therefore be invoked as it is instead a ritualization and almost a sacralization of roles and power as conceived by the violent. Violence in this case is a founding act of personal action that asks for identity recognition from the one who does not accept her subordination. Given that the nature of the clash that leads to violence lies in the field of identity and recognition, it must be admitted that we are faced with a cultural act. The violence told by the victims is first psychological and then physical, aimed at diminishing and reducing self-awareness, self-esteem and autonomy, up to the isolation of the victim so that she is convinced of her weakness and dependence towards the violent man. During violence, the victim is transformed, to the point of dehumanizing, objectifying herself; it is not uncommon for a victim of violence to change habits, ways of expressing themselves, to the point of becoming an extension of the violent. The process, despite its invasiveness and visibility, is often denied, removed, the victim blamed for what happens and therefore deserving a just punishment. On the other hand, the violent often perceives his acts as necessary, as gestures of care for the weak. Every act of violence is the effect of a complicit and tacit acceptance of all those involved, and even of those only indirectly involved. The link between the subjects involved makes violence plausible. The attribution of roles, the ritualization of violence, create a normality within which the protagonists know how to move: it is almost a re-education.

Networks for protection of women try to lay the foundations for a culture that criminalizes acts of violence, but all too often even the same women who ask for help fail to get out of the vicious circle of violence: violence damages self-esteem and autonomy of thought and action, therefore it is not always possible to face the change or to question the authority of the violent. Although, in general, lethal actions have progressively decreased over time, violence has not decreased: it has changed as an expression of the culture of the time, it follows its rhythm, its ways, today much of it is indirect and symbolic. According to data, the femicides are the culmination of a spiral of

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violence that extends over a very long period (D.i. Re 2012). Violence as an attack on the identity and the idea of respectability of the subject has grown out of all proportion, to the point that new terms had to be coined such as revenge porn, stalking on social media, acts that tend to discredit the subject leading to shame and consequent isolation. The scope of these attacks is enormous, "what differentiates online VAW (Violence Against Women) from classical forms of violence is the reproducibility, ubiquity and uncontrollability of its dissemination" (Musso 2019, p. 160). With so many types of symbolic and psychological violence, with such evident results, the use of physical violence may seem a gamble, but the body, always significant in every type of discourse, from political to sociological ones (Saccà and Massidda 2018; Saccà 2003), remains an essential battlefield:

The social world constructs the body as a sexual reality and as a repository of sexual principles of vision and division. The difference between the biological sexes is constructed, in accordance with the principles of a mythical vision of the world rooted in the arbitrary relationship of domination of men over women, also inscribed, with the division of work, in the reality of the social order (Bourdieu 2009, p. 18).

Control over the body marks the beginning of the spiral of violence; in fact, during the isolation, women who lived situations already at the limit found themselves even more easily monitored; the aggravation of the situation due to the division of tasks by virtue of roles made the domestic environment a sphere of almost total domination of male power; the isolation of the victim was facilitated and hiding the traces of events even simpler (Vieira et al. 2019). Inequality is a structural factor that causes violence; where the imbalance of power is heightened, the conditions of extreme violence are realized: "A struggle for symbolic resources of identity […] is always driven by the illusion of producing identities and individuals that are defined once and for all. […] the victim's body as an objective is central, to the point that we could define extreme violence as a macabre form of intense activity on the body" (Corradi 2003, p. 33).

3.   Communicating Violence

"Blood makes news" is one of the golden rules of mass communication. Morcellini (2012) has called "pornography of pain" the will to indulge in particularly terrifying details to tickle the curiosity and morbidity of news consumers. In this regard, the Code of Ethics for Journalists states in Article 8 the principle to stem the issue: "Without prejudice to the essentiality of the information, the journalist does not provide news or publish images or

photographs of subjects involved in news events that damage the dignity of the person, nor does he dwell on details of violence, unless he recognizes its social relevance". When it comes to violence against women, on the other hand, in addition to the pornography of pain, people find us elaborating moral judgments on the victim, in some bizarre way held to be the cause of her fate (Lalli and Gius 2016):

The raped girl went asking for it, she teased, she was in a miniskirt, after all she liked it, or she invented everything, and she is a liar, hysterical [...]. The abused woman is a bad wife, she teases, exaggerates, or is she a masochist, otherwise, why not leave him? It is paradoxical that the victims must suffer, in addition to the aggression, also such negative prejudices, blaming for them and de-blaming for the attackers. There are also frequent prejudices among health professionals and law enforcement agencies (Romito et al. 2020, p. 1).

Describing gender-based violence the cause frequently appears to be instability - understandable and forgivable -. The frustrated desire for love, obedience, and possession leads to open conflict and violence. The way of providing information influences the way in which one reacts to crime and creates an image of the victims: "The media have the power to socially build the idea of the victim, emphasizing the moral code of society, expressing evaluations and ethical judgments about the victim and their life" (Marsh and Melville 2009, p. 104). Some media implicitly admit that diminishing, subduing, annihilating a person can be the result of the pain of someone who has suffered too much for the victim's conduct:

Even where the law prohibits and punishes VAW, it may be that judicial and investigative practices and the general mentality support it directly or indirectly (as happens for example in India). Cultural and epistemological bias means that this tendency to legitimate VAW – or at any rate not to condemn it – persists even in the most democratic and egalitarian societies on the planet and is made evident in the double standard triggering victim blaming (Musso et al. 2020, p. 22).

Thanks to Codice Rosso, in Italy it was possible to introduce four new crimes into the Criminal Code: the dissemination of images or videos representing sexual acts without consent; the deformation of the appearance through permanent facial injuries; the compulsion to marry; the violation of the expulsion measures and the prohibition of approach. Yet, if even those who are deeply offended by these acts cannot help but wonder about the victim's own role, they forget violence educates and shapes. "Suicide-

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femicide is another aspect of the problem that has repercussions both on the definition and on the repressive intervention of the state. This expression indicates the cases in which women are led to suicide due to the physical, psychological or economic violence they suffer" (Corn 2017, p. 50). According to World Health Organization, "violence against women is a huge health problem. [...] Worldwide, violence is estimated to be as serious a cause of death or disability for women in reproductive age as cancer and a more important cause of ill health than the effects of road accidents and malaria combined together" (WHO 1997, p. 12). A French study (ENVEFF, 2002) shows that the risk of a suicide attempt increases by 19 times in the months following a physical attack and by 26 times following a sexual assault on a sample of 7,000 women. The attack on the identity and the sense of security also has implications relating to the incidence rate of the risk of falling into depression: women abused by their partners risk this disease five times more than other women, and the consumption of psychotropic drugs is much greater. Other consequences of violence on the health of victims and estimates of the relative costs of treatment are now known, yet prevention does not seem to be taken seriously.

4.   The Testimony

To wrap up this contribution, I chose the authoritative voice of a privileged witness who works at various levels (field, institutional and political), Simona Lanzoni, vice president of Pangea and CEDAW coordinator. The interview was meant to collect more information and opinions on the phenomenon of gender-based violence; highlight how communication in Italy influences and is influenced by the dominant culture; single out models of excellence; verify or falsify scenario hypotheses. This part of the qualitative study revealed, albeit with the limitations of having carried out a single interview, complexities that could not come to light so clearly in the analysis of data and literature. We started from Pitch stating that "male violence against women is an indication not of patriarchy, but of its crisis, it widens, as women acquire freedom […] control becomes explicit violence, a sign of helplessness and frustration, rather than a sense of legitimate authority" (2008, p. 10). About the link between this and the increase in the number of requests for help registered in recent months, Lanzoni commented:

A. Violence against women has been exacerbated by the emergency this year, many have experienced a growing sense of helplessness and frustration, many previous situations have worsened, and new situations have exploded. Many women did not ask for help during the lockdown. As can be seen from

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the Viva IRS-CNR data, there was a decrease in requests until its end, but regrettably this does not mean that home violence has not increased.

This period has highlighted the importance of social media and networks and online operations, as indeed the Pangea Foundation and the REAMA network for empowerment and self-help have been doing for two years.

This phenomenon is interesting and must be framed with the evolution of technologies. Today, in fact, many women victims of violence come to us and, before asking for help from anti-violence centers, seek support and comfort from other women who have already experienced violence or vice versa women who, after going to their local services, do not feel satisfied and seek further answers on social networks. The confrontation between women with a lived experience of violence can be a very important step if those who confront them have truly emerged from violence, otherwise it could be a double-edged sword. It is however very important that the path of empowerment and liberation of any woman does not see us and them, who is inside and who is outside the violence, "we" who help and resolve and "they" who are saved. Empowerment arises from oneself; it can be supported but cannot be lowered from above, the concourse between peers is needed.

Q. The Abused Woman Syndrome starts from the denial of violence. It is not easy to realize the psychic effort required to put an end to such a situation. Lieutenant Colonel Manzi affirms that the victims would find themselves inside an unconscious Nash Equilibrium in which getting out of a situation of equilibrium, albeit mistreating, involves a psychic cost higher than that of bearing with it:

A. The double insecurity deriving from the pandemic, of which we still know too little, and the subsequent present and future economic uncertainty have affected the decision to remain in a difficult and dangerous situation with respect to important choices such as deciding to get out of violence, make a change and free their lives and that of their children.

In addition, the people dedicated to emergency and social services were both physically in part taken by the pandemic, or in illness, absent or distant. Women perceived the lack of the possibility of concrete and effective action. During the lockdown it happened very often to many, even having started a path out of the spiral of violence, to back down, to put themselves on standby. During the pandemic, many minors also experienced and witnessed the violence inflicted on their mothers by their fathers. Children who live these experiences can be transformed internally in various ways, for example they

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can, based on their resources, have adult behaviors and take part in the conflict by defending one of the two parties, or implode, regressing.

Q. Are Italian laws enough? Are there better models and practices to look at to give these women better tools to emancipate from violence?

A. In Spain the situation is very different because the policies are much more effective, the territorial networks are articulated and integrated in a different and very functional way; women are more protected and for this reason there are more complaints; since the "integral law on equal treatment between the sexes and against discrimination" of 2011 by Zapatero , with all its defects, they have been able to articulate the most advanced law in Europe.

The Codice Rosso in Italy was a response with a marked security sign that added types of crimes to the legislative level, but still many answers are lacking from an operational point of view. Practically, the many laws on violence we have in Italy are not always applied, which is why many victims do not have enough confidence in the system to face such a difficult, long and costly path.

This pandemic, for example, has allowed greater use of precautionary measures, especially in the criminal field, but at the same time highlighted that programs dedicated to men are weak, and need to be improved. Increasing precautionary measures is not enough if we do not have re-education programs for perpetrators that overturn the paradigm of precautionary measures. Women as educators in the family, in the community, in schools, everywhere, have a fundamental role in helping the transformation of culture.

Q. Are there more vulnerable targets? Mothers?

A. Childless women are often considered "less urgent" cases than those who have and equally suffer violence. If the victims are mothers, the thorny issue of custody takes over. Here the real game is played because very often violence against women is not recognized, but violence is classified as conflict. The analysis of the sentences of Milli Virgilio which highlights how in the trials it is preferable to talk about conflicting separations rather than putting the emphasis on domestic violence, is interesting. Domestic violence should be an impediment to joint custody of children, in open contradiction with current regulations. This denotes cultural stereotypes in use both in the legal sphere and in everyday life that are still very difficult to eradicate.

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Q. Could returning to traditional roles be a strategy to lower the level of conflict at home?

A. Violence exists regardless of whether one is "obedient" or free. In fact, as a network of REAMA anti-violence centers, in these months of reopening we have seen an increase in requests for support to get out of violence, a positive sign. We have also seen an increase in femicides, often a consequence of the search for emancipation from a history of violence. Having overcome the initial shock of the pandemic that has put all women in unexpected conditions of stalemate, we have seen that the problems of violence remain now more than ever. Today, those who experience violence return to ask for support, perhaps even more than before! It is essential that institutional networks, anti-violence networks integrate their work and get ready to accept requests and provide answers that protect the safety and rights of women in search of a different future.

Many points remain to be investigated: if official data are missing, qualitative investigations will have to be increased to bring out the extent of the phenomenon and address it in its complexity. The privileged witnesses and the victims themselves will be able to jointly devise tools and ways out of the spiral of violence and these studies will be necessary to clarify which levers are activated when violence is unleashed and how an egalitarian culture respectful of all differences can be built.

Notes

http://www.progettolibellula.com.

Femicides as intended by Diana Russell in her book Femicide: The Politics of Woman Killing: "An extreme violence by men against women precisely because they are women. So, when we talk about femicide we are not simply indicating that a woman died, but that that woman died at the hands of a man in a social context that allows and endorses the violence of men against women" (Russel 1992, 32).

http://www.unodc.org/gsh/

https://questure.poliziadistato.it/it/Ferrara/articolo/13545ea307529bc977917 00507

http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/

https://www.doppiadifesa.it/category/storie/

Among the support measures for victims in Spain we recall: the right to reduce working time, the suspension of the professional relationship with reservation of the job with the right to unemployment benefit. A work reintegration program is established for victims who have lost their jobs or economic aid is established according to age and family responsibility. Special units of the National Police Corps and Carabinieri have been created and there are 430 special judges; the creation of a compulsory subject in high schools: "Education for equality and against gender violence".

According to the GREVIO 2019 Report, the Italian civil courts, in accordance with Law 54/2006, are bound in cases of separation or divorce by the principle of shared custody as a default solution. The laws in force do not foresee as an explicit obligation, in defining the rights of custody and visitation, that episodes of violence are considered. Nonetheless, various articles of the Civil Code make it possible to protect the best interests of the child, revoking parental authority to those who violate or ignore their parental obligations or abuse of their authority causing serious damage to the child. It is emphasized that violence between partners denotes an asymmetry of power in the relationship that can condition fair negotiation.

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