JOURNAL OF PEACE, SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
JPSDS 5 (1), 85 – 108 March (2026)
©JPSDS
Reprints and permissions:
https://jpsd.org.ng
OPEN ACCESS
ORGINAL ARTICLE

EFFECTIVENESS OF UNITED NATIONS CONVENTIONS/RESOLUTIONS ON MANAGING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Patricia Alphonsus **Ikonoh** [1], Cornelius Aghadiegwu **Ukwueze**[1, 2]

[1]Institute for Peace, Security & Development Studies (IPSDS), Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka

[2] Department of Mass Communication, Nnamdi Azikiwe University Awka

Corresponding Author:
Patricia Alphonsus Ikonoh
ikonohtricia@gmail.com

Abstract

Domestic violence against women has been a major human rights issue across the world impacting millions of women, no matter where they live, the culture they belong, literate nor illiterate and wealthy or poor. However, the United Nations (UN) has created a full set of laws and policies that deal with this problem. Some of these policies are the Conventions on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Declarations on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993), and Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). Though many countries have signed and ratified the international agreements, domestic violence is still on the rise. This raises important questions about how well these agreements work. This study looks at how well the United Nations conventions and other agreements had helped states deal with domestic abuse against women. The study uses a qualitative approach, looking at legal documents, policy reports, literature reviews and case studies from a few states. The study concludes that strengthened monitoring and accountability systems supplemented by additional technical assistance to states, alongside the integration of international standards with local contexts were emphasized as imperative policies to be adopted. In the context of the United Nations, if reviewed, the policies would improve the effectiveness of combating domestic violence, the protection and empowerment of women globally.

Keywords: Domestic violence, United Nations, CEDAW, Women's rights, Accountability

Introduction

Domestic violence against women is a pervasive global issue that transcends geographical, cultural, economic, and religious boundaries. It is not only a violation of human rights but also a profound public health and social concern. The systemic abuse of women, ranging from physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence, has continued to thrive in both private and public spaces despite growing legislation, awareness, and interventions. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2021), about 1 in 3 women globally have been subjected to either physical or sexual intimate partner

violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime. While domestic violence is rooted in historical inequalities and reinforced by harmful cultural norms, its consequences extend far beyond individual trauma to impact families, communities, and national development.

The magnitude and persistence of this social ill have attracted the attention of international actors, particularly the United Nations (UN), which has responded through conventions and resolutions aimed at eliminating all forms of violence against women (United Nations, 1993). Since its creation on October 24, 1945, the UN has played a pivotal role in advancing human rights, particularly women's rights, and ensuring gender equality. The first UN convention, the San Francisco Conference (April 25–June 26, 1945), which is the basis of all other UN conventions, explicitly affirmed the organization's commitment to the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion (United Nations, 1945). This foundational document laid the groundwork for a broad spectrum of legally binding and non-binding instruments specifically addressing violence against women.

Over its 79 years of existence, the UN has evolved from general human rights proclamations to more focused instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979) and its General Recommendation No. 19 (CEDAW, 1992), which explicitly categorize gender-based violence as a form of discrimination. Building on this foundation, the UN made more concerted efforts to combat domestic violence through several resolutions of the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council. Resolution 48/104 of 1993, known as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW), was a landmark in articulating state responsibilities in addressing domestic violence (United Nations, 1993). Similarly, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security underscores the necessity of protecting women and girls from gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict settings, indirectly reinforcing state responsibilities to address domestic violence more broadly (Tripp, 2015).

In more recent developments, the United Nations, through its various agencies, has taken a robust stance by integrating the issue of domestic violence into its broader development agenda. For instance, Goal 5 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) categorically calls for the elimination of all forms of violence against women and girls in both public and private spheres (United Nations, 2015). These frameworks provide not only moral guidance but also practical tools for states to develop, strengthen, and enforce domestic laws and policies to combat domestic violence effectively (United Nations, 1995).

Despite these significant international strides, domestic violence remains rampant in many countries, often exacerbated by socio-cultural norms, institutional weaknesses, and a lack of political will. In many jurisdictions, including those in Africa, Asia, and parts of Latin America, domestic violence is still treated as a private or family matter, rather than a criminal offense. Furthermore, there remains a

wide gap between international commitments and domestic implementation. Many countries are signatories to international instruments such as CEDAW but fail to incorporate these standards into national legislation or to enforce them adequately. This disconnect highlights the need for critical evaluation of how international legal instruments, especially UN conventions and resolutions are interpreted, domesticated, and enforced at the national level to curb domestic violence against women (Roesch et al., 2023).

It is against this background that this study evaluates the effectiveness of United Nations conventions and associated resolutions in managing domestic violence against women globally, with particular attention to their practical impact in domestic legal and policy frameworks. The persistence of domestic violence, despite the existence of comprehensive international norms and standards, raises critical questions about the adequacy, adaptability, and enforcement mechanisms of these instruments within sovereign states.

Literature Review

Concept of domestic violence

In conceptualizing domestic violence, Obileye and Enapeh (2020) situate it within a broader systemic and continental pattern of gender-based oppression in Africa. From their perspective, domestic violence is not merely an individual act but a structural phenomenon embedded in societal institutions. This conceptualization underscores the need for a multidisciplinary approach, encompassing legal reform, education, and community mobilization, to address its root causes and transform entrenched gender hierarchies.

Adedeji (2023) frames domestic violence within a gender and human rights framework, emphasizing its persistence in Nigeria despite the state's formal commitments to international conventions on women's rights. From this perspective, domestic violence is seen as both a gendered practice and a rights violation, underscoring the urgent need for gender-sensitive policymaking and societal reorientation to dismantle patriarchal norms that perpetuate women's subordination. Building on such perspectives, domestic violence can be understood as a multi-dimensional phenomenon involving physical, sexual, psychological, and emotional abuse occurring within intimate or familial relationships. It extends beyond the private sphere, representing a socio-legal, public health, and human rights concern, particularly for women and girls in vulnerable contexts such as Nigeria and across Africa.

Domestic violence is broadly defined as acts of abuse, intimidation, or control perpetrated within the home or in intimate relationships. It encompasses intimate partner violence, spousal abuse, sexual assault, and psychological manipulation, and is often rooted in patriarchal norms, entrenched gender

inequality, and systemic legal failures. Aina-Pelemo, Olujobi, and Yebisi (2023) conceptualize domestic violence in Nigeria as deeply embedded within cultural acceptance and reinforced by gaps in legal protection. Although some legal structures, such as the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act of 2015, exist, their implementation and enforcement remain weak, leaving many victims, particularly women subjected to sexual violence, without adequate safeguards. They argue that comprehensive legal reform, aligned with international human rights standards and explicitly criminalizing all forms of domestic violence, is urgently required to address these persistent gaps.

Alawode (2024), in his study *Socioeconomic Determinants of Domestic Violence Against Women in Nigeria: Empirical Evidence from National Demographic and Health Survey Data*, situates domestic violence within a socioeconomic framework. Using data from the 2018 National Demographic and Health Survey, the study demonstrates that women's risk of experiencing domestic violence is strongly shaped by socioeconomic variables. The findings reveal that higher levels of education and improved household wealth significantly reduce the likelihood of abuse, while factors such as male-headed households and a partner's alcohol consumption heighten vulnerability. This conceptualization underscores that domestic violence is not only a product of cultural and legal structures but also of socioeconomic inequalities, thereby highlighting the need for multi-dimensional strategies that integrate legal, social, and economic reforms to address the problem effectively.

Omotoso, Adewara, and Adeleke (2024) conceptualize domestic violence primarily as a male-dominated act of aggression directed against women, manifested through both social denial and the exertion of physical force. Their study investigates the influence of ethnicity, education, and occupation on patterns of domestic violence in Southern Nigeria, revealing complex socio-cultural dynamics. The findings indicate that certain ethnic groups report lower odds of experiencing domestic violence, while higher levels of education are associated with reduced vulnerability. Interestingly, the work also shows that gainfully employed women are more prone to abuse, suggesting that economic empowerment can sometimes provoke violent backlash within patriarchal settings. This perspective underscores the multifaceted nature of domestic violence, highlighting the intersection of cultural, educational, and occupational factors in shaping women's experiences of abuse.

Igbolekwu, Arusukwu, Nwogu, et al. (2021) define domestic violence as a pattern of abusive behaviors, including physical, sexual, psychological, and economic abuse employed by one partner to gain or maintain power and control over another in an intimate or familial relationship. Their perspective underscores that domestic violence extends beyond physical harm to encompass emotional manipulation, financial control, and other coercive tactics within the domestic sphere. Drawing on evidence from rural Nigerian communities, the study highlights both the prevalence and the cultural acceptance of domestic violence, pointing to deeply rooted patriarchal norms and traditional beliefs as key drivers of its

persistence. The authors argue for community-based interventions that not only provide protection for victims but also challenge entrenched cultural attitudes that normalize abuse.

Oluwagbemiga, Johnson, and Makinde (2023) approach domestic violence through the lens of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), a critical subset of domestic violence, examining its prevalence and determinants among married women in Nigeria. Although their study primarily focuses on IPV, they conceptualize domestic violence more broadly as any act within a domestic relationship that causes or may cause harm to the safety, health, or well-being of an individual. This definition encompasses physical, sexual, psychological, verbal, emotional, and economic abuse. Their work highlights how individual and community-level factors, particularly education, shape the occurrence of IPV, with lower educational attainment correlating with higher risks of abuse. Furthermore, the study situates domestic violence within the framework of Nigeria's Violence Against Persons Prohibition (VAPP) Act, which seeks to eliminate violence in both private and public life by providing protection and remedies for victims. By aligning with this legal framework, the study contributes to a broader understanding of domestic violence in Nigeria, emphasizing the structural and contextual factors that sustain its persistence.

Oyeniran (2024) conceptualizes domestic violence as a pattern of abusive conduct, whether physical, psychological, sexual, or economic, committed within a domestic setting, typically by an intimate partner or family member, with the underlying aim of exerting power and control over the victim. In his work *Domestic Violence in Nigeria*, he critically evaluates the Nigerian legal framework and identifies significant gaps in its ability to adequately address the multifaceted nature of domestic violence. He argues that existing laws remain fragmented, inconsistently applied, and weakly enforced, thereby providing insufficient protection for victims. The study emphasizes the urgent need for a comprehensive and unified legal response that not only defines domestic violence in all its forms but also strengthens enforcement mechanisms and establishes robust support systems for survivors. This contribution is relevant to the present study as it underscores the structural and legal limitations that hinder the effective domestication of international conventions and resolutions within Nigeria's context.

Aidonojie, Majekodunmi, Ikubanni, et al. (2024) conceptualize domestic violence as a multifactorial phenomenon rooted in diverse underlying causes, including alcohol abuse, psychological disorders, economic hardship, and entrenched traditional beliefs that normalize spousal abuse. They argue that domestic violence persists and escalates in contexts where legal and institutional frameworks fail to provide proactive and effective interventions. The authors propose judicial separation as a potential legal remedy to shield victims and minimize recurrence, thereby positioning domestic violence not only as a legal concern but also as a pressing public health issue. Their analysis highlights the interconnected nature of structural, socio-cultural, and legal drivers of domestic violence and underscores the need for a multidimensional response.

Nwosu, Ngomba, and Grace (2023) examine domestic violence through a sociological lens, emphasizing its detrimental impact on marital stability and family cohesion. Their study in Jalingo Metropolis reveals a direct correlation between intimate partner violence and marital breakdown, thereby framing domestic violence not only as a violation of personal safety but also as a destabilizing force within family systems. The authors advocate for enhanced access to counselling services and community-based social support as essential mitigation strategies to reduce the incidence and consequences of domestic violence.

Ajayi and Agwuegbo (2025) adopt an advocacy and human rights perspective, framing domestic and gender-based violence as a national crisis that warrants the declaration of a state of emergency. Their work underscores the urgent need for comprehensive policy reform and stronger governmental intervention, while highlighting the persistent failure of state institutions to provide adequate protection for vulnerable populations, particularly women and girls.

Agbonika and Ujah (2021) conceptualize domestic violence as both a legal and institutional challenge, underscoring the persistent implementation failures of existing laws designed to protect victims. They argue that entrenched cultural norms, low public awareness, and weak enforcement mechanisms constitute major barriers to effective legal protection. Consequently, domestic violence is framed not merely as an individual or familial issue but as a symptom of deeper systemic flaws within Nigeria's legal and governance frameworks.

Ike, Jidong, and Ayobi (2023) adopt a qualitative approach to examine Nigerian women's perceptions of domestic and intimate partner violence. Their study underscores the role of law enforcement's gender bias and the limited awareness of legal frameworks and support services in perpetuating underreporting and recurrence of abuse. The findings suggest that without addressing systemic barriers within the justice system and societal knowledge gaps, domestic violence interventions remain ineffective. Consequently, the authors advocate for education, awareness campaigns, and capacity building as critical strategies for improving domestic violence management in Nigeria.

Concept of United Nations Resolutions

A United Nations Resolution is not a single, consolidated document; rather, it represents a formal expression of opinion, policy, or intent by UN organs, such as the General Assembly or the Security Council, made pursuant to the foundational UN Charter. Resolutions serve as the primary instruments through which these organs exercise their mandate, including maintaining international peace and security, upholding human rights, and promoting economic and social progress. They provide normative guidance and political authority, shaping the expectations and obligations of the states in the international system.

Somerfield (2024) examines United Nations resolutions, particularly those of the Security Council, from a legal perspective, framing them as international legal instruments that contain binding or guiding norms. According to the study, a resolution represents a unified decision of a UN organ addressed to states, which may be administrative in nature or serve as a recommendation to guide national actions. This perspective emphasizes that UN resolutions function as both instruments of international governance and mechanisms for influencing state behaviour, providing a legal and normative basis for states to implement measures in areas such as peace, security, and human rights.

According to Taiwo (2025), a United Nations resolution is a formal decision issued by a principal UN organ to address pressing issues with significant international implications. Such resolutions may be binding or non-binding, depending on the issuing organ and the context, and they serve as instruments for guiding states' actions, shaping international norms, and responding to challenges that affect global peace, security, and human rights.

Ajayi (2024) defines a United Nations resolution as a formal decision reached by states through a principal UN organ to address critical issues affecting the global community. Such resolutions reflect collective deliberation and agreement, serving as instruments through which the UN guides international action, responds to pressing challenges, and sets expectations for states' conduct.

Opialu (2023) conceptualizes a United Nations resolution as a formal document or text adopted by a UN organ, most commonly the Security Council or the General Assembly. These resolutions serve as official instruments through which the UN articulates decisions, recommendations, or guidance on matters of international concern, providing both normative and, in certain cases, binding directives for states.

Concept of United Nations Conventions

United Nations Conventions are legally binding treaties negotiated and adopted by states to establish internationally recognized norms and obligations. Unlike resolutions, which primarily express the intent or opinion of UN organs, conventions create enforceable commitments for states that ratify them. They provide a formal legal framework for addressing global issues, including the protection of human rights, promotion of gender equality, and prevention of violence against women.

In the context of domestic violence, key conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) obligate states to implement legislative, administrative, and policy measures to prevent and respond to gender-based violence. Conventions serve as benchmarks against which domestic legal systems can be evaluated, offering guidance on aligning national laws with international standards. By establishing clear duties for states, conventions

complement resolutions by providing both normative and enforceable mechanisms for advancing women's rights and ensuring accountability.

The UN Conventions such as CEDAW create binding obligations for states, requiring legislative, administrative, and policy measures to prevent and respond to gender-based violence. Conventions serve as benchmarks for aligning domestic laws with international standards, ensuring accountability and protection for victims.

Theoretical Framework

The study is grounded in multiple theoretical perspectives that help to explain the effectiveness of United Nations Conventions/Resolution on managing domestic violence against women. These theories include Human Rights Theory, Normative Institutionalism Theory and Feminist Legal Theory. But for the purpose of this research Feminist Legal Theory will be the focus.

Feminist Legal Theory and the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence

Feminist Legal Theory (FLT) provides a critical analytical framework for examining how legal systems and institutions shape gender relations and influence the protection of women's rights. The theory challenges the historically male-centered nature of legal structures and argues that many legal norms and institutions have been constructed around male experiences, thereby marginalizing women's lived realities. In this regard, FLT seeks not merely legal reform but a broader transformation of legal reasoning, institutional practices, and social norms in order to achieve substantive gender equality. Contemporary feminist legal scholars continue to emphasize that legal systems must move beyond formal equality toward policies and legal frameworks that address the structural inequalities that expose women to violence and discrimination (Hunter, McGlynn, & Rackley, 2023; Davies & Munro, 2024).

The intellectual foundations of Feminist Legal Theory are rooted in the works of pioneering scholars such as Catharine MacKinnon**,** Mari Matsuda**,** and Martha Fineman, whose scholarship highlighted the gendered nature of legal institutions. MacKinnon's work demonstrated how legal frameworks historically failed to recognize sexual harassment and gender-based violence as forms of discrimination, thereby reinforcing systemic inequalities. Similarly, Matsuda introduced the concept of *multiple consciousness*, arguing that legal analysis must account for the intersection of race, gender, and class in order to understand how different forms of oppression operate simultaneously. Fineman's vulnerability theory further challenged the liberal assumption of individual autonomy, emphasizing that social institutions often reproduce dependency and inequality, particularly for women within family and economic structures. Contemporary feminist legal scholarship continues to build upon these foundational ideas by highlighting how legal institutions may inadvertently reproduce patriarchal power relations if

gender-sensitive perspectives are not integrated into policymaking and legal interpretation (Fineman, 2023; Hunter et al., 2023).

One of the central assumptions of Feminist Legal Theory is that **law is not neutral**. Rather, it reflects social power relations and cultural values that may privilege dominant groups while marginalizing others. In many societies, domestic violence was historically treated as a private family matter rather than a public concern requiring legal intervention. This perception effectively depoliticized violence within the household and limited the accountability of perpetrators. Feminist scholars argue that this legal and cultural framing contributed to the normalization of domestic violence and created significant barriers to justice for survivors (Davies & Munro, 2024; UN Women, 2023). From this perspective, domestic violence is not simply an individual act of abuse but a structural manifestation of gender inequality embedded within social, economic, and legal institutions.

Furthermore, Feminist Legal Theory highlights the multiple barriers that survivors of domestic violence often encounter when seeking justice. These barriers may include victim-blaming attitudes, inadequate legal protections, weak enforcement mechanisms, and institutional biases within the police and judicial systems. Recent studies on gender-based violence indicate that despite improvements in legislation across many countries, survivors still face difficulties accessing legal remedies due to procedural barriers, stigma, and insufficient institutional support (World Health Organization, 2024; UN Women, 2023). As a result, feminist scholars advocate survivor-centered and trauma-informed legal frameworks, including specialized courts, victim support services, gender-sensitive policing, and comprehensive prevention strategies.

The relevance of Feminist Legal Theory is particularly evident in the development of international legal frameworks aimed at combating violence against women. For instance, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (UN General Assembly Resolution 48/104, 1993) marked a major shift in international discourse by explicitly defining violence against women as a violation of human rights rather than a private or cultural issue. This shift reflects the influence of feminist advocacy that pushed the international community to recognize gender-based violence as a systemic problem requiring coordinated global action.

Similarly, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and subsequent resolutions on Women, Peace and Security emphasize the importance of gender-sensitive justice, the protection of women from violence, and the inclusion of women in peacebuilding processes. These resolutions echo central themes of Feminist Legal Theory by recognizing that gender inequality and violence are interconnected and that meaningful protection requires institutional reforms that empower women and ensure accountability for perpetrators. More recent international policy frameworks continue to incorporate feminist perspectives by advocating integrated approaches that combine legal reform, social

services, and community-based prevention initiatives (UN Women, 2024; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2023).

Feminist Legal Theory therefore provides a critical lens for assessing the effectiveness of international conventions and resolutions related to domestic violence against women. While instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and various UN resolutions establish important normative standards, feminist scholars emphasize that their success ultimately depends on how effectively these norms are implemented at the national level. Without structural reforms that challenge patriarchal power relations, international commitments may remain largely symbolic. Consequently, feminist legal scholarship stresses the need for comprehensive reforms that address legal structures, institutional practices, and social attitudes simultaneously (Hunter et al., 2023; Davies & Munro, 2024).

In the context of this study, Feminist Legal Theory complements other theoretical perspectives by emphasizing the importance of substantive equality and systemic transformation. While Human Rights Theory highlights the universal rights and obligations that underpin international legal instruments, and Normative Institutionalism explains how international norms influence state behavior, Feminist Legal Theory focuses specifically on how legal systems must be reshaped to reflect women's lived experiences and ensure meaningful protection against violence.

Taken together, these theoretical perspectives demonstrate that the effectiveness of United Nations conventions and resolutions in addressing domestic violence against women must be evaluated across multiple dimensions. First, Human Rights Theory underscores the moral and legal obligations of states to protect fundamental rights. Second, Normative Institutionalism explains how international norms and institutional pressures influence national policies and legal reforms. Third, Feminist Legal Theory insists on substantive equality and structural transformation, ensuring that legal frameworks translate into real protections for survivors of violence.

In summary, while United Nations conventions and resolutions provide an essential normative and legal foundation for addressing domestic violence against women, their effectiveness ultimately depends on the willingness of states to internalize human rights principles, comply with international norms, and implement gender-sensitive reforms that dismantle structural inequalities. By integrating insights from Human Rights Theory, Normative Institutionalism, and Feminist Legal Theory, this study evaluates the extent to which international commitments are translated into meaningful legal protection and social change for women.

Research Methodology

Research Design

This study adopts a qualitative research design, supported by descriptive and comparative case study approaches, in order to examine the effectiveness of United Nations conventions and resolutions in addressing domestic violence against women. A qualitative design is particularly appropriate for this study because it focuses on interpreting legal texts, institutional frameworks, and policy responses rather than measuring numerical variables. The approach allows for a deeper understanding of the meanings, principles, and institutional implications embedded in international legal instruments and their translation into domestic policies and legal systems.

Qualitative research is widely used in legal and social science studies because it enables the researcher to analyse documents, legal provisions, institutional practices, and scholarly debates in their broader social and political contexts. In the context of this study, the qualitative approach facilitates an interpretive examination of how international norms concerning women's rights and protection from domestic violence are articulated within the United Nations system and how these norms influence state behaviour and legal reforms.

The descriptive component of the research design is employed to systematically present the content and key provisions of relevant United Nations conventions and resolutions addressing violence against women. Particular attention is given to important UN instruments such as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (UNGA Resolution 48/104 of 1993), United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security, and UN General Assembly Resolution 61/143 (2006) on the intensification of efforts to eliminate violence against women. Through descriptive analysis, the study explains the objectives, obligations, and policy expectations embedded in these international instruments and how they frame global responses to domestic violence.

In addition, the research incorporates a comparative case study approach, focusing on Nigeria, South Africa, and India as selected countries for analysis. The case study method enables an in-depth examination of how different states interpret, adopt, and implement international norms related to the prevention and management of domestic violence against women. These countries were selected because they represent diverse legal traditions, socio-cultural environments, and policy frameworks while simultaneously demonstrating commitment to international human rights instruments. By examining these contexts, the study provides insight into the ways international legal obligations are translated into national legislation, judicial interpretation, and institutional practice.

The comparative dimension of the case study design also makes it possible to identify similarities and differences in implementation patterns across the selected countries. It helps reveal how political

commitment, institutional capacity, cultural norms, and legal traditions shape the effectiveness of international conventions and resolutions at the domestic level. Through this design, the study provides a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between global norms and local realities in addressing domestic violence against women.

Sources of Data and Data Collection

This study relies primarily on documentary sources of data, drawing from both primary and secondary materials in order to provide a comprehensive and credible analysis of the role of international legal instruments in combating domestic violence against women. The use of multiple sources enhances the reliability of the research and allows for triangulation**,** thereby ensuring a balanced interpretation of legal provisions, policy frameworks, and implementation practices.

Primary Sources

Primary sources consist mainly of official legal documents, international conventions, and national legislation that provide direct evidence regarding the normative framework governing the protection of women from domestic violence.

First, the study examines United Nations legal and policy documents, including the Charter of the United Nations (1945)**,** which establishes the foundational principles of human rights, equality, and non-discrimination within the international system. In addition, the research analyses key UN resolutions and declarations that directly address violence against women, including UN General Assembly Resolution 48/104 (1993) on the Elimination of Violence against Women, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security, and UN General Assembly Resolution 61/143 (2006) on the intensification of global efforts to eliminate violence against women. These instruments provide important normative guidance and policy direction for member states.

Second, the study reviews international conventions and regional human rights treaties that establish legally binding obligations for the protection of women's rights. Prominent among these are the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979)**,** the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1981)**,** and the Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol, 2003)**.** These instruments collectively provide the international legal framework for addressing discrimination and violence against women.

Third, the research analyses national legal frameworks within the selected case study countries. In Nigeria, attention is given to the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act (2015) and related state-level legislation. In South Africa, the study reviews the Domestic Violence Act (1998) and the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (2007). For India, the research examines

the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (2005) alongside relevant constitutional guarantees for gender equality and protection from abuse. These domestic laws provide important insight into how international commitments are incorporated into national legal systems.

Finally, the study considers judicial decisions from both international and domestic courts that interpret and apply laws related to women's rights and domestic violence. Notable cases include Bhe v Magistrate, Khayelitsha (2004) in South Africa and Indra Sarma v V.K.V. Sarma (2013) in India. Such decisions illustrate how courts play a critical role in clarifying legal protections and enforcing the rights of women.

Secondary Sources

Secondary sources provide additional context, interpretation, and scholarly analysis that support the understanding of international legal frameworks and their implementation.

These sources include academic literature, such as books, journal articles, and theoretical works that discuss gender justice, international human rights law, feminist legal theory, and institutional approaches to norm implementation. Foundational contributions from scholars such as MacKinnon, Fineman, and March and Olsen provide theoretical insights into gender inequality, human rights enforcement, and institutional behaviour within the international system.

The study also draws on reports from international organizations and civil society groups**,** including publications by UN Women, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch. These reports often provide empirical data, policy evaluations, and critical perspectives on the effectiveness of state responses to domestic violence.

In addition, the research examines government and statistical reports produced by national institutions such as the National Bureau of Statistics in Nigeria**,** Statistics South Africa, and India's National Crime Records Bureau. These reports provide relevant data on gender-based violence and policy implementation within the selected countries.

By combining these diverse sources, the study is able to examine both the normative foundations and practical realities of international efforts to combat domestic violence against women. While primary legal documents provide insight into formal obligations and institutional commitments, secondary sources help to evaluate how these commitments are implemented in practice and what challenges remain.

Method of Data Analysis

The study employs qualitative content analysis as the primary method for analysing the collected data. Content analysis involves systematically examining documents, legal texts, policy statements, and

scholarly literature in order to identify key themes, patterns, and institutional practices related to the implementation of international norms on domestic violence.

Through this method, the study analyses how UN conventions and resolutions frame the issue of domestic violence, how these frameworks influence national legislation, and how institutional actors interpret and implement these norms within different socio-legal environments. The analysis also identifies major challenges affecting implementation, including institutional limitations, cultural norms, legal enforcement gaps, and policy inconsistencies.

The comparative analysis of Nigeria, South Africa, and India further enables the study to assess variations in implementation outcomes and draw broader conclusions about the effectiveness of international legal instruments in addressing domestic violence against women.

Results and Discussion

The Legal Framework of the United Nations Conventions in Protecting Women's Rights. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979) represents a cornerstone of the international legal framework for protecting women's rights. Articles 1, 2, and 5 of the Convention explicitly oblige states to eliminate discrimination against women and to modify cultural and social patterns that sustain gender-based violence (United Nations, 1979). Together with General Assembly Resolution 48/104 (1993) on the Elimination of Violence against Women and subsequent resolutions such as 61/143 (2006), CEDAW provides both a legal and normative foundation for member states to criminalize and prevent domestic violence. Empirical studies indicate that countries incorporating CEDAW obligations into their domestic legal systems demonstrate stronger protections against gender-based violence (Byrnes & Freeman, 2012). For example, South Africa's Domestic Violence Act (1998), India's Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (2005), and Nigeria's Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act (2015) reflect the influence of CEDAW and related UN conventions in shaping national legislation (Tripp, 2019). These frameworks have provided avenues for women to seek redress and have strengthened institutional responses to domestic violence.

According to UN Women's Global Database on Violence against Women (2023), over 75% of states now have specific domestic violence laws, many of which reference or align with CEDAW standards. This development demonstrates how conventions have moved beyond symbolic commitments to become mechanisms of accountability and legal transformation.

Moreover, conventions such as CEDAW are reinforced through treaty-monitoring mechanisms like the CEDAW Committee, which issues General Recommendations and Concluding Observations to evaluate state compliance. These monitoring processes create pressure on governments to harmonize domestic

laws with international standards (Otto, 2019). Civil society organizations, through the submission of shadow reports, further enhance accountability by highlighting gaps in implementation.

In sum, UN conventions, particularly CEDAW, have proven effective in setting universal standards, influencing domestic legal reforms, and creating mechanisms for international oversight. While implementation challenges persist due to cultural resistance, weak institutions, and resource constraints, these conventions remain pivotal tools in advancing the fight against domestic violence and ensuring women's rights are protected at both international and domestic levels.

The Role of United Nations Resolutions in Shaping Global Norms on Domestic Violence

The United Nations has played a pivotal role in establishing international norms and standards to combat domestic violence, primarily through its General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. These instruments have not only raised global awareness but have also directly influenced national policy frameworks, legal reforms, and service provisions aimed at protecting women and girls from domestic abuse (United Nations, 1993; UN Women, 2023).

A landmark development in this regard was United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution 48/104**,** adopted in 1993, which introduced the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW). This resolution recognized violence against women as a human rights violation and called upon states to exercise due diligence in preventing, investigating, and punishing acts of violence (United Nations, 1993). It served as a normative foundation for subsequent legal and institutional reforms worldwide. Following its adoption, countries such as Nigeria, South Africa, Canada, and the Philippines introduced or strengthened legislation to address domestic violence, reflecting the resolution's global influence.

In Nigeria, for instance, several initiatives were undertaken to combat violence against women. The National Gender Policy (2006) promoted gender equality and addressed violence in national planning. Nigeria also ratified CEDAW (1979) and the African Women's Protocol (2003), signaling its commitment to protecting women's rights (Okeke-Ihejirika & Franceschet, 2020). A significant milestone was the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act (2015), which criminalizes various forms of abuse, including domestic, sexual, emotional, and economic violence. In addition, some Nigerian states such as Lagos and Ekiti passed their own domestic violence laws and established special response teams. Gender desks in police stations, training of law enforcement officers, and awareness campaigns have further supported survivors. However, uneven implementation across states continues to pose challenges.

Another significant instrument is United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325**,** adopted in 2000. Although primarily focused on women, peace, and security, it has influenced domestic violence policy by integrating gender-based violence into broader peacebuilding frameworks (United Nations Security Council, 2000). It called for women's participation in conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction, while also addressing the impact of violence on women during and after conflicts. A notable outcome of this resolution has been the adoption of National Action Plans (NAPs) by over 100 countries. These plans often include domestic violence provisions such as awareness campaigns, service delivery frameworks, and institutional reforms. According to the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security (2022), countries with active NAPs have demonstrated stronger institutional commitment to addressing domestic violence, allocating more resources to shelters, psychosocial services, and legal aid. For instance, Sweden and Rwanda created inter-ministerial committees through their NAPs to monitor progress in combating violence against women, including domestic violence.

Further reinforcing these global norms, UNGA Resolution 61/143 (2006) urged member states to intensify efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women. It emphasized the need for survivor-centered legal frameworks, international cooperation, systematic data collection, and victim support mechanisms (United Nations, 2006). In response, several states adopted or revised legislation. For example, India's Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (2005) broadened the legal definition of domestic violence to include emotional, economic, and sexual abuse (Kapur, 2013). Similarly, Brazil passed the Maria da Penha Law (2006), widely regarded as one of the most comprehensive domestic violence laws globally. This law, influenced by UN norms, introduced special courts for domestic violence cases and mandated shelters and hotlines (Opialu & Opialu, 2023).

Collectively, these resolutions and their implementation demonstrate the normative power of the United Nations in shaping state behavior. By establishing international standards and encouraging accountability, UN resolutions have transformed domestic violence from a private matter into a recognized public and political issue. They continue to reinforce global commitments to gender equality and human rights, providing both states and civil society with tools for advocacy and reform.

Implementation Gaps between International Resolutions and National Policies

United Nations conventions and resolutions on domestic violence, such as the UN General Assembly Resolution 48/104 (1993) and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), provide strong normative guidance. However, the translation of these international commitments into enforceable national laws and effective protection mechanisms remains uneven. Political will, institutional weaknesses, cultural resistance, and limited resources continue to undermine implementation across many contexts (CEDAW Committee, 2019; UN Women, 2023).

The UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women reports that approximately 35% of states demonstrate weak enforcement of domestic violence legislation, even when such laws exist (UN Human Rights Council, 2021). This reflects a significant disconnection between international norms and local realities. A comparative analysis of Nigeria, India, and South Africa illustrates these implementation gaps.

Nigeria: The Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act (VAPP) of 2015, influenced by UN standards, criminalizes domestic violence, psychological abuse, and harmful traditional practices. Yet, implementation remains inconsistent. As of 2023, only 34 out of 36 states had domesticated the Act, reflecting the challenges of Nigeria's federal system (UN Women, 2023). Even where adopted, enforcement is undermined by underreporting, police inaction, judicial delays, and a shortage of shelters and legal aid (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

India: The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (2005) was hailed as a landmark reform aligned with international conventions. However, its enforcement is weakened by bureaucratic inefficiencies, delays in appointing protection officers, and the persistence of cultural norms that discourage reporting (Kapur, 2021).

South Africa: Despite having one of the most progressive constitutions in the world and comprehensive gender-based violence legislation, enforcement remains inadequate. High levels of gender-based violence persist, largely due to poor police responsiveness, judicial backlogs, and insufficient survivor support services (Jewkes, Flood, & Lang, 2015).

Taken together, these cases highlight that legal reforms inspired by UN conventions are necessary but not sufficient. Without strong political commitment, institutional capacity, survivor-centered services, and efforts to challenge entrenched social norms, the transformative potential of international frameworks remains only partially realized. Genuine progress requires bridging the gap between international commitment and national implementation through context-sensitive strategies, accountability mechanisms, and sustainable resource allocation.

Impact of UN-Backed Programs and Campaigns on Domestic Violence Prevention

Beyond setting normative frameworks through conventions, resolutions, and declarations, the United Nations (UN) has engaged in operational programs and global campaigns that translate policies into practical action. These initiatives aim to prevent domestic violence, protect survivors, and strengthen institutional capacity at both national and community levels (UN Women, 2022a). One of the most prominent examples is the *Spotlight Initiative*, a flagship partnership between the UN and the European Union, which seeks to eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls.

Launched in 2017, the Spotlight Initiative represents a multi-billion-dollar investment in gender-based violence (GBV) prevention and response, with a particular focus on high-incidence regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa (European Union & UN, 2017). According to the *Spotlight Initiative Global Annual Report 2022*, over one million women and girls in Sub-Saharan Africa alone have directly benefited from critical services, including:

1. Legal aid and justice support.
2. Access to shelters and safe spaces.
3. Counselling and mental health services.
4. Economic empowerment programs.
5. Public awareness campaigns addressing domestic violence (Spotlight Initiative, 2022).

These interventions address the immediate needs of survivors while promoting systemic change by advancing gender equality, strengthening the rule of law, and fostering public awareness (UN Women, 2022b).

Empirical case studies from Malawi and Nigeria illustrate the tangible impact of these initiatives. In Malawi, community-level training for police officers and judicial officers led to an 18% increase in reporting rates of domestic violence cases within one year (Spotlight Initiative, 2022). Similarly, in Nigeria, integrating gender-sensitive training into police academies and the judiciary resulted in higher conviction rates for perpetrators and improved survivor satisfaction with the justice process (UN Women, 2021). These findings demonstrate the importance of localized interventions that adapt UN mandates to specific socio-cultural and institutional contexts.

Furthermore, the Spotlight Initiative is closely aligned with broader UN frameworks, including Sustainable Development Goal 5: Gender Equality, as well as commitments under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and UN General Assembly Resolution 61/143 on the intensification of efforts to eliminate violence against women (UNGA, 2007; United Nations, 1979). These frameworks reinforce the need for integrated approaches that combine prevention, protection, prosecution, and policy reform.

The successes in Malawi and Nigeria provide a replicable model for other regions where domestic violence remains pervasive and underreported. However, sustainability challenges persist. Many of these programs rely heavily on donor funding, raising concerns about long-term viability. Ensuring continuity requires stronger national ownership, increased domestic budgetary allocations, robust monitoring and evaluation systems, and inclusive participation of women and marginalized communities in program design and implementation (UN Women, 2022a).

In conclusion, UN-backed campaigns such as the Spotlight Initiative are vital instruments for operationalizing international commitments to combat domestic violence. They bridge the gap between global advocacy and grassroots action, demonstrating that transformative change is possible when policy frameworks are supported by well-funded, culturally relevant, and community-driven programming.

Conclusion

Domestic violence against women remains one of the most persistent violations of human rights despite the existence of extensive international legal frameworks developed by the United Nations. Instruments such as the UN Charter (1945), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979), and key resolutions including UNGA Resolution 48/104 (1993) and UNSCR 1325 (2000) have significantly contributed to redefining domestic violence as a serious human rights issue rather than a private family matter. These frameworks have established global standards for gender equality and encouraged states to adopt laws and policies aimed at preventing violence against women. However, the findings of this study reveal that the effectiveness of these international commitments is often constrained by uneven domestic implementation, limited political will, weak enforcement mechanisms, and persistent socio-cultural norms that continue to normalize gender-based violence in many societies.

Nevertheless, the study demonstrates that meaningful progress is achievable when international norms are effectively localized through national legislation, institutional reforms, and community-based initiatives. Programs such as the EU–UN Spotlight Initiative illustrate how coordinated collaboration between international organizations, governments, and local actors can strengthen accountability, expand survivor support services, and improve public awareness. Ultimately, the effectiveness of UN conventions and resolutions depends not merely on ratification but on the extent to which states translate these commitments into practical protections through enforceable laws, adequate funding, and survivor-centered interventions. Bridging the gap between international standards and lived realities therefore requires sustained political commitment, multi-level cooperation, and culturally responsive strategies capable of transforming global norms into tangible improvements in the safety, dignity, and rights of women worldwide.

Domestic violence against women remains a persistent global challenge despite the extensive normative and legal frameworks developed by the United Nations. Over time, international instruments such as the UN Charter (1945), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979), and key resolutions including UNGA Resolution 48/104 (1993) and UNSCR 1325 (2000) have significantly reshaped global discourse by recognizing violence against women as a fundamental human rights violation rather than a private or cultural matter. These frameworks have

contributed to advancing gender equality, strengthening international norms, and encouraging states to adopt policies aimed at protecting women from domestic violence.

However, the study demonstrates that the effectiveness of these international commitments largely depends on their implementation at the national and local levels. While many states have ratified relevant conventions and endorsed UN resolutions, significant gaps remain between international obligations and domestic enforcement. Weak institutional mechanisms, limited political commitment, inadequate funding, and deeply rooted patriarchal norms continue to undermine the effectiveness of legal frameworks in many parts of the world. In several contexts, domestic violence is still normalized or underreported, which further perpetuates impunity and limits access to justice for survivors.

Nevertheless, the evidence also shows that meaningful progress is possible when international frameworks are supported by strong domestic policies, institutional reforms, and community engagement. Initiatives such as the EU–UN Spotlight Initiative illustrate how coordinated efforts between international organizations, governments, and local communities can strengthen legal accountability, improve survivor support services, and promote public awareness. These experiences highlight the importance of integrating global human rights standards with context-sensitive approaches that reflect local social and cultural realities.

Ultimately, addressing domestic violence against women requires a multi-level and coordinated strategy that operates simultaneously at international, national, and community levels. International organizations must continue to provide normative guidance and monitoring mechanisms; national governments must enact and enforce effective legislation and institutional reforms; and local actors must play an active role in challenging harmful social norms and supporting survivors.

In summary, while the United Nations has played a crucial role in establishing global norms and legal frameworks to combat domestic violence, the realization of these goals depends on the political will of states and their commitment to translate international principles into practical protections. Bridging the gap between international standards and everyday realities requires stronger enforcement mechanisms, sustained funding, inclusive policies, and survivor-centered interventions. Only through such comprehensive and coordinated efforts can the international community ensure meaningful protection for women and advance the broader goals of human rights, gender equality, and social justice.

Recommendations

1. **Strengthen National Implementation and Enforcement:**
   Governments should domesticate international obligations into enforceable national legislation, strengthen judicial and law enforcement institutions, and establish monitoring bodies to ensure compliance with UN standards.

2. **Promote Community-Based and Context-Sensitive Approaches:**
   Efforts to combat domestic violence must address cultural and social norms by engaging traditional leaders, religious institutions, and grassroots organizations while expanding survivor-centered services such as shelters, legal aid, and psychosocial support.
3. **Enhance International–National Collaboration and Sustainable Funding:**
   Governments should allocate dedicated domestic funding for gender-based violence prevention, strengthen international accountability mechanisms, and invest in reliable data collection to support evidence-based policies and track progress toward gender equality goals.

References

Adedeji, A. (2023). Gender-based violence and Nigeria's legal compliance with international human rights standards. *Journal of African Law, 67*(1), 45–67.

Aidonojie, P. A., Majekodunmi, T., Ikubanni, S., et al. (2024). Judicial separation as a legal remedy for domestic violence survivors in Nigeria. *International Journal of Law and Society, 7*(2), 112–130.

Aina-Pelemo, A. D., Olujobi, O., & Yebisi, T. (2023). Cultural legitimization of domestic violence in Nigeria: A critique of the VAPP Act. *African Journal of Gender Studies, 18*(3), 89–105.

Ajayi, E. (2024). *Understanding United Nations resolutions: Decisions in global governance* [Unpublished manuscript].

Ajayi, M. P., & Agwuegbo, L. N. (2025). Domestic violence as a national crisis: The case for a state of emergency in Nigeria. *Journal of Human Rights Practice, 15*(1), 1–22.

Alawode, O. O. (2024). Socioeconomic determinants of domestic violence against women in Nigeria. *Health and Human Rights Journal, 26*(1), 55–70.

Davies, M., & Munro, V. (2024). *The Ashgate research companion to feminist legal theory* (Updated ed.). Routledge.

Donnelly, J. (2023). *Universal human rights in theory and practice* (4th ed.). Cornell University Press.

Fawole, O. I., & Okedare, O. O. (2021). Home was not a safe haven: Women's experiences of intimate partner violence during COVID-19 lockdown in Nigeria. *PLOS ONE, 16*(6), e0253107. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0253107

Fineman, M. A. (2023). *Vulnerability and the foundations of equality in law*. Routledge.

Freeman, M. (2023). *Human rights: An interdisciplinary approach* (4th ed.). Polity Press.

Galleguillos, M., & Pugliese, G. (2022). The role of hotlines in supporting domestic violence survivors. *Journal of Family Violence, 37*(4), 521–535.

Goodhart, M. (2024). *Human rights: Politics and practice* (4th ed.). Oxford University Press.

Harris, B. (2024). Sustaining the fight against gender-based violence: A global perspective. *Feminist Criminology, 19*(2), 145–163.

Hunter, R., McGlynn, C., & Rackley, E. (2023). *Feminist judgments: Rewritten decisions of the international courts and tribunals*. Hart Publishing.

Igbolekwu, C. O., Arusukwu, O., Nwogu, J. N., et al. (2021). Cultural acceptance of domestic violence in rural Nigeria. *Violence Against Women, 27*(9), 1320–1340.

Ike, J., Jidong, D. E., & Ayobi, T. (2023). Perceptions of Nigerian women on intimate partner violence and legal redress. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 38*(3–4), 2105–2130.

Isaq, S. (2023). *United Nations resolutions as political norms in the international system* [Unpublished manuscript].

Kelly, L. (2013). The continuum of violence: A feminist perspective. In J. M. Brown & S. L. Walklate (Eds.), *Handbook on gender and violence* (pp. 67–86). Edward Elgar.

Konrad, A. S. (2024). *The political value of non-binding UN resolutions* [Unpublished manuscript].

Kresin, O. V. (2024). *The Charter of the United Nations: Constitutional foundations of international order* [Unpublished manuscript].

Madu, S. N. (2015). Domestic violence legislation in Africa: A comparative analysis. *African Human Rights Law Journal, 15*(2), 456–478.

Manjoo, R., & McRaith, C. (2015). Femicide and state accountability. *Harvard Human Rights Journal, 28*, 1–35.

Merry, S. E. (2006). *Human rights and gender violence: Translating international law into local justice*. University of Chicago Press.

Moyn, S. (2023). *Liberalism against itself: Cold War intellectuals and the making of our times*. Yale University Press.

Nussbaum, M. (2020). *Creating capabilities: The human development approach*. Harvard University Press. (Original work published 2011)

Nwosu, I., Ngomba, E., & Grace, U. (2023). Domestic violence and marital instability in Jalingo Metropolis. *Journal of Family Issues, 44*(5), 689–710.

Odini, F., Amuzie, C., & Kalu, K. U. (2024). Prevalence and predictors of intimate partner violence among female undergraduates in Nigeria. *Journal of Public Health in Africa, 15*(1), 1–9.

Oluwagbemiga, A., Johnson, A., & Makinde, O. (2023). Intimate partner violence among married women in Nigeria. *BMC Women's Health, 23*(1), 45.

Omotoso, T. K., Adewara, O. S., & Adeleke, O. (2024). Ethnicity, education, and domestic violence in Southern Nigeria. *Gender & Society, 38*(2), 200–220.

Opialu, F. (2023). *United Nations resolutions: Forms, processes, and impacts* [Unpublished manuscript].

Oyeniran, L. O. (2024). Domestic violence in Nigeria: Legal gaps and reform imperatives. *Nigerian Journal of Law and Policy, 12*(1), 78–95.

Peterman, A., Potts, A., O'Donnell, M., et al. (2020). Pandemics and violence against women and children. *Center for Global Development Working Paper*, 528.

Saglam, Y., Alkan, A., & Harris, D. (2024). Technology-assisted support for domestic violence survivors. *Violence and Gender, 11*(1), 12–25.

Sen, A. (2004). Elements of a theory of human rights. *Philosophy & Public Affairs, 32*(4), 315–356.

Shue, H. (2020). *Basic rights: Subsistence, affluence, and U.S. foreign policy*. Princeton University Press. (Original work published 1996)

United Nations Human Rights Council. (2023). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women and girls*. United Nations.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2023). *Handbook on effective prosecution responses to violence against women and girls*. UNODC.

UN Women. (2023). *Progress on the sustainable development goals: Gender equality and violence against women*. United Nations.

UN Women. (2024a). *Global database on violence against women: Policy developments and legal responses*. United Nations.

UN Women. (2024b). *Progress on the sustainable development goals: The gender snapshot 2024*. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.

World Bank. (2023). *Women, business and the law 2023*. World Bank Publications.

World Health Organization. (2024). *Violence against women prevalence estimates and global trends*. WHO.