



Republic of Turkey  
Ministry of Family and  
Social Policies



# Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey

## Summary Report

Ankara, December 2014



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## PREFACE

Violence against women is a social problem that threatens women's lives and impedes their involvement in social life. Violence against women, which is a problem occurring all over the world despite the policies and implementations on national and international level, requires a joint and decisive struggle on national level, through multi-dimensional, coherent, inclusive plans and policies.

For the first time in 2008, a comprehensive "Research on Domestic Violence against Woman in Turkey" was conducted with the aim of identifying the extent of violence against women, determining the causes and meeting the need of data collection in this field. From that time until now, in light of the results of the aforementioned research, significant progress has been made regarding the improvement of legal regulations on violence against women and implementation of policies developed for the struggle with violence against women in a manner that will cover every layer of society.

The "Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey" conducted in 2014 is important for revealing the change in violence against women during the period since the 2008 research. Furthermore, concerning violence against women, the research will undertake an important mission for approaching social policies that will be established based on the institution of family which is the foundation of society and which ensures social sustainability, in an inclusive and integrated manner.

With the belief that violence against women is unacceptable, our Ministry continues its efforts with determination in a wide range and with the comprehensive collaboration of all parties. Within this context, our efforts concerning the struggle with violence against women including the legislative amendments; the trainings and efforts to raise awareness; the enhancement of collaboration and cooperation between institutions; the empowerment of institutional mechanisms for the protection and support of victims of violence which can be evaluated as our priority topics continue.

"The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence" also known as Istanbul Convention is a significant international legal step for the struggle with violence against women. Our country put forth its determination regarding the struggle with violence against women by being among the first signatory countries and ratifying the Convention without hesitation. Furthermore, with the aim of reflecting the Istanbul Convention in our national legislation, "Law number 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence against Women" was prepared and put into force in 2012. The aforementioned Law which took the struggle with violence against women to the next level by strengthening the legal infrastructure set a precedent at international level with its comprehensive regulations.

After the execution of the legal amendments and the strengthening of the institutional infrastructure, the "Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey" conducted in 2013-2014, will make a significant contribution in terms of demonstrating the results of zero-tolerance policies implemented by our Ministry towards combating violence against women in a multi-dimensional manner while, ensuring that protective-preventive, rehabilitative and guiding cautionary decisions concerning the struggle with violence against women will take part in basic policies and their implementation.

I wish that the aforementioned research will be a resource for efforts regarding the struggle with violence against women, as well as raise the social awareness and sensitivity towards this issue and I thank everyone who contributed to the research.

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşenur İSLAM**  
Minister of Family and Social Policies



## FOREWORD

Violence against women is still a problem in Turkey, as it is in many countries. Violence, which is a form of human rights violation and discrimination against women, is among the top priority social responsibilities which has to be combated nationwide. For the prevention of violence against women, studies conducted in collaboration with non-governmental organizations, women's organizations, public organizations and universities are important. The responsibilities of academic institutions for establishing data-based policies by generating reliable and up-to-date data gain importance. In this context, as Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, with the "Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey" we present current necessary information on the prevalence and causes of violence, the challenges faced by women and their coping strategies, as well as information that covers recently implemented legal regulations, which are needed for combating violence against women.

The Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey serves as a follow-up study of the 2008 research conducted by a consortium in partnership with our Institute. The data of the research has been gathered by using quantitative and qualitative research methods.

The quantitative study has been conducted throughout Turkey, in the target sample of 15,072 households representing 12 statistical regions, urban and rural areas through face-to-face interviews with women aged 15-59. The results obtained from the quantitative study, contain information on different forms of violence such as prevention of education or work in a paid job outside the house and disruption of daily life as a result of stalking, along with physical, sexual and emotional violence that women have experienced by their current or former intimate partners such as, their husbands, fiancés, betrothed and boyfriends. Furthermore, information on forms of violence that women have experienced by other people, especially by their family or immediate social networks has also been gathered.

On the other hand, the qualitative study component primarily focused on the process of institutional application that women use to combat violence, as well as opinions and suggestions on Law number 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence against Women which is one of the critical steps taken for combating violence against women. Since the aim of the quantitative study is the prevalence of violence and the efforts engaged in towards the struggle with violence against women, the information is only gathered from women. Nevertheless, in the qualitative study, the opinions of young males and males who have been found guilty of domestic violence are also included.

I would like to sincerely thank the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the General Directorate on the Status of Women who provided the financial source for the study, for their support and cooperation throughout the study; TURKSTAT authorities for their contribution to sample selection; authorities of the provincial directorates of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and Governorships of the visited provinces during the quantitative study for their support; the Ministry of Justice, Ankara ŞÖNİM, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, Çankaya Municipality; Keçiören Municipality and the Women's Solidarity Foundation for their support during the fieldwork of the qualitative study. I would also like to thank the consultants of the research Assoc. Prof. Dr. Filiz Kardam, Prof. Dr. Gülriz Uygur and Psychologist Bişeng Özdiñç for their valuable contributions to various stages of the research; Ebru Hanbay and Candan Dumrul from the Women's Solidarity Foundation; Gülsen Ülker from the Association for Monitoring Gender Equality for their contributions to the training stage of the study.

I congratulate all field workers of the study who worked as interviewer, team supervisor, field editor and data entry staff and I express my sincere gratitude to all the women who have participated in the study and shared information about their private lives.

I would like to thank our Rector Prof. Dr. A. Murat Tuncer for his support in every stage of the study; Assoc. Prof. Dr. İlknur Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu for her successful coordination of the study; the distinguished researchers of our university who conducted the project with dedication and hard work and the administrative staff of our university who carried out the administrative tasks of the research successfully.

Finally, I would also like to thank our families for their understanding for the busy schedule during the research and for not withholding their support. I wish the results obtained from the Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey will contribute to the policies which will be established for combating violence against women.

**Prof. Dr. A. Banu Ergöçmen**

Director, Institute of Population Studies

## PRESENTATION OF THE RESEARCH

Violence against women, which still maintains its importance on a global level, is one of the most important social problems in Turkey. Women all over the world face the risk of being exposed to gender-based violence regardless of their country, ethnicity, class, religion, economic and social status. According to the World Health Organization's report published in 2013, nearly one out of every three woman is being subjected to physical or sexual violence<sup>1</sup>. When the proportion of violence against women in Turkey was analyzed according to the results of Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey Research conducted in 2008, it was revealed that four in every ten women had been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence<sup>2</sup>.

In Turkey, the issue of violence against women was brought forward by the women's movement at the end of 1980s. The institutionalization process of the struggle with violence started with the 1990's and was accelerated with the establishment of the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women, together with, the first women's guest house affiliated with public institutions starting to provide service under The Agency for Social Services and Child Protection. In terms of legal legislation, the first step was Law number 4320 on the Protection of the Family enacted in 1998. Legal regulations which aimed to ensure gender equality gained momentum in the 2000s.

Among the conventions in this field, within the scope of Council of Europe, "Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence" signed in İstanbul in 2011 is important in terms of legal regulations in Turkey. With the İstanbul Convention, the steps were taken for the adjustment of provisions that only aimed to prevent violence within marriage, which was seen as a significant deficiency of Law No: 4320. Law number 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence against Women, which has regulations in parallel with İstanbul Convention came into force on March 20, 2012<sup>3</sup>. Law No: 6284 considers "any physical, sexual, psychological and economic violence occurring in family or household or among the people who are considered as a family member whether the victim of violence and the perpetrator of violence live or do not live in the same house" as domestic violence.

**The Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey** was conducted by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies and was implemented by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies the General Directorate on the Status of Women<sup>4</sup> in 2013-2014 in order to combat violence against women and contribute to the empowerment of stakeholders that combat violence against women. This research is the second nationwide research with the largest sample size and, especially on the basis of the quantitative study, is a follow-up of the research conducted in 2008 with the same title. As in the first research, a sample design that can produce the basic indicators for Turkey and for the 12 statistical regions was used and the modules used in the questionnaire of the 2008 research were preserved. Furthermore, in this research, information that was not gathered in the previous research is as follows: stalking; prevention of right to education, prevention of right to work after the age of 15 by people other than husband or intimate partner; awareness levels on some articles of law from the Turkish Civil Code and the Turkish Penal Code, as well as on selected cautionary decisions from Law No: 6284. The qualitative study of this research was designed differently from the qualitative study of the 2008 research. In the research, women who have been subjected to violence and applied to institutions in order to combat violence

<sup>1</sup> Pallitto, C. C., Garcia-Moreno, C., Jansen, H. A.F.M, Ellsberg, M., Heise, L. ve Watts, C. (2013). Intimate partner violence, abortion, and unintended pregnancy: Results from the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics*, 120(1), 3-9.

<sup>2</sup> T.C. Başbakanlık, Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü. (2009). Türkiye'de Kadına Yönelik Aile İçi Şiddet [Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey]. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları [T.R. Prime Ministry Directorate General on the Status of Women publications].

<sup>3</sup> Law No: 6284 entered into force after being published in the Official Gazette No: 28239 dated March 20, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> The project team is presented at the end of the Summary Report.

and men who have been found guilty of domestic violence against women are target groups that are different from the 2008 research.

### **Objectives of the research**

This research aims to reveal the prevalence of different forms of violence against women and the impact of executed legal regulations on the struggle with violence during the six-year period after the Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey<sup>5</sup> conducted in 2008. The main aims of the research are as follows:

#### **Objective 1:**

- To obtain data, which will be the baseline for comprehensive policies and programs for effectively combating domestic violence against women, for Turkey

#### **Objective 2:**

- To compare the results of the research with the results obtained from the Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey conducted in 2008 and to reveal the differentiation in the prevalence of violence,

#### **Objective 3:**

- To identify problematic areas regarding legal regulations for combating violence (especially problems regarding the implementation of the Law No: 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence Against Women),
- To present the opinions and suggestions of victims of violence, perpetrators of violence and of professionals who are involved in implementing and regulating the laws related to problematic areas in the implementation of legal regulations,
- To assess current policy and legislation.

<sup>5</sup> T.C. Başbakanlık, Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü. (2009). Türkiye’de Kadına Yönelik Aile İçi Şiddet [Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey]. Ankara: Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları[T.R. Prime Ministry Directorate General on the Status of Women publications].

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to meet the objectives of the study, two different field studies were conducted by using quantitative and qualitative study methods.

### Quantitative study methodology

#### Sample design:

The sample design of the research employed a weighted, stratified and multi-staged cluster sample approach. The main aim of sample design was to estimate indicators related to violence against women at the national level, as well as for 12 Regions and urban/rural strata with an acceptable precision (within the 95 percent confidence interval). It was also aimed to estimate these indicators on the national level for main variables such as, age group, education and wealth level. The sample selection was conducted with the collaboration of the Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) and the sample frame, block selection and block lists with selected households were provided by TURKSTAT.

#### Questionnaire:

The study questionnaire was designed according to the needs of the country, in compliance with the violence definitions used in this study and was based on the questionnaire used in World Health Organization's "Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women"<sup>6</sup>. Within the scope of the study, women within the 15-59 age group were the target population. Information was collected on different violence forms to which these women have been exposed by their husbands and/or intimate partners (boyfriend, fiancée, and betrothed). In households where there was more than one eligible woman for the interview, only one woman was selected using the Kish method (1949)<sup>7</sup> and the interview was completed with that woman<sup>8</sup>.

Two questionnaires were used in the research: the household and woman questionnaires. Through these questionnaires, information was gathered on the following issues:

- Household population and housing characteristics of households,
- Background characteristics of women, marriage history and early marriages,
- General health and reproductive health, behavioral problems of children,
- Background characteristics and behavioral patterns of women's husbands or intimate partners,
- Physical and sexual violence, emotional and economic violence/abuse and controlling behaviors to which women have been exposed by husbands or intimate partners throughout their lives and within the last 12 months prior to the interview,
- Attitudes of women towards gender roles and violence,
- Violence that women suffer during pregnancy,
- Injuries due to violence and the treatment,
- Stalking behaviors that women have been subjected to,
- Physical, sexual violence and emotional violence/abuse to which women have been exposed by people other than their intimate partners after the age of 15,
- Prevention of women's right to education and after the age of 15 right to work,

<sup>6</sup> Garcia-Moreno, C., Jansen, H. A.F.M, Ellsberg, M., Heise, L. ve Watts, C. (2005). *WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence against women: Initial results on prevalence, health outcomes and women's responses*. Geneva: WHO publications.

<sup>7</sup> Kish method is a technique used when there is more than one eligible person in the household to ensure an unbiased selection with probability.

<sup>8</sup> Kish, L. (1949). A procedure for objective respondent selection within the household. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 44(247), 380-387.

- Sexual abuse that women were subjected to during childhood (before the age of 15),
- Coping strategies of women with domestic violence,
- Women's level of awareness on some articles of law from the Turkish Civil Code, the Turkish Penal Code and on selected cautionary decisions from Law No: 6284,
- Women's level of awareness on institutions and organizations that provide services for combating violence against women,
- The prevalence of application to institutions and organizations that provide services for the struggle against violence and information on application process.

### Ethical rules:

This research is based on Ethical and Safety Recommendations developed by World Health Organization<sup>9</sup>. In the fieldwork a safe name was used in order to eliminate the risk of further violence for women who are victims of violence as a result of their participation in the research and not to put the interviewers at risk. In all of the documents used during the training and the fieldwork, instead of "Research on Domestic Violence against Women" the name "Women and Family Research" was used. Furthermore, during field personnel selection, their sensitivity towards issues related to gender and violence against women was taken into consideration and during trainings the knowledge of the candidates on these issues was increased. Apart from this, throughout the research attention was paid to below mentioned ethical rules:

- Not giving information about the topic of the research to people other than the interviewed person,
- Conducting the interviews after taking consent,
- Interviewing only one woman per household,
- Conducting the interviews in a private setting,
- Ensuring the confidentiality of the interviews,
- Not using grave words such as, "harassment/abuse", "rape" or "violence" in questions related to violence and questions being non-judgmental,
- Ending the interviews in a positive manner,
- Giving contact and address information of institutions that provide support to victims of violence,
- Support of fieldwork team by research team.

### Fieldwork:

The fieldwork was conducted in 78 selected provinces in the sample, between April-July 2014. Census and Survey Processing System (CSPro) Software was used for the data entry of the research. Data entry was conducted twice by different people in order to eliminate the risk of errors caused by the data entry process. The target sample size of the study was 15,084 households in 518 clusters. The field study was conducted in all of the clusters and out of 13,403 households eligible for interviews, interviews were conducted in 11,247 households. The household response rate is 83.9 percent. Among the most common reasons for not being able to conduct the interview were, the selected household not being at home during the visits, dwelling/address being vacant and refusal to do the interview. 13,310 women aged 15-59 were identified in the interviewed households and 8,960 women who were identified using the Kish method were aimed to be interviewed. Within the scope of the study, 83.3 percent response rate was reached by conducting face-to-face interviews with 7,462 women (Table 1).

<sup>9</sup> World Health Organization Department of Gender and Women's Health. (2001). *Putting women first: ethical and safety recommendations for research on domestic violence against women*. WHO/FCH/GWH/01.1. Geneva: WHO publications.

	<b>Number</b>
Number of selected households	15,084
Number of households that could be interviewed <sup>10</sup>	13,403
Number of interviewed households	11,247
<b>Response rate for household questionnaire</b>	<b>%83.9</b>
Number of women in the households	13,310
Number of women selected using the Kish method <sup>11</sup>	8,960
Number of women interviewed	7,462
<b>Response rate for woman's questionnaire</b>	<b>%83.3</b>

## Qualitative study methodology

### In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with three different groups in Ankara:

- Women who have experienced violence and have applied to an institution for support (10 women)
- Men who have been sentenced due to their violent acts (12 men)
- Experts/professionals/managers who provide institutional service in this field (21 persons)

In the interviews, semi-structured directives were used and various institutions and organizations were contacted in order to reach the persons to be interviewed.

### Focus group discussions

Eight focus group discussions<sup>12</sup> were conducted with young men aged between 25-35, in order to understand the perspectives of men regarding violence against women, to attain their evaluations regarding the legislation, which is the main focus of the qualitative study, and to explore their related insights. A semi-structured guideline was used during the discussions. Focus group participants were reached through the snowball method. The focus groups were formed by taking into consideration the age, education and marital status of men. Accordingly, the education level differentiation was set as two groups: high school and above education and below high school education. The marital status differentiation was set by taking relationship and marriage duration into consideration (single, in a relationship/single, not in a relationship; married for less than 3 years/married for more than 3 years).

### Content analysis

In the third stage of the qualitative study, content analysis was conducted based on the documents related to applications made to the Center for Violence Prevention and Monitoring (ŞÖNİM) in Ankara. Protective-preventive cautionary decisions taken in regard to the victims and perpetrators of violence by judges, governors and in cases where delay is considered to be risky by related law enforcement chiefs, as well as official reports, social investigation reports and condition assessment reports<sup>13</sup> prepared for houses with domestic violence were analyzed. In the content analysis, the language used in these documents and the attitudes of the officers who prepared the documents, as well as the functionality of these reports in terms of assessing, reporting and preventing violence against women were analyzed.

<sup>10</sup> The codes in the household questionnaire, "Household absent during the study period", "Dwelling vacant", "Address not a dwelling", "Dwelling demolished" and "Other", involve situations in which interviews could not be conducted.

<sup>11</sup> This is also the number of households with at least one woman in 15-59 age group.

<sup>12</sup> In focus group discussions, the number of participants range between 5 and 8.

<sup>13</sup> **Social Investigation Report:** A report prepared for determining intervention methods which will be executed for solving the problems and designating the form and quality of services provided. After the interviews and observations with the woman and, if any, the children, this report also evaluates through the information gathered from the interviews conducted with the household and/or social circle of these people, the social, economic and health statuses related to the past and the problems of these people; their physical, mental, psycho-social characteristics and their family and cultural structure.

**Condition Assessment Report:** It is a report written in light of the interview and results of the interview for the situations which arose when women met with the service and afterwards, as well as written as a result of document reviews.

## VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN DEFINITIONS USED IN THE RESEARCH

One time exposure to acts of violence mentioned in the definitions below indicates that the mentioned form of violence has been experienced.

### Physical violence against women by husband(s) or intimate partner(s):

#### Moderate physical violence

- Slapped her or threw something at her that could hurt her
- Pushed or shoved her or pulled her hair

#### Severe physical violence

- Hit her with fist or something else that could hurt her
- Kicked, dragged her or beat her up
- Choked or burned her
- Threatened to use or actually use a gun, knife or other weapons against her

### Sexual violence against women by husband(s) or intimate partner(s):

- Physically forced her to have sexual intercourse
- Had sexual intercourse when she did not want to because she was afraid of what partner might do
- Forced her to do something sexual that she found degrading or humiliating

### Emotional violence/abuse against women by husband(s) or intimate partner(s):

- Insulted her or swore at her
- Belittled or humiliated her in front of other people
- Scared or threatened her
- Threatened to hurt her or someone that she cared about

### Economic violence/abuse against women by husband(s) or intimate partner(s):

- Prevented her from working or caused her to quit her job
- Not giving her money for household expenses
- Deprived her of her income

### Physical violence against women by people other than husband(s) or intimate partner(s):

Being physically mistreated by people other than husband or intimate partner, after the age of 15

### Sexual violence against women by people other than husband(s) or intimate partner(s):

Being forced to have sex or forced to perform a sexual act when they did not want to by people other than husband or intimate partner after the age of 15

### Emotional violence/abuse against women by people other than husband(s) or intimate partner(s):

Being exposed to emotionally abusive behaviors by people other than husband or partner such as insults, curses, humiliation, belittlement, after the age of 15

### Prevention of working:

Prevention of working or being forced to quit a job by people other than husband or intimate partner after the age of 15

### Prevention of education:

Prevention of continuing the education by people other than husband or intimate partners

### Childhood sexual abuse:

Being exposed to an unwanted sexual act or to sexually disturbing touching before the age of 15

**Stalking:** Any behaviors that are on purpose, threatening and repeated in a manner that makes the individuals fear for their own safety by husband/intimate partners; person(s) who are in the same family, from the same household or who are considered as a family member whether they live in the same household or not; individual(s) from school, neighborhood or work or strangers are considered as acts of stalking. In this research, the information on stalking was obtained through the questions regarding behaviors of stalking identified below:

- Constantly calling on phone,
- Texting, sending letters and/or e-mails,
- Making contact and following through social media,
- Showing up for no reason in her work place or where she lives,
- Sending romantic gifts like flowers, candles etc. or weird, scary objects,
- Causing third parties to bother her by sharing their contact information on the internet or on places where other people can see,
- Threatening to commit suicide if she does not want to meet,
- Threatening to physically and/or sexually harm her if she does not want to meet,
- Threatening to hurt her children or someone from the family if she does not want to meet

**Early marriage:** Marriage carried out, according to the Convention on the Rights of the Child before the age of 18 years and according to Turkish Civil Code before the completion of the age of 17, before the girl is physically, physiologically, and psychologically ready to bear the responsibilities of marriage and childbearing. In this research marriage carried out before the age of 18 is defined as early marriage.

## PREVALENCE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

In this section the prevalence of different forms of violence against women is presented. Violence against women is approached under two main titles in terms of perpetrators of violence: (1) violence against women by their husband or intimate partner(s); (2) violence against women by people other than their husband or intimate partner(s). Furthermore, basic background characteristics of men who inflict physical violence are also presented in this section. Along with prevalence of violence against women, women's views on violence and gender roles are also included. Information on stalking, on which the data was gathered for the first time in Turkey, is also presented.

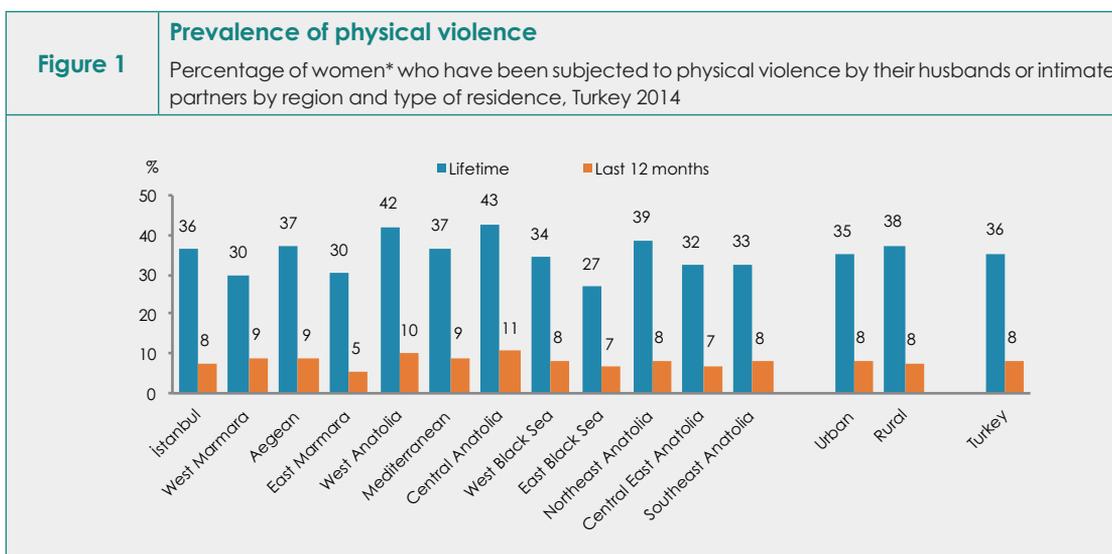
### Violence against women by husband or intimate partner

The prevalence of physical and sexual violence and emotional, economic violence/abuse is presented by women's background characteristics such as, type of residence, region, age, educational and wealth level. The information on violence against women was gathered for lifetime violence and for violence experienced in the last 12 months<sup>14</sup> prior to the research. Furthermore, women who reported having been subjected to violence were asked about the frequency of exposure to these kinds of acts.

#### Physical violence

Throughout the country, the proportion of ever-married women who reported having been subjected to physical violence is 36 percent. In other words, approximately 4 out of every 10 women have been subjected to physical violence by their husbands or intimate partners. Throughout Turkey, the proportion of women who have been subjected to physical violence by their husbands or intimate partners in the last 12 months is 8 percent (Figure 1).

The study results reveal that the estimates related to physical violence differ between regions. Physical violence both for lifetime and for the last 12 months is stated the most in the Central Anatolia region (43 percent and 11 percent). In the Eastern Black Sea region lifetime physical violence is reported the least and in the Eastern Marmara region the physical violence experienced within the last 12 months is reported the least (27 percent and 5 percent) (Figure 1).

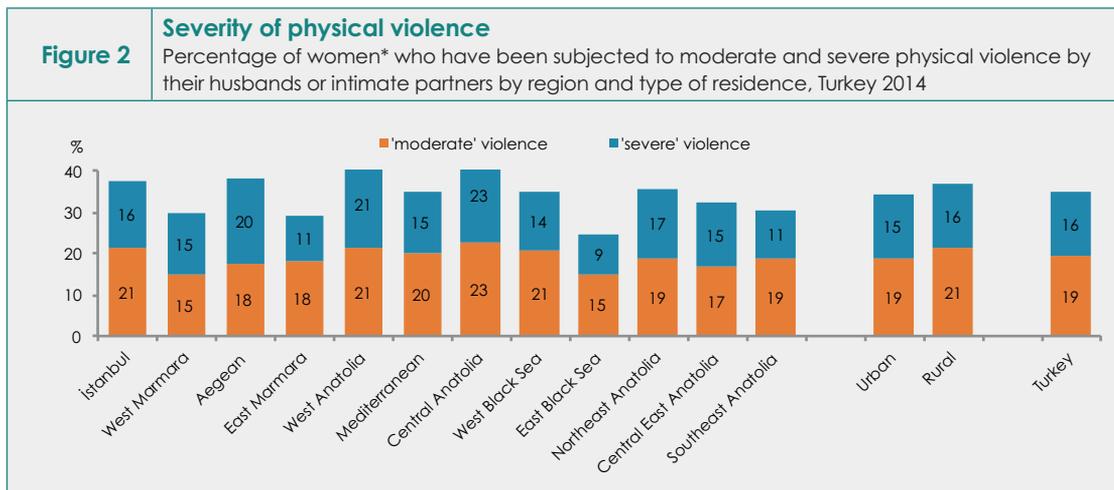


\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

<sup>14</sup> Hereafter referred to as last 12 months.

While 19 percent of women have been subjected to moderate physical violence, 16 percent of women reported having experienced severe violence which includes other acts of violence (Figure 2).

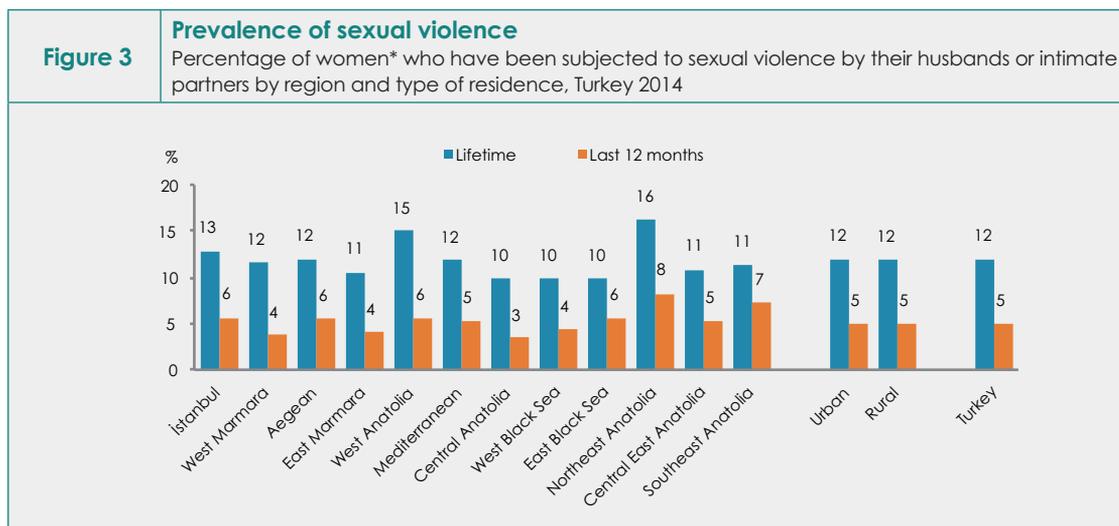
Regional difference is more apparent for severe violence and it ranges from 9 percent to 23 percent. The prevalence of severe violence is highest in Central Anatolia and West Anatolia (23 percent and 21 percent, respectively) (Figure 2).



\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

**Sexual violence**

Throughout Turkey, 12 percent of ever-married women reported having been subjected to lifetime sexual violence and 5 percent of ever-married women reported having been subjected to sexual violence within the last 12 months. For both of the periods, sexual violence is reported the most in Northeast Anatolia (16 percent and 8 percent). In the Central Anatolia, Eastern Marmara, Western Marmara and Western Black Sea regions, the prevalence of sexual violence experienced within the last 12 months is below the average of Turkey (Figure 3). Among the acts of sexual violence, the most commonly stated act is “having sexual intercourse when the woman did not want to because she was afraid” (lifetime 9 percent and last 12 months 4 percent).

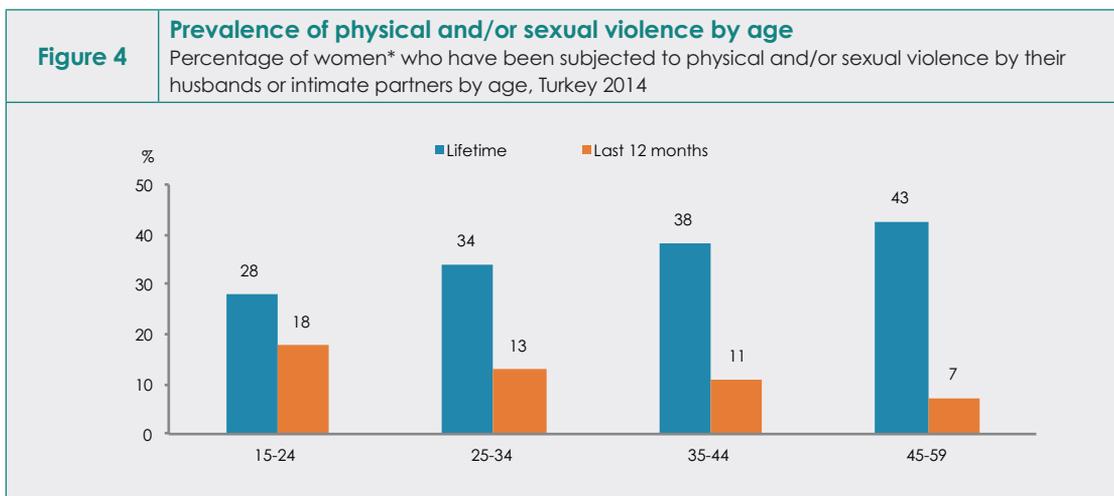


\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

### Physical and/or sexual violence

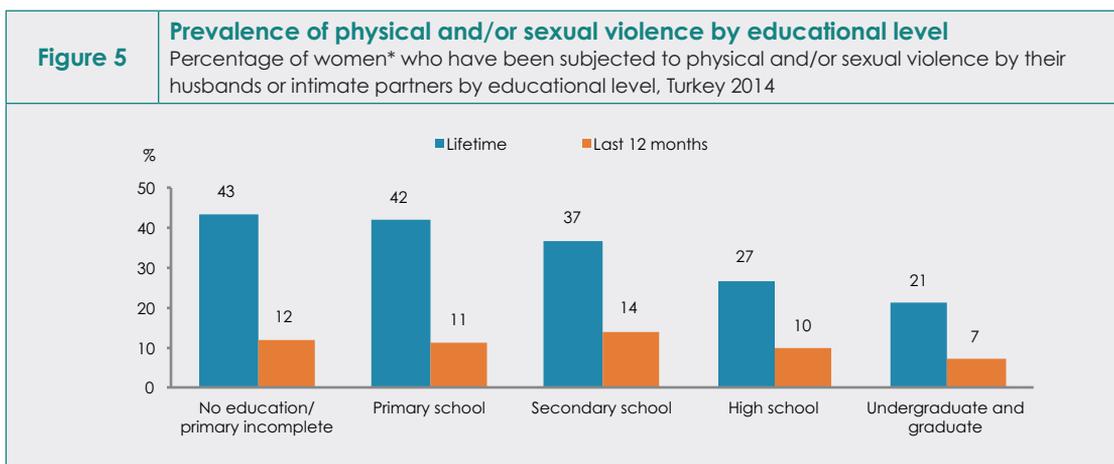
At national, urban/rural and regional level, physical violence to which ever-married women have been exposed is more widespread than sexual violence. Overall in Turkey, physical violence is 36 percent and sexual violence is 12 percent. 68 percent of the victims of violence reported having been subjected to only physical violence and 5 percent of women reported having been subjected to only sexual violence. Experiencing both forms of violence together is also prevalent, 27 percent of victims of violence have been subjected to both physical and sexual violence.

Throughout Turkey, 38 percent of ever-married women have been subjected to lifetime physical and/or sexual violence. This ratio is 11 percent for the last 12 months. As expected, the proportion of lifetime exposure to at least either physical or sexual violence increases with age. However, in the last 12 months, sexual violence is more prevalent among young women. Women in the 15-24 age group, which is the youngest age group, are three times more likely to be subjected to physical and/or sexual violence than women in the 45-59 age group, which is the oldest age group (Figure 4).



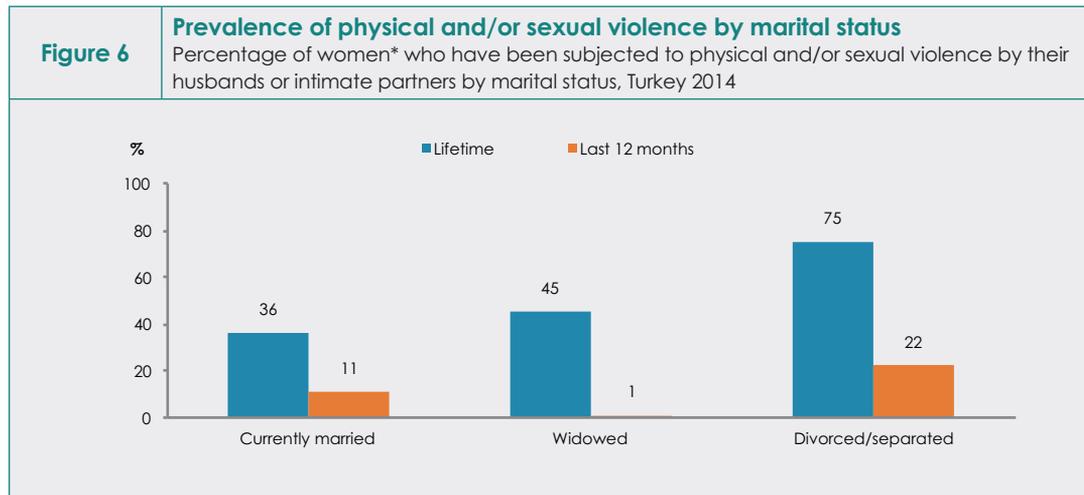
\* Calculations are based on ever-married women.

Domestic violence against women differs according to the educational level of women. Exposed violence decreases with the increase in level of education. Despite this decrease, it is striking that more than one-fourth of women with high school education and one-fifth of women with undergraduate/graduate education have been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence (Figure 5).



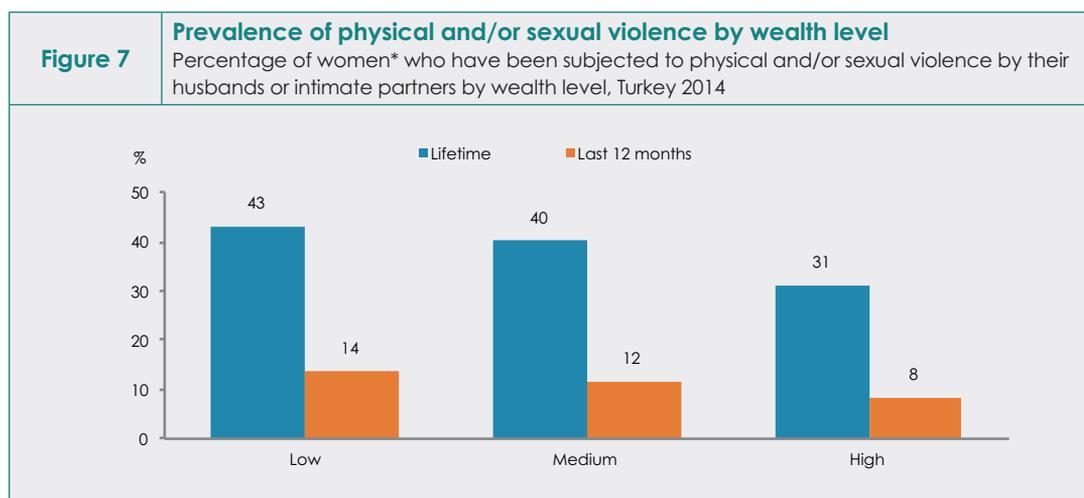
\* Calculations are based on ever-married women.

Marital status is a basic characteristic that has the most impact on violence prevalence. With 75 percent, the proportion of physical and/or sexual violence that divorced or separated women have been subjected to, is twice the violence experienced among all women. This situation implies that violence itself could be the reason for the divorce. The violence that divorced or separated women have been subjected to within the last 12 months is twice the average of Turkey (11 percent) and twice the proportion of women who have been subjected to violence among ever-married women (22 percent and 11 percent) (Figure 6). The prevalence of violence that never-married but ever-partnered women have been subjected to is 7 percent.



\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

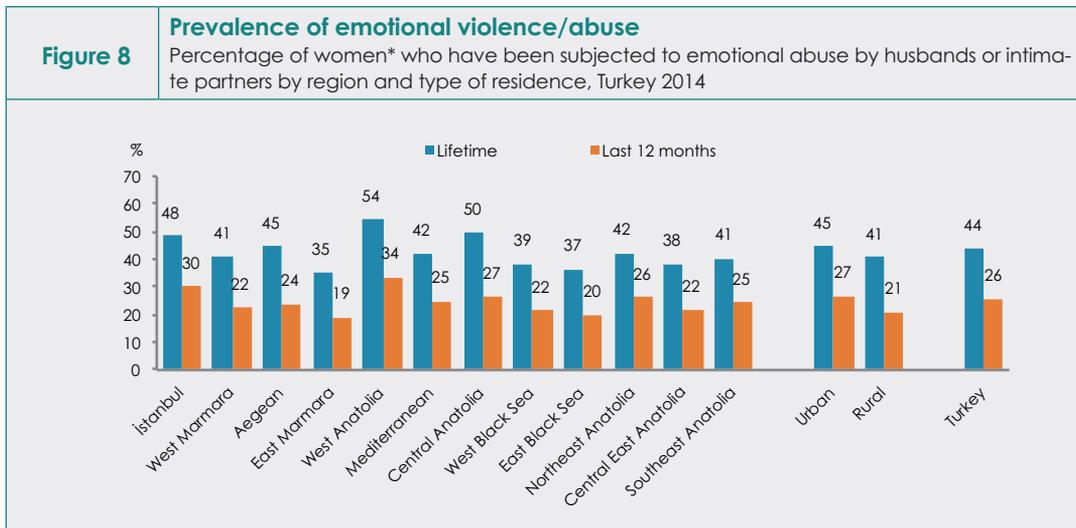
Lifetime physical and/or sexual violence or violence within the last 12 months decreases with an increase in wealth level, the difference is observed especially at the high wealth level. The fact that 31 percent of women with a high wealth level have been subjected to lifetime violence and 8 percent of them have been subjected to violence within the last 12 months implies that elimination or decrease of economic problems which are given as reasons for violence is not enough for the elimination of violence (Figure 7).



\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

### Emotional violence/abuse

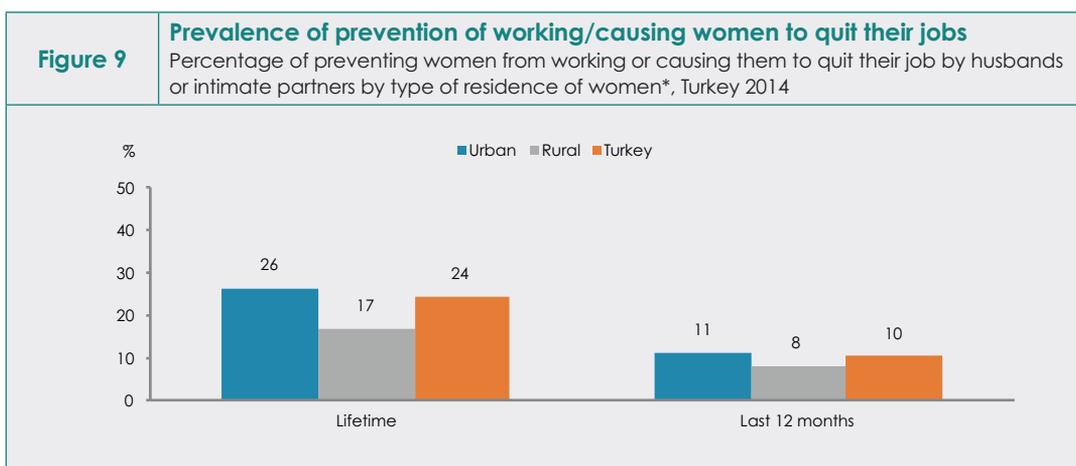
Among the forms of violence against women, emotional violence/abuse is the most common one. Throughout Turkey, the proportion of lifetime emotional violence/abuse that women have been subjected to is 44 percent and 26 percent within the last 12 months. Half of the women who live in the Western Anatolia and Central Anatolia regions reported having been subjected to lifetime emotional violence/abuse. For the last 12 months, women in West Anatolia have been subjected to emotional violence/abuse the most with 34 percent (Figure 8).



\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

### Economic violence/abuse

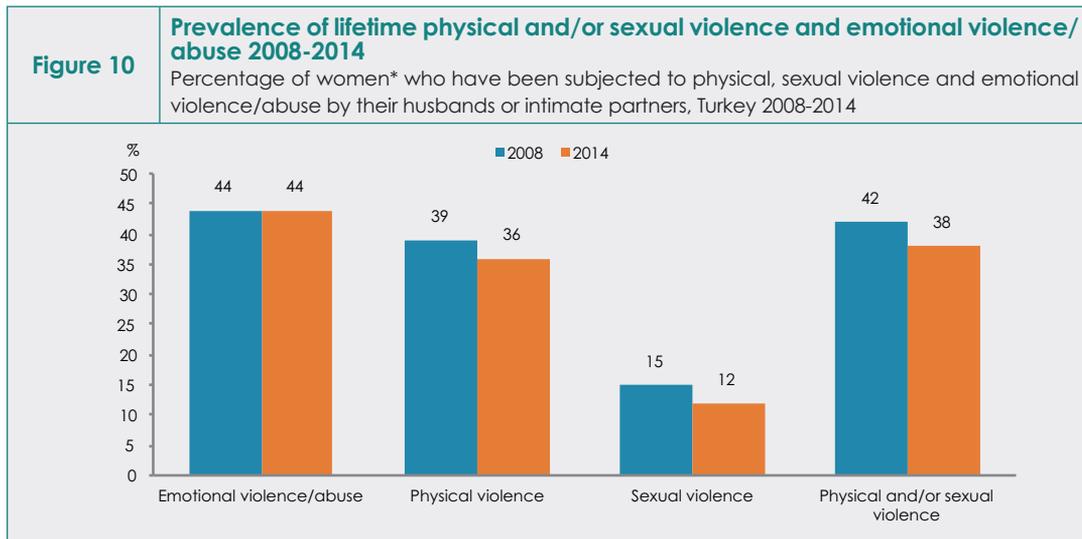
The forms of economic violence/abuse are defined as preventing woman from working or causing her to quit her job, not giving money for household expenses and depriving her of her income. Throughout Turkey, the proportion of women who have experienced at least one of these acts at any point in their lives is 30 percent and in the last 12 months this proportion is 15 percent. Prevention of work or causing her to quit her job is the most frequently stated economic violence/abuse form against women. At any point in their lives one-fourth of women and in the last 12 months one-tenth of women have been subjected to this abuse (Figure 9). Not giving money for household expenses is an act that 9 percent of women have experienced at any point in their lives. Depriving women of their income is a form of violence/abuse that 5 percent of ever-married women have experienced.



\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

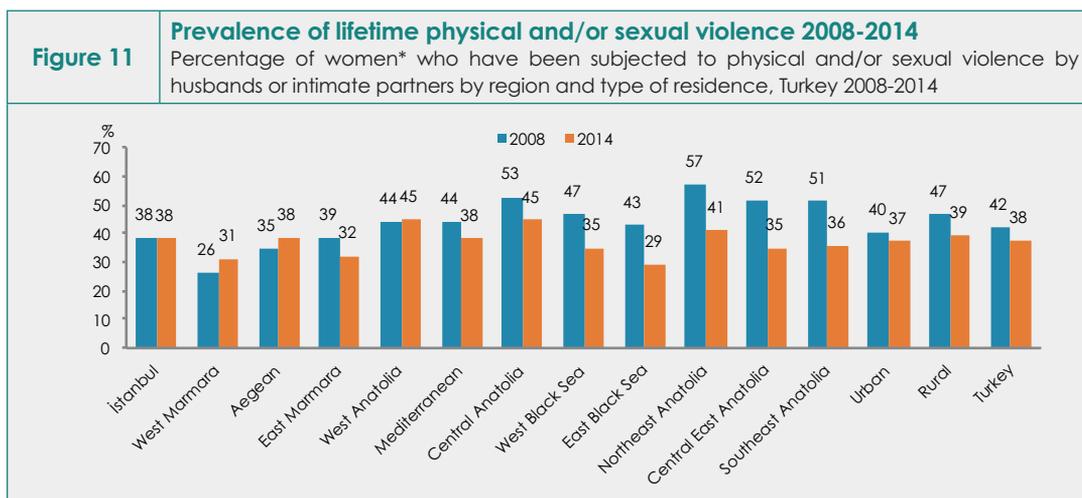
### Change in the ratios of physical, sexual violence and emotional abuse 2008-2014

When the research results are compared with the results of the Domestic Violence against Women Research conducted in 2008, it is seen that the proportion of lifetime violence among married women has not changed significantly. During the past six-year period between the two researches, the proportion of women who have been subjected to emotional violence has not changed at all and the ratio of women who have been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence has changed from 39 percent to 36 percent and 15 percent to 12 percent, respectively. The proportions of women who have been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence are 42 percent and 38 percent, respectively (Figure 10).



\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

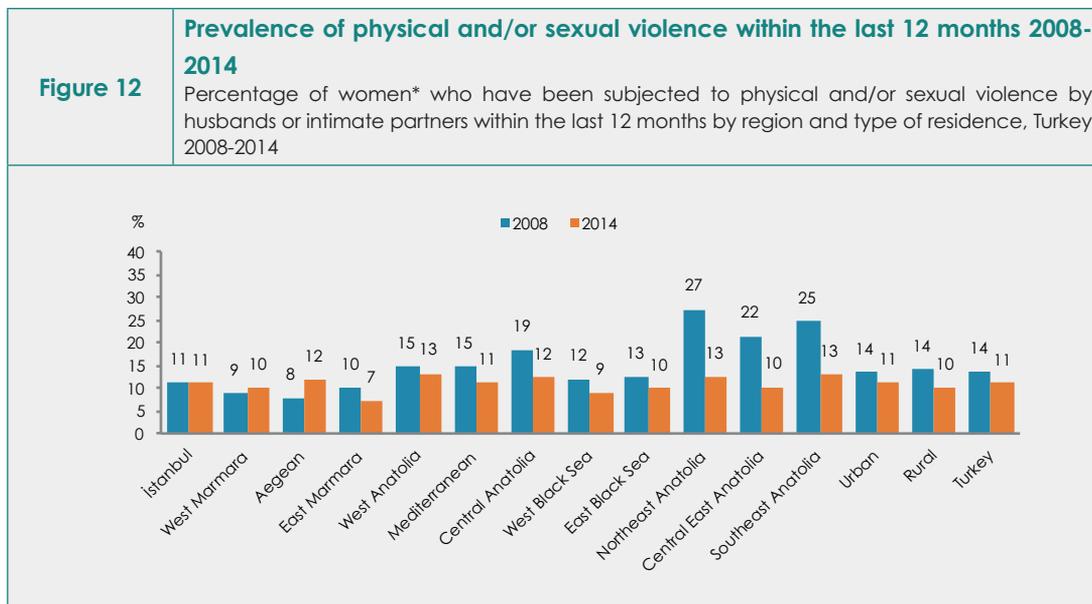
The prevalence of lifetime physical and/or sexual violence experienced differs by region. In the 2008 research, the prevalence of physical and/or sexual violence between the regions differed between 26 percent and 57 percent between the Western Marmara and the Northeastern Anatolia regions. While in the 2014 research, regional differentiation is 29 percent and 45 percent between East Black Sea, and West and Central Anatolia (Figure 11). One of the reasons for the difference observed in the prevalence of lifetime violence over the past six-years may be the fact that the older generation, who had been subjected to more violence in the past have been left out of the study sample coverage while the youngest generation has been included in the study sample.



\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

The prevalence of physical and/or sexual violence experienced within the last 12 months has changed from 14 percent to 11 percent. The differentiation which is mostly observed between regions is clear in the Northeastern, Central Eastern, Southeastern and Central Anatolia regions. The regions where the difference is observed the most are the regions with the highest violence prevalence in the 2008 research. While in 2008, the prevalence of physical and/or sexual violence was highest in the Northeastern Anatolia region, in 2014, it has been observed in the Southeastern and Western Anatolia regions along with Northeast Anatolia (Figure 12).

Regional differences observed in the last 12 months being dissimilar to the regional differences observed six years ago implies that efforts executed towards the struggle with violence against women within this period, may have been more efficient in the regions with higher prevalence of violence. On the other hand, especially in big cities, the deterioration of men’s authority by poverty, unemployment and other factors that cause tension and the role of this deterioration in the augmentation of the tendency of inflicting violence may be among the reasons of the differentiation.



\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

## Early marriages

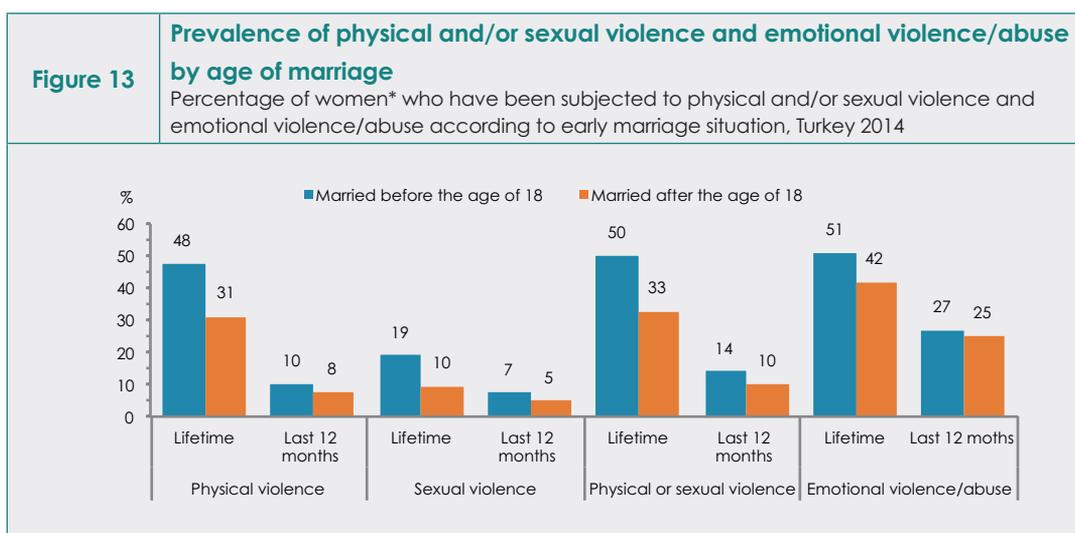
Throughout Turkey, 26 percent of women were married before the age of 18. For the marriages carried out before and after the age of eighteen, the marriage decision, type of marriage, precedence of marriage, raising age in order to get married, the person who performed the religious ceremony and age difference between spouses are presented in Table 2.

<b>Table 2 Formation of early marriages</b>		
Percent distribution of characteristics related to formation of early marriages among women who were married before and after the age of 18, Turkey 2014		
<b>Characteristics related to formations of early marriages</b>	<b>Married before the age of 18</b>	<b>Married after the age of 18</b>
<b>Marriage decision</b>		
Decision of family (with consent)	46.8	41.5
Decision of family (without consent)	19.9	6.2
Own decision	24.3	47.8
Other (including eloping)	9.0	4.6
<b>Type of marriage</b>		
Civil and religious marriage	94.8	95.4
Only civil	3.2	1.6
Only religious	1.9	2.8
None	0.1	0.2
<b>Precedence of marriage ceremonies</b>		
Civil ceremony	37.3	52.7
Religious ceremony	62.7	47.3
<b>Raising age in order to get married</b>		
Age raised	13.3	-
Age not raised	86.7	-
<b>The person who performed the religious ceremony</b>		
Official imam*	62.6	67.1
Other imam**	14.6	13.1
Acquaintance/Relative	10.9	11.0
Village headman (Muhtar)	1.8	0.9
Other	1.1	1.3
Do not know	9.0	6.5
<b>Age difference between spouses</b>		
Woman is 2 years older	1.0	7.5
Approximately the same	10.5	25.7
Man is 2-4 years older	19.4	29.3
Man is 5-9 years older	45.4	28.4
Man is 10 years older	23.7	9.1
<b>Number of women</b>	<b>1,745</b>	<b>4,542</b>

\*Religious official appointed by T.R. Presidency of Religious Affairs

\*\*Honorary religious official

There is a clear relationship between the age of marriage and the violence ratio. Physical violence is 48 percent among women who were married early, 31 percent among women who were married after the age of 18. Age of marriage is more significant for women who have been subjected to sexual violence. 19 percent of women who were married before the age of 18 have been subjected to sexual violence; whereas, 10 percent of women who were married after the age of 18 have been subjected to sexual violence. When the two violence forms are evaluated together, it is seen that half of the women who were married early have been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence; whereas, one-third of women who were married after the age of 18 have been subjected to violence. These differentiations are also observed for the last 12 months. While 42 percent of women who were married after the age of eighteen have been subjected to lifetime emotional violence/abuse, this proportion is 51 percent for women who were married before the age of 18 (Figure 13).



\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

### Characteristics of abusive men

Thirty-four percent of women's last husbands or intimate partners have inflicted physical violence and 11 percent of them have inflicted sexual violence. The proportion of abusive men increases with age. However, there is a different age pattern for sexual violence. The percentage of men who have inflicted sexual violence among men in the youngest age group is more than the men aged 25-34 and 35-44. After the age of 25 the proportion of perpetrators of sexual violence increases with age (Table 3).

**Table 3 Background characteristics of male perpetrators of physical or sexual violence\***

Percentage of men who have inflicted physical or sexual violence on their wives or intimate partners by basic socio-demographic characteristics of men\*, Turkey 2014

Background characteristics	Physical violence by last husband or intimate partner	Sexual violence by last husband or intimate partner
<b>Age</b>		
15-24	19.7	11.9
25-34	26.6	8.1
35-44	34.1	10.5
45-59	36.8	12.5
60+	42.5	14.7
<b>Education</b>		
No education/primary incomplete	44.9	19.4
Primary school	40.4	13.6
Secondary school	32.3	9.0
High school	27.2	9.1
Undergraduate and graduate	19.7	3.9
<b>Occupational status</b>		
Works in a paid job	32.7	10.3
Does not work in a paid job	38.7	14.3
<b>Turkey</b>	33.7	11.0

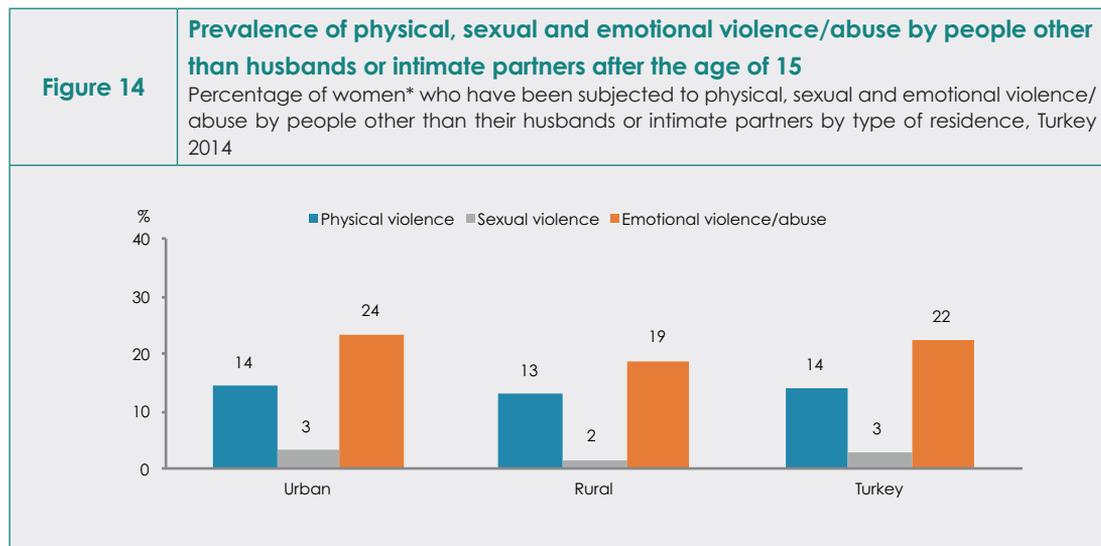
\*Calculations are based on situations where abusive men are last husbands or last intimate partners.

Unemployment of men is a frequently stated cause of violence. However, when acts of violence are observed for occupational status, there is no significant difference in the percentages of inflicting physical and sexual violence among men who work in a paid job and men who do not (Table 3).

## Violence against women by people other than husbands or intimate partners

### Physical violence after the age of 15

Overall, 14 percent of women have been subjected to physical violence by people other than their intimate partners after the age of 15 (Figure 14). The primary perpetrators of physical violence are fathers (43 percent), mothers (23 percent), and older brothers (18 percent). Women's own family members are followed by father-in-law (8 percent), mother-in-law (8 percent) and brother-in-law (5 percent). Teachers (5 percent) are in the first place among perpetrators of physical violence other than family members.



\*Calculations are based on all women.

### Sexual violence after the age of 15

Throughout Turkey, 3 percent of women reported having been subjected to sexual violence after the age of 15 by people other than their intimate partners (Figure 14). Unlike physical violence, strangers are in the first place among the perpetrators of sexual violence (56 percent). Male relatives<sup>15</sup> are in second place with 17 percent. 13 percent of sexual violence is perpetrated by women's boyfriends, 12 percent is perpetrated by someone from workplace.

### Emotional violence/abuse after the age of 15

Nationwide, the proportion of emotional violence/abuse that women have been subjected to after the age of 15 by people other than their intimate partners is 22 percent (Figure 14). While 22 percent of the victims of violence reported having been subjected to emotional abuse by one of their female relatives<sup>16</sup> and 21 percent by their mothers-in-law, these perpetrators of abuse are followed by women's fathers (18 percent), male relatives<sup>17</sup> (14 percent), brothers (older brother 11 percent and younger brother 7 percent) and mothers (12 percent).

<sup>15</sup> Men from family who have and do not have a blood-relationship, other than father, brother, older brother, grandfather, maternal uncle and paternal uncle.

<sup>16</sup> Women from family who have and do not have a blood relationship, other than mother, step-mother and mother-in-law.

<sup>17</sup> Men from family who have and do not have a blood relationship, other than father, step-father, brother, older brother, father-in-law and brother-in-law.

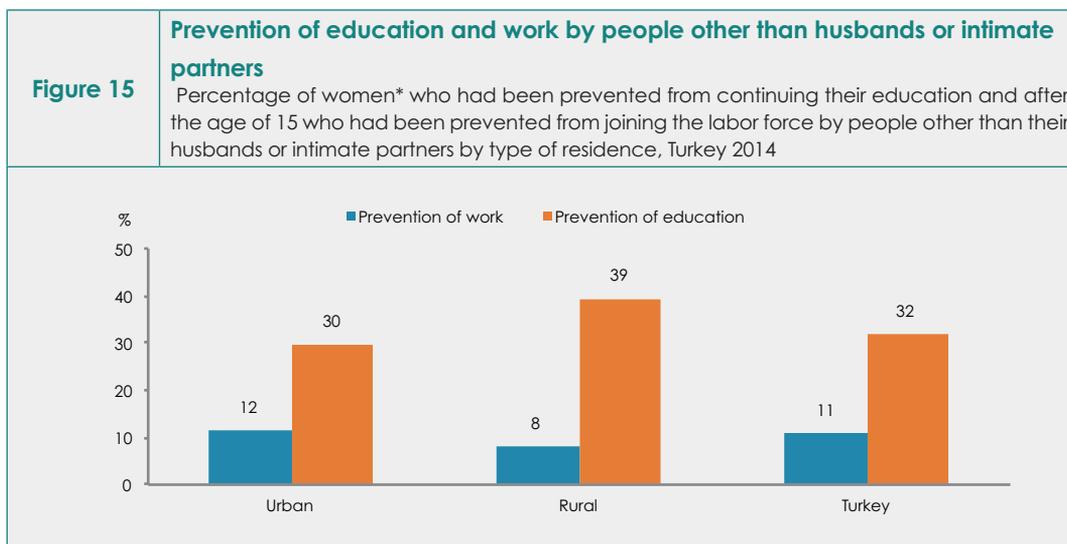
## Sexual abuse during childhood

Throughout Turkey, 9 percent of women reported having been subjected to sexual abuse during childhood (before the age of 15). Nationwide, 29 percent of sexual abuse before the age of 15 has been perpetrated by male relatives<sup>18</sup> and 38 percent by strangers. Acquaintances like neighbors, grocers who live in the same environment as the women constitute 15 percent of perpetrators of childhood sexual abuse.

## Prevention of education and work

Throughout Turkey, 32 percent of women reported having been prevented from going to school. This proportion goes up to 39 percent for women in rural areas. Among the people who prevent the education of women are fathers (71 percent), mothers (29 percent) and male relatives<sup>19</sup> (9 percent), respectively.

Nationwide, the proportion of prevention of work or causing women to quit their jobs after the age of 15 is 11 percent. While in urban areas 12 percent of women have been prevented from working, this ratio is 8 percent for women in rural areas. For the prevention of joining the labor force after the age of 15, family members such as fathers (59 percent), mothers (22 percent) and brothers (14 percent) come first (Figure 15).



\*Calculations are based on all women.

## Stalking

Throughout Turkey, nearly 3 out of every 10 women have been subjected to stalking at least one time. The most common types of stalking are constantly calling (19 percent), texting, sending letters or e-mails (8 percent) or following through social media (6 percent) and disturbing by showing up to woman's work place or where she lives (6 percent) (Figure 16). Different types of stalking and the percentages of stalked women according to the relation to the perpetrator are presented in Table 4.

<sup>18</sup> Men from family who have and do not have a blood relationship, other than father, step-father, brother, older brother, grandfather, paternal uncle and maternal uncle.

<sup>19</sup> Men from family who have and do not have a blood-relationship, other than father, brother, older brother, grandfather, maternal uncle and paternal uncle.

**Table 4. Types of stalking and the perpetrators**

	Perpetrators of stalking									
	By anyone*	Husband/intimate partner	Former husband/intimate partner	A male friend	Relative	Someone from work	Teacher	Acquaintance**	Stranger***	Other****
Constantly calling	19.2	1.5	10.4	7.3	2.8	1.3	0.2	9.7	70.8	3.0
Texting, sending letter and/or e-mail	7.7	1.6	17.2	14.5	4.2	2.0	0.2	14.0	52.1	3.1
Following through social media	5.7	0.8	12.3	15.0	1.4	0.5	0.5	10.9	66.7	1.6
Disturbing by showing up in places where she is	5.8	3.2	13.4	10.1	2.7	7.2	1.2	20.0	42.6	5.0
Sending gifts like flower, candles etc.	2.0	6.7	18.7	14.9	3.5	6.7	0.7	19.4	29.9	3.0
Sharing her contact information with third parties	1.7	0.9	17.5	12.3	9.6	0.9	0.0	21.1	28.9	12.3
Threatening to commit suicide if she does not want to meet	5.0	15.0	30.3	22.2	3.9	2.7	0.3	15.3	11.4	2.1
Threatening woman if she does not want to meet	2.7	11.4	37.5	9.7	6.8	2.8	0.0	14.8	15.3	3.4
Threatening to hurt her children or family if she does not want to meet	1.7	13.0	38.9	7.4	5.6	0.0	0.0	16.7	13.9	6.5
Other	1.1	4.5	15.7	7.9	5.6	1.1	2.2	20.2	31.5	12.4

\*This column demonstrates the percentage of all women who have been subjected to different types of stalking behaviors regardless of their perpetrator. 26.6 percent of all women have experienced at least one type of stalking behavior. Since the percentages in the table are obtained from multiple answer questions, they cannot be summed and their sums are not equal to 100%.

\*\* Acquaintance: People that women are not in a close relationship with such as neighbor, grocer, friend of someone from the family

\*\*\*Stranger: People who are unknown to women

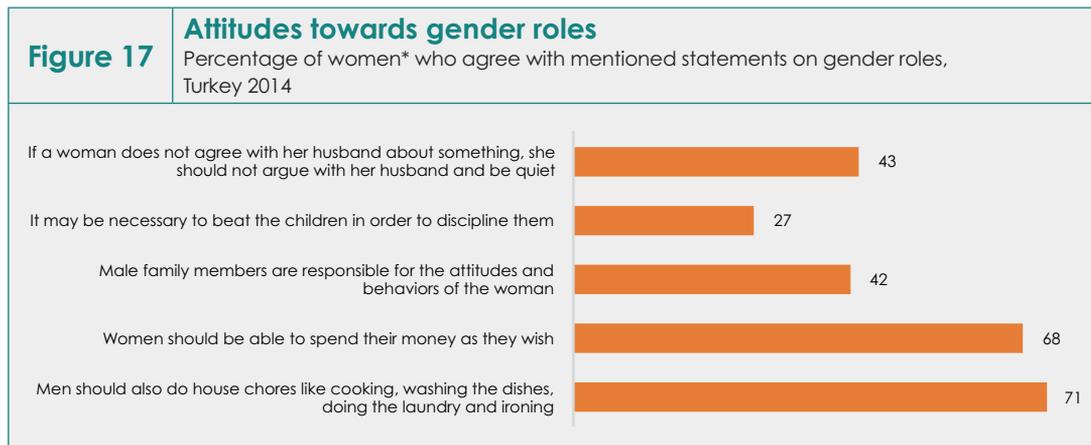
\*\*\*\*Other: Relative or friend whose genders are not specified, persons whose identities are not specified

Study results reveal that the perpetrators of stalking behaviors by people other than husbands or intimate partners are mostly strangers (constantly calling 71 percent, texting, sending letters or e-mails 52 percent). It is seen that stalking behaviors that contain threats are primarily perpetrated by former husbands or former intimate partners (threaten to hurt her children/family 39 percent, threaten woman if she does not want to meet 38 percent).



### Women's attitudes towards gender roles

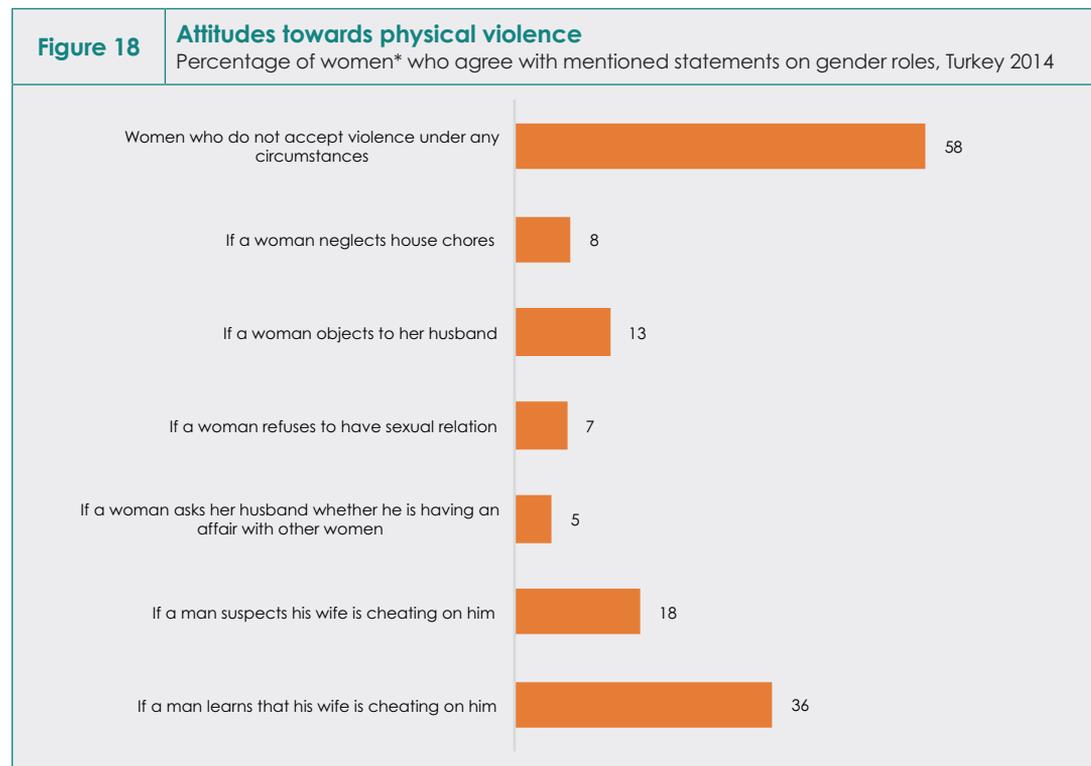
Throughout Turkey, while nearly half of the ever-married women agree with the statements that approve traditional gender roles such as "if a woman does not agree with her husband about something, she should not argue with her husband and be quiet" and "male family members are responsible for the attitudes and behaviors of the woman", more than one-fourth of the women agree with the statement "sometimes it may be necessary to beat the children in order to discipline them" (Figure 17). Although the prevalence of violence does not differ significantly according to type of residence, for attitudes towards gender roles it is striking that the proportion of women who agree with the statements that approve traditional gender roles is higher in rural areas. For example; while the proportion of women who agree with the statement "if a woman does not agree with her husband about something, she should not argue with her husband and be quiet" is 39 percent in urban areas, it is 57 percent in rural areas and while the proportion of women who agree with "male family members are responsible for the attitudes and behaviors of the woman" is 38 percent in urban areas, it is 56 percent in rural areas.



\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

### Attitudes of women towards physical violence

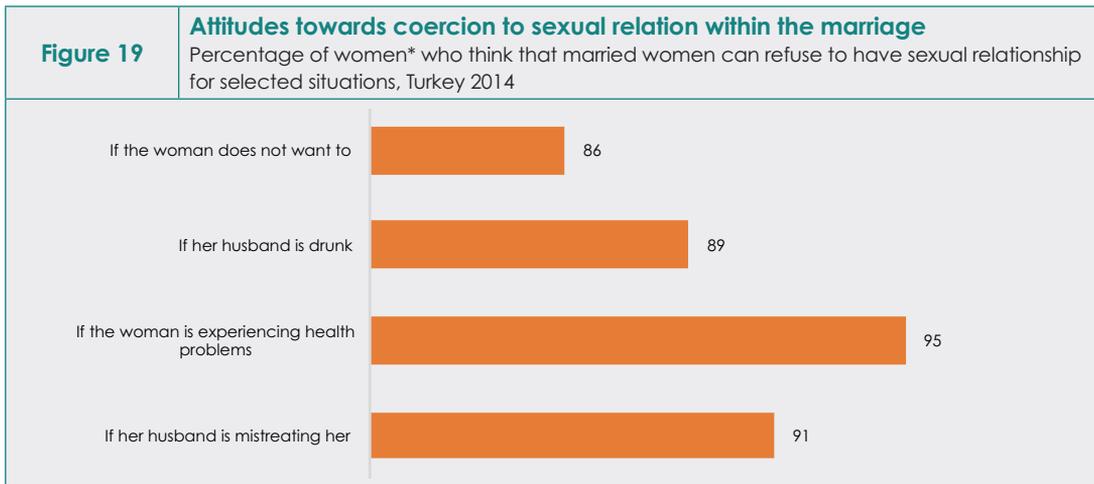
Among the acts given as the reasons for physical violence, cheating and doubt of cheating come in the first place. Thirteen percent of women think that in cases where women object to their husbands, physical violence may be inflicted. Fifty-eight percent of women think that none of the mentioned situations can be the reason for violent behaviors of men against their wives (Figure 18).



\*Calculations are based on ever-married women.

### Women's attitudes towards sexual violence within the marriage

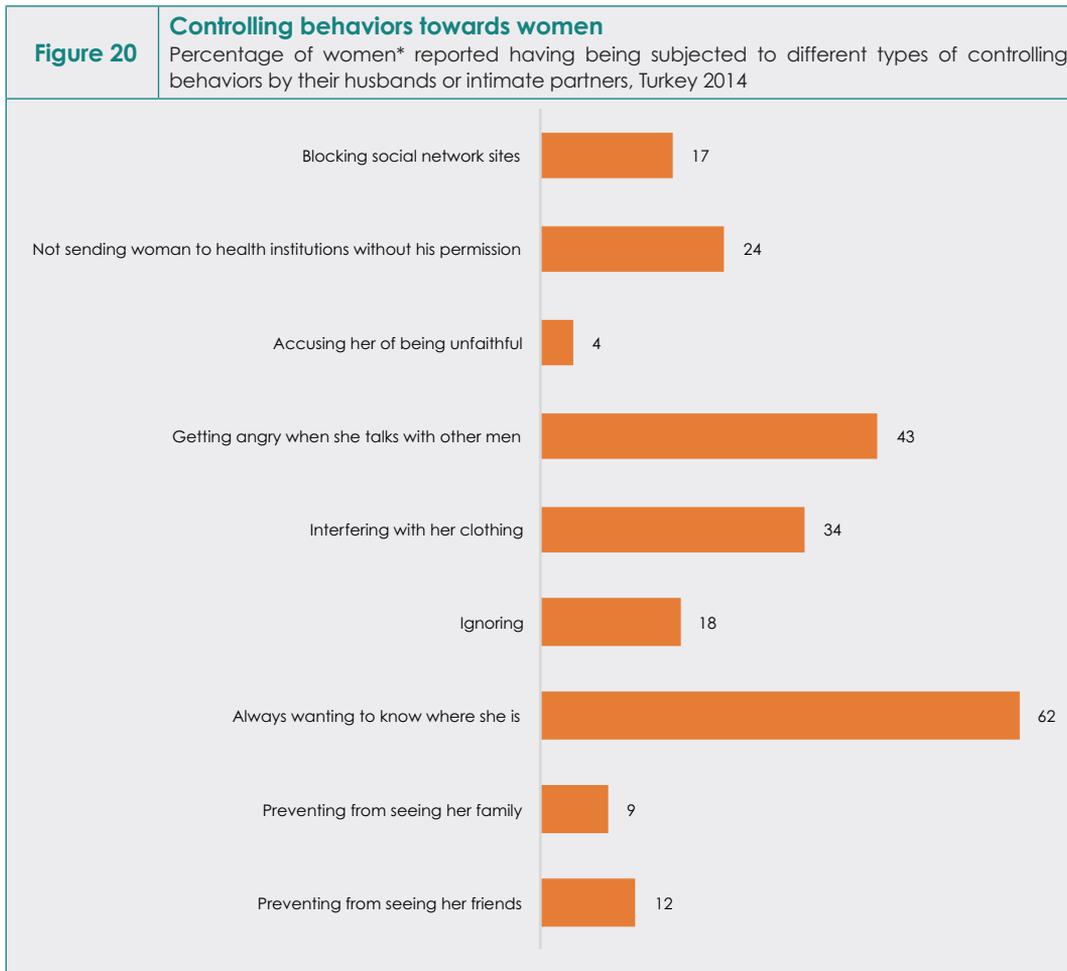
Eighty-six percent of women think that women can refuse sexual intercourse in situations where women do not want to have sexual intercourse. Among women, the most widespread situation where it is acceptable for women to refuse sexual intercourse is when the woman is experiencing health problems (Figure 19).



\* Calculations are based on ever-married women.

### Controlling behaviors towards women

The daily life activities of women such as the places where they go, who they go with, the clothes they wear, the people who women talk with and the things they do, are controlled by their husband or intimate partners. The woman's intimate partner always wanting to know the whereabouts of the woman, the man getting angry when the woman talks with other men and interfering with the woman's clothing are among the most common acts (Figure 20).

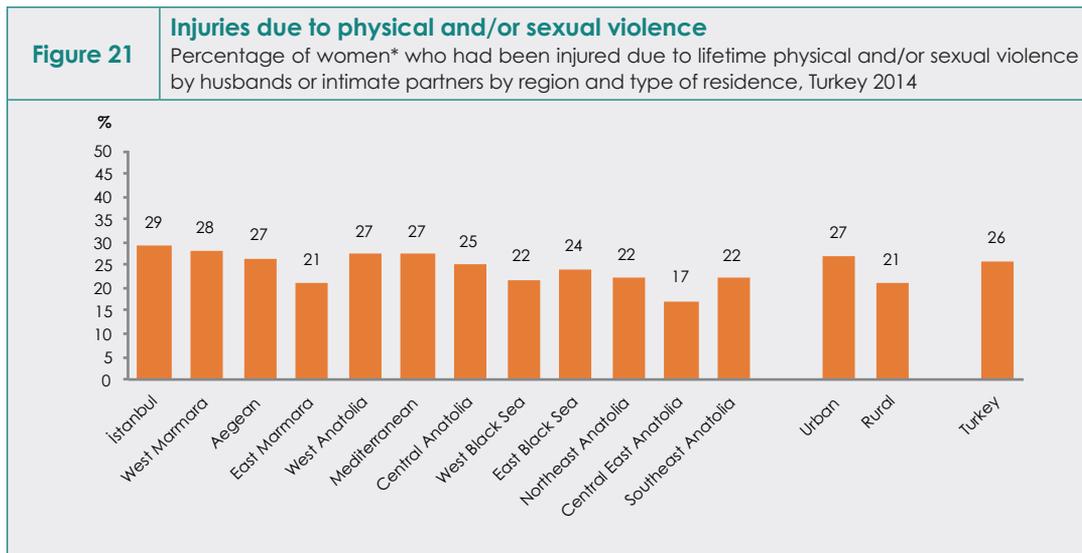


\* Calculations are based on ever-married women.

## CONSEQUENCES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

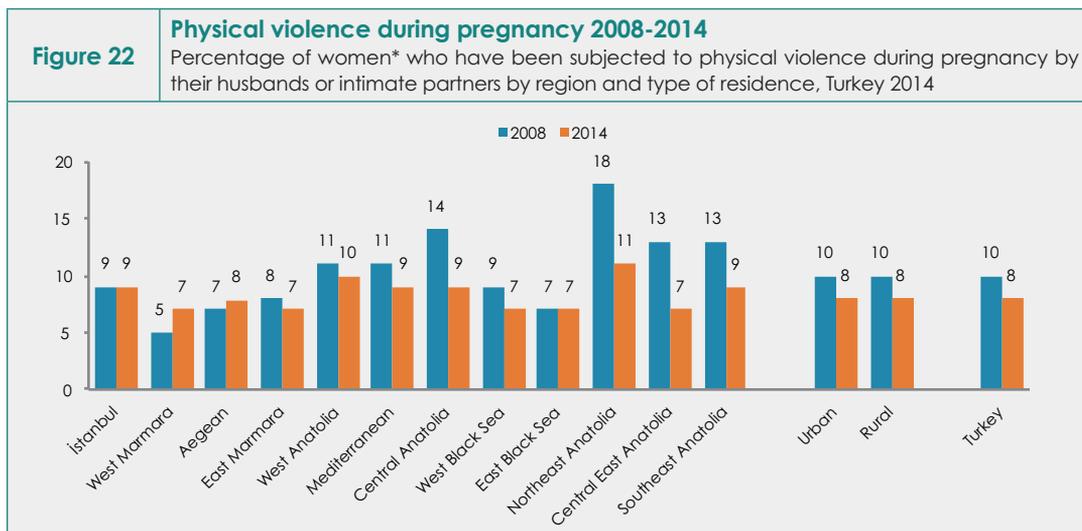
### Injuries due to violence

Throughout Turkey, one-fourth of women who have been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence reported having been injured as a result of the violence. This proportion is 6 percent higher among women who live in urban areas than women who live in rural areas (Figure 21). 6 out of every 10 women who have been subjected to violence had been injured 3 times or more. The fact that nearly half of these injuries had been severe enough to require treatment reveals that violence poses a serious threat to women’s physical health. Even though the proportion of injuries has not changed significantly during the past six years, the proportion of women who have been injured severe enough to need treatment has changed from 41 percent to 47 percent.



\*Calculations are based on all women who have been subjected to physical or sexual violence by their husbands or intimate partners.

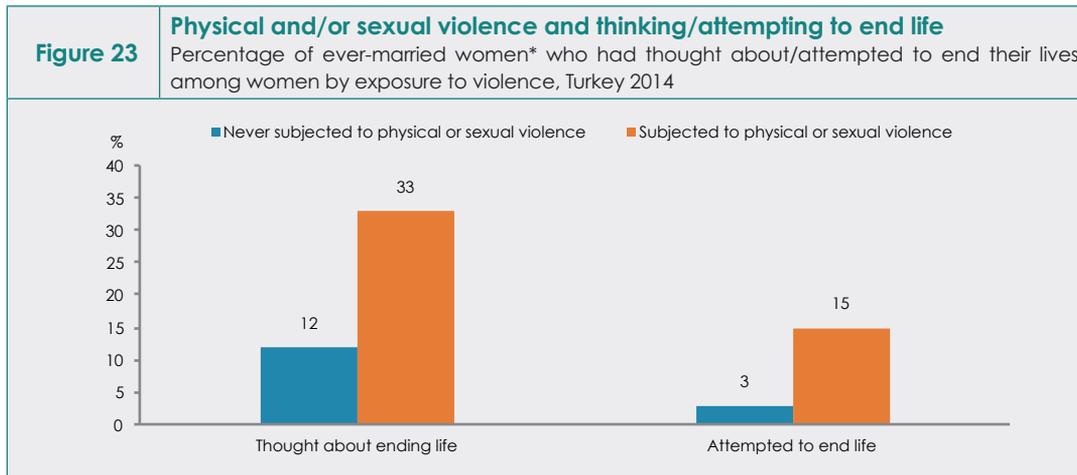
Experiencing physical violence during pregnancy which was 10 percent according to the results of the 2008 study is 8 percent according to the results of the 2014 study. The highest proportion of experiencing physical violence during pregnancy is among women who live in Northeast Anatolia with 11 percent and among women with no education or incomplete primary school (11 percent) education and women with a low wealth level (11 percent) (Figure 22).



\*Calculations are based on all ever-pregnant women.

### Physical and/or sexual violence and general health

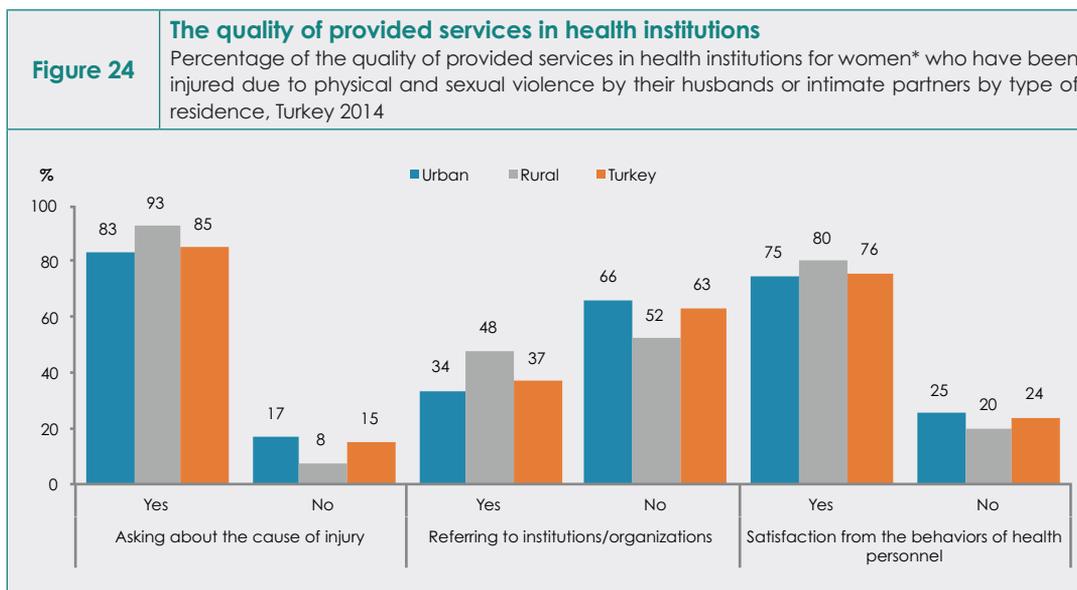
Throughout Turkey, women who have been subjected to violence reported their health condition as “poor” or “very poor” (19 percent) twice as more than women who had not experienced violence (10 percent). One-third of women who have been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence reported that they thought about committing suicide at any point in their lives. This ratio is one-tenth among women who stated that they had not experienced violence. Likewise, among victims of violence attempting to end their lives is 5 times more than women who are not victims of violence (Figure 23).



\*Calculations are based on ever-married/partnered women.

### The quality of provided services in health institutions

Overall, in the applications made to health institutions due to violence, 85 percent of women have been asked by the healthcare personnel about the cause of injury. Thirty-seven percent of women have been referred to an institution or organization. Three out of four women are pleased with the attitudes and behaviors of healthcare personnel. In rural areas, asking about the cause of injury, referral to institutions or organizations and satisfaction from healthcare personnel is higher compared to urban areas (Figure 24).

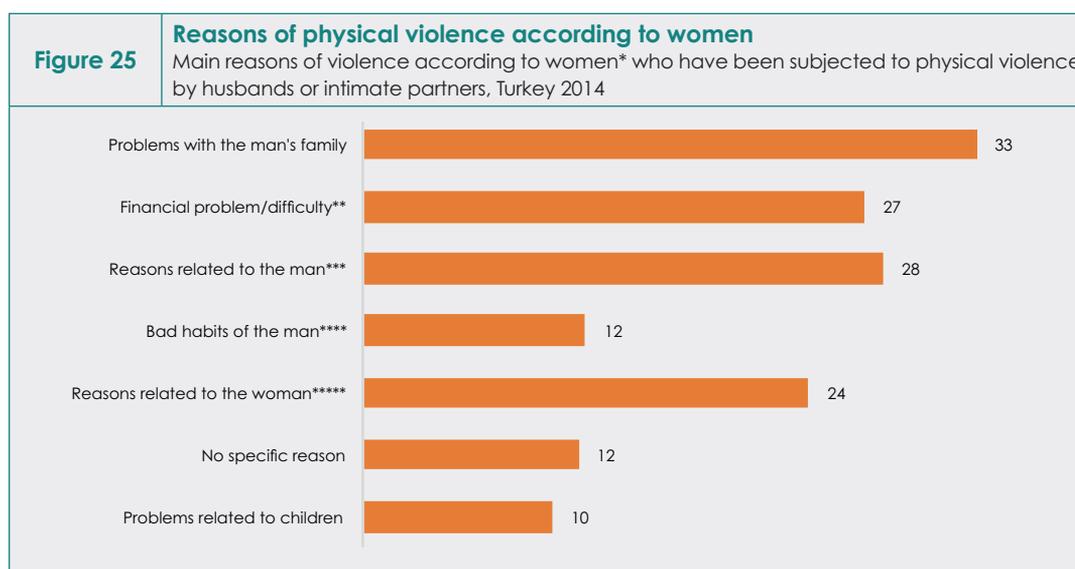


\*Calculations are based on all women who have been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence by their husbands or intimate partners.

## STRATEGIES FOR COPING WITH VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

### Reasons of violence from the women's point of view

Among the reasons of violence mentioned by women, with 33 percent “problems with the man’s family” is stated the most. This is followed by “reasons related to the man” (28 percent) and “financial problems/difficulties” (27 percent) (Figure 25). The results reveal that among the various and wide range of reasons of domestic violence against women, reasons related to the man or the man’s family come to the forefront.



Note: Since the percentages in the figure are obtained from multiple answer questions, they cannot be summed and their sums are not equal to 100 %.

\*Calculations are based on all women who have been subjected to physical violence by husbands or intimate partners.

\*\* Financial problem/difficulty: Financial difficulty, the man’s work problems, unemployment of the man

\*\*\*Reasons related to the man: The man getting jealous of the woman, upbringing of the man, the man’s physical/mental problems, the man’s other/first wife

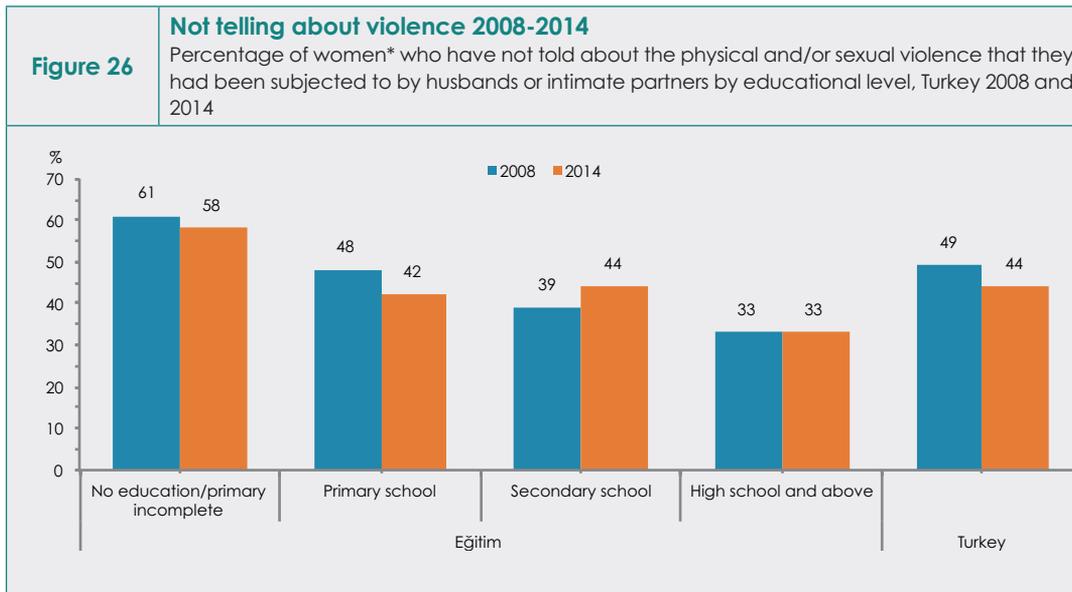
\*\*\*\*Bad habits of the man: the man being drunk, cheating, drug use, gambling

\*\*\*\*\*Reasons related to the woman: Disobedience of the woman, the woman getting jealous of the man, the woman refusing sexual intercourse, the woman wanting a divorce, the woman neglecting housework, the woman not wanting to get married, the woman feeling guilty/blaming herself

### Telling about violence to immediate social network

In Turkey, 44 percent of women who have been subjected to physical or sexual violence by their husbands or intimate partners reported not having told anyone about the violence that they had experienced. In other words, nearly half of the women who have been subjected to violence, told about the experienced violence for the first time to the interviewers during the interviews in this research. Between 2008 and 2014, the prevalence of telling about violence to immediate social network has changed from 51 percent to 56 percent. In both of the researches, the difference of the proportion of telling about violence is clearer especially among women with no education and women with high school or above education. Nearly six out of ten women who have no education or have not completed primary school have not told anyone about the violence (Figure 26).

Thirty-seven percent of women who had been subjected to violence told their families about the violence, 24 percent of them told their friends or neighbors. Women’s telling about the violence to the man’s family is at 17 percent. 39 percent of victims of violence reported that none of the people who witnessed or were aware of the violence helped them. 37 percent of women reported having told their families about the violence, however, only 19 percent of women stated that their families wanted to help them.



\*Calculations are based on all women who have been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence by their husbands or intimate partners.

### Physically fighting back and leaving home

Throughout Turkey, 30 percent of women who have been subjected to physical violence by their husbands or intimate partners reported having physically fought back against physical violence in order to protect themselves. 30 percent of women who have been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence by their husbands or intimate partners have left their homes at least once due to violence.

Women, who have left their homes due to physical and/or sexual violence, at first, mostly go to their own parents (81 percent). Among women who had left their homes at least once, the most commonly mentioned reason for leaving is “not being able to endure the violence anymore” (74 percent) .

### Application to institutions/organizations due to violence

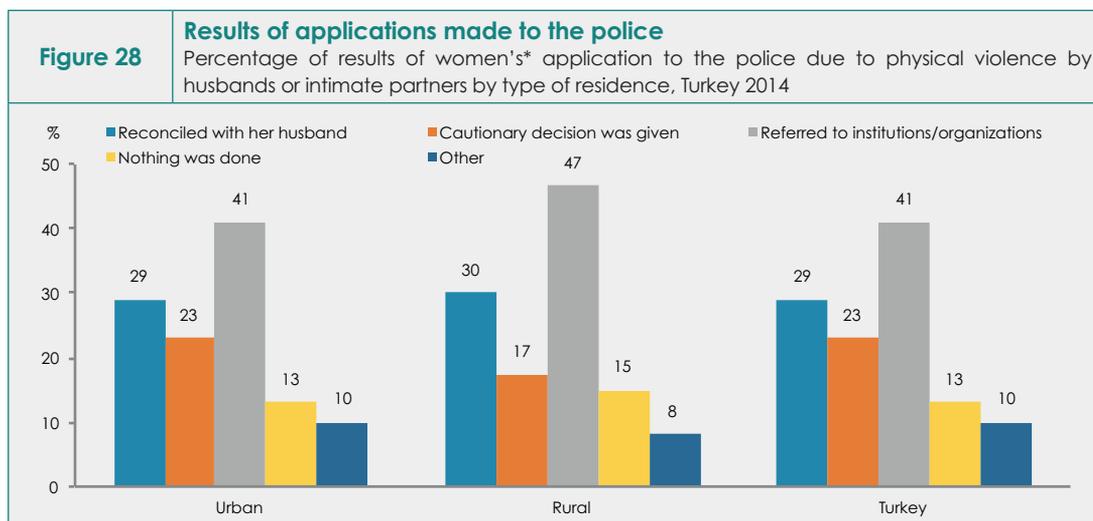
Overall, the majority (89 percent) of women who have been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence did not apply to institutions or organizations. It is seen that among the very few applications, most of the applications were made to the police (Figure 27).

In 29 percent of the applications made to the police, women were reconciled with their husbands, 23 percent of the applications resulted in giving cautionary decisions, 41 percent of them resulted in referral of the police to other institutions, organizations; whereas, in 13 percent of the applications nothing was done (Figure 28).

When the differentiation of institutional applications between 2008 and 2014 is considered, a 3 percent change is observed (8 percent and 11 percent, respectively).



\*Calculations are based on all women who have been subjected to physical violence by their husbands or intimate partners.



\*Calculations are based on all women who have been subjected to physical violence by their husbands or intimate partners.

Most frequently mentioned reason for application of women who stated that they had sought help from official institutions or non-governmental organizations as a result of physical and/or sexual violence was not being able to endure the violence anymore (69 percent). This is followed by getting severely injured, the man's threats/the man tried to kill her/scared of getting killed by the man and wanted to get judicial support (30 percent, 27 percent and 25 percent, respectively).

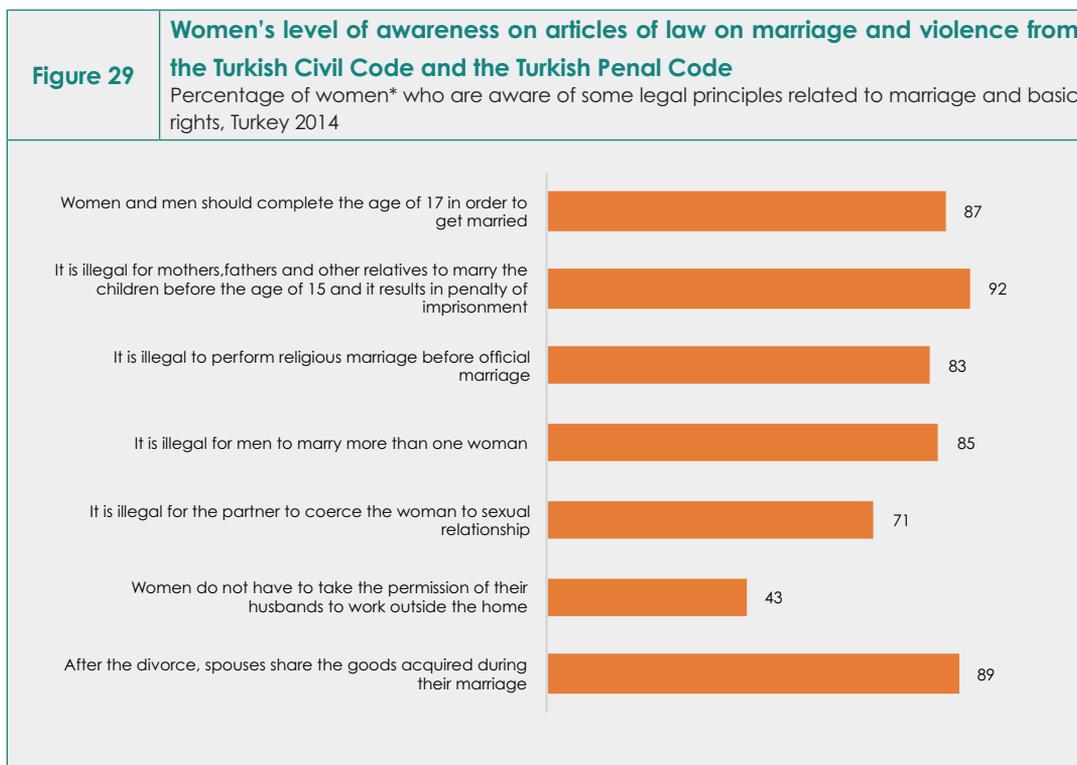
The majority of women (62 percent) who reported not having applied to or sought help from any institution stated that the experienced violence was not an important problem. Other reasons for not having applied are reasons related to children<sup>20</sup> (17 percent), loved, forgave her partner or thought that her partner might change (16 percent) and being ashamed or scared to bring bad reputation to the family (15 percent). 13 percent of women did not seek help because they did not know where to apply and 4 percent of women did not apply because they did not believe that they could get help.

<sup>20</sup> Covers women who mentioned at least one of the following statements: "Scared that her children might be unhappy" and "scared that she will lose her children".

## INFORMATION ON LAWS RELATED TO VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

### Awareness on selected articles of law from the Turkish Civil Code and the Turkish Penal Code

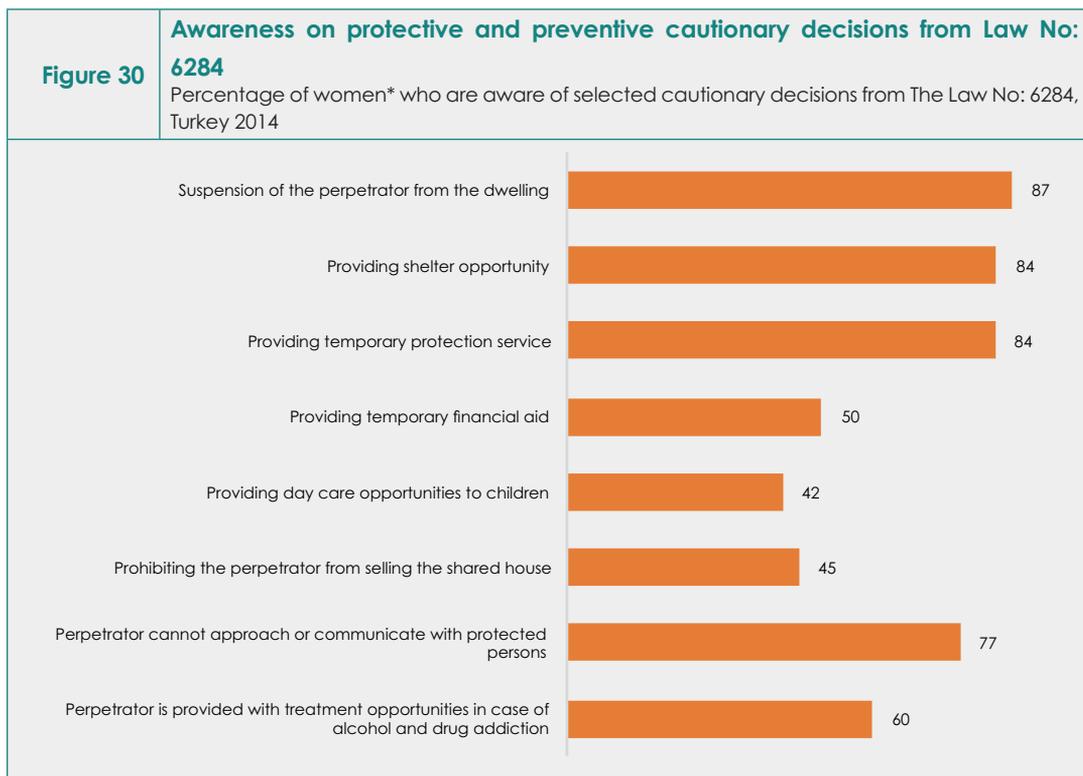
More than 80 percent of women are aware of the articles of law from the Turkish Civil Code related to the legal age for marriage, the priority of official marriage and the division of property. On the other hand, nearly 6 out of every 10 women reported not knowing the provision which decrees that women do not need the permission of their husbands in order to work. Concerning the Turkish Penal Code, while 80 percent of women reported having heard about having multiple marriages being illegal, approximately 3 out of every 10 women stated that they did not know that their husbands could not force them to have sexual intercourse (Figure 29). Among the sources of knowledge related to the articles of law, the most frequently stated sources are television and radio. 88 percent of women reported that they got the information on these laws through these channels. These are followed by their social circles (relatives, friends and acquaintances) with 61 percent.



\*Calculations are based on all women.

### Awareness on protective and preventive cautionary decisions from Law No: 6284

Among the preventive cautionary decisions, the decisions to suspend the perpetrator from the residence and among the protective cautionary decisions, the decision to provide shelter for the victims of violence and temporary protection are known the most. More than 80 percent of women are aware of these three cautionary decisions. These are followed by the decision for preventing the perpetrator to approach the protected persons. 3 out of every 4 women are aware of this implementation (Figure 30). Among the sources of knowledge of cautionary decisions, television and radio are stated the most and more than 90 percent of women heard about the cautionary decisions through these channels. Half of the women stated that they got the information on cautionary decisions from relatives, friends or acquaintances.



\*Calculations are based on all women.

## FINDINGS OF THE QUALITATIVE STUDY

### Institutional application process from women's point of view

**Institutional application decision:** In-depth interviews conducted with victims of violence who made institutional applications show that applications were made at the point where women could not endure the violence anymore. The narrations of almost all of the interviewed women indicate that the violence generally starts at the early stages of the marriage/relationship but women try to tolerate this situation for a certain time. In-depth interviews show that the main factor for institutional application is the severity and physical damage of the violence rather than the frequency. It is also seen that during the road to institutional application women mostly get support from their families, especially their mothers.

**“Then he hit me in the head, I fell ... down I felt nauseous, I was shaken. He kicked my stomach so hard that my stomach felt weird ... I was sure that I was going to faint, he would have assaulted the children too. It all piled up and I exploded...”**

*(36 year old, primary school graduate)*

**Experiences during institutional application:** Institutional application is a process that generally starts at the police station and continues at hospitals, ŞÖNİMs, shelters/guesthouses and experts like psychologists, lawyers etc. get involve in this process. In-depth interviews reveal that during the first time institutional applications, the individual started off with the feeling that they were stepping into the unknown, not knowing what will happen, not knowing what to demand and with certain prejudice towards the institutions. From the narrations of women, it is seen that the procedures took long time, women generally did not have any difficulty in expressing themselves, after the initiation of the police station process they were accompanied by the police to the hospital and if they needed to go, to ŞÖNİM and that they were not alone while they were settling into the shelters/guesthouses. The narrations on institutional application also reveal that women are not used to public behavior norms and rules like signing an official document and reading the document before signing it when they are making decisions about their lives.

**“In my entire life I've never been to a courthouse before. When you say prosecutor, it's intimidating. (...) If it was only the court clerk it would have been fine but I went straight up to the prosecutor... but the prosecutor was very nice. He was very fatherly... You know that TV show Arka Sokaklar that was the only place where I saw a police station. Since it was my first time at the police station I didn't have any prejudices; ... they didn't treat me badly, but they looked at me a bit different”**

*(22 year old, high school graduate)*

**Applied institutions:** When only the first time institutional applications are considered, the police stations, where more than half of the women applied, come in the first place. Even though there are women who applied to the hospitals in the first place in case of an injury, there are also injured women who go directly to the police stations. In the interviews, with fewer application numbers, gendarmerie, prosecutor's office, municipality's women's consultancy center and non-governmental organizations are also stated among the institutions that women prefer to apply to in the first place. It is seen that the source of information of institutions are mostly television programs.

**“I heard something like violence against women from the TV. Also my father-in-law would always excuse, my language... he would swear you know. To tell the truth. It is the place for unattended women and for women who cheated on their husbands and so on. There is no such thing called women’s rights ... they do it then they say women’s rights... Later on I learned from those places that women were right...”**

*(29 year old, primary school graduate)*

### **Violence against women from the men’s point of view**

**Why men inflict violence against women:** It is known that there is not just one reason for male violence against women in male-female relationships. The reasons for violence from the point of view of young men who participated in focus groups are stated under the following titles; experiencing violence as a result of power relations; the tolerance of the society towards violence and legitimacy of violence; men’s perception of cheating and honor; disobedience of women and women being aware of their rights; breadwinner responsibility of men and alcohol use of men.

**“The moment it is realized that the power is being lost or the moment there is a disagreement and the moment he can’t make someone accept his thoughts, as a result of some bad characteristics inherited from the family while being raised up, like you are a man, your word should be obeyed ... As it is for many families women and children who do not have economic freedom hear their father or brother or people like that they are dependent to say you live thanks to me, you can maintain the life standard that you have because of me they should do as I tell them. It will happen the way I want it ... I mean you hit, you beat you make them accept the thing that you want, it comes to that. The thoughts that you cannot impose you make them accept by [physical] force...”**

*(Single, focus group discussion with graduates of high school and above)*

From the narrations of men who have been imprisoned for murdering or injuring their wives it is seen that men do not pay attention to violence against women. In the narrations of men in prison, regarding the incidents that resulted in injuring/murdering their wives, stating that these murders or injuries were “accidents”, blaming the murdered women and trying to justify the murder stand out.

**“I was depressed a while ago I fell from the stairs. I had surgery I had cracks in my urinary tract ... Then my business started to go down. I could have seen a psychologist psychiatrist I was in that kind of a situation, that day I was playing with my gun the spring of my gun was broken I was trying to fix it. Then my wife came in we started to argue again she was complaining like you don’t have a job you are just sitting like that. She held the gun. Just then the gun went off [from his arm to his neck he shows the trail of the bullet with his hand] since the bullet was slow it went in from her arm it went in her body and first it went under her shoulder, from there to her neck and from there it went to her spinal cord.”**

*(33 year old, primary school graduate, prison interviews)*

**Opinions of men on Law No: 6284:** Men who, in one hand, stated that Laws were not enough for the struggle against violence and that the legal measures were not practiced efficiently, in the other hand, stated that the Law only gave rights to women and even if they murdered their

wives the reasons that led men to murder were not taken into account. It is observed that there is not a significant differentiation concerning negative evaluations regarding Law No: 6284 among men who received a punishment and men who participated in the focus group discussions. The frequently stated negative situation regarding the Law no: 6284 is on preventive cautionary decision for suspension from residence.

Especially men who received a punishment as a result of their violent acts against their wives stated that with Law No: 6284 women were being supported and they also frequently mentioned that in their opinion men were being aggrieved because of this. Men in prison criticized the government for not protecting the men enough even though they have committed murder. The statement **“the law gave women such power that it is like women have their big brother behind their back at all times”** of 46-year-old A. who murdered his wife, explains that men consider the government against them. Father of 3 children F. who has been sentenced to 20 years for murdering his wife, while mentioning that his wife, with whom he was going through a divorce, came to his work place to talk about taking the children, blames the government and his wife with these words:

**“... If the government found the woman to be wrong, things wouldn't have reached this far. The government found me guilty, even though it was the doing of the woman. She humiliated me in my work place in front of 30 people. Everybody knows what happened to me. She provoked me.”**

*(32 year old, primary school graduate, prison interviews)*

**Media coverage of violence against women from men's point of view:** In the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews conducted in prison, men's general opinion is that violence against women has increased. Regarding this increase, most of the men agree on the impact of media on making violence against women visible. Although the contribution of media on making violence visible is considered positive, there have also been many criticisms on the media. While participants talked about the display of violence news and women's murders, they have stated that this situation normalizes and legitimizes violence. Criticisms regarding the way these news items are presented, the masculine language used, and the timing of the news are among the criticisms.

**“I see a similarity between the language of general, mainstream media and general views of the public. I mean the views of one of your neighbors on violence against women. For example media tries to be sensational while easily covering issues like these. They show the violence... in mainstream channels... I always see an insanity in most watched channels like ... I see this insanity, it is like a sensational source of gossip. It's partially ... related to the ratings maybe. I observe that it is not being covered in a very good, positive, transformative manner.”**

*(Single, focus group discussion with graduates of high school and above)*

### **New institution for the struggle against violence- The Center for Violence Prevention and Monitoring (ŞÖNİM)**

The contents of social investigation reports and condition assessment reports of applications made to the Ankara ŞÖNİM have been analyzed. Social network analysis was conducted through official letters between ŞÖNİM and other institutions. When the official letters between ŞÖNİM and institutions are analyzed, it is seen that the bureaucratic procedure is intense and the official letters slow down the services that will be provided for victims of violence. Facilitating

the bureaucratic procedure, informing the judicial process correctly and standardizing the type of documents in order to improve the quality of service delivery are among the results revealed by content analysis. Furthermore, the need for regulations for defining the characteristics of the individuals, inter-personal relations, forms of violence inflicted on people, features concerning the environment and behavior in a manner that they will not have a value judgment is revealed.

### **Highlights of the interviews**

Views and opinions expressed during in-depth interviews and focus groups on the elimination of violence have been addressed under three titles; views and recommendations on the struggle with violence (at individual, societal and institutional level), views and recommendations on the operation of ŞÖNİMs and the problems encountered by people who work for the struggle with violence against women.

#### **Views and recommendations on the struggle with violence against women**

##### **Views and recommendations on the struggle with violence against women at the individual level:**

Among actions that can be taken at individual level for combating violence against women, not hiding the violence and revealing the perpetrators of violence have been recommended especially by women who are victims of violence and have applied to institutions. The necessity of victims of violence getting help or psychological support is among the recommendations of not just women but also of professionals like police, lawyers, social service experts who work in close contact with victims of violence, as well as of governors. The recommendation of women gaining their economic independence, which plays an important part in the empowerment of women regarding the struggle with violence against women, has been mentioned by focus group participant young men along with many experts/professionals/managers. On the other hand, there have also been people who lay the burden of the struggle with violence on women and who argue that the problems can be solved by women maintaining their traditional roles. These recommendations have mostly been mentioned in focus group discussions with men and in in-depth interviews conducted in prison.

##### **Views and recommendations on the struggle with violence against women at the societal level:**

The importance of being a society that is sensitive towards gender equality which is indispensable for the struggle with violence against women and the necessity of mentality transformation for this have been mentioned by almost all of the individuals who work in this field. Another recommendation is continuing the awareness raising trainings on violence against women.

The majority of the experts who talked about preventing violence from being supported by society and expressed negative comments on the impact of media on this issue criticized the way of presentation of this issue by the media and the legitimization of violence. They also recommended increasing the activities aimed at the media.

##### **Views and recommendations on the struggle with violence against women at the institutional level:**

Opinions on the actions that can be taken at the institutional level are mostly related to issuing and implementing protective and preventive cautionary decisions under the Law No: 6284 which is generally mentioned by experts/professionals/managers. Concerning issuing protective and preventive cautionary decisions, issuing many of these decisions together in a standardized manner without evaluating specific conditions of the individuals in detail, is one of the most important problems mentioned. While expressing problems regarding the implementation of protective cautionary decisions, decisions such as temporary protection, providing a shelter, change of identity and other information and documents have been brought to the forefront.

Not having enough police officers for implementing protective cautionary decision for temporary protection and cautionary decisions not being implemented all the time, even though they had been issued have been stated among these problems. While expressing opinions on protective cautionary decision for providing shelter, subjects like the capacity, physical conditions, quality of the personnel and confidentiality of women's guesthouses affiliated to the Ministry and of shelters affiliated to non-governmental organizations have been the focus. Regarding protective cautionary decision related to the change of identification and other information and documents, issuing the decision alone not being enough and the necessity of co-operation between institutions have been mentioned.

Regarding preventive cautionary decisions issued with regard to the perpetrators of violence, opinions on following decisions have been mentioned: i-)suspension of the perpetrator from the shared residence immediately and allocation of the residence to the protected person; ii-) not to use alcohol, drugs or stimulants in places where the protected people are present or not to approach the protected people and whereabouts while under the influence of these substances; iii-) to ensure to have a medical examination and treatment including in-patient treatment in case of an addiction and iv-) preventive imprisonment in case of acting contrary to the cautionary decision. Regarding the preventive cautionary decision of suspension from the shared residence, problems caused by not providing a place for men and women being forced to take their suspended husbands back into their residents due to economic inadequacy of women have been stated. Concerning preventive cautionary decision of ensuring the treatment of the perpetrator in case of alcohol, drug and stimulant addiction, not having a sanction in cases of perpetrator's refusal and not having adequate institutional infrastructure for treatment have been criticized. It has been stated that there have been problems related to the implementation of preventive imprisonment issued in case of a violation of cautionary decisions and the monitoring of cautionary decisions.

### **Opinions and recommendations on the operation of ŞÖNİMs**

Experts who drew attention to the process of applications made to ŞÖNİMs, criticized ŞÖNİMs for referring women from ŞÖNİMs to police stations, since it is expected that women to be in contact with one single institution. Improving the reporting in ŞÖNİMs is also recommended. Another mentioned issue regarding ŞÖNİM is on locationally selecting a place that women can reach with ease and safety.

### **Problems encountered by people who work for the struggle with violence against women**

Opinions on the capacities, facilities of individuals and institutions for combating violence, the necessity of in-service trainings for different occupational groups who work in this field and the importance of cooperation and coordination between institutions, as well as problems encountered during the implementation have been mentioned.

## RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Through the Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey, nationwide representative data on the prevalence of different forms of violence and information on attitudes towards violence against women have been gathered. When the data obtained from this research is co-evaluated with the results of the research conducted six years ago, it is seen that violence against women is still prevalent throughout the country and the results of the two studies overlap each other to a large extent. In this section, the results of the two studies are summarized comparatively and within the scope of the findings obtained from the study the recommendations of the research team are presented.

### Research Results

#### Violence against women is still prevalent

- Throughout Turkey, violence that women have been subjected to is still widespread. Women, whether their marriage or relationship continues or not, generally are being subjected to violence by the men who are closest to them. These men include husband or fiancée/betrothed/boyfriend in the first place and are followed by father, brother and relatives.

#### Violence is always very close to women

##### Violence against women by husbands/intimate partners

- 36 percent of married women reported having been subjected to physical violence at any point in their lives by their husbands or intimate partners. Furthermore, for nearly 1 out of every 10 woman, physical violence continues during pregnancy as well.
- 12 percent of married women reported having been subjected to sexual violence at any point in their lives by their husbands or intimate partners.
- 38 percent of women have been subjected to either physical and/or sexual violence at any point in their lives. This situation points out that, just as observed in the 2008 research, physical and sexual violence are mostly experienced concomitantly.
- 26 percent of women were married before completing the age of 18. While half of women who were married at an early age have been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence, this proportion declines to one-third among women who were married after the age of 18. Among forms of violence that women who were married at an early age have experienced, the prevalence of sexual violence is more apparent with 19 percent.
- The prevalence of violence that women have experienced differentiates according to women's marital status. Nearly three out of four divorced/separated women reported having been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence at any point in their lives. The prevalence of physical and/or sexual violence among never-married but ever-partnered women being at 7 percent highlights the existence of violence in relationships other than marriage.
- Nearly half of the married women reported having been subjected to acts of emotional violence such as threatening, swearing, being insulted and humiliated by their husbands/intimate partners.

- Throughout Turkey, nearly 3 out of every 10 women have been subjected to stalking, on which the information was collected for the first time. The most prevalent types of stalking are calling (19 percent); texting, sending letters or e-mails (8 percent); following through social media (6 percent) and disturbing by showing up in work place or place where the woman lives (6 percent). The study results reveal that the perpetrators of common stalking behaviors are mostly strangers. However, the perpetrators of stalking behaviors that consist of threats of murder and harm are mostly ex-husbands and former intimate partners.

### **Violence against women by people other than husband/intimate partner**

- Emotional abuse is experienced the most among the violence and abuse forms to which women have been exposed by their husbands or intimate partners. Emotional abuse after the age of 15 (22 percent) is followed by physical violence (14 percent) and sexual violence (3 percent) which is mentioned at a lesser extent.
- 9 percent of women have been subjected to sexual abuse during childhood (before the age of 15). 38 percent of the sexual abuse has been perpetrated by strangers and 29 percent of the sexual abuse has been perpetrated by male relatives other than father, step-father, younger brother, older brother, grandfather, maternal uncle and paternal uncle.
- One of the new subjects within the scope of the study is prevention of women's education and of joining the labor force by people other than their husbands. Almost one-third of women stated that their education had been prevented and one-tenth of women stated that they had been prevented from joining the labor force after the age of 15 or forced to quit their jobs.

### **Violence affects the health of women negatively**

- 6 out of every 10 violence victim women were injured 3 times or more due to experienced violence; the fact that nearly half of these injuries were severe enough to require treatment reveal that violence poses a great threat to women's physical health.
- One-third of women who have been subjected to physical or sexual violence stated that they thought about committing suicide at any point in their lives. This ratio is one-tenth of women among those who reported not having been subjected to violence. Similarly, attempting to commit suicide (15 percent) is five times more prevalent among victims of violence than women who are not victims of violence (3 percent).

### **Violence also affects children and men**

- It is seen that children whose mothers have been subjected to violence display some problematic behaviors more than other children. Introvert behavior, crying peevishly, acting shy or introverted displayed by half of the children who grew up in families that experienced violence are among the examples of this situation.
- For men, experiencing violence during childhood or witnessing the violence experienced by their mothers can be one of the factors that increases the tendency of inflicting violence when they grow up. While one-third of all men inflict physical violence, half of the men whose mothers had been subjected to violence by their fathers inflicting violence on their wives imply that half of the men adopt the behaviors of their fathers.

### Women from all groups are under the threat of violence

- The proportion of women who have experienced violence differs between women with different age, education and wealth levels and regarding these differences the results of the 2008 and 2014 researches display a similar pattern.
- Throughout Turkey, the prevalence and pattern of physical and/or sexual violence are similar in the 2008 and the 2014 researches to a large extent. However, the regional prevalence of violence against women and the regional difference in this period differ.

### Women struggle with violence alone

- It is seen that women who are being subjected to violence mostly do not tell anyone about the violence and try to combat violence on their own. 44 percent of women who have been subjected to violence did not mention the violence to anyone. Women's tendency to hide the violence decreases with increase in the educational level; whereas, the tendency to tell their families about the violence increases with the educational level.

### Utilization of institutional mechanisms during women's struggle with violence

- During the struggle against violence, women tell their immediate social networks about the violence; nearly 3 out of every 10 women physically fight back against violence and leave their homes for a short period.
- Among victims of violence, the proportion of the ones who have applied to an institution is only 11 percent.
- Not being able to endure the violence anymore (69 percent) is the most important factor which leads women to apply to institutions.
- Women not perceiving the violence as a serious problem, being afraid that their children would be unhappy, thinking that their husbands might change, as well as not knowing where to apply and their negative perceptions of institutions are among the reasons of the low institutional application level.

### Problems faced during implementation regarding the struggle with violence

- Concerning the operation of ŞÖNİMs, the intensity of bureaucratic procedures, including value judgment in the sections of the reports, where the individuals and relationship between individuals are defined and the lack of standards in the document types have been stated as priority problems that should be solved. Regarding the issue of protective and preventive cautionary decisions under the Law No: 6284, issuing many of these decisions together in a standardized manner without evaluating specific conditions of individuals in detail, is a problem that has been mentioned primarily.

### Women being aware of their rights

- More than 80 percent of women have heard about the articles of law in the Turkish Civil Code related to the legal age of marriage, type of marriage and division of property. On the other hand, 6 out of every 10 women reported that they had not heard about the provision which decrees that women do not need the permission of their husbands in order to work. Among implemented cautionary decisions under The Law No: 6284, suspension from the residence, temporary protection and shelter decisions are the most commonly known. Women became aware of cautionary decisions mostly through television/radio.

## Recommendations based on research results

### Recommendations regarding institution/organization's area of responsibility

#### Recommendations regarding the awareness of Law No: 6284

- Women's awareness of Law No: 6284 will strengthen women against violence. When the low institutional application ratio of victims of violence is taken into account, it is considered that the implementation of activities related to the promotion of this Law will be beneficial.
- It is recommended to have workshops with media professionals, by prioritizing professionals who work in television channels, which will ensure these individuals to disseminate correct information on the Law in the programs that they will prepare.
- In order to increase the awareness level regarding the operative laws related to the struggle with violence against women, it is recommended to organize trainings that convey information on the Law No: 6284 and on the reasons of this law, especially for young women and men with different educational and socio-economic levels.
- Since it is observed that Law No: 6284 is also not fully known by law enforcement personnel, it is seen as a necessity and recommended that the trainings that include law enforcement personnel be continued.

#### Recommendations regarding the implementation of Law No: 6284

- It is recommended to create environments which enable active participation of experts from different professions to develop solutions for the prevention of problems encountered during the implementation of Law No: 6284.

#### Recommendations regarding the operation of ŞÖNİMs

- Evaluation of the pilot schemes of ŞÖNİM, which is still ongoing in 14 provinces, before starting to provide service throughout the country is recommended. It is also recommended that these evaluations include women's organizations that work in this field, and they are carried out in settings which enable active participation and discussion of ŞÖNİM Regulations.

- It is recommended that the condition assessment reports and social investigation reports are prepared by using a standard language, without value judgment.
- In order to speed up the functioning of ŞÖNİMs, work on reducing bureaucracy is recommended.
- In the event of providing psycho-social support for men in ŞÖNİMs, providing services for both victims of violence and perpetrators of violence in the same environment is unsuitable. It is recommended to develop alternative approaches to this subject and standardize the content and place of implementation of training/support programs regarding men.

### **Recommendations regarding institutions that provide services for violence against women**

- Increasing the number of institutions such as women's consultancy centers and shelters/guest houses, which will empower women in their struggle with violence against women, and improving the quality of the personnel who provide service in these institutions are recommended. The personnel in different regions, equipped with the qualifications to meet regional needs, is another issue important for improving the quality of provided services.
- Performing a condition assessment for the struggle with violence against women in such a manner to reflect specific needs of the regions/provinces, institutional possibilities in the regions/provinces, positive implementations for the struggle with violence against women, as well as errors caused by the implementation is recommended.

### **Recommendations for the support of women who have higher risk of being subjected to violence**

- Developing training programs for increasing the awareness of young women who are married and/or have children on gender equality and their knowledge regarding the coping strategies with violence are recommended. Creating a setting that will ensure active participation of experts who work in this field is recommended for the development of these programs.
- Divorced/separated women are being subjected to the most severe violence and lose their lives due to domestic violence. Conducting studies that aim to learn the needs of these women, as well as creating a setting that will ensure active participation of experts from different professions in order to plan and provide necessary support mechanisms by taking the recommendations of the previous study into consideration is recommended.

### **Recommendations on organizing trainings on gender equality and violence against women**

- Evaluating the impact of all the trainings related to gender equality and violence against women carried out by different institutions and organizations, reorganizing the trainings in light of this evaluation and reviewing the target groups are recommended.
- Men being one of the target groups of the training programs and developing these programs not just for perpetrators of violence, but also for men with different age and educational levels are recommended.
- Including issues on gender equality and violence against women in all grades of education within the scope of formal education and including teachers in the trainings carried out in this field are recommended.

## Recommendations of the Research

### Recommendation on nationwide violence against women studies

- It is important to conduct studies on violence against women at the national level and to continue with the research series started in 2008. In the future studies, it will be beneficial to update and use the same methodology and questionnaires. The researches should cover the last 12 months prior to the research in order to yield the current violence prevalence. The time interval of the research should be assessed according to the changes in the current legislation on violence against women or to the event of new regulations coming into force. In light of the results of this assessment, conducting the researches in time intervals that will not exceed 10 years is recommended.

### Qualitative study recommendation

- Conducting qualitative studies which aim to understand the underlying causes of regional difference of violence prevalence obtained from two cross-sectional studies and to reveal the factors that affect violence against women in the context of social change are recommended.

### Recommendation on a nationwide study regarding the attitudes of men towards violence against women

- Although extensive data on the perspectives of women on violence and the experiences of women regarding violence has been collected, in the implemented studies, interviews are generally conducted with women and the information on men is indirectly obtained from women. Conducting Turkey-wide quantitative studies targeting only men and which enable the evaluation of the issue of violence against women from a different perspective are recommended.

## Recommendations for further analysis

### Lifetime violence that women have been subjected to

- Further analysis for revealing the differentiation of lifetime violence between childhood period (0-14 age), adolescence period (15-24 age) and adulthood period (25 age and above) is recommended.

### Early marriages

- Since early marriages are still an important problem of the country, detailed analyses of the data of Violence against Women Researches conducted in 2008 and 2014 are recommended. In these analyses it is recommended that the relationship between the information on the construction of early marriages, age and education difference between spouses, the person who made the decision of early marriage, marriage types of early marriages, the person who carried out the marriage ceremony, and different forms of violence and coping strategies with violence be analyzed using advanced statistical methods apart from descriptive analyses.

### Characteristics of abusive/non-abusive men

- Studies, in which the data of quantitative and qualitative studies will be assessed together and which aim to reveal the points of differentiation among abusive/non-abusive men, are recommended.

**Detailed analysis of divorced/separated women experiencing violence**

- Taking into consideration the high risk of violence of divorced/separated women, analyzing in detail the forms of violence, the perpetrators of violence against divorced/separated women, as the group of women who are being subjected to violence the most, and the coping strategies of these women is recommended.

**Change in struggle with violence against women between 2008 and 2014**

- Carrying out studies that aim to analyze in detail the data of the two researches on violence against women conducted in a six-year interval from different aspects are recommended.

**Analysis of the results of 2008-2014 researches in terms of regional difference**

- Along with the qualitative studies that aim to understand the regional difference of violence prevalence in the researches conducted in 2008 and 2014, further analyses that approach this differentiation beyond the descriptive level are recommended.

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