





NATIONAL RESEARCH ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN TURKEY

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| CONTENTS | 3 |
|--|--------|
| TABLES | 6 |
| FIGURES | 8 |
| ABBREVIATIONS | 9 |
| PREFACE | 11 |
| FOREWORD | 13 |
| MAP OF 12 REGIONS | 15 |
| INTRODUCTION | |
| Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION | |
| Banu AKADLI ERGÖÇMEN, Sunday ÜNER, Elif KURTULUŞ YİĞİT | 19 |
| Background of the research | 19 |
| Legal infrastructure and institutionalization about violence against women in Tu | rkey21 |
| Objective of the survey | 23 |
| METHODOLOGY | |
| Chapter 2. METHODOLOGY | |
| Ahmet Sinan TÜRKYILMAZ, Banu AKADLI ERGÖÇMEN, İlknur YÜKSEL, Yadigar C | OŞKUN, |
| Tuğba ADALI | = |
| Quantitative Research | 27 |
| Survey sample | 27 |
| Sample size and allocation | 28 |
| Sample selection | 28 |
| Survey questionnaire | 29 |
| Data collection activities | 30 |
| Qualitative Research | 32 |
| In-depth and semi-structured interviews | |
| Focus group discussions | 33 |
| Safety of respondents and research teams, and research ethics | 33 |
| Definitions | 35 |
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: NUMBERS AND PATTER | NS |
| Chapter 3. HOUSEHOLD POPULATION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPOND | ENTS |
| İsmet KOÇ, Ahmet Sinan TÜRKYILMAZ, Mehmet Ali ERYURT | 39 |
| Household population and household composition | 39 |
| Background characteristics of respondents | 43 |
| Chapter 4.PREVALENCE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN | |
| Henrica A F M JANSEN İlknur YÜKSEL Pelin CAĞATAY | 45 |

| Violence by husbands and intimate partners45 |
|---|
| Physical and sexual violence |
| Acts of physical violence |
| Acts of sexual violence |
| Experiencing physical and sexual violence , or both |
| Physical and sexual violence by marital status |
| Emotional violence/abuse |
| Physical and sexual violence, and emotional abuse by educational level53 |
| Controlling behaviours |
| Economic violence/abuse |
| Presence of violence in the women's family of birth58 |
| Women's attitudes towards gender roles and violence58 |
| Attitudes towards physical and sexual violence and the relation with experiencing violence |
| Violence by perpetrators other than husbands or partners |
| Physical violence after 15 years of age63 |
| Sexual violence after 15 years of age64 |
| Sexual abuse before the age of 15 years65 |
| |
| Chapter 5. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND HEALTH CONSEQUENCES |
| Chapter 5. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND HEALTH CONSEQUENCES Sabahat TEZCAN, Sutay YAVUZ, Hande TUNÇKANAT |
| |
| Sabahat TEZCAN, Sutay YAVUZ, Hande TUNÇKANAT71 |
| Sabahat TEZCAN, Sutay YAVUZ, Hande TUNÇKANAT |

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: EXPERIENCES BEHIND THE NUMBERS

Chapter 7. PERCEPTIONS ABOUT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN:
OUALITATIVE RESEARCH RESULTS

| QO TELLY TITLE TESE THOSE TRESPETS | |
|---|-----|
| Filiz KARDAM, İlknur YÜKSEL | 103 |
| Marriage and inter-relations of spouses | 103 |
| How and why violence is experienced? | 106 |
| Types of violence | 111 |
| Why is violence experienced according to women and men? | 125 |
| Factors affecting the experiencing of violence as a long process | 134 |
| The effects of violence on women, men and children | 140 |
| The reactions of women to violence | 145 |
| Do men who perpetrators of violence change? | 156 |
| What can woman do against violence?/What should be done? | 160 |
| Problems in combating violence and solutions recommended | 167 |
| RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS | |
| Chapter 8. AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESULTS | |
| Sunday ÜNER , İlknur YÜKSEL, İsmet KOÇ, | |
| Banu AKADLI ERGÖÇMEN, Ahmet Sinan TÜRKYILMAZ | 187 |
| Chapter 9. RECOMMENDATIONS | |
| Henrica A. F. M. JANSEN, Sunday ÜNER, Filiz KARDAM | 193 |
| Policy recommendations | 193 |
| Research recommendations | 196 |
| REFERENCES | 199 |
| ANNEXES | 201 |
| ANNEX 1 Research Team | 202 |
| ANNEX 2 List of Personnel | 204 |
| ANNEX 3 The National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey, | |
| Selected Provinces | 206 |
| ANNEX 4 Coverage of the Sample and Sample Weights | 207 |
| ANNEX 5 Construction of the wealth index | 212 |
| ANNEX 6 Annex Tables of the Chapters | 213 |
| ANNEX 7 Questionnaires | 238 |

TABLES

| Table 2.1 Research on domestic violence against women in Turkey, | |
|---|-------|
| sample allocation-regions | 29 |
| Table 2.2 Response rates | 32 |
| Table 3.1 Age distribution of household population | 40 |
| Table 3.2 Educational attainment of household population | 41 |
| Table 3.3 Household composition | 42 |
| Table 3.4 Number of households and household population | 42 |
| Table 3.5 Background characteristics of respondents-1 | 43 |
| Table 3.6 Background characteristics of respondents-2 | 44 |
| Table 4.1 Prevalence of physical and sexual violence | 47 |
| Table 4.2 Different acts of sexual violence | 50 |
| Table 4.3 Controlling behaviours | 57 |
| Table 4.4 Women's attitudes towards gender roles and violence-1 | 60 |
| Table 4.5 Women's attitudes towards gender roles and violence-2 | 61 |
| Table 4.6 Physical and sexual violence since the age of 15 years | 66 |
| Table 4.7 Sexual abuse before the age of 15 years | 67 |
| Table 5.1 Injuries due to violence | 72 |
| Table 5.2 Number of injuries as a result of violence | 73 |
| Table 5.3 Physical violence during pregnancy | 76 |
| Table 5.4 Physical or sexual violence and symptoms of emotional distress | |
| experienced in the last 4 weeks | 79 |
| Table 6.1 The reasons of physical violence experienced from women's perspective | |
| Table 6.2 The reasons of physical violence experienced from women's perspective | :-285 |
| Table 6.3 Sharing the violence experienced | 86 |
| Table 6.4 Persons from immediate social network who offered help in relation to | |
| the violence experienced | |
| Table 6.5 Most common reasons cited for seeking help and not seeking help from | |
| institution/a person due to violence experienced | 92 |
| Table 6.6 Fighting back physically to protect herself against physical violence | |
| experienced | 94 |
| Table 6.7 Most commonly cited reasons for leaving home due to violence | |
| Table 6.8 Most commonly cited reasons for returning after leaving temporarily | |
| because of partner violence | |
| Table 6.9 Most commonly cited reasons for not leaving home due to violence | |
| Annex 3 Selected provinces | |
| Annex 4 Table 1 Response categories and response rates by type of residence an | |
| region, Turkey 2008 | 208 |
| Annex 4 Table 2 Weights for households and women by strata before the | |
| calibration procedure | |
| Annex Table 4.1 Acts and frequency of physical and sexual violence | 213 |

| Annex Table 4.2 | Frequency distribution of types of violence215 |
|-----------------|---|
| Annex Table 4.3 | Prevalence of physical or sexual violence by marital status216 |
| Annex Table 4.4 | Acts of emotional violence/abuse217 |
| Annex Table 4.5 | Acts of economic violence/abuse218 |
| Annex Table 4.6 | Experience of physical violence by women's mothers219 |
| Annex Table 4.7 | Perpetuators of violence since the age of 15220 |
| Annex Table 4.8 | Perpetuators of sexual violence since the age of 15221 |
| Annex Table 4.9 | Perpetuators of childhood sexual abuse among before the age of 15222 |
| Annex Table 5.1 | Types of injuries223 |
| Annex Table 5.2 | Physical or sexual violence and general health in the last 4 weeks224 |
| Annex Table 5.3 | Physical and sexual violence and suicidal thoughts225 |
| Annex Table 5.4 | Effects of violence on children226 |
| Annex Table 6.1 | Seeking help from official institutions and NGOs due to violence |
| | experienced |
| Annex Table 6.2 | Satisfaction about the services received, among women seeking |
| | help due to violence from official institutions or NGOs229 |
| Annex Table 6.3 | Reasons cited for seeking help from institutions/persons due to |
| | violence experienced230 |
| Annex Table 6.4 | Reasons cited for not seeking help from institutions/persons due to |
| | violence experienced231 |
| Annex Table 6.5 | Effect of women's fighting back to protect herself against physical |
| | violence experienced on the violence232 |
| Annex Table 6.6 | Places where women stayed first when they left home due to |
| | violence233 |
| Annex Table 6.7 | Reasons cited for leaving home due to violence experienced234 |
| Annex Table 6.8 | Reasons cited for returning after leaving temporarily because of |
| | violence experienced235 |
| Annex Table 6.9 | Reasons cited for not leaving home due to violence experienced236 |
| | O The way women would behave if they experienced violence today237 |

FIGURES

| Figure 3.1 | Population Pyramid | 39 |
|------------|--|----|
| Figure 4.1 | Severity of physical violence | 49 |
| Figure 4.2 | Frequency distribution of types of violence | 51 |
| Figure 4.3 | Prevalence of physical violence according to marital status | 53 |
| Figure 4.4 | Prevalence of physical violence by educational level | 54 |
| Figure 4.5 | Prevalence of sexual violence by educational level | 55 |
| Figure 4.6 | Prevalence of emotional abuse by educational level | 55 |
| Figure 4.7 | Women's attitudes and experienced physical violence | 62 |
| Figure 4.8 | Attitudes towards physical violence and experienced sexual violence | 63 |
| Figure 5.1 | Types of injuries | 75 |
| Figure 5.2 | Violence and general health | 77 |
| Figure 5.3 | Violence and health condition in the last 4 weeks | 78 |
| Figure 5.4 | Physical or sexual violence and suicidal thoughts | 80 |
| Figure 5.5 | Physical or sexual violence and ever attempt to suicide | 80 |
| Figure 5.6 | The effect of violence on children | 81 |
| Figure 6.1 | Sharing the violence experienced | 87 |
| Figure 6.2 | Seeking help from official institutions and NGOs due to violence experienced | 90 |
| Figure 6.3 | Comparison of sharing the violence experienced with applying to an official institution/NGOs due to violence experienced (by region and type of type of residence) | 91 |
| Figure 6.4 | Comparison of sharing the violence experienced with applying to an official institution/NGOs due to violence experienced (by background characteristics) | 91 |
| Figure 6.5 | Leaving home due to violence (by region and type of residence) | |
| _ | Leaving home due to violence (by background characteristics) | |

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATION FULL NAME

ABPRS Address Based Population Registry System

CEDAW The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of

Discrimination against Women

CFCU Central Finance and Contracts Unit

DEFF Design Effect (related to the determination of sample size)

DHS Demographic and Health Survey

EC European Commission

ECD European Commission Delegation

EU European Union

KSGM General Directorate of the Status of Women

HUIPS Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

NUTS Nomenclature of Territorial Units of Statistics

PSU Primary Sampling Unit

SHÇEK Social Services and Society for the Protection of Children

TDHS Turkey Demographic and Health Survey

TURKSTAT Turkish Statistical Institute

UN United Nations

UNFPA United Nations Found of Population Association

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

VAW Violence Against Women
WHO World Health Organization

PREFACE

Domestic violence against women continues its existence worldwide as a violation of human rights cutting across any cultural, geographic, religious, social or economic boundaries. As a crucial social problem, domestic violence against women not only affects physical and mental health of women, but also impedes the advance of their legal, social, political and economic status.

With the aim of prevention of violence against women, being an important problem also in our country, and protection of the victims; legal and administrative measures in every field have been taken by considering both our international commitments and regulations in our national legislation, and an out-and-out struggle initiated. For transformations of social mentality required when combating this problem, on the other hand, various campaigns, projects and studies are being implemented with a considerable strength of purpose. Nevertheless the scarcity of studies providing detailed information and data on this issue, posed a big obstacle to the combat with violence against women.

To meet the need for data at national level for combating violence against women more effectively and developing policies and programs, "National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey", of which the Central Finance and Contracts Unit is the contracting authority, was implemented by Directorate General on the Status of Women under my Ministry with the financial support of European Union.

The research that targeted to obtain detailed information on prevalence and types of domestic violence against women, its causes and consequences throughout Turkey was conducted by the consortium of ICON Institut Public Sector Gmbh, BNB Ltd Co. and Hacettepe University Institute of Populations Studies.

The results of "National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey", which is the most comprehensive survey on violence against women in the world and in our country, proves once again, that violence against women subsists as a very important social problem in our country and that every institution and person bears big responsibility in order to achieve a permanent solution to the struggle with the problem.

I thank all parties who conducted this research with my trust that the research will contribute significantly to the combat with violence against women, and policies and programs that will be developed in this matter.

Minister of State

FOREWORD

Domestic violence against women is a common problem experienced by all women of the world in all societies and various social groups even its prevalence, intensity and type changes. The issue of domestic violence against women has taken place in the international agenda and especially in the developed countries, with the efforts of women's movements which has become effective since 1960. In the last 30 years, domestic violence against women is being considered as one of the violations of women's human rights.

Women experience various types and degrees of violence at their homes, where they should feel safe; however, they are exposed to violence by the people they rely on such as their fathers, brothers, and especially their husbands/partners with whom they share their lives. Domestic violence against women suppresses women and makes them dependent on their husbands/partners. Moreover, it causes women to lose their self-confidence and self-respect, forms unpleasant model for next generations and destroys the physical and mental health of women and children. In fact, it is an important public health problem that have strong social and cultural basis.

In Turkey, the issue of violence against women has entered the agenda of the country through the struggle of the women's movement which has gained momentum in the late 1980s. Since the 1990s institutionalization accelerated, the Directorate General on the Status of Women was established under the Prime Ministry, research centers were formed in universities and the number of women organizations increased. The issue of domestic violence against women in Turkey has stayed on the agenda through the collaboration of all these institutions. In Turkey, besides the various local studies on domestic violence, few national studies were conducted in recent years.

The National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey, whose findings are presented in this publication, is the most comprehensive survey carried out on the subject of domestic violence against women in Turkey and with its large sample size it is one of the biggest surveys in the world using face to face interviews. The main objective of this study is to collect the most detailed and contemporary data that is necessary to combat violence against women. In accordance with this objective, information on the prevalence, types, degrees and causes of violence against women, and problems due to violence and strategies to combat violence were obtained through quantitative and qualitative research techniques.

Sample size of the quantitative research was 24,048 households in 51 provinces representing Turkey, 12 regions and, urban and rural areas. Between July and September 2008, these household were visited by trained interviewers and face-to-face interviews were completed with women aged 15-59.

The findings of the research are presented in this publication in detail. Regarding the results of quantitative research, physical, emotional and sexual violence is the most

common types of violence against women in Turkey. Although violence shows variation according to the background characteristics of women, it is a common problem seen in the whole society. Violence has negative effects on physical and mental health of women and school-age children. Women do not share the violence they experience and a small group of women who have sought help from any institution state that they are not satisfied with the service they receive. In qualitative research, detailed information about violence was obtained from women and men with different background characteristics, as well as the personnel of official and voluntary institutions.

Conducting such a comprehensive research is a successful example of the cooperation among universities, official institutions and non-governmental organizations.

I would like to thank the beneficiary of this research, T.R. Prime Ministry Directorate General on the Status of Women for their efficient cooperation, the European Union for providing financial support, the Central Finance and Contracts Unit for doing the tender of the research and signing the contract, the authorities in TURKSTAT for their contribution to sample selection, the Governors of Provinces and Directorates of Social Services and Health visited during the study for their support in the field.

I would like to thank the Rectorship of Hacettepe University for their trust in our Institute and for their official support in this research as it has always been in all other studies of the Institute. I would also like to thank the Scientific Research Unit of the University for facilitating the administrative issues.

I present my appreciation to the field workers who worked as supervisor, field editor, interviewer and data entry staff in quantitative and qualitative research. Besides, I also appreciate all respondents who accepted to be involved in the survey and shared their experiences with us.

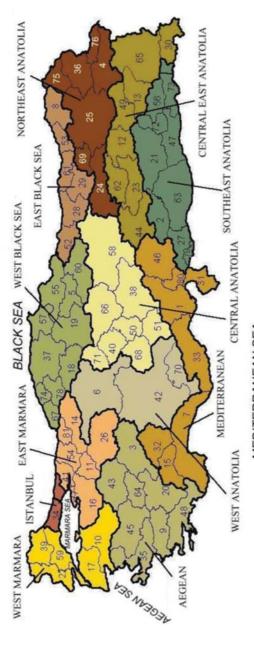
Finally, I present my appreciation to the consortium parties, ICON-Institut Public Sector and the BNB, for their cooperation; to key experts of the research and to academic and administrative staff of the Institute of Population Studies, for their sensitive, successful and dedicated efforts during the study.

I believe that the contemporary nationwide results obtained from "The National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey 2008" will contribute to policy-making, strategy formulation, planning and to the efforts of academic and voluntary studies. Last but not least, I would like women to lead a life without violence.

On behalf of the consortium **Prof. Dr. Sabahat Tezcan**Director

Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies

MAP OF TURKEY 12 REGIONS: 12 Regions and Provinces



| ICES | |
|--------|--|
| PROVI | |
| NS AND | |
| REGIO | |

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

| 12 SOUTHEAST ANATOLIA 02 Adivaman | 21 Diyarbakr 27 Gaziantep 47 Mardin 56 Siirt 63 Şanlurfa | 72 Batmah 73 Şirnak 79 Kilis |
|---|--|--|
| 10 NORTHEAST ANATOLIA 04 Ağrı | 24 Erzincan 25 Erzurum 36 Kars 69 Bayburt 75 Ardahan | 11 CENTRAL EAST ANATOLIA 12 Bingól 13 Bitlis 23 Elazig 30 Hakkari 44 Malatya 49 Mus 62 Tunceli 65 Van |
| 08 WEST BLACK SEA 05 Amasya 18 Cankırı | 19 Çorum 37 Kastamonu 55 Samsun 57 Sinop 60 Tokat | SEA |
| 06 MEDITERRANEAN 01 Adana 07 Antalva | 15 Burdur 31 Hatay 32 Isparta 33 Içel 46 K.Maraş | 80 Osmaniye O7 CENTRAL ANATOLIA 38 Kayseri 40 Kirşehir 51 Niğde 58 Sivas 66 Yozgat 68 Aksaray 71 Kirlikale |
| 04 EAST MARMARA 11 Bilecik 14 Bolu | 16 Bursa 26 Eskişehir 41 Kocaeli 54 Sakarya 77 Yalova | 81 Duzce OS WEST ANATOLIA 06 Ankara 42 Konya 70 Karaman |
| 01 iSTANBUL 34 istanbul | 02 WEST MARMARA 10 Balikesir 17 Çanakkale 22 Edirne | 99 lektraag 03 AEGEAN 03 Afyon 09 Aydın 20 Denizli 35 İzmir 43 Kütahya 48 Manisa 64 Uşak |



Chapter 1

Introduction

Banu AKADLI ERGÖÇMEN, Sunday ÜNER, Elif KURTULUŞ YİĞİT

Background of the research

Domestic violence against women is a global problem that crosses cultural, geographic, religious, social and economic boundaries. As a violation of human rights and freedom on gender grounds, domestic violence against women causes women to be deprived of their right to take their place in social and economic life. Furthermore, it causes women to have physical and mental health problems, to become crippled and even lose their lives. In a considerable portion of the domestic violence cases, the perpetrators are mostly the husband or intimate partners and/or other family members. International research has revealed that physical violence is perpetrated in particular in the woman's immediate social setting. Besides, the effects of domestic violence which appear mostly in physical, emotional, financial and social forms are observed not only on the women who experience violence but also on their children, families and society as a whole.

In The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women adopted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1993, violence against women is defined as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life" (United Nations, 1993). The declaration defines the forms of violence as physical, sexual, emotional and verbal, however it also includes acts such as honour killings, sexual abuse and rape, which women are generally exposed to among the different forms of violence. Domestic violence is defined by the UN as "a form of violence that occurs in private life between individuals who are generally connected by sexual intercourse or by blood relation" (UN, 2003, quoted by KSGM, 2008).

The subject of violence against women, which has only been approached in the context of family without emphasizing the violence at the beginning of the last quarter of the 20th century, has been approached more as a health issue in the subsequent phase. The issue has been tackled comprehensively in 1985 at the 3rd Women's Conference which took place in Nairobi. Since the 1990s, domestic violence has entered the international agenda with sustained efforts of women's movements and international organizations which are active on women's issues. The number of surveys and studies conducted on violence against women increased steadily, especially in the last decade of the 20th century. Thus,

a significant amount of information has accumulated both on the prevalence and on the causes and consequences of violence against women. The "WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women" (Garcia-Moreno and et al, 2005) carried out by the WHO recently has shown that the reported lifetime prevalence of physical or sexual partner violence against women varied from 15 percent to 71 percent and that this is generally between 30 percent and 60 percent in many research regions.

The number of studies providing detailed information and data about domestic violence against women is limited in Turkey. Two surveys investigated the violence against women in a quantitative way. The first one was carried out in 1994 by the Institution of Family Research (then General Directorate of Family and Social Research). The second, more recently by Altınay and Arat (2008), presented results at national level and included a qualitative study as well. A field study which would investigate the prevalence of domestic violence against women in Turkey with its all dimensions had become crucial considering the limited number of such studies on the subject.

The lack of data on prevalence and causes of violence against women and how it is perceived by people has been one of the most important factors impeding the development and implementation of national programs to combat violence. The "National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey" of which the KSGM is the beneficiary institution, has been conducted by a three partner consortium consisting of ICON-Institut Public Sector, Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies and BNB Consulting. The research, of which the Central Finance and Contracting Unit is the contracting authority, has been realized with the financial support of the European Commission.

The National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey is a pioneering study in many aspects of domestic violence.

- The study is the first most comprehensive survey carried out on the subject of domestic violence against women representing the country and it has the biggest sample which provides information on urban and rural settlements, 12 regions and some basic background variables.
- This survey with its large scale sample size is also one of the biggest surveys using face to face interview technique carried out in the world on this subject.
- The questionnaire utilized in the quantitative survey allows for international comparison as it was adapted from the WHO questionnaire which has been applied in a number of countries.
- The research through the quantitative component of the study reveals the prevalence of different forms of domestic violence against women and through the qualitative component it collects information about how women as well as men perceive violence.
- The research collects information about physical and sexual violence against women from perpetrators other than husband or intimate partner(s) and also childhood sexual abuse.

• The data obtained through quantitative survey is included in the official statistics of the Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT).

Women in the 15-59 age groups were the target population of the National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey. The research took place over a 15 month period between December 2007 and February 2009. The study meets the need of data with the information presenting prevalence of domestic violence which women experienced, forms of violence, causes and consequences, exploring risk factors and perception of violence. In this report the following topics are presented: the methodology of the research, characteristics of household members and respondents, prevalence of violence against women and forms of violence, attitude of women towards gender and violence, violence against women from perpetrators other than husband/intimate partner, violence against women and health implications, how women responded to and combat violence against women and the results of the qualitative research.

Legal infrastructure and institutionalization about violence against women in Turkey

In Turkey, since the 1980s gender-based domestic violence has been an item on the agenda of the public opinion and government as a result of the women's movement. Many actions have been carried out on this subject, especially in the national legislation, and positive developments have been achieved in the direction of combating violence against women. Wherever it is necessary legal regulations are put into effect for the protection and support of women as victims of violence and for the punishment of the perpetrators.

The international approach accepting the violence against women as a violation of human rights has brought this matter under the responsibilities of states through international institutions. In Turkey, combating violence against women has been among the top priority responsibilities of the state as a result of the international agreements that Turkey has signed and the United Nations decisions¹.

Institutionalization within the state started with the formation of the Consultative Board of Policies for Women established within the State Planning Organization Directorate General of Social Planning, in 1987. Three years later, the Directorate General of Status

The recommendation decision no. 12, which the Committee of The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) published in 1989, mentiones that the protection of women from violence is the liability of the member states and requires that the cautions developed in this direction be reported in the country reports. With the recommendation decision no. 19 made by the Committee in 1992, violence against women has been declared a result of gender based discrimination and discrimination against women has been emphasized as one of the most important reasons of violence. CEDAW has been accepted in Turkey in 1986 as well. The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Kinds of Discrimination, signed by Turkey on September 8, 2000, was ratified by the Turkish Grand National Assembly the Parliament on July 30, 2002, which provides the opportunity for women in Turkey to make legal applications.

of Women (KSGM) was established with the decree no. 422 dated April 20, 1990^2 as a national mechanism to develop policies about women. The Law about the KSGM Organization and Duties (law no. 5251) was accepted on October 27, 2004 and published in the Official Gazette no. 25635 on November 6, 2004.

Some improvements were made in the legislation and the cooperation between KSGM and NGOs working on women's problems was maintained. KSGM played an important role especially in determining the legal framework and conducting research in order to ensure data generation. The first woman guest house in 1990 was the starting point in the agenda of the state for combating violence against women. In the last decade of the 20^{th} century the legislation for combating domestic violence has been changed.

Within the framework of the efforts to join the European Union, important improvements and changes have been enacted in the legislation. The Law on Protection of Family, law no. 4320, which was established in 1998 with the aim of the protection of women exposed to domestic violence and was rearranged in 2007. This was an important turning point which was also mentioned in the National Action Plan. With this law, the measures that can be taken by the judges of the Family Court for the protection of individuals exposed to domestic violence were arranged (KSGM 2008). And for the effective enforcement of this law the Ministry of Justice published the circular no. 35 on January 1, 2006 addressing judges and prosecutors.

In the 2000s, necessary legal regulations were made to ensure the principle of gender equality in all laws, including the Constitution. The principle of gender equality was strengthened with the changes that were made in the articles 41 and 66 in 2001, and in articles 10 and 90 of the Constitution. Article 10 of the Constitution adjudicates that the state is responsible for bringing to life gender equality. With the cooperation of public institutions, NGOs and organizations of professionals the preparation and legalization of the new Civil Code (operative effect date: 2002) and the new Penal Code³ (operative effect date: 2005) (KSGM, 2008) was achieved. Gender based violence is a breach of human rights and prevention of this breach is in the responsibility of the state. Article 17 of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic says under the title of "Personal Inviolability, Material and Spiritual Entity of the Individual" that "Everyone has the right to live and the right to protect and develop his material and spiritual entity" and adds that "...no one shall be subjected to penalties or treatment incompatible with human dignity."

The institution which has started as Directorate of Status and Problems of Women in 1990, has been directly attached to the Prime Ministry in 1991 as Directorate General.

The new Penal Code includes progressive amendments with regard to the protection of women rights and the violence against women is acknowledged as a crime. Moreover, in this new penal code measures are taken for the elimination of honor killings, marital rape is criminalized and the discrimination between married and unmarried women are removed. With a significant improvment, sexual offences are regulated under "crimes against persons", which was under the section of "crimes against society" in the old penal code.

An investigation committee was established in the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 11.10.2005 with the aim of investigating the reasons of custom and honor killings and violence against women and children, and determining the precautions to be taken. Following the report of the committee, the Prime Ministry circular no. $2006/17^4$ was published in which the actions to be taken to eliminate violence against women were formulated and the responsible institutions were designated. In this circular, KSGM was determined as the coordinating institution in the field of preventing violence against women and custom/honour killings, and as per the circular the "Violence against Women Monitoring Committee" was established under the presidency of the responsible State Minister.

With the above mentioned circular the duty of preparing the Combating Violence against Women National Action Plan was assigned as the responsibility of KSGM. Within the scope of strengthening institutional mechanisms to eliminate domestic violence against women, the "Combating Domestic Violence against Women National Action Plan 2007-2010" has been prepared by KSGM, with the contributions of public institutions, local administrations and NGOs (KSGM, 2008).

The Ministry of Internal Affairs, in the circular (11.01.2007, No. 6) that was sent to the governorships in order to ensure the efficient and fast activation of the duties and responsibilities specified in the Prime Ministry Circular, specified the works needed to be carried out on the subjects of eliminating acts of violence against women and children and custom/honour killings.

Objective of the research

The objective of the research is to obtain nationwide data about violence against women which will enable the formation of policies and programs, and to improve the existing policies and programs in order to combat domestic violence against women more effectively. Additionally, the overall objective of the research is to contribute to strengthening of the capacity of stakeholders to protect women from domestic violence in order to better advance their human rights.

The basic starting point of the research has been the need to obtain nationwide, urban/rural and regional level data, as well as data for some basic variables in order to obtain evidence on magnitude and nature of domestic violence, its causes and consequences, risk factors and protective factors, the ways of women perceive violence, their needs, their reactions to violence and the coping strategies they have developed.

The National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey is a study carried out within the frame of data requirements in order to develop a reliable database while planning the strategies to combat violence against women, formulating programmes and

 $^{^{4}\,}$ "Measure Taken for the Prevention of Violence Against Children and Women, and Custom and Honor Killings"

especially making efforts to create awareness. Another important aspect of this research is that it will serve as a baseline for following changes over time. Other targets specified in accordance with these objectives are as follows:

- Obtaining reliable estimates about the prevalence of violence against women in different forms. Giving these estimates both for Turkey and for selected basic variables such as region, rural-urban settlements, education and socio-economic level as well.
- Revealing the relation of violence by husband/intimate partner, with health implications and other results
- Determining protective factors and risk factors for domestic violence against women in different environments
- Researching the coping strategies of women who are exposed to violence.
- Knowing the opinions, attitudes of men and women, victims and perpetrators and service providers, based on different background characteristics such as different ages and educational levels.
- Services provided to victims of violence by current institutions and opinions about the services given by these institutions.

The data collected through the research will be an important source in planning and programming interventions to combat violence against women in the country and will also serve as a baseline data to monitor the developments in combating this problem.



Chapter 2

Methodology

Ahmet Sinan TÜRKYILMAZ, Banu AKADLI ERGÖÇMEN, İlknur YÜKSEL, Yadigar COŞKUN, Tuğba ADALI

The methodology of the National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey is designed to ensure that the data is collected in the most reliable way, which is one of the basic requirements to properly combat the issue. Data on the prevalence of different forms of violence, and causes and consequences of violence around the country has been obtained through this research, as well as data on experience and attitudes towards domestic violence against women. These data have been collected by quantitative and qualitative research techniques. The sensitivity of the research topic has been kept in view during the implementation of both techniques. In this research on a sensitive issue, the safety of women has been a priority and the research has been designed in a way to secure the safety of the interviewers as well. The Ethical and Safety Guidelines developed by the WHO have been followed throughout the research (WHO, 2001).

Reliable estimates for the prevalence of different forms of violence have been obtained for national level, urban and rural settlements and 12 Regions⁵ (see Map of 12 Regions) by utilizing a quantitative research methodology. The prevalence of the forms of violence is also presented broken down by basic variables (background characteristics) such as age groups, educational level and socio-economic status.

Through the use of qualitative research methodology, the experiences and perceptions of different groups on forms of domestic violence and the opinions of professionals from institutions that serve women who have been subjected to violence have been evaluated.

Quantitative Research

The quantitative research phase of the project aimed to obtain data on prevalence of forms of domestic violence against women for national level, urban/rural settlements and 12 regions.

Survey Sample

The sample design for the Research on Domestic Violence against Women survey in Turkey employed a weighted, stratified and multi-staged cluster sample approach. The major aim of the sample design was to achieve estimates of indicators related to violence

^{5 12} Regions; The NUTS (Nomenclature of Territorial Units) system is a statistical region classification determined for Turkey's accession to the European Union. There are three different NUTS levels. The 12 regions represent the NUTS 1 level.

against women for the national level as well as the 12 regions⁶ and urban/rural strata with an acceptable (accurate) precision within a defined 95 % confidence interval concerning the main variables such as age groups, educational level and socio-economic status. The sample selection was done in collaboration with the Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT). TURKSTAT provided the sampling frame, cluster selection and block lists consisting of the selected households.

Sample Size and Allocation

Within the context of the research, Turkey has been divided into 30 strata that will enable estimates for the national level, urban/rural settlements, 5 regions and 12 regions. The target survey sample size of 24,048 households is approximately equally allocated among the 12 regions. Except the İstanbul region, which is one of the 12 regions, the allocations of urban and rural strata are about 75 percent and 25 percent respectively. Settlements with populations of 10,000 and more constitute the urban strata, and those with populations less than 10,000 constitute the rural strata in this research. 18,144 households were selected from urban strata, and 5,904 households from rural strata (Table 2.1).

The survey sample is a cluster sample. The cluster size in urban settlements is 48 households and it is 36 households for rural settlements. In order to reach the target sample size of 24,048 households within these defined cluster sizes, 542 clusters were planned to be visited. There are 378 urban and 164 rural clusters.

Sample Selection

The first stage of sample selection was on the provincial level, by making five selections from NUTS-1 urban strata and two selections from rural strata by PPS (probability proportional to size) method. A maximum of 5 provinces were selected from each NUTS-1 region by above procedure and the total number of provinces was 51 in the total sample (Annex 3). While some of these provinces have been selected from both urban and rural strata, some have been selected from urban or rural strata only.

At the second stage of sampling, among selected provinces in each stratum, settlements were also selected by PPS method, proportional to the number of clusters corresponding to the stratum.

```
The provinces that constitute the 12 Regions:

İstanbul (İstanbul)

West Marmara (Balıkesir, Çanakkale, Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ)

Aegean (Afyon, Aydın, Denizli, İzmir, Kütahya, Manisa, Muğla, Uşak)

East Marmara (Bilecik, Bolu, Bursa, Eskişehir, Kocaeli, Sakarya, Yalova, Düzce)

West Anatolia (Ankara, Konya, Karaman)

Mediterranean (Adana, Antalya, Burdur, Hatay, Isparta, İçel, K.Maraş, Osmaniye)

Central Anatolia (Kayseri, Kırşehir, Nevşehir, Niğde, Sivas, Yozgat, Aksaray, Kırıkkale)

West Black Sea (Amasya, Çankırı, Çorum, Kastamonu, Samsun, Sinop, Tokat, Zonguldak, Bartın, Karabük)

East Black Sea (Artvin, Giresun, Gümüşhane, Ordu, Rize, Trabzon)

Northeast Anatolia (Ağrı, Erzincan, Erzurum, Kars, Bayburt, Ardahan, Iğdır)

Central East Anatolia (Bingöl, Bitlis, Elazığ, Hakkarı, Malatya, Muş, Tunceli, Van)

Southeast Anatolia (Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Mardin, Siirt, Ş.Urfa, Batman, Şırnak, Kilis)
```

Table 2.1 Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey, Sample Allocation-Regions

| Regional | Households | | | Clusters | | |
|-----------------------|------------|-------|--------|----------|-------|-------|
| Classifications | Urban | Rural | Total | Urban | Rural | Total |
| 5 Region | | | | | | |
| West | 5,472 | 1,584 | 7,056 | 114 | 44 | 158 |
| South | 1,536 | 504 | 2,040 | 32 | 14 | 46 |
| Central | 4,032 | 1,512 | 5,544 | 84 | 42 | 126 |
| North | 2,496 | 792 | 3,288 | 52 | 22 | 74 |
| East | 4,608 | 1,512 | 6,120 | 96 | 42 | 138 |
| 12 Region | | | | | | |
| İstanbul | 1,728 | 216 | 1,944 | 36 | 6 | 42 |
| West Marmara | 1,440 | 504 | 1,944 | 30 | 14 | 44 |
| Aegean | 1,440 | 576 | 2,016 | 30 | 16 | 46 |
| East Marmara | 1,440 | 576 | 2,016 | 30 | 16 | 46 |
| West Anatolia | 1,440 | 504 | 1,944 | 30 | 14 | 44 |
| Mediterranean | 1,536 | 504 | 2,040 | 32 | 14 | 46 |
| Central Anatolia | 1,536 | 504 | 2,040 | 32 | 14 | 46 |
| West Black Sea | 1,440 | 504 | 1,944 | 30 | 14 | 44 |
| East Black Sea | 1,536 | 504 | 2,040 | 32 | 14 | 46 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 1,536 | 504 | 2,040 | 32 | 14 | 46 |
| Central East Anatolia | 1,536 | 504 | 2,040 | 32 | 14 | 46 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 1,536 | 504 | 2,040 | 32 | 14 | 46 |
| Total | 18,144 | 5,904 | 24,048 | 378 | 164 | 542 |

Survey Questionnaire

The survey questionnaire was designed according to the requirements of the country, based on the questionnaires of the World Health Organization's "Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women⁷". Two questionnaires were used in the research: a household questionnaire and a woman questionnaire. Information on the following issues was collected through the questionnaires:

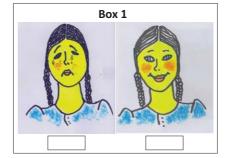
- a. Household population and housing characteristics of the households,
- b. Background characteristics of women and marriage history of women,
- c. General health and reproductive health, behavioral problems of children,
- d. Background characteristics and behavioral patterns of the husband/partner,
- e. Physical and sexual violence, emotional and economic violence/abuse experienced by women during lifetime and in the past 12 months prior to the interview, perpetrated by husband or intimate partner,
- f. Physical and sexual violence against women by perpetrators other than intimate partners, after 15 years of age,

Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women

- g. Sexual abuse before 15 years of age,
- h. Attitudes of women towards gender roles and violence,
- i. Violence during pregnancy and injuries due to violence,
- The methods of coping with violence by women who experience domestic partner violence.

In addition to these, respondents were given cards with a smiling and a crying face on, and they were asked to mark the appropriate one in order to understand whether they have been subjected to sexual abuse before the age of 15 (Box 1), without having to reveal their reply to the interviewer.

Araştırma kapsamında The target population of the survey was women between 15 and 59 years



of age. Both marital and non-marital partnerships (boy friend, fiancé, engaged) have been considered. In households where women aged 15-59 were present at the time of the survey, one woman per household was selected for woman interview by Kish⁸ (1949) method.

Two pre-tests have been conducted in order to test the wording of the questionnaires prepared during May-June 2008 and the flow of questions. The questionnaires were finalized in the light of the information obtained from the pre-tests.

Data Collection Activities

Selection and Training of Field Teams and Pilot Study: For the fieldwork, 189 (143 women and 46 men) received a two weeks training as candidates of interviewers, field editors, supervisors or data entry clerks. The training, carried out by 20 trainers who were either academic staff of the HUIPS or project assistants, included sessions on gender and domestic violence as well as interviewing techniques and applied examples (role plays) using the questionnaires. The training equipped the interviewers with knowledge on violence against women. The training process has not only made the interviewers sensitive, but also made sure that they obtained information from women without putting them at risk.

Two manuals had been prepared for the fieldwork: "Interviewer's Manual" and "Supervisor and Field Editors Manual". The Interviewer's Manual includes points to consider during interviews, general rules regarding questionnaires and directions on questions. The Supervisors and Field Editors Manual covers the topics of field organization and questionnaire editing.

⁸ The Kish method is a technique used for respondent selection when there is more than one eligible person in the household to ensure an unbiased selection with probability. (L. Kish., (1949). "A procedure for objective respondent selection within the household." Journal of the American Association, pages 380-387, 1949.

Fieldwork: Following a pilot study of 3 days, 15 teams of 1 supervisor, 2 field editors and 8 interviewers each, were formed after the training program. It was important that the interviewers were female since individual interviews were to be conducted with women. Fieldwork began on 27 July 2008 and was completed on 29 September 2008. Provinces with low response rates were re-visited in October 2008.

Data Entry Programme and Data Entry: Census and Survey Processing System (CSPro) programme was used for the data entry of the survey. Among those who received training, 2 supervisors and 20 data entry clerks began data entry on 5 August 2008. All data had been entered twice to minimize possible errors of data entry. Data entry was completed on 3 November 2008.

Data Sets: Following data entry and data editing, 2 basic data sets have been created to be used in analysis:

- Household data set
- Women data set

Sample weights were calculated for the sample design of the survey and have been applied to these data sets in household and individual level. The calculation of the weights is explained in Annex 4.

Response Rates: The sample size is 24,048 households in the 542 clusters of the sample design. In 5 of these clusters, no interviews could be conducted in the entire cluster due to various reasons. Of the 19,505 households visited which were suitable for interviews, 17,168 could be interviewed. The household response rate is 88 percent based on these numbers. Among the main reasons that interviews could not be conducted were that 10.9 percent of households were either away during the summer when the research was ongoing, or the dwellings/addresses were vacant, or the addresses were not dwelling units. The proportion of households who refused to be interviewed was 4.4 percent.

In the interviewed households, 22,822 women aged 15-59 had been identified. Some basic characteristics such as age, marital status and education had been collected for these women. The number of women determined by the Kish method is 14,854 women among the 22,822 women eligible for individual interview. Questionnaires had been completed by face-to-face interviews with 12,795 women and the proportion of refusals was 2.1 percent. Response rate for individual interviews was 86.1 percent (Table 2.2). The calculation procedure for response rates, as well as the response rates for the urban/rural areas and the 12 regions is presented in Annex 4.

| Table 2.2 Response Rates | | | | | | |
|---|--------|---------|--|--|--|--|
| | Number | Percent | | | | |
| Number of selected households | 24,048 | | | | | |
| Number of households that could not be interviewed at cluster level | 228 | | | | | |
| Number of households that could be interviewed 9 | 19,505 | | | | | |
| Number of households interviewed | 17,168 | | | | | |
| Response rate for household questionnaire | | 88.0 | | | | |
| Number of women in the households | 22,822 | | | | | |
| Number of women selected by the Kish method ¹⁰ | 14,854 | | | | | |
| Number of women interviewed | 12,795 | | | | | |
| Response rate for women's questionnaire | | 86.1 | | | | |

Qualitative Research

The aim of the qualitative stage of the research was to get detailed information about attitudes, beliefs and experiences of women and men. In addition to this information, which could not be collected by quantitative survey, information on institutions that provide counseling and service to women who have been exposed to domestic violence was also obtained through the qualitative component of the research. Besides the qualitative analyses, information obtained through qualitative research also provided guidance for the wording of the questions used in the quantitative survey. A combination of in-depth and semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions has been used in the qualitative research.

The training was given in March and April 2008 and covered qualitative research methodology, issues of gender and domestic violence against women, as well as examples from research on violence against women from around world. Interview guidelines¹¹ were discussed and finalized during the interactive training program. The qualitative research was conducted following the training and pilot interviews.

In-depth and semi-structured interviews

The in-depth interviews aimed to gather information on women exposed to violence, learn about their experiences as well as their mothers' and mothers-in-law's, the change in their lives after experiencing violence and the ways they cope with it. In-depth Interviews

The household questionnaire includes codes for the following situations in which interviews cannot be conducted: "None of the household members present during the survey period", ""Dwelling vacant/address not a dwelling", "Dwelling destroyed" and "Other".

 $^{^{10}}$ This number is equal to the number of households with at least one woman in the 15-59 age groups.

¹¹⁵ different interview guidelines for victims of violence (women); perpetrators of violence (men); mothers/mothers-in-law of women subjected to violence; professionals and NGOs.

have been carried out with men perpetrating violence, despite of the fact that there has been reluctance and refusals to some extent. Moreover, semi-structured interviews have been conducted with professional groups and Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) which provide medical/psychological and legal support to women exposed to violence.

A total of 64 interviews were made in Ankara, Samsun and Mersin provinces. During the fieldwork interviews were carried out with 15 women who experienced violence, 8 mothers/mothers-in-law whose daughters/daughters-in-law have experienced violence, 7 men who are perpetrators of violence, 27 professionals who provide medical, psychological, social and legal support to women exposed to violence: doctors, nurses, psychiatrists, psychologists, coordinators of women's shelters, judges, lawyers, doctors of forensic medicine, the police and imams. Besides, 7 NGO representatives were also interviewed.

Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions have been held to understand the attitudes of men towards violence against women, status of men and women in the society, men's perceptions of domestic violence, their experiences of the issue, as well as their point of view on the causes and consequences of violence. In addition to focus groups with young (aged 25-35) and old men (above 60), focus groups with professional groups have also been held in Ankara. The distribution of focus groups was as follows:

- 1. Young, with at least high school education, and married for at least 3 years
- 2. Young, with education less than high school, and married for at least 3 years
- 3. Old, with at least high school education, and married for at least 15 years
- 4. Old, with education less than high school, and married for at least 15 years
- 5. Young, with at least high school education, and single
- 6. Young, with education less than high school, and single
- 7. Professionals who give psychological and social support to women who are subjected to domestic violence
- 8. Professionals who give legal support to women who are subjected to domestic violence
- 9. Journalists

Safety of Respondents and Research Teams, and Research Ethics

Safety has been an underlined issue by the research team right from the start, due to the nature of the research topic. The "ethical and safety guidelines on research on domestic violence against women" developed by the WHO were used in this study. Safety and ethical rules have guided every stage of the research.

Since insensitivity in such research or not paying attention to safety and privacy may cause problems to respondents and sometimes to interviewers and put them at risk, the safety of respondents and has been a priority, just like in other research on violence against women.

- "The first step has been the "safe name" of the research. The safe name has been used to eliminate risks to women and interviewers, and risks that interviewed women could experience more violence for participating in the research. The research has been referred to as "Turkey Women and Family Survey" instead of "Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey" for field use only. Making the aim of the research seem as women's health, women's health experiences or family relationships is an important rule for letting the participants explain its content easily to others. In a similar manner, researchers and interviewers used the safe name when describing the research to interview surroundings: the community and family members.
- The actual aim of the research has been explained to the respondents in the consent section once they were alone with the interviewers. No interviews have been conducted without the respondent's consent.
- In this sense, strict attention has been paid not to reveal the aim of the research in the
 household or surroundings, since perpetrators of violence may hear about the content
 of the research otherwise, triggering more violence to women who have already been
 exposed to it before.
- Since the sampling unit is households, only one woman per household was interviewed
 about domestic violence experience. In cases where more than one woman was present
 in the household, the interview was conducted with a randomly selected woman (see
 8th footnote).
- It was desired that no one but the interviewer and the respondent to be present in the interview environment and that women were interviewed by female interviewers.
- The privacy of information has been a top priority.
- Response rates are strongly related to the wording of questions and the manner in which they are asked. Asking about violence through one detailed question is usually not very effective for getting the real rates (Center for Health and Gender Equity, 1995). Grave words such as "abuse", "rape" or "violence" have not been used in the questions; instead, respondents were asked whether they have experienced defined acts of violence. For each act of abuse or violence, clues have been given to the respondent to make sure she considers different environments (e.g. home, work, school, etc.), time periods or potential perpetrators (e.g. current partner, previous partner, other boyfriends, etc.). Special attention has been paid to the wording of violence questions and asking the questions in a non-judgmental manner.
- All interviews were ended in a way to strengthen women's strategies of coping with violence, and in a positive attitude by reminding them that the information they shared is important and will be used to help other women, and by underlining that no one deserves to be abused.
- Throughout the research, addresses of public and private institutions that serve and support women who have been subjected to violence were given out in cases where women stated they needed such information.

- Support was provided to field workers and researchers in order to minimize the effects
 of the distressing issue they are studying.
- All field personnel received training on safety and ethical rules.

Definitions

When a woman confirmed that she had experienced at least one of the below mentioned acts of violence¹², it is considered in the analysis that she had experienced the indicated form of violence.

Physical violence against women by husband or partner(s)

- Slapped her or threw something at her that could hurt her
- · Pushed or shoved her or pulled her hair
- Hit her with his fist or something else that could hurt her
- Kicked her, dragged her or beat her up
- Choked or burnt her on purpose
- · Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against her

Sexual violence against women by husband or partner(s)

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

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

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

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

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

 $^{^{12}}$ The word "violence" itself was not used in the questionnaire.

Physical violence against women by non-partners

She was beaten or physically mistreated in any way by anyone other than husband or partner, since the age of 15 years.

Sexual violence against women by non-partners

She was forced to have sex when she did not want to or to perform a sexual act which she found humiliating or degrading, by anyone (other than husband or partner) since the age of 15 years.

Childhood sexual abuse

She was exposed to an unwanted sexual act or to sexually disturbing touching before the age of 15 years.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: NUMBERS AND PATTERNS

Chapter 3

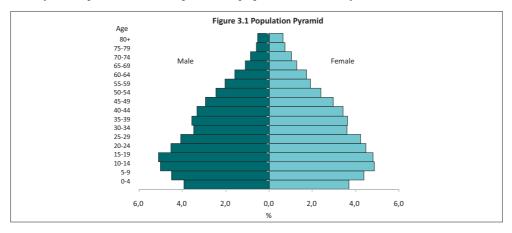
Household Population and Characteristics of the Respondents

İsmet KOÇ, Ahmet Sinan TÜRKYILMAZ, Mehmet Ali ERYURT

In this chapter, background socio-demographic characteristics of households and interviewed women in the survey are examined using data derived from household and women questionnaires of the National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey. The examination of background socio-demographic characteristics of interviewed women, especially of household population, provides information on the adequacy of survey sample, in addition to the description of the survey population.

Household Population and Household Composition

The population pyramid based on age distribution of the household members in the survey presented in Figure 3.1 provides important information about current age and sex structure of population and the process of demographic change in the past. The age distribution of the population has typical characteristics of countries that have experienced relatively high fertility in the past, but then experienced a rapid fertility decline more recently. The narrowing base of the population pyramid indicates this rapid fertility decline. The population pyramid shows that the cohorts largest in number are those between the ages 10-29. The compatibility of this age structure of the household members with the demographic structure indicated by the results of 2000 General Population Census, 2007 and 2008 Address Based Population Registry System and 2003 and 2008 Turkey Demographic and Health Surveys, indicates that the sample of Domestic Violence Survey is a representative sample of the population of Turkey.



According to the survey results 26 percent of the population is below age 15. This proportion is higher in rural settlements (28 percent) than urban settlements (26 percent) due to the influence of high fertility experienced in the past. The proportion of elderly (aged 65 and over) in the total population is 7 percent. While this proportion is 5 percent in urban settlements, it is 10 percent in rural settlements. The higher portion of elderly in rural population is related with migration of young population from rural to the urban settlements by leaving behind elderly. As a result of the migration process, the share of population age 15-64, which can be qualified as the economically productive population, is higher in the urban population compared with the rural population. The results of the survey indicate that the proportion of elderly has reached the highest level in the demographic history of Turkey. This result is related to three demographic changes experienced recently in Turkey: the rapid decline in fertility, increasing life expectancy at all ages and the passing of the cohorts with large populations to 65 years of age (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Age Distribution of Household PopulationPercent distribution of household population by age groups, according to type of settlement, Turkey 2008

| | Type of settlement | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------|--------|--|--|
| | Urban | Rural | Total | | |
| Age Groups | | | | | |
| 0-14 | 25.9 | 27.6 | 26.4 | | |
| 15-64 | 68.6 | 62.1 | 66.6 | | |
| 65+ | 5.4 | 10.1 | 6.9 | | |
| Don't know/missing | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | | |
| Number | 48,976 | 21,048 | 70,024 | | |

According to the survey results (Table 3.2), 82 percent of men and 66 percent of women have completed at least primary education (completed first level primary). These findings confirm the gap in educational attainment between men and women. While 34 percent of women do not have any education or have not completed the primary level, this proportion is just 18 percent among men. Consistent with these results, while 26 percent of men have completed high school or have higher education, this proportion remains around 17 percent among women. When the educational differences are examined on the basis of type of residence and regions, it is seen that the inequalities observed in the entire country are most apparent in rural areas and regions in East.

The results of National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey indicate that the mean household size is 4 persons. The mean household size is less than 4 persons in urban areas, and 4.4 persons in rural areas. Compatible with these results: one fourth of households are composed of 4 persons. Seventeen percent of households have six or

Table 3.2 Educational attainment of household populationPercent distribution of the de facto household population aged six and over by highest level of education attended or completed, according to selected characteristics, Turkey 2008

| Female | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Background Characteristics | No education/ Primary incomplete | First level primary | Second level primary | High school and higher | Don't know/ Missing | Total | Unweighted number of women | Median number o years |
| Type of Residence | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 29.0 | 34.6 | 14.2 | 21.6 | 0.7 | 100.0 | 23,087 | 5.3 |
| Rural | 44.8 | 37.5 | 10.6 | 6.4 | 0.7 | 100.0 | 10,542 | 4.3 |
| Region | | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 26.1 | 38.2 | 14.8 | 19.8 | 1.0 | 100.0 | 2,058 | 5.3 |
| West Marmara | 27.0 | 43.9 | 12.4 | 16.2 | 0.6 | 100.0 | 2,220 | 5.0 |
| Aegean | 25.1 | 37.8 | 14.8 | 22.2 | 0.2 | 100.0 | 2,276 | 5.4 |
| East Marmara | 30.5 | 38.9 | 13.1 | 16.0 | 1.5 | 100.0 | 2,322 | 5.0 |
| West Anatolia | 24.6 | 35.3 | 15.5 | 24.3 | 0.3 | 100.0 | 2,500 | 5.5 |
| Mediterranean | 29.6 | 36.0 | 12.4 | 21.3 | 0.7 | 100.0 | 2,588 | 5.2 |
| Central Anatolia | 38.5 | 36.4 | 13.4 | 11.2 | 0.5 | 100.0 | 2,677 | 4.7 |
| West Black Sea | 35.1 | 39.9 | 12.1 | 12.6 | 0.3 | 100.0 | 2,520 | 4.8 |
| East Black Sea | 39.7 | 30.6 | 13.0 | 16.5 | 0.2 | 100.0 | 2,751 | 4.8 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 50.4 | 29.4 | 10.6 | 9.0 | 0.6 | 100.0 | 3,446 | 4.1 |
| Central East Anatolia | 57.0 | 24.9 | 8.9 | 8.1 | 1.0 | 100.0 | 4.047 | 2.8 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 55.5 | 25.8 | 10.4 | 7.7 | 0.5 | 100.0 | 4,224 | 3.1 |
| Age | | | | | | | , | |
| 6-9 | 97.3 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.1 | 100.0 | 2.828 | 1.3 |
| 10-14 | 30.4 | 52.3 | 16.7 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 100.0 | 3,902 | 5.6 |
| 15-19 | 10.2 | 10.0 | 57.7 | 21.9 | 0.2 | 100.0 | 3,709 | 9.5 |
| 20-24 | 14.3 | 26.7 | 15.4 | 43.2 | 0.4 | 100.0 | 3,361 | 8.6 |
| 25-29 | 13.7 | 43.5 | 9.2 | 33.2 | 0.5 | 100.0 | 3,048 | 5.7 |
| 30-34 | 14.4 | 52.7 | 6.7 | 26.0 | 0.2 | 100.0 | 2,591 | 5.4 |
| 35-39 | 19.1 | 53.2 | 8.7 | 18.8 | 0.2 | 100.0 | 2,599 | 5.2 |
| 40-44 | 22.3 | 53.5 | 8.6 | 15.4 | 0.2 | 100.0 | 2,385 | 5.0 |
| 45-49 | 28.7 | 50.4 | 5.3 | 15.0 | 0.6 | 100.0 | 2,073 | 4.9 |
| 50-54 | 40.1 | 44.1 | 4.7 | 10.1 | 1.0 | 100.0 | 1,709 | 4.5 |
| 55-59 | 52.1 | 33.2 | 3.0 | 10.2 | 1.5 | 100.0 | 1,347 | 3.4 |
| 60-64 | 60.3 | 27.3 | 2.9 | 8.8 | 0.7 | 100.0 | 1,292 | 1.1 |
| 65+ | 74.8 | 18.7 | 1.7 | 3.4 | 1.3 | 100.0 | 2,776 | 0.5 |
| Don't know/missing | 91.3 | 1.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 6.8 | 100.0 | 9 | 0.1 |
| Total | 33.8 | 35.4 | 13.1 | 17.0 | 0.7 | 100.0 | 33.629 | 5.0 |

| Background Characteristics | No education/ Primary incomplete | First level primary | Second level primary | High school and higher | Don't know/ Missing | Total | Unweighted number of women | Median number of years |
|-------------------------------|--|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Type of Residence | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 16.2 | 33.4 | 18.6 | 31.2 | 0.7 | 100.0 | 22,779 | 7.0 |
| Rural | 23.4 | 44.6 | 17.0 | 13.8 | 1.1 | 100.0 | 10,099 | 5.3 |
| Region | | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 13.5 | 38.6 | 18.6 | 28.1 | 1.3 | 100.0 | 2,117 | 6.2 |
| West Marmara | 17.5 | 41.4 | 16.4 | 23.9 | 0.9 | 100.0 | 2,149 | 5.6 |
| Aegean | 13.5 | 37.8 | 16.7 | 31.9 | 0.2 | 100.0 | 2,207 | 6.4 |
| East Marmara | 15.8 | 36.7 | 19.0 | 27.4 | 1.1 | 100.0 | 2,253 | 6.0 |
| West Anatolia | 14.3 | 31.7 | 18.2 | 35.7 | 0.1 | 100.0 | 2,331 | 7.6 |
| Mediterranean | 16.7 | 38.0 | 18.5 | 26.2 | 0.6 | 100.0 | 2,644 | 5.9 |
| Central Anatolia | 20.4 | 39.2 | 18.5 | 20.8 | 1.1 | 100.0 | 2,632 | 5.6 |
| West Black Sea | 18.3 | 39.2 | 18.0 | 23.7 | 0.8 | 100.0 | 2,295 | 5.7 |
| East Black Sea | 20.1 | 35.2 | 18.0 | 26.3 | 0.4 | 100.0 | 2,547 | 5.8 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 27.1 | 33.6 | 18.4 | 19.8 | 1.1 | 100.0 | 3,497 | 5.5 |
| Central East Anatolia | 29.7 | 33.2 | 17.9 | 17.2 | 2.0 | 100.0 | 3,950 | 5.4 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 30.9 | 33.3 | 18.2 | 16.9 | 0.7 | 100.0 | 4,256 | 5.3 |
| Age | | | | | | | , | |
| 6-9 | 95.5 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.7 | 100.0 | 2.845 | 1.2 |
| 10-14 | 30.9 | 54.9 | 13.5 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 100.0 | 3,940 | 5.4 |
| 15-19 | 3.7 | 8.0 | 65.0 | 22.9 | 0.4 | 100.0 | 3,822 | 9.8 |
| 20-24 | 4.4 | 18.1 | 23.4 | 53.5 | 0.5 | 100.0 | 3,343 | 10.5 |
| 25-29 | 4.4 | 32.4 | 14.7 | 48.4 | 0.1 | 100.0 | 2,972 | 10.0 |
| 30-34 | 3.8 | 42.9 | 11.5 | 41.2 | 0.6 | 100.0 | 2,506 | 7.5 |
| 35-39 | 4.3 | 49.3 | 13.5 | 32.6 | 0.3 | 100.0 | 2,427 | 6.0 |
| 40-44 | 4.8 | 50.8 | 15.4 | 28.7 | 0.3 | 100.0 | 2,338 | 5.9 |
| 45-49 | 5.0 | 54.0 | 11.8 | 28.6 | 0.6 | 100.0 | 2,041 | 5.7 |
| 50-54 | 8.6 | 55.8 | 9.9 | 25.1 | 0.6 | 100.0 | 1.736 | 5.5 |
| 55-59 | 13.9 | 54.3 | 8.6 | 22.4 | 0.8 | 100.0 | 1,429 | 5.4 |
| 60-64 | 21.9 | 48.3 | 8.8 | 20.5 | 0.6 | 100.0 | 1,109 | 5.2 |
| 65+ | 40.0 | 43.0 | 5.1 | 10.3 | 1.6 | 100.0 | 2,333 | 4.4 |
| Don't know/missing | 17.8 | 41.1 | 5.4 | 9.1 | 26.6 | 100.0 | 37 | 5.1 |
| Total | 18.3 | 36.7 | 18.1 | 26.1 | 0.8 | 100.0 | 32,878 | 5.9 |

more members. The proportion of the households consisting of 6 or more members decreases to 13 percent in urban areas and increases to 27 percent in rural areas (Table 3.3).

Table 3.4 presents quantitative information on the interviewed households and de facto household population living in those households in the National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey survey. By comparing the weighted and unweighted numbers for household members, this table also shows in which regions the sample was selected more or less proportional to the population, as a result of weighted sample design applied in the National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey survey.

| Table 3.3 Household Composition |
|---|
| Percent distribution of households by household |
| size, according to type of residence, Turkey 2008 |

| Number of usual members | Urban | Rural | Total | |
|--|----------------|----------|--------|--|
| 1 | 5.2 | 7.9 | 5.9 | |
| 2 | 16.2 | 21.9 | 17.8 | |
| 3 | 21.7 | 13.8 | 19.6 | |
| 4 | 28.1 | 16.5 | 25.0 | |
| 5 | 15.7 | 12.6 | 14.9 | |
| 6 | 6.5 | 9.5 | 7.3 | |
| 7 | 3.1 | 5.5 | 3.7 | |
| 8 | 1.6 | 3.4 | 2.1 | |
| 9+ | 1.9 | 8.7 | 3.7 | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |
| Number of households (Unweighted) | 12,408 | 4,649 | 17,057 | |
| Mean size | 3.9 | 4.4 | 4.0 | |
| Note: The table is based on de jure members, | i.e., usual re | sidents. | | |

According to the results of the National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey survey, 73 percent of households and 70 percent of the population live in urban areas. In the National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey, of the 17,168 interviewed households, 19 percent of households are in the Istanbul and 15 percent are in the Aegean region. Approximately one-fifth of household population lives in Istanbul. Although Southeast Anatolia Region comprises 7 percent of households in Turkey, 11 percent of population lives in this region due to its higher mean household size compared to that of Turkey as a whole.

Table 3.4 Number of Households and Household PopulationPercentage distribution of households and household population by type of residence and region, Turkey 2008

| | Nu | mber of Housel | nolds | Но | usehold Popul | ation |
|----------------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Background characteristics | Weighted percent | Weighted number | Unweighted number | Weighted percent | Weighted number | Unweighted number |
| Type of Residence | | | | | | |
| Urban | 73.0 | 12,525 | 12,432 | 69.9 | 48,976 | 50,774 |
| Rural | 27.0 | 4,643 | 4,736 | 30.1 | 21,048 | 23,087 |
| Region | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 18.6 | 3,200 | 1,136 | 18.7 | 13,120 | 4,579 |
| West Marmara | 5.6 | 955 | 1,456 | 4.4 | 3,066 | 4,666 |
| Aegean | 14.5 | 2,490 | 1,440 | 11.8 | 8,270 | 4,791 |
| East Marmara | 10.1 | 1,727 | 1,319 | 9.3 | 6,525 | 5,003 |
| West Anatolia | 10.3 | 1,771 | 1,399 | 9.4 | 6,587 | 5,301 |
| Mediterranean | 13.1 | 2,242 | 1,508 | 12.1 | 8,470 | 5,695 |
| Central Anatolia | 4.7 | 808 | 1,348 | 5.1 | 3,561 | 5,904 |
| West Black Sea | 6.3 | 1,085 | 1,355 | 6.0 | 4,213 | 5,195 |
| East Black Sea | 3.4 | 580 | 1,449 | 3.4 | 2,406 | 5,748 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 2.3 | 396 | 1,478 | 3.1 | 2,175 | 7,888 |
| Central East Anatolia | 3.7 | 644 | 1,603 | 5.7 | 3,996 | 9,134 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 7.4 | 1,271 | 1,677 | 10.9 | 7,636 | 9,957 |
| Total | 100.0 | 17,168 | 17,168 | 100.0 | 70,024 | 73,861 |

Background Characteristics of Respondents

Table 3.5 and Table 3.6 present the percentage distribution of women aged 15-59 interviewed in the National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey by some background characteristics and weighted and unweighted number of observations. Regarding the type of residence, it is observed that the three fourth of women live in urban areas and the remaining one fourth lives in rural areas out of 12,795 interviewed women.

Only three percent of women live in Northeast Anatolia Region whereas approximately 20 percent lives in Istanbul. When the age distribution of the respondents is considered, it is observed that this distribution is compatible with demographic structure of Turkey. The increasing female population by the end of 20's, decreases rapidly starting from 30's then decreases to 6 percent by age group 55-59.

Survey results shows that, 19 percent of the women aged 15-59 do not have any education or have not completed primary education. Almost 43 percent of the women have completed only primary level education. Approximately one fourth of the women (23 percent) have completed at least high school. These results point out that, with the influence of socio-economic transformation in recent years, education has become widespread and there has been a continuous increase in the education level of women. Regarding the marital status, three-fourth of the women are currently married at the time of survey, 19 percent of the women are never married; more than 5 percent are widowed or divorced.

| Background | Percent | Unweighted |
|----------------------------------|---------|-----------------|
| characteristics | | number of women |
| Education | | |
| No education/ Primary incomplete | 18.7 | 2,915 |
| Primary level | 42.8 | 5,537 |
| Secondary level | 15.2 | 1,643 |
| High school and higher | 23.3 | 2,698 |
| Don't know | 0.0 | 2 |
| Marital Status | | |
| Never married | 19.1 | 1,997 |
| Married | 75.5 | 10,102 |
| Widowed | 3.0 | 417 |
| Divorced/separated | 2.4 | 279 |

Table 3.6 Background Characteristics of Respondents -2Percent distribution of women by type of residence, region and age, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | Weighted percent | Weighted number of women | Unweighted number of women |
|----------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Type of residence | | | |
| Urban | 74.5 | 9,528 | 9,434 |
| Rural | 25.5 | 3,267 | 3,361 |
| Region | | | |
| Istanbul | 19.7 | 2,520 | 805 |
| West Marmara | 4.8 | 608 | 963 |
| Aegean | 13.3 | 1,706 | 989 |
| East Marmara | 9.7 | 1,243 | 947 |
| West Anatolia | 10.5 | 1,343 | 1,069 |
| Mediterranean | 12.9 | 1,650 | 1,151 |
| Central Anatolia | 4.7 | 608 | 988 |
| West Black Sea | 5.8 | 740 | 919 |
| East Black Sea | 3.4 | 430 | 1,046 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 2.6 | 328 | 1,215 |
| Central East Anatolia | 4.3 | 545 | 1,287 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 8.4 | 1,074 | 1,416 |
| Age | | | |
| 15-19 | 13.5 | 1,727 | 1,314 |
| 20-24 | 13.8 | 1,763 | 1,469 |
| 25-29 | 14.5 | 1,854 | 1,970 |
| 30-34 | 12.8 | 1,638 | 1,954 |
| 35-39 | 11.3 | 1,445 | 1,720 |
| 40-44 | 10.6 | 1,352 | 1,381 |
| 45-49 | 9.1 | 1,168 | 1,196 |
| 50-54 | 8.0 | 1,029 | 976 |
| 55-59 | 6.4 | 818 | 815 |
| Total | 100.0 | 12,795 | 12,795 |

Chapter 4

Prevalence of Violence against Women

Henrica A. F. M. JANSEN, İlknur YÜKSEL, Pelin ÇAĞATAY

Violence against women due to gender roles be caused not only by perpetrators in a woman's close environment, such as by her husband or partner, but it can also happen by perpetrators in a wider social environment, such as by other male acquaintances, by men they don't know, and even by women in the family.

The main part of this chapter deals with results on violence by husbands and intimate partners: physical and sexual violence and emotional and economic abuse and controlling behaviours by the male partner. A second section in this chapter will look into women's attitudes on violence and gender issues. The last section of this chapter deals with violence by perpetrators other than partners: physical and sexual violence since the age of 15 years, and sexual abuse before the age of 15 years.

Violence by husbands and intimate partners

This section deals with violence against women by husbands and partners and the prevalence and frequencies of the different types of partner violence that women are exposed to. It is a subject that is very sensitive and women do not talk about it easily. Besides the forms of physical and sexual violence and emotional and economic abuse, this chapter also deals with the women's experiences of controlling behaviours by her husband or partner, the effect of "cycle of violence" on women's lives, and the women's opinions on gender roles and their attidute towards violence.

Within the scope of the research, during the interviews women were asked whether they had experienced certain acts of violence in order to be able to measure the violence the women experienced (see Definitions). Women, who confirmed having been exposed to any of the acts, were asked more detailed questions about when and how frequently the act had occurred. Regarding the timing of the act, two different periods were considered: any period in their life and the last 12 months preceding the interview¹³.

The partnership concept does not express the same phenomenon everywhere due to differences in settlements, region, culture, etc. To have results that can be properly compared between regions, in this chapter most of the information on violence by husband or partner is presented for "ever-married" women. Moreover, the results based on to the

 $^{^{13}}$ Hereafter referred to as past 12 months.

answers given by women who had "dating" relationships (engaged and those with boyfriends or fiancées), irrespective of whether they had a sexual relationship, are also presented. Further, among the ever-married women the results for currently married women are compared with divorced/separated women and with women who are widowed.

Information about physical and sexual violence, and emotional and economic violence/abuse has been evaluated according to background characteristics of the women such as region and type of residence, age groups, and education and wealth level.

Physical and sexual violence

In order to measure physical or sexual violence, women were asked whether they had experienced certain acts of physical or sexual violence or not (see Definitions). Table 4.1 shows the prevalence of physical and sexual violence women have been exposed to by their husbands or intimate partners, by region and type of residence, age groups, and education and wealth level.

Overall, 39 percent of women reported having experienced physical partner violence at any time in their lives. In other words, 4 out of 10 women have been exposed to physical violence by their husbands or intimate partner(s). Although there is no significant variation between urban and rural areas nationwide, there is considerable variation between regions. The proportion of women experiencing physical violence varies between 25 and 53 among regions. Nearly one out of 2 women living in the Northeast Anatolia region reported having been exposed to physical violence. When looking at the 12 months prior to the interview, countrywide one in 10 women reported physical violence in this recent period.

It is even more difficult for women to disclose experiences of sexual violence compared to those of physical violence. Actually, it is not thought to be appropriate to talk about sexual violence within marriage. Nevertheless, 15 percent of ever-married women in Turkey have experienced at least one act of sexual violence. The prevalence of sexual violence, like physical violence, shows a considerable variation between regions. While in the West Marmara region 9 percent of married women reported sexual violence at any time in their lives, in the Northeast Anatolia region this is 29 percent. For the remaining regions the prevalence varies between 11 and 23 percent. When considering sexual violence in the 12 months prior to the interview, nationwide almost half of women, who reported sexual violence ever in their life, reported a recent experience of sexual violence.

The prevalence rates for the experience of physical or sexual violence, or both, are important since they show that these two forms of violence are usually experienced together. Nationwide, the prevalence of experiencing one of either physical or sexual violence, or both, is 42 percent, whereas the prevalence of physical violence is 39 percent and the prevalence of sexual violence is 15 percent. This shows that in many cases sexual

Table 4.1. Prevalence of physical and sexual violence:Prevalence of physical and sexual violence by an intimate partner among ever married women by type of residence, region, age, education and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| Background | Dhysiaal | ممسمامات | Council | delenee | Physic sexual v | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|--|
| characteristics | Physical violence | | Sexual violence | | | | _ | |
| Characteristics | Lifetime | Past 12 months | Lifetime | Past 12 months | Lifetime | Past 12 months | Ever married womer | |
| Type of residence | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 38.0 | 10.0 | 14.3 | 6.7 | 40.3 | 13.5 | 7,981 | |
| Rural | 43.2 | 9.9 | 18.3 | 7.9 | 46.6 | 14.1 | 2,817 | |
| Region | | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 36.7 | 8.1 | 11.2 | 4.7 | 38.4 | 11.1 | 691 | |
| West Marmara | 24.6 | 6.0 | 8.7 | 4.3 | 26.2 | 8.8 | 859 | |
| Aegean | 31.3 | 5.3 | 13.9 | 4.1 | 34.7 | 8.0 | 848 | |
| East Marmara | 36.5 | 7.2 | 12.8 | 5.8 | 38.5 | 10.2 | 822 | |
| West Anatolia | 42.2 | 11.6 | 15.5 | 6.5 | 44.1 | 14.7 | 915 | |
| Mediterranean | 41.7 | 11.9 | 16.1 | 6.5 | 44.0 | 14.7 | 964 | |
| Central Anatolia | 49.5 | 13.5 | 22.8 | 11.0 | 52.8 | 18.5 | 887 | |
| West Black Sea | 42.9 | 7.9 | 17.5 | 6.7 | 46.6 | 12.0 | 779 | |
| East Black Sea | 38.0 | 6.5 | 17.6 | 7.8 | 42.6 | 12.5 | 874 | |
| Northeast Anatolia | 53.2 | 17.8 | 29.5 | 19.4 | 57.1 | 27.4 | 1,000 | |
| Central East Anatolia | 47.2 | 14.6 | 19.7 | 12.1 | 51.5 | 21.5 | 994 | |
| Southeast Anatolia | 47.7 | 19.2 | 19.7 | 13.0 | 51.1 | 24.6 | 1,165 | |
| Age groups | | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 31.9 | 17.3 | 13.5 | 9.7 | 35.3 | 21.3 | 1,194 | |
| 25-34 | 36.6 | 12.5 | 13.0 | 8.4 | 39.2 | 16.5 | 3,652 | |
| 35-44 | 39.7 | 8.7 | 14.2 | 6.5 | 42.0 | 12.6 | 3,009 | |
| 45-59 | 45.4 | 4.8 | 19.6 | 4.6 | 47.9 | 7.8 | 2,943 | |
| Education | | | | | | | | |
| None/primary incomplete | 52.2 | 12.6 | 22.2 | 9.6 | 55.7 | 17.4 | 2,741 | |
| Primary, first level | 39.9 | 9.1 | 15.2 | 6.9 | 42.2 | 13.1 | 5,237 | |
| Primary, second level | 34.9 | 12.3 | 13.1 | 7.6 | 38.5 | 15.4 | 872 | |
| High school and higher | 25.0 | 7.9 | 8.7 | 3.8 | 27.2 | 10.0 | 1,948 | |
| Wealth level* | | | | | | | | |
| Low | 47.0 | 13.7 | 18.9 | 9.4 | 49.9 | 18.0 | 4,189 | |
| Medium | 38.9 | 8.9 | 14.6 | 6.4 | 41.6 | 12.7 | 4,631 | |
| High | 26.7 | 5.5 | 10.3 | 3.9 | 28.7 | 8.3 | 1,978 | |
| Turkey | 39.3 | 9.9 | 15.3 | 7.0 | 41.9 | 13.7 | 10,798 | |
| *See Annex 5 | | | | | | | | |

violence is experienced together with physical violence. Sexual violence rarely occurs alone.

It is seen that lifetime experience of physical or sexual violence increases with age. As would be expected (because of the cumulative experience) the prevalence of lifetime physical or sexual violence is highest among women in the 45-59 years age group. However, when considering the last 12 months, the situation seems exactly the opposite. For example, the prevalence of physical or sexual violence is the highest in the youngest age group of 15-24 years (21 percent) when compared to other age groups. These patterns clearly indicate that violence starts early in marriage and when women are young.

As the educational level increases the proportion of women reporting partner violence decreases. Whereas the prevalence of physical or sexual violence experienced by women with no education/who have not completed primary school is 56 percent, it drops to 27 percent among women at least high school education. Although it seems that the increase in educational level is effective in protecting women against violence, it is also striking that almost 3 out of 10 women having high school or higher education have experienced partner violence. For physical or sexual violence in the past 12 months, the percentages are highest among the women with the lowest education level. However, the variations for the prevalence of recent violence by educational level are not as large as that for lifetime violence.

For the relation between violence and wealth levels we see similar patterns as for educational level. Whereas the prevalence of lifetime partner violence reported by women with a lower wealth level is 50 percent, this drops to 29 percent among the women in the highest socio-economic level. Although it appears that when living standards improve, partner violence decreases, it doesn't mean having a high living standard completely protects women from violence.

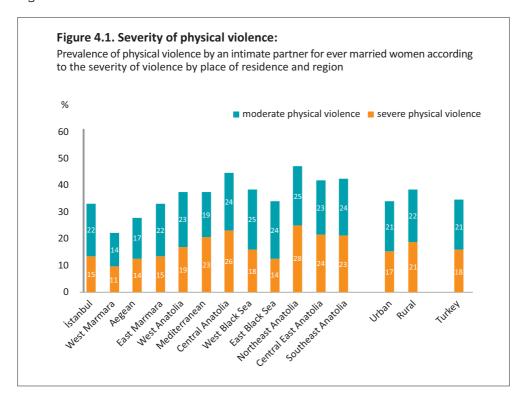
Acts of physical violence

Nationwide, among the acts that were asked about, the most reported act of physical violence is "being slapped or having something thrown" by their partner. Nationwide, 37 percent of ever-married women have been exposed to this act in any period of their lives. Among the regions, the percentage varies between 23 and 51. One out of 2 ever-married women living in the Northeast Anatolia region reported having been slapped or having something thrown at them by their husband or intimate partner. Regarding the frequency of slapping, the results show that more than two-thirds of women who have been slapped or had something thrown at them in the past 12 months indicate that this has happened more than once. One in 4 mentioned that it happened many times. This indicates that a slap is in most cases not something which occurs incidentally but it is a behavioural pattern in the partner that is ongoing. A similar pattern is observed for other acts of physical violence as well.

Injuries due to physical violence vary according to different levels. The World Health Organization classifies the severity of physical violence into two levels, one being moderate and the other being severe, based on the likelihood of causing injuries. "Slapping or throwing something" and "pushing, shoving" are considered as 'moderate' physical violence, and the other acts are considered as 'severe' physical violence (WHO, 2005).

Even if fewer women mentioned the experience of the more severe acts, when they happen, they happen many times. The individual acts of violence show similar patterns by age group, education and wealth level as the experience of physical violence in general, and it is seen that it is experienced more by women with advanced age, less education and lower wealth level. Detailed information about the prevalence and frequency of experiencing each of these acts is given in Annex Table 4.1.

Figure 4.1 shows the levels of violence administered to the women by their husbands or intimate partners, by region and urban/rural breakdown. The prevalence of experiencing severe physical violence varies between 11 and 28 percent between regions. It is seen that the proportion of 'severe' violence is higher in the Northeast and Central East Anatolia regions, which are the two regions where the overall physical violence prevalence is also highest.



Acts of sexual violence

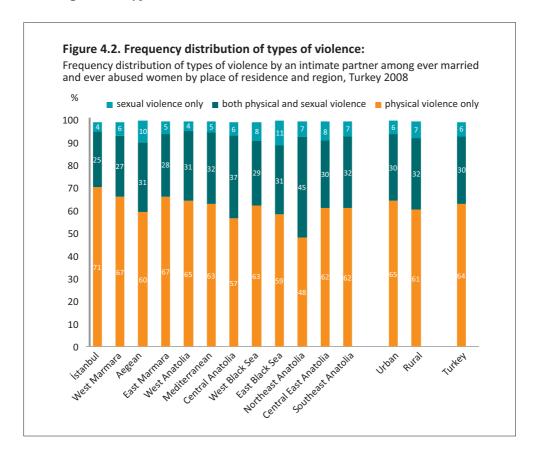
Table 4.2 shows the prevalence rates of acts of sexual violence that women were asked about, as reported by ever-married women, and as occurring in their lifetime or in the past 12 months, by region, type of residence and background characteristics of the women. The most commonly mentioned act of sexual violence among the three is "having had sexual intercourse when she did not want to because she was afraid." While 11 percent of ever-married women nationwide reported to ever have had sexual intercourse out of fear for various reasons, 9 percent said to have had forced sexual intercourse. There is again considerable regional variation, and 24 percent of women in the Northeast Anatolia region reported to have had sexual intercourse out of fear. In regard to the last 12 months, overall the mentioned percentages decrease to about half, with again by far the highest prevalence in Northeast Anatolia: as much as 16 percent of women reported that this happened to them in the past 12 months.

Table 4.2 Different acts of sexual violence:Percentage of ever married women who have experienced different acts of sexual violence by their intimate partner by type of residence, region, age, education and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| | Physically have s interco | exual | Had sex because afraid of what partner might do | | Forced some degradin ti | | |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------------|---|-------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Background characteristics | Lifetime | Past 12 months | Lifetime | Past 12 months | Lifetime | Past 12 months | Ever married women |
| Type of residence | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 8.5 | 3.4 | 10.7 | 5.2 | 3.4 | 1.4 | 7,981 |
| Rural | 11.1 | 4.1 | 13.5 | 5.7 | 3.0 | 1.6 | 2,817 |
| Region | | | | | | | , |
| Istanbul | 6.8 | 2.2 | 7.6 | 3.8 | 3.1 | 0.8 | 691 |
| West Marmara | 5.7 | 2.7 | 6.3 | 3.1 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 859 |
| Aegean | 8.2 | 1.9 | 10.9 | 2.9 | 2.3 | 0.5 | 848 |
| East Marmara | 7.0 | 2.8 | 9.7 | 4.3 | 3.4 | 1.3 | 822 |
| West Anatolia | 10.2 | 4.1 | 11.1 | 4.7 | 2.5 | 1.1 | 915 |
| Mediterranean | 9.8 | 3.8 | 12.4 | 5.5 | 4.0 | 1.9 | 964 |
| Central Anatolia | 12.6 | 4.3 | 18.7 | 8.8 | 4.6 | 2.6 | 887 |
| West Black Sea | 11.5 | 3.7 | 11.9 | 4.7 | 4.1 | 2.0 | 779 |
| East Black Sea | 9.7 | 3.1 | 13.4 | 6.1 | 3.7 | 2.2 | 874 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 14.4 | 8.1 | 24.2 | 16.4 | 4.7 | 2.8 | 1,000 |
| Central East Anatolia | 11.6 | 6.4 | 14.0 | 8.5 | 2.8 | 1.6 | 994 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 12.2 | 7.3 | 14.9 | 9.8 | 4.0 | 2.8 | 1,165 |
| Age groups | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 6.7 | 4.8 | 9.4 | 7.5 | 4.0 | 1.9 | 1,194 |
| 25-34 | 7.1 | 4.1 | 9.7 | 6.4 | 3.0 | 2.0 | 3,652 |
| 35-44 | 8.1 | 3.0 | 10.6 | 5.0 | 3.0 | 1.1 | 3,009 |
| 45-59 | 13.5 | 2.8 | 14.9 | 3.5 | 3.4 | 1.0 | 2,943 |
| Education | | | | | | | |
| None/primary incomplete | 14.6 | 5.6 | 16.1 | 7.3 | 4.7 | 2.2 | 2,741 |
| Primary, first level | 8.8 | 3.4 | 11.8 | 5.4 | 3.0 | 1.3 | 5,237 |
| Primary, second level | 6.7 | 3.6 | 9.1 | 5.7 | 3.5 | 1.5 | 872 |
| High school and higher Wealth level | 4.9 | 1.7 | 6.2 | 2.9 | 2.2 | 1.0 | 1,948 |
| Low | 12.0 | 5.3 | 14.3 | 7.1 | 4.3 | 2.2 | 4,189 |
| Medium | 8.6 | 3.0 | 10.9 | 5.0 | 2.8 | 1.2 | 4,631 |
| High | 5.4 | 1.6 | 7.4 | 3.1 | 2.3 | 0.9 | 1,978 |
| Turkey | 9.1 | 3.6 | 11.4 | 5.3 | 3.3 | 1.5 | 10,798 |

Experiencing physical or sexual violence, or both

Figure 4.2 presents the percentage distribution of experiencing only physical, only sexual and both physical and sexual violence, by those who have reported to have experienced physical or sexual violence, by region and type of residence. More than half of the women who reported having experienced violence have only experienced physical violence, nationwide this proportion is 63 percent. The percentage of women who have experienced both physical and sexual violence is 30. The interesting point here is that there is not much variation with respect to experiencing only physical violence, by age, education and wealth level. The details about age group, education and wealth level are shown in Annex Table 4.2. The proportion of women experienced the two types of violence together is highest in the Northeast Anatolia region with 45 percent. Following the Northeast Anatolia region are Central Anatolia region with 37 percent and Southeast Anatolia region with 32 percent. The figure also clearly shows that there is a huge overlap between sexual and physical violence. Sexual violence rarely occurs alone and that when a women experiences sexual violence, she usually also experiences physical violence. This is true for all regions and types of residence.



Physical and sexual violence by marital status

As mentioned before, within the scope of the research all women were interviewed regardless of whether they were married or not. The prevalence rates for physical and sexual violence given before are percentages calculated based on ever-married women. In Figure 4.3 the prevalence of physical and sexual partner violence for all "ever-partnered" women are given by type of residence. In Annex Table 4.3 the regional distribution is shown. When considering all "ever-partnered" (married and single/dating) women, the proportion of women being exposed to physical partner violence in any period of their lives is 36 percent. Nationwide, when the marital status of the women is considered the most striking result is that the proportion of physical violence reported by women who are divorced/separated is 73 percent. In other words, 7 out of 10 women who are divorced/separated experienced physical partner violence in their lifetime. The lifetime experience of physical partner violence among widowed women is 49 percent, and for currently married women it is 38 percent. Among "dating" women only 9 percent are exposed to physical violence by their boyfriends, fiancés or by the men to whom they are engaged.

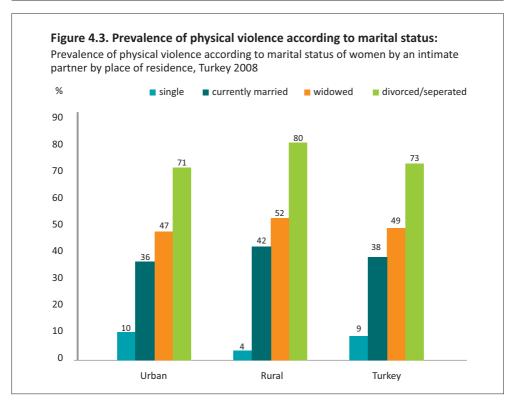
A similar pattern can be seen for the proportions who experienced sexual violence. While 44 percent of women who are divorced/separated reported to have been exposed to sexual violence, the proportions are 22 percent for widowed women and 14 percent for currently married women. The proportion of never married "dating" women who experienced sexual partner violence is only 2.2 percent.

For "dating" women who were never-married, the prevalence of physical and sexual violence by type of residence and by region varies. The type of residence is of great importance for the determination of level of relationship between never-married women and men. The prevalence of physical violence among "dating" women living in urban areas is 10 percent, while for women in rural areas it is 4 percent. Further, it varies from 1 to 13 percent across regions. Concerning sexual violence, the prevalence is less than 1 percent for five region.

The percentages about physical and sexual violence point out that women report higher levels violence by their partners when they are separated, divorced or widowed.

Emotional violence/abuse

Another form of violence against women is emotional violence or emotional abuse The acts of emotional violence/abuse included in the survey are given in the Definitions section. Overall, 44 percent of ever-married women reported to have been exposed to any acts of emotional abuse at least once in any period of their lives. One in four women has experienced at least one of these acts in the past 12 months. Emotional violence or abuse either in any period or in the past 12 months does not vary significantly when type

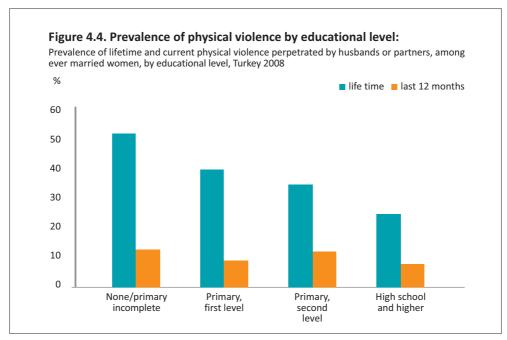


of residence is considered. Among the acts of emotional abuse against women, the act most frequently mentioned by women is being insulted by husband or intimate partner with was reported by 37 percent of the ever-married women. Nearly one in 5 ever-married women said to have been belittled and humiliated. Nationwide, the proportion of women being scared or threatened by their husbands or intimate partners is 19 percent.

Regarding the regions, it is seen that emotional abuse reported by women living in the West Marmara region is below the country average with 32 percent, whereas it is 55 percent in the Northeast Anatolia region and 52 percent in the Southeast Anatolia region. The percentages among the remaining regions vary between 40 and 49. The proportion of women according to type of residence, region, age, wealth index and educational level given in Annex Table 4.4.

Physical and sexual violence and emotional abuse by educational level

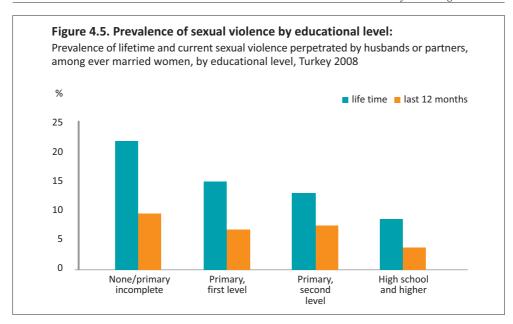
Education is a process that causes changes in behaviors of persons. Above it has already been described for physical or sexual violence that as the educational level increases the proportion of women reporting partner violence decreases. On the other hand, it is striking that almost 3 out of 10 women having high school or higher education have experienced physical or sexual partner violence in their lifetime. In this section we assess the patterns



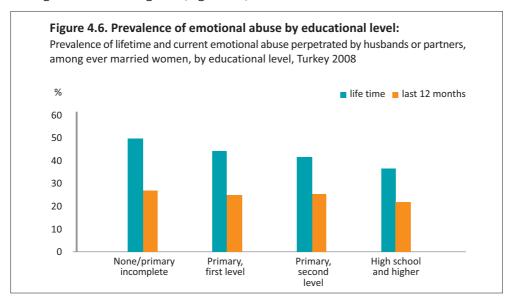
for each of the three main types of violence: physical violence, sexual violence and emotional abuse by educational level. For each type of violence we look at lifetime and current experience of this type of violence.

The prevalence of lifetime physical violence decreases with increase in education. It is more than twice as high among women with no schooling /incomplete primary school compared to women with high school or higher education. Among the women with higher education, the lifetime prevalence of physical violence is nevertheless still as high as 25 percent. For current physical violence the decrease with educational level is not so obvious, though there is still a difference between the lowest educated group (13 percent) and the highest educated group (8 percent). The finding that the difference for current physical violence is not large, may be partly due to the fact that the highest educated group has a relatively larger proportion of younger women and we have seen that younger women are at the highest risk of current violence (Figure 4.4).

For the prevalence of sexual violence by intimate partners, according to educational levels, similar patterns are observed as for physical violence though the levels of reported violence are lower for sexual than for physical violence (Figure 4.5).



Likewise other types of violence, emotional abuse being experienced in any period of life decrease with an increase in educational level of women. However, the difference is less for emotional abuse when compared to physical and sexual violence. 37 percent of women with high school or higher education and 50 percent of those with no education or incomplete primary education have been exposed to emotional abuse in any period of their lives. The prevalence of current emotional violence does not differ very much among educational categories (Figure 4.6).



Controlling behaviours

Besides the acts of emotional abuse, women have also been asked about some acts of controlling behaviour by the last or most recent husband or intimate partner. The controlling acts that have been asked about are:

- · Preventing the woman from seeing her friends,
- Preventing the woman from seeing her own family and relatives,
- Always wanting to know the whereabouts of the woman,
- Ignoring the woman and treating her indifferently,
- · Getting angry when the woman talks to other men,
- Being often suspicious of the woman cheating on him (being unfaithful),
- Demanding the woman to ask him for permission to go to a health institution,
- Interfering with the woman's clothing, demanding her to dress as he wants.

In Table 4.3, the prevalence rates for the different controlling acts as reported by evermarried women are given by region, type of residence, age, education and wealth level. Nationwide, nearly 69 percent of women reported that their husband or intimate partner wanted to know their whereabouts all the time, which is the most frequently reported act of controlling behaviour. This is followed by getting angry when the woman talks to other men (44 percent), and interfering with the woman's clothing (35 percent). There is no apparent variations in the acts of controlling behaviors that affect women's daily activities when type of residence is considered. Across the regions between 66 and 81 percent of women reported that her husband always wants to know her whereabouts. The prevalence of controlling behaviours shows similar patterns to that of other forms of violence. In the regions where the women experience more physical and sexual violence, they also consistently experience more controlling behaviours by their husbands and partners.

Economic violence/abuse

As in other forms of violence against women, three questions have been asked regarding acts indicating whether their economic activities have been restricted by their husbands or intimate partners in any period of their lives and in the past 12 months (see Definitions). Economic violence or abuse displays a more complex pattern than the other violence forms. Several of the questions were not applicable for all women. For example, the question "preventing the woman from working or causing her to quit her job" was not applicable to women who did not want to work. Similarly, "depriving the woman of her income" was not applicable for women who did not have an income. The most commonly reported act of economic abuse among the three was preventing the woman from working or causing to quit the job, which is found to be 23 percent. When including women who mentioned that they didn't want to work or that such a situation was not in question, the proportion of women exposed to economic abuse becomes 4 out of 10.

Percentage of ever-married women reporting various controlling behaviours by an intimate partner, by type of residence, region, age, education and wealth level, Turkey 2008 Number of ever-married women 691 859 848 822 915 964 887 779 874 1,000 994 1,194 3,652 3,009 2,943 2,741 5,237 872 1,948 4,189 4,631 1,978 10,798 Controls her access to health care 24.0 35.6 20.6 23.1 32.4 27.1 27.1 38.1 31.1 30.9 53.3 35.6 29.4 28.0 32.7 49.2 31.8 23.3 45.0 27.0 14.1 Suspicious that she is unfaithful 3.5 3.8 3.7 3.7 3.4 3.6 4.8 3.2 4.2 4.4 Gets angry when she speaks with others 43.7 41.5 34.5 34.5 46.4 48.1 37.7 52.4 46.3 41.0 60.7 52.5 52.5 59.8 47.1 40.3 36.8 46.5 47.4 48.3 30.9 51.9 44.4 30.1 17.1 Interferes
with her
clothing and
insists she
dresses as he
wishes 35.1 27.0 27.4 37.1 38.6 35.9 35.1 30.1 30.1 36.0 36.0 29.7 35.3 41.7 36.3 54.5 41.1 30.1 22.9 35.9 35.5 31.6 Ignores her and treats her indifferently 9.7 9.7 9.4 13.6 15.6 17.0 10.0 20.3 18.3 14.8 13.6 14.4 16.7 20.3 14.6 13.5 10.1 Insists on knowing where she is at all times 65.5 70.1 67.1 66.9 71.5 65.8 65.8 67.4 69.8 80.1 76.1 80.4 68.5 64.1 68.0 68.4 71.6 69.4 71.1 63.2 71.2 70.3 61.7 Restricts her contact with her family 11.1 8.0 6.2 8.4 4.6 6.3 4.7 12.6 9.0 10.9 8.0 8.0 4.4 13.0 12.6 12.6 11.7 9.0 7.3 8.4 8.1 10.1 7.2 Table 4.3. Controlling behaviours: Keeps her from seeing friends 12.2 6.3 8.1 9.4 15.3 12.4 16.4 16.8 17.2 17.2 17.9 12.4 10.3 14.6 12.0 13.9 10.3 No educ./primary incomplete High school and higher Second level primary Central East Anatolia Northeast Anatolia Southeast Anatolia First level primary Type of residence Background characteristics Central Anatolia West Black Sea West Marmara Mediterranean East Marmara West Anatolia East Black Sea Age groups 15-24 25-34 Wealth level Education Medium Region Istanbul Aegean Urban Rural 35-44 45-59

When considering regional variation, it is seen that 46 percent of the women living in the Northeast Anatolia region mentioned that the act "preventing from working or causing to quit the job" is not applicable to their situation. The regions where most women mentioned to have experienced this problem in any period of their lives are East Marmara, West Anatolia and Istanbul, with 28, 28 and 27 percent, respectively. Economic violence/abuse displays a different pattern than the other forms of violence and is found twice as much among women living in urban areas compared to women living in rural areas. Prevalence rates for the three acts of economic abuse by region, type of residence, age, education and wealth levels are given in Annex Table 4.5.

Presence of violence in women's family of birth

When women and men grow up in an environment with violence, especially in their own family, it may cause that these women and men normalize/easily accept violence. Within the scope of the research, women were asked whether there has been violence by their fathers against their mothers and violence by their fathers-in-law against their mothers-in-law. Annex Table 4.6 shows for both the women who have experienced physical partner violence and for those who have not, the likelihood that their mothers experienced physical violence. This is given by region and type of residence. Among women who have experienced lifetime partner violence 37 percent report that her mother experienced partner violence, compared to 19 percent among women who have never experienced violence. It should be mentioned that not all of the children living with families where violence is experienced are necessarily inclined to violence. On the other hand it can also be said that women who have witnessed violence in her family are exposed to violence more than the women who have not.

Women's attitudes towards gender roles and violence

During the interview, all women, married or single, were asked whether they agreed with certain statements or not, in order to understand their attitudes towards violence and gender roles. These statements are:

- In some situations men can beat their wives.
- It is a wife's obligation to have sex with her husband even if she doesn't feel like it.
- Sometimes, it may be necessary to beat children to discipline them.
- Male family members are responsible of the attitudes and behaviours of a woman.
- A good wife should not argue with her husband and keep silent if she disagrees with him.
- A woman should be able to spend her own money according to her own will.
- Men should also do housework like cooking, dish washing, laundry and ironing.

In Table 4.4 the proportions agreeing with the statements reinforcing the traditional roles are shown by region, type of residence, age, education and wealth level. Nationwide,

nearly half of the women agreed with the statements "a good wife should not argue with her husband" and "men are responsible for the behaviours of women". However, it is interesting that the proportion agreeing with the statement "in some situations men can beat their wives" is lower. This statement is important to understand the attitudes of women towards physical violence and it is agreed with by only 14 percent of all women nationwide. In other words, 86 percent of women think that physical violence is unacceptable. The proportion of women agreeing with the statement that violence is sometimes acceptable is higher in rural areas (23 percent) than in urban areas (11 percent). As for the regional aspect, the proportion of women agreeing with this statement is somewhat higher in Southeast Anatolia (24 percent) and in Central East Anatolia (23 percent) than in other regions.

When the agreement with this statement, which may reflect the acceptability or normalization of physical violence, is analyzed by background characteristics of the women, it is seen that the results follow similar patterns as the results on prevalence of physical violence. Only 3.2 percent of women with higher education level, and 4.7 percent of the women with highest wealth level agreed with this statement. When considered by age group, the acceptance of physical violence ranges from a high 18 percent among the women in the 45-59 age group, to a low 12 percent in the 15-24 age group. Among never-women, 9 percent agreed with the statement. This result may reflect that the attitude of young generations towards violence against women is changing.

One out of 3 women in the whole country agreed with the statement "it is a wife's obligation to have sex with her husband even if she doesn't feel like it", which was asked in order to understand the attitudes of women towards sexual intercourse and sexuality within marriage. Agreement with this statement is as high as 42 percent among women living in the rural areas. Concerning the region, education, wealth level, and age groups, the results show a similar pattern as observed for physical violence.

Table 4.5 gives the results on the proportions of women not agreeing with the two statements that measure women's attitudes towards changes in traditional gender roles, as regards region and type of residence. More than two thirds of women nationwide mentioned that "a woman should be able to spend her own money according to her own will" and that "men should also do housework". The proportion of women not agreeing with these statements is higher in rural areas compared to urban areas, and there is similar variation among regions.

Table 4.4 Women's attitudes towards gender roles and violence-1:Percentage of women who agree with the following statement about gender and intimate violence by type of residence, region, age, education and wealth level, Turkey 2008

Percentage of women who agrees Background characteristics Wife obeys her husband In some In some case, children can Woman's A woman should have Ever married behaivours are cases, men can beat his be beaten men's sex with her women responsibility partner although she Type of residence Urban 44.2 10.6 42.7 7,736 31.1 25.4 Rural 64.5 24.9 47.7 61.2 45.6 2,617 Region Istanbul 44.8 10.0 30.5 43.5 23.4 2,047 West Marmara 56.2 16.5 32.2 51.0 36.1 519 Aegean 45.6 11.3 31.3 43.2 29.1 1,395 East Marmara 44.0 10.6 27.6 45.0 28.3 1,046 West Anatolia 42.5 11.3 31.1 42.1 26.8 1,091 Mediterranean 31.1 50.0 17.5 39.0 47.5 1,316 Central Anatolia 53.3 18.2 33.9 52.7 32.5 525 West Black Sea 52.5 13.4 40.0 57.1 35.9 598 East Black Sea 57.5 14.0 37.8 51.8 36.9 348 Northeast Anatolia 58.9 19.7 45.0 57.8 44.7 248 Central East Anatolia 64.4 22.8 50.6 55.5 42.2 386 Southeast Anatolia 59.0 35.9 834 24.0 51.4 52.5 Age groups 15-24 48.6 15.2 35.0 46.8 30.7 1,425 25-34 10.9 35.8 42.8 21.9 3,237 41.0 35-44 35.7 49.4 14.7 46.3 28.9 2,717 45-59 58.6 16.9 34.5 53.6 41.3 2,974 Education No educ./primary incomplete 70.2 28.7 51.4 68.5 54.3 2,250 First level primary 55.0 13.6 36.4 50.2 30.7 5,187 Second level primary 35.0 7.2 24.9 37.7 18.1 934 High school and higher 1,982 17.6 2.9 19.0 20.5 8.9 Wealth level Low 64.6 24.1 48.8 61.5 45 2 3,733 Medium 46.9 10.6 31.6 45.8 26.3 4,462 High 27.8 4.6 19.6 26.2 13.7 2,158 Turkey 49.3 14.2 35.3 47.4 30.5 10,353

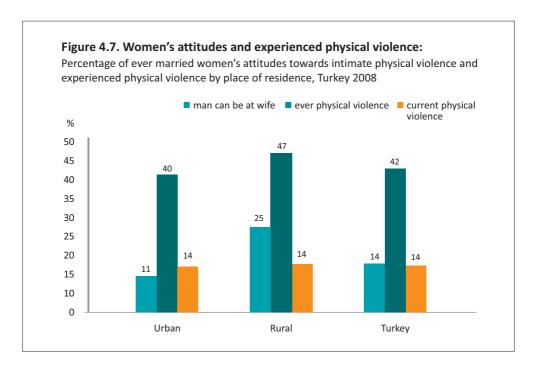
Table 4.5 Women's attitudes towards gender roles and violence-2:Percentage of women who do not agree with the following statement about gender and intimate violence by type of residence, region, age, education and wealth level, Turkey 2008

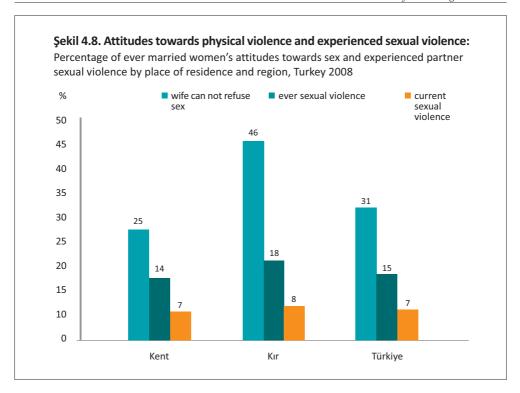
| | Percentage of women who do not agree | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|-----------------------|--|--|--|--|
| Background characteristics | A woman can spend money according to her own desire | Men should do come chores at home | Ever married women | | | | |
| Type of residence | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 32.4 | 30.1 | 7,736 | | | | |
| Rural | 39.4 | 42.8 | 2,617 | | | | |
| Region | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 33.4 | 31.7 | 2,047 | | | | |
| West Marmara | 33.8 | 29.8 | 519 | | | | |
| Aegean | 38.1 | 28.3 | 1,395 | | | | |
| East Marmara | 36.1 | 32.7 | 1,046 | | | | |
| West Anatolia | 30.9 | 29.7 | 1,091 | | | | |
| Mediterranean | 30.2 | 33.1 | 1,316 | | | | |
| Central Anatolia | 36.0 | 32.8 | 525 | | | | |
| West Black Sea | 36.2 | 32.4 | 598 | | | | |
| East Black Sea | 38.5 | 28.2 | 348 | | | | |
| Northeast Anatolia | 35.6 | 45.0 | 248 | | | | |
| Central East Anatolia | 35.9 | 49.6 | 386 | | | | |
| Southeast Anatolia | 32.6 | 45.9 | 834 | | | | |
| Age groups | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 35.3 | 39.4 | 1,425 | | | | |
| 25-34 | 32.0 | 32.4 | 3,237 | | | | |
| 35-44 | 34.1 | 31.2 | 2,717 | | | | |
| 45-59 | 36.2 | 33.3 | 2,974 | | | | |
| Education | | | | | | | |
| No educ./primary incomplete | 41.5 | 48.9 | 2,250 | | | | |
| First level primary | 34.8 | 34.1 | 5,187 | | | | |
| Second level primary | 33.4 | 28.6 | 934 | | | | |
| High school and higher | 24.6 | 16.0 | 1,982 | | | | |
| Wealth level | | | | | | | |
| Low | 41.1 | 45.8 | 3,733 | | | | |
| Medium | 32.1 | 29.8 | 4,462 | | | | |
| High | 26.5 | 19.2 | 2,158 | | | | |
| Turkey | 34.2 | 33.3 | 10,353 | | | | |

Attitudes towards physical and sexual violence and the relation with experiencing violence

In Figure 4.7, the attitudes of ever-married women towards physical violence and the actual physical violence these women experienced is shown. The percentage of women who think that in some situations men may beat their wives is 14 percent. The percentage of women who reported physical partner violence in any period of their life and in the past 12 months is 39 and 10 percent, respectively. Attitudes give information for the current period and when this is taken into account, the decrease in the proportion violence is observed to be related to the attitudes. Attitudes towards physical violence differs widely between rural and urban areas. However, when the violence experienced in the past 12 months are considered, there is not a significant difference between urban and rural areas.

Figure 4.8 gives the prevalence rates of sexual violence experienced by women in any period of their lives and in the past 12 months, as well as the proportion of women who think "it is a wife's obligation to have sex with her husband even if she doesn't feel like it". It is seen that sexual violence being experienced in the past 12 months are less likely to be reported by women. Here it should be considered that this apparent discrepancy may be due to the apprehension of being judged by society more harshly for talking about sexual violence that it is more difficult to talk about sexual violence and that women are more timid in talking about their experiences in the near past.





Violence by Perpetrators Other Than Husbands or Partners

n the survey, information was also collected about violence the women experienced by perpetrators other than intimate partners. All women, married or single, were asked questions to find out whether they experienced physical and/or sexual violence by others (not their husband or partner). In this section, the results of physical and sexual violence against women by perpetrators other than intimate partner from the age of 15 are submitted. Moreover, the sexual abuse before age 15 is presented as well. All women who have reported to have experienced physical and sexual violence/abuse were also asked who did this.

Physical violence after 15 years of age

All women had been asked whether, since the age of 15 years, anyone other than their intimate partner had ever beaten them or physically mistreated them in any way. The women who reported to have experienced physical violence were also asked who did the violence. In Table 4.6, the prevalence of physical and sexual violence against women since age 15 by perpetrators other than husband or intimate partner is presented by region, type of residence, age, education and wealth level. Overall, nearly 17 percent reported having been exposed to physical violence by someone other than their intimate

partners after 15 years of age. In regard to the urban-rural breakdown, there is no significant difference. The regions where the most women reported having been exposed to physical violence are Northeast Anatolia (23 percent), Central East Anatolia (22 percent), Eastern Black Sea (19 percent) and Istanbul (20 percent). This proportion is lowest among women living in Western Marmara region, with 14 percent.

As for the perpetrators of physical violence, nationwide the most commonly mentioned perpetrators are their fathers with 41 percent, their mothers with 32 percent and their brothers with 16 percent, followed by teachers with 8 percent. In other words, after age 15, women are exposed to physical violence in particular by their own families. Physical violence by mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law has most commonly been reported by women living in the Northeast Anatolia region (Annex Table 4.7).

The regions where the vast majority of physical violence against women (by others than partners) is perpetrated by families are those in western and southern parts of the country such as West Marmara with 81 percent, Istanbul with 80 percent and Mediterranean with 76 percent. Physical violence against women by more distant relatives is the highest in Northeast Anatolia region with 35 percent. Following the Northeast Anatolia region is Central Anatolia with 30 percent.

There was no significant variation in prevelance of non-partner physical violence, by level of education of the women. Similarly, the prevalence of physical violence experienced by women was also not much affected by level of wealth.

Sexual violence after 15 years of age

All women had been asked whether, since the age of 15 years, they had ever been forced to have sex or perform a sexual act against their will, by anyone other than their intimate partner. The women who reported that they experienced non-partner sexual violence were also asked who were the perpetrators of the sexual violence. In Turkey, nearly 3 out of 100 women reported having experienced sexual violence by perpetrators other than their intimate partners since age 15. In urban areas this was 4 percent and in rural areas 2.3 percent. The percentages of sexual violence by non-partners varied between the regions from 2 percent to 5 pecent and there are no big differences among the regions. The sexual violence by non-partners was more often reported by the women who have a higher education level.

More than half of the women nationwide (52 percent) reported that the sexual abuse they experienced was perpetrated by strangers. This is followed by boyfriends with 18 percent and male relatives with 12 percent (Annex Table 4.8).

Sexual abuse before the age of 15 years

Because sexual abuse experienced before the age of 15 years is a sensitive and a difficult subject to talk about in an interview, this information has been collected in a gradual way. During the interview women were asked whether anyone had performed a sexual act or touched her in a sexually disturbing way before the age of 15. In addition, regardless of the answer given to this question, at the end of the interview the women were given a card with a crying and a smiling face of a girl. Women were asked to mark one of the two faces, according to whether they had experienced such an act without showing the marked card to the interviewer and then to put the card in an envelope and close it. Shown in Table 4.7 are both the answers given during the interview, the results by the card, and the combined results of the interview answers together with the answers given on the card, according to region and type of residence.

Overall, the proportion of women reporting having experienced sexual violence during the face to face interview is 4 percent. This proportion increased to 7 if combined with the answers given on the cards. Women living in urban areas are three times more likely to report childhood sexual abuse than women living in rural areas. As for the regional level, the women most commonly reporting having experienced sexual abuse are the ones living in the Istanbul (9 percent) and Mediterranean (8.5 percent) regions. It is observed that women in younger age groups, with higher education and wealth level are more likely to report sexual abuse as a child. The reasons of this may be due to the explanation of the act being experienced as a sexual abuse or the hesitation to disclose the sexual abuse.

Annex Table 4.9 shows in detail who has perpetrated child sexual abuse. Nationwide, 42 percent of the sexual abuse experienced before 15 years of age was perpetrated by people whom the women don't know, and 30 percent was perpetrated by male relatives.

Table 4.6. Physical and sexual violence since the age of 15 years:Percentage of all women who experienced non-partner physical and sexual violence by type

of residence, region, age, education and wealth level, Turkey 2008

Background Physical Sexual Physical or Number of characteristics violence violence sexual women violence Type of residence Urban 18.0 3.6 20.1 9,528 Rural 17.1 2.3 18.6 3,267 Region Istanbul 19.5 3.5 21.1 2,520 West Marmara 14.2 2.4 15.6 608 17.3 1.7 18.3 1,706 Aegean East Marmara 17.9 2.9 19.1 1,243 West Anatolia 15.8 4.9 19.4 1,343 Mediterranean 16.9 4.2 19.7 1,650 Central Anatolia 16.3 2.4 17.8 608 West Black Sea 15.9 2.9 17.5 740 East Black Sea 19.1 21.0 430 3.6 Northeast Anatolia 23.1 2.8 23.8 328 Central East Anatolia 21.8 3.7 24.3 545 Southeast Anatolia 18.3 3.8 20.5 1,074 Age groups 15-24 21.8 5.5 24.9 3,490 25-34 16.6 3.4 18.5 3,493 35-44 16.2 2.3 17.5 2,797 45-59 16.1 1.5 17.0 3,015 Education No educ./primary incomplete 19.2 2.0 20.2 2,390 15.5 First level primary 2.1 16.8 5,477 Second level primary 19.6 3.8 21.7 1,949 High school and higher 19.6 6.4 23.3 2,978 Wealth level Low 19.2 2.7 20.6 4,473 Medium 16.8 3.2 18.7 5,460 17.4 20.2 High 4.6 2,863 Turkey 17.8 3.3 19.7 12,795

Table 4.7. Sexual abuse before the age of 15 years:Percentage of all women reporting sexual abuse according to the questionnaire and cards by type of residence, region, age, education and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | From face-to-face interview | | From card | | From both interviews and cards | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|-----|--------------------------------------|------|----------------------|
| | number | % | number | % | number | % | ever-marrie women |
| Type of residence | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 473 | 5.0 | 652 | 6.8 | 748 | 7.9 | 9,528 |
| Rural | 85 | 2.6 | 156 | 4.8 | 173 | 5.3 | 3,267 |
| Region | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 156 | 6.2 | 198 | 7.9 | 235 | 9.3 | 2,520 |
| West Marmara | 12 | 2.0 | 19 | 3.1 | 22 | 3.7 | 608 |
| Aegean | 57 | 3.4 | 92 | 5.4 | 104 | 6.1 | 1,706 |
| East Marmara | 54 | 4.4 | 67 | 5.4 | 75 | 6.0 | 1,243 |
| West Anatolia | 52 | 3.9 | 85 | 6.3 | 93 | 6.9 | 1,343 |
| Mediterranean | 89 | 5.4 | 120 | 7.3 | 141 | 8.5 | 1,650 |
| Central Anatolia | 22 | 3.6 | 36 | 5.9 | 38 | 6.2 | 608 |
| West Black Sea | 18 | 2.4 | 51 | 6.9 | 54 | 7.3 | 740 |
| East Black Sea | 18 | 4.2 | 30 | 7.0 | 32 | 7.4 | 430 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 16 | 4.9 | 19 | 5.7 | 22 | 6.6 | 328 |
| Central East Anatolia | 24 | 4.4 | 31 | 5.7 | 40 | 7.3 | 545 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 39 | 3.7 | 60 | 5.5 | 66 | 6.1 | 1,074 |
| Age groups | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 258 | 7.4 | 342 | 9.8 | 391 | 11.2 | 3,490 |
| 25-34 | 164 | 4.7 | 241 | 6.9 | 268 | 7.7 | 3,493 |
| 35-44 | 83 | 3.0 | 130 | 4.6 | 146 | 5.2 | 2,797 |
| 45-59 | 53 | 1.7 | 96 | 3.2 | 116 | 3.9 | 3,015 |
| Education | | | | | | | |
| No educ./primary incomplete | 54 | 2.3 | 104 | 4.4 | 120 | 5.0 | 2,390 |
| First level primary | 156 | 2.8 | 283 | 5.2 | 314 | 5.7 | 5,477 |
| Second level primary | 114 | 5.9 | 156 | 8.0 | 183 | 9.4 | 1,949 |
| High school and higher | 234 | 7.9 | 265 | 8.9 | 304 | 10.2 | 2,978 |
| Wealth level | | | | | | | |
| Low | 146 | 3.3 | 267 | 6.0 | 300 | 6.7 | 4,473 |
| Medium | 227 | 4.2 | 320 | 5.9 | 371 | 6.8 | 5,460 |
| High | 185 | 6.5 | 221 | 7.7 | 250 | 8.7 | 2,863 |
| Turkey | 558 | 4.4 | 807 | 6.3 | 921 | 7.2 | 12,795 |

Discussion

The research results show that the violence against women by husbands or intimate partners is widespread in Turkey. In addition, the findings show that ever-married women commonly experience severe and frequent violence (Figure 4.2). It has become clear that partner violence shows significant variations among regions.

While physical or sexual violence experienced by ever-married women from their husbands or intimate partners is 42 percent nationwide, it varies between 26 and 57 percent among regions. When considering the last 12 months, these proportions are 14 percent nationwide, and they vary between 9 and 27 percent among regions. These results are important and show undeniably that violence is a reality in the lives of married women and that there are stark regional differences. The findings about the patterns of physical and sexual partner violence among ever-married women are generally consistent with results of studies conducted in many countries.

The prevalence rates of physical or sexual violence obtained by countries in the multi-country study by WHO vary between 15 and 71 percent. The results for Turkey are within this range and are considered to be high. Especially the prevalence of violence in some regions is found to be higher compared to what was found in many other countries. In the study in Turkey sexual violence is in many cases experienced together with physical violence.

The measurement of emotional abuse varies according to the people's perceptions, and lifetime emotional violence being reported by women is 44 percent nationwide. When considering the acts of behaviors that controls the women's daily activities as emotional abuse, the percentage of emotional abuse rises.

Women are exposed to physical and sexual violence by perpetrators other than their husbands or intimate partners as well. Violence against woman from others than intimate partners, physical violence stands out as the most common form of violence. Whereas the prevalence of violence by husbands or intimate partners is 39 percent among evermarried women, the prevalence of violence experienced by non-partners is 18 percent The physical and sexual violence the women are exposed to by perpetrators other than their husbands or intimate partners also shows variations according to region..

Regionally, there is less variation for non-partner violence than for partner violence. When compared to studies conducted in other countries, the prevalence of non-partner physical violence that varies between 5 and 62 percent in the countries in the WHO multi-country study is 18 percent in Turkey.

An important point to be noted here is that the violence coming from the husband or intimate partner is generally different from the violence coming from people other than the husband or intimate partner. Violence against women from men other than those in close relation is a form of violence that is likely to happen less frequent or incidentally. Further, if a woman has experienced violence by a non-partner, different persons are reported as perpetrators. On the other hand, violence by a husband or intimate partner is usually ongoing behaviour that happens repeatedly.

Non-partner sexual violence is relatively low when compared to physical violence by perpetrators other than their husbands or intimate partners. Three out of every 100 women reported that they have experienced sexual violence by perpetrators other than their intimate partners and the perpetrators are usually the ones whom women don't know. Women have primarily reported the perpetrators of sexual abuse during childhood as foreigners and then male relatives.

Chapter 5

Domestic Violence against Women and Health Consequences

Sabahat TEZCAN, Sutay YAVUZ, Hande TUNÇKANAT

One of the most important consequences of violence against women is that it adversely affects women's physical and mental health, and it should be considered an important public health problem. Injuries occurring as a result of physical or sexual violence are obviously direct effects of violence on women's health. In addition to this, when looking at the answers given by women to questions to assess their self-reported general and mental health, and comparing the answers of women who have experienced partner violence in any period of their lives, with those who have not experienced such violence, it is seen that experiencing partner violence can also have indirect effects on health. Although not claimed to be a direct result of violence; the results of studies conducted in other countries also show that women who experienced partner violence suffer more from physical and mental illnesses than women who have not (WHO, 2005).

Injuries due to violence

In the National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey, women who had experienced physical or sexual violence by their intimate partner(s), were asked questions about the injuries due to that violence, frequency, and types of the injuries.

In the whole of Turkey, one fourth of the ever-married women reported to have been injured as a result of the physical or sexual violence (Table 5.1). This percentage does not differ greatly between urban and rural areas. Regarding regions, the prevalence of injuries due to violence varies between 17.7 percent (East Marmara) and 32.9 percent (Central Anatolia). The prevalence of injuries due to violence is higher among women living in the Central Anatolia, West Anatolia, Mediterranean, and Northeast Anatolia regions compared to those living in other regions. Concerning those four regions, nearly one out of three women who had experienced violence by an intimate partner(s) was injured as a result of physical and sexual violence.

The lifetime prevalence of injuries due to physical or sexual violence is 19.5 percent among ever-married women aged 15-24 years, whereas it is 26.8 percent among women aged 45-59 years. This finding is related with the cumulative experience of lifetime violence exerted by intimate partner(s) among women in the higher age group. The study findings indicate that there is an inverse relationship between the level of education of women and the wealth of the household and the prevalence of violence (see Chapter

4). However, a similar relation is not found between the education and wealth level of women and the injuries due to violence. In other words, there is no significant variation in prevalence of injuries due to violence according to the education level of the women and the wealth level of the households; all women exposed to violence have similar risks of injury.

Table 5.1. Injuries due to violence

Percentage of ever injured women as a result of physical or sexual violence by intimate partner(s), according to type of residence, region, age, education level and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | Injured women | Number of women experienced physical or sexual violence | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|--|--|
| Type of residence | | | |
| Urban | 24.2 | 3,516 | |
| Rural | 22.1 | 1,365 | |
| Region | | | |
| İstanbul | 19.6 | 270 | |
| West Marmara | 22.9 | 223 | |
| Aegean | 20.7 | 311 | |
| East Marmara | 17.7 | 330 | |
| West Anatolia | 29.5 | 436 | |
| Mediterranean | 28.6 | 426 | |
| Central Anatolia | 32.9 | 467 | |
| West Black Sea | 20.4 | 356 | |
| East Black Sea | 18.3 | 369 | |
| Northeast Anatolia | 27.5 | 564 | |
| Central East Anatolia | 23.8 | 517 | |
| Southeast Anatolia | 24.2 | 612 | |
| Age groups | | | |
| 15-24 | 19.5 | 503 | |
| 25-34 | 22.1 | 1,554 | |
| 35-44 | 23.6 | 1,346 | |
| 45-59 | 26.8 | 1,478 | |
| Education | | | |
| No educ./primary incomplete | 23.3 | 1,559 | |
| Primary, first level | 23.9 | 2,372 | |
| Primary, second level | 22.7 | 362 | |
| High school and higher | 24.0 | 588 | |
| Wealth level | | | |
| Low | 25.7 | 2,210 | |
| Medium | 21.4 | 2,049 | |
| High | 24.4 | 622 | |
| Turkey | 23.7 | 4,881 | |

Table 5.2. Number of injuries as a result of violence

Frequency of injuries and percentage of women ever needing health care for injuries among women who were ever injured as a result of intimate partner physical or sexual violence, by type of residence, region, age group, education level and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| | Frequ | ency of i | njuries | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------------------|--|--|
| Background Characteristics | 1 - 2 times | 3 - 5 times | More than 5 times | Injuries required medical treatment | Number of women injured due to violence |
| Type of residence | | | | | |
| Urban | 43.2 | 24.0 | 32.5 | 42.0 | 903 |
| Rural | 38.9 | 26.4 | 34.5 | 37.8 | 309 |
| Region | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 46.0 | 22.1 | 31.9 | 33.7 | 55 |
| West Marmara | 49.0 | 18.4 | 32.6 | 42.5 | 51 |
| Aegean | 41.0 | 16.5 | 42.5 | 37.8 | 64 |
| East Marmara | 43.1 | 32.1 | 24.8 | 39.1 | 61 |
| West Anatolia | 41.5 | 27.5 | 31.0 | 35.4 | 123 |
| Mediterranean | 39.4 | 26.8 | 32.9 | 48.4 | 121 |
| Central Anatolia | 41.6 | 26.9 | 31.5 | 39.7 | 159 |
| West Black Sea | 47.6 | 18.2 | 34.1 | 50.0 | 73 |
| East Black Sea | 43.9 | 31.5 | 24.7 | 34.7 | 61 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 36.5 | 24.4 | 37.4 | 39.5 | 167 |
| Central East Anatolia | 52.5 | 23.5 | 23.3 | 40.2 | 126 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 34.0 | 25.8 | 39.6 | 49.9 | 151 |
| Age groups | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 49.9 | 26.5 | 23.6 | 32.7 | 115 |
| 25-34 | 44.5 | 24.2 | 31.1 | 42.4 | 359 |
| 35-44 | 37.2 | 31.8 | 31.0 | 43.1 | 335 |
| 45-59 | 41.5 | 19.2 | 38.7 | 40.7 | 403 |
| Education | | | | | |
| None/primary incomplete | 33.6 | 22.5 | 43.5 | 43.5 | 401 |
| Primary, first level | 41.2 | 27.8 | 30.9 | 40.8 | 584 |
| Primary, second level | 52.1 | 12.2 | 33.8 | 41.5 | 86 |
| High school and higher | 55.9 | 24.9 | 19.2 | 35.5 | 141 |
| Wealth level | | | | | |
| Low | 37.8 | 23.3 | 38.8 | 43.2 | 611 |
| Medium | 42.4 | 25.4 | 31.6 | 37.1 | 461 |
| High | 54.1 | 26.4 | 19.4 | 43.6 | 140 |
| Turkey | 42.1 | 24.6 | 33.0 | 40.9 | 1,212 |

Note: Percentages concerning the frequency of injuries do not add up to 100 percent due to fact that results for 'Don't know/Don't remember' category is not provided in the table

Women, who reported being injured due to lifetime intimate partner(s) physical or sexual violence, were asked how many times they were injured until the date of the study. In addition, information about whether any of these injuries were severe enough to require treatment was also obtained. In Turkey, 57.6 percent of the women injured due to violence

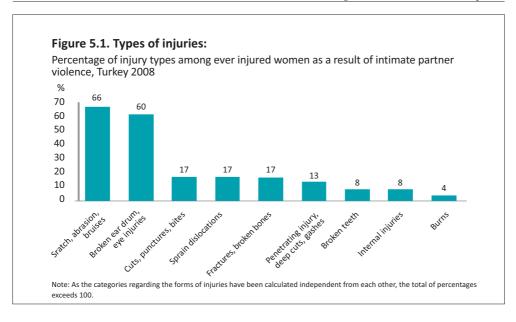
reported to have been injured 3 or more times. One out of 3 women who were injured due to violence reported to have been injured more than 5 times (Table 5.2). Four out of 10 women who were injured as a result of violence reported to have been injured severely enough to require treatment at least once. These findings reveal that injuries due to violence are not coincidental, on the contrary that injuries occur frequently and in severe levels.

Regarding number of injuries, there is no significant difference between women living in urban and rural areas. Nearly 4 out of 10 injured women living in the Aegean, Southeast Anatolia and Northeast Anatolia regions reported having been injured more than 5 times. Half of the ever injured women living in the West Black Sea and Southeast Anatolia regions were injured at least one time severely enough to require treatment.

When considering the frequency of injuries due to violence according to the background characteristics of women, it is seen that the number of injuries is lower among women with higher education and women living in households with a high wealth level. While 43.5 percent of the ever injured women with no education/incomplete primary school have reported to have been injured more than 5 times, among the ever injured women with high school or higher education this proportion decreases to 19.2 percent (Table 5.2). Further, except for the women with highest education, there is not much difference in the proportion reporting that the injury was severe enough to require treatment at least once by the women's educational level and the household's wealth level.

Injuries due to lifetime intimate partner(s) physical or sexual violence occur in different forms. With regards to type of injuries, it is seen that in Turkey the following injuries occur most commonly: 'scratches, abrasions, bruises' (66 percent) and 'broken eardrum, eye injuries, black eye' (60 percent) (Figure 5.1). 17 percent of the women who have been injured due to violence reported that they had 'cuts, punctures, bites', 'sprain dislocations' and 'fractures, broken bones'. The high prevalence of severe types of injuries also coincides with the information collected within the scope of the qualitative study. The high severity of the injuries reported by women, who experienced intimate partner violence is confirmed by the qualitative study as well.

The percentage distribution of the types of injuries does not show a significant variation, by type of residence of the women (see Annex Table 5.1). More than 7 out of 10 injured women living in the Mediterranean, Northeast Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia regions reported to have been injured in the form of 'scratches, abrasions, bruises'. Nearly 6 out of 10 injured women living in the other regions reported to have been injured in a similar way. There is almost no variation in the proportion of women reporting 'scratches, abrasions, bruises' according to the women's educational level and the household's wealth level.



Physical violence during pregnancy

It is known that physical violence during pregnancy affects the health of (unborn) children as well the health of the women. Within the study, women who have been pregnant at least once were asked whether they have been experienced physical violence by their intimate partner(s) during any of their pregnancies.

In Turkey, one out of ten women who have ever been pregnant experienced physical violence during pregnancy by her intimate partner(s) (Table 5.3). The proportion of women who experienced violence during pregnancy does not vary between women living in urban and women living in rural areas at the time of the study. Nevertheless, the proportion of women reporting having experienced physical violence during pregnancy varies among regions, ranging from 5.3 percent of women living in the Western Marmara region to 17.6 percent of women living in the Northeast Anatolia region. The regions where prevalence of violence during pregnancy is highest coincide with the regions where lifetime physical violence is more widespread (Northeast Anatolia, Central East Anatolia, Southeast Anatolia and Central Anatolia).

At the time of the study, 11 percent of the women aged between 15 and 24 years reported having experienced physical violence by their intimate partner(s) during pregnancy. Although the number of pregnancies in this age group is low, the proportion of women who reported violence during pregnancy is remarkably high. This situation can be regarded as a result of the fact that women experience more violence in young ages and in first years of their marriages (see Chapter 4).

The percentage of women experiencing violence during pregnancy varies according to the women's education and the household's wealth level. Among women who have higher education and a higher wealth level, the percentage of women who reported violence during pregnancy is lower. The prevalence of physical violence during pregnancy among women with no education/ incomplete primary school is above the average of Turkey at 14 percent.

Table 5.3 Physical violence during pregnancy

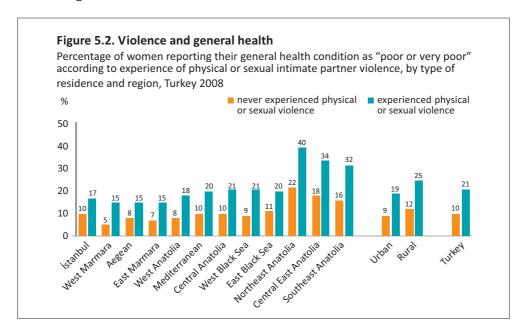
Percentage of ever pregnant women who were experienced physical violence by an intimate partner, by type of residence, region, age group, education level and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| Background Characteristics | Number of women experienced violence during pregnancy | Number of ever- pregnant women |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Type of residence | | |
| Urban | 9.6 | 7,618 |
| Rural | 9.8 | 2,677 |
| Region | | |
| Istanbul | 8.6 | 655 |
| West Marmara | 5.3 | 821 |
| Aegean | 6.9 | 804 |
| East Marmara | 7.7 | 791 |
| West Anatolia | 11.2 | 866 |
| Mediterranean | 11.2 | 919 |
| Central Anatolia | 13.7 | 847 |
| West Black Sea | 9.4 | 744 |
| ast Black Sea | 7.2 | 824 |
| Iortheast Anatolia | 17.6 | 964 |
| Central East Anatolia | 12.9 | 952 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 12.9 | 1,108 |
| Age groups | | |
| 5-24 | 11.3 | 1,011 |
| 5-34 | 8.7 | 3,491 |
| 35-44 | 9.5 | 2,936 |
| 5-59 | 10.3 | 2,857 |
| ducation | | |
| None/primary incomplete | 14.4 | 2,649 |
| Primary, first level | 9.2 | 5,056 |
| Primary, second level | 8.1 | 805 |
| ligh school and higher | 6.0 | 1,785 |
| Wealth level | | |
| .ow | 12.9 | 4,004 |
| Medium | 9.3 | 4,393 |
| ligh | 5.0 | 1,898 |
| urkey | 9.7 | 10,295 |

Physical or sexual violence and general health

In the research, women were asked to evaluate their own general health status and health status in the last 4 weeks. The information regarding health status was obtained before the women were asked questions about the violence they experienced. The answers given by women about their health status have been analyzed according to whether they have experienced physical or sexual violence from their intimate partner(s).

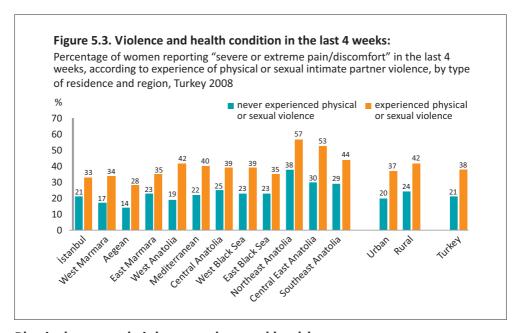
In Turkey, reporting the helath status as "poor or very poor" is twice as high for women who have experienced physical or sexual violence in their lifetime compared to those who have never experienced violence (Figure 5.2). The relative difference in reporting on general health status is similar among women living in urban and rural areas. Women living in Northeast Anatolia, Central East Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia are more likely to make negative evaluations of their general health status, compared to women living in other regions.



Along the same lines, when evaluating the answers on the health status in the last 4 weeks, it is seen that the answers of women vary according to whether they have experienced physical or sexual violence in their lifetime (Figure 5.3). In Turkey, while 38 percent of women who experienced intimate partner physical or sexual violence in their lifetime, reported to feel "very much or extreme pain/discomfort", the proportion is only 21 percent among the women who never experienced violence. When considering type of residence and region similar patterns are observed as for general health condition. More than half of the women living in Northeast Anatolia and Central East Anatolia (57)

percent and 53 percent respectively) evaluated their health status in the last 4 weeks as negative.

When evaluating the violence and health conditions of women according to background characteristics, it is observed that women who have experienced lifetime violence by their intimate partner(s) are more likely to report negatively when asked about their health status as compared to women who did not experience such violence (see Annex Table 5.1). This variation is more evident among women in younger age groups, women with high school and higher education and women living in households with high wealth level.



Physical or sexual violence and mental health

Women were asked about questions that could provide information about their mental health for the last 4 weeks prior to the date of interview. Within this context, information on the mental problems women have faced for the last 4 weeks and they were also asked about suicidal thoughts and attempts.

When analyzing the answers, it is seen that women who experienced lifetime physical or sexual partner violence were more likely to report symptoms related to mental problems compared to women who had not experienced violence (Table 5.4). For example, while 36 percent of women who had not experienced violence reported to feel unhappy in the last 4 weeks, this is reported by 61 percent of women who had experienced violence.

Another indication that mental problems are more prevalent among women who experienced physical or sexual partner violence, can be seen from the results of the analysis of answers given to questions related to suicidal thoughts.

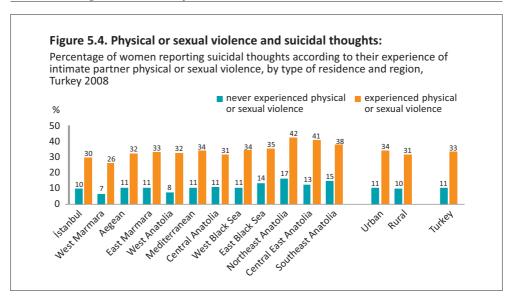
In Turkey, the proportion of the women who ever thought of ending their lives is 3 times higher among women who experienced physical or sexual partner violence when compared to women who never experienced such violence (Figure 5.4). Four out of 10 women living in the Northeast Anatolia, Central East Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia regions who experienced physical or sexual partner violence stated that they had ever thought about ending their life.

Table 5.4. Physical or sexual violence and symptoms of emotional distress experienced in the last 4 weeks

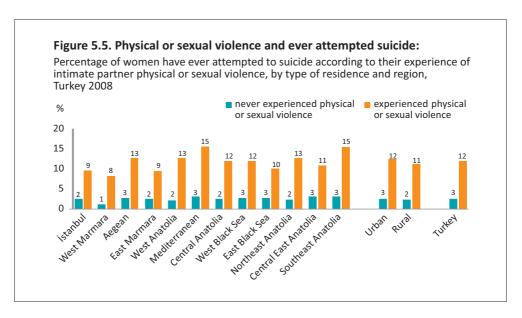
Percentage of women experienced symptoms of emotional distress in the last 4 weeks according to their experience of lifetime intimate partner physical or sexual violence, Turkey 2008

| Complaints during the last 4 weeks: | Experienced physical or sexual violence | Not Experienced physical or sexual violence |
|--|--|---|
| Frequent headaches | 36.4 | 24.7 |
| Poor appetite | 58.0 | 43.4 |
| Problems with sleeping | 48.4 | 34.2 |
| Frightened easily | 33.6 | 22.3 |
| Hands shaking | 36.5 | 21.9 |
| Feeling nervous, tense or worried | 73.3 | 56.0 |
| Poor digestion | 38.0 | 26.5 |
| Trouble thinking clearly | 54.8 | 34.9 |
| Feel unhappy | 60.8 | 35.6 |
| Cry for small things | 43.3 | 23.6 |
| Troubles to enjoy daily activities | 59.3 | 44.3 |
| Difficulty in decision making | 46.8 | 29.5 |
| Troubles in doing daily activities | 55.5 | 44.8 |
| Thought of not playing a useful part in life | 38.2 | 20.6 |
| Lost interest in enjoying things | 46.7 | 27.0 |
| Feeling worthless | 41.8 | 18.4 |
| Thought of ending life | 13.3 | 3.7 |
| Feeling tired all the time | 77.2 | 60.0 |
| Uncomfortable feeling in stomach | 48.9 | 35.0 |
| Tired easily | 74.1 | 56.7 |

Note: Percentages that were calculated separately for each complaints are based on 10.798 ever-married women.



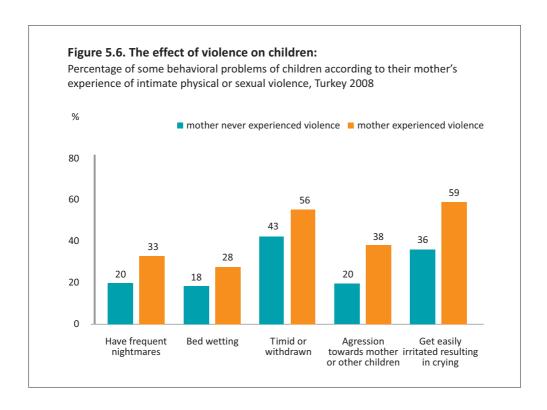
The prevalence of attempts to end their own lives among women who experienced violence is 4 times higher than among those who had not experienced violence (Figure 5.5). The percentage of those who attempted to end their lives among women living in the Mediterranean and Southeast Anatolia regions and who experienced physical or sexual violence is 15.4 and 14.7 percent, respectively, while it is 9 and 8 percent for those living in Istanbul and Western Marmara regions.



The effects of violence on children

Women who had at least one school age child (between 6-14 ages) were asked whether any of those children were displaying behavioural disorders. The questions asked in relation to the behaviour of the child, were asked before the questions related to domestic violence experienced from intimate partner(s) so as to reduce risk of bias.

In Figure 5.6, the nationwide proportion of some behavioral problems of children is given according to the experience of physical or sexual violence. The figure shows that behavioral problems are more prevalent among the children of women who have experienced violence than among those whose mothers have not experienced violence. For example, the behaviour of 'being aggressive towards the mother or other children' is seen among children of 4 out of 10 women who have experienced violence. However, this proportion decreases by half among children of women who have not experienced violence.



Discussion

In the National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey, the questions related to the health conditions of the women and the behavioral problems of their children between the ages 6-14, were asked before the questions related the domestic violence experienced by intimate partner(s). The aim of this order in the questionnaire is to prevent the bias in the answers given by the women.

The study revealed that violence experienced from intimate partner(s) has direct and indirect negative effects on the health of women from various aspects. Since it is a cross sectional study, except for injuries, it is not possible to determine whether experiencing violence is the direct reason of experiencing certain health problems. Nevertheless, when the results of the study are considered, it is seen that there may be a strong relation between experience of violence and symptoms of some physical and mental health problems. When analyzing the findings according to type of residence and background characteristics, consistent results that support the presence of such kind of relationship are revealed. Regardless of the type of residence and background characteristics of women, reporting negative physical and mental health status among women who have experienced violence is nearly 2 or 3 times more prevalent than among women have not experienced violence. Likewise, some behavioural problems among children between the ages 6-14 whose mothers experienced violence are more prevalent compared to children of mothers who had not experienced violence. This result of the study coincides with the results obtained in studies of similar quality conducted in different countries (WHO, 2005).

Chapter 6

Coping with Domestic Violence against Women

Banu AKADLI ERGÖÇMEN, Sunday ÜNER, Ayşe ABBASOĞLU, Ceren GÖKÇEN

It is important to know causes of domestic violence from the women's perspective and how abused women cope with this violence, with whom they share and tell about the violence, and where they apply for help as a result of violence. In Turkey not much is known about how women respond to violence, how they obtain help from their immediate social network, health services and other services. Therefore, within the scope of the research, women who reported physical or sexual partner violence were also asked questions to find out how they respond to domestic violence.

In the first part of this chapter, the causes of the violence against women from the women's perspective are presented. In the remainder of this chapter strategies and services that women use to deal with violence are presented. In this chapter following topics are covered: the reasons of violence against women, the ways how women share the violence they experience with their close social network, whether they report the violence or not to an institution and from which official institutions and NGO's they seek help are presented. Additionally the reactions of women to the violence they experience, the results of these reactions, and the methods of coping are discussed.

Causes of violence from women's perspective

The causes of domestic violence against women are multi-factorial. In this section, opinions on the reasons of violence experienced by women will be discussed from women's perspective only.

Women who reported physical violence by husband or partner were asked about the causes of violence. The most common reason among the responses is "problems with husband's/partner's family", which was reported by 32 percent of the women as the reason for the violence they experienced. This is followed by "economic problems/difficulties" (22 percent) which consists of the monetary problems, problems at men's work, husbands' unemployment, and insufficient food at home. Another category that follows is "reasons related to man" (21 percent) which consists of 'man is nervous', 'man is jealous of woman', 'man is suspicious of women's unfaithfulness', 'man wants to separate', 'man spends time out of home', 'man is irresponsible' and 'man has another wife'.

The proportions of women who said that their husband or partner's violence was due to "problems related to the woman" and "problems related to the children " were 18 percent and 13 percent, respectively. "Problems related to the woman" which includes the responses of refusing sex, being disobedient, being jealous of the man, holding back housework and woman blaming herself, are mostly valid in the situations where woman feels responsible for the violence. "Man's bad habits" cover man's alcohol usage, gambling, and betrayal, which are reported by 9 percent of women as the reasons of the violence perpetrated by their husbands.

"Reasons related to the man" and "man's bad habits" are stated more commonly as the reasons of violence by women in urban than the women in rural settlements. On the other hand, "problems related to the children" as the reason of violence are more commonly reported in rural settlements than in urban. "Problem with the man's family" is reported as the leading reason of violence in every region except the Aegean region. In the Aegean region, "reasons related to man" is reported as the most common reason (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1. The reasons of physical violence experienced from women's perspective-1Percentage of women reporting physical violence by husband or partner by reasons of violence according to themselves, and by region and type of residence, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | Econ. prob./ difficulties | Prob. with his family | Man's bad habits | related to | Reasons related to the woman | | | No particular reason | Don't know/ don't remember | Other | Number women experience physica violence |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------|------------------------------------|-----|------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------|--|
| Residence | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 21.1 | 31.2 | 10.4 | 23.1 | 17.5 | 3.0 | 11.0 | 9.3 | 0.9 | 11.1 | 3,279 |
| Rural | 23.4 | 33.0 | 6.8 | 16.7 | 20.4 | 2.2 | 16.7 | 8.2 | 1.9 | 11.8 | 1,273 |
| Region | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 20.7 | 30.4 | 9.7 | 21.3 | 15.4 | 2.5 | 8.7 | 11.5 | 0.0 | 8.1 | 259 |
| West Marmara | 21.4 | 36.1 | 10.8 | 23.7 | 18.6 | 3.2 | 14.2 | 8.5 | 1.0 | 9.8 | 210 |
| Aegean | 22.0 | 26.2 | 11.2 | 29.9 | 19.4 | 2.7 | 9.3 | 4.3 | 0.8 | 11.3 | 285 |
| East Marmara | 18.3 | 26.7 | 9.5 | 20.7 | 21.8 | 2.5 | 13.5 | 9.0 | 1.8 | 13.4 | 312 |
| West Anatolia | 26.2 | 37.1 | 12.4 | 25.3 | 15.4 | 3.5 | 10.4 | 6.3 | 0.5 | 10.4 | 418 |
| Mediterranean | 26.8 | 27.3 | 10.7 | 19.9 | 20.5 | 3.0 | 13.7 | 11.4 | 1.4 | 9.0 | 405 |
| Central Anatolia | 21.4 | 37.9 | 8.4 | 20.1 | 15.2 | 3.1 | 14.6 | 10.9 | 1.7 | 15.8 | 439 |
| West Black Sea | 20.1 | 40.7 | 12.0 | 17.3 | 17.1 | 1.9 | 10.8 | 4.3 | 1.7 | 13.3 | 329 |
| East Black Sea | 21.6 | 28.0 | 5.8 | 17.4 | 20.6 | 2.2 | 17.9 | 5.6 | 0.4 | 14.2 | 322 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 18.4 | 39.7 | 5.2 | 19.9 | 21.7 | 4.6 | 17.2 | 9.8 | 2.6 | 10.1 | 526 |
| Central East Anatolia | a 16.1 | 31.5 | 3.3 | 15.4 | 21.2 | 2.9 | 22.3 | 13.3 | 2.3 | 14.2 | 474 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 19.5 | 32.2 | 5.4 | 17.1 | 19.3 | 2.0 | 15.6 | 10.3 | 2.1 | 13.8 | 573 |
| Turkey | 21.7 | 31.7 | 9.4 | 21.4 | 18.3 | 2.8 | 12.6 | 9.0 | 1.1 | 11.3 | 4,552 |

Note: Percentages based on ever-married women reporting physical partner violence.

Categories have been calculated independent from each other; therefore their summation may exceed 100.

Economic troubles/difficulties: Money problems, problems at man's work, man is unemployed, insufficient food at home

Man's bad habits: man drinking, gambling, having an affair

Reasons related to the man: Man is jealous of her, man is suspicious of her unfaithfulness, man is nervous, man wants to separate, man spends time out of home, man is irresponsible, man has another wife

Reasons related to the woman: She refuses sex, she is disobedient, she is jealous of him, she holds back house work, she blames herself Other: Other reasons such as she is pregnant, house is crowded, because of both sides' families

 $^{^{\}rm 14}\,\rm This$ category also includes infertility of the women or not giving birth to a boy

Analyzing the reasons of violence reported by women according to women's background characteristics shows that "problem with the man's family", which is the most commonly cited reason at national level, is reported less as the woman's educational level increases. As expected, percentage of women reporting "economic problems/difficulties" diminishes when educational and wealth level increases. Reporting "man's bad habits", as a reason of violence, is relatively low among young women in comparison with older women. Similarly, "problems related to children", as a reason of violence, is reported more frequently among older age-groups. It is expected that problems related to children" are more commonly reported among women at older age groups since total number of children women have increases with age. In lower wealth groups "problems related to children" is reported more commonly indicating the relatively higher number of children in this group, as well as the economic reasons that may play a role as the reason violence (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2. The reasons of physical violence experienced from women's perspective-2Percentage of women reporting physical violence by husband or partner by reasons of violence according to themselves, and by age, educational and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | | with his | bad | | Reasons related to the woman | | Prob. related to the children | No particular reason | Don't know/ don't remember | Other | Numbe wome experier physic violen |
|-------------------------------|------|----------|------|------|------------------------------------|-----|--|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------|---|
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 15.7 | 31.5 | 3.5 | 27.3 | 25.3 | 4.5 | 7.5 | 9.2 | 1.6 | 13.8 | 454 |
| 25-34 | 20.7 | 32.0 | 6.8 | 22.1 | 19.8 | 3.0 | 12.3 | 9.4 | 1.2 | 10.9 | 1,44 |
| 35-44 | 27.1 | 33.1 | 10.8 | 18.3 | 14.6 | 2.4 | 13.0 | 7.6 | 1.3 | 11.7 | 1,26 |
| 45-59 | 20.8 | 30.3 | 13.1 | 20.9 | 17.1 | 2.1 | 14.5 | 9.7 | 0.8 | 10.2 | 1,39 |
| Education | | | | | | | | | | | |
| None/Primary | 24.2 | 31.7 | 8.0 | 16.2 | 18.4 | 1.9 | 15.4 | 10.6 | 2.0 | 9.9 | 1,45 |
| incomplete | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Primary, | 22.5 | 33.9 | 10.1 | 19.4 | 18.6 | 2.6 | 12.5 | 8.2 | 1.0 | 10.0 | 2,22 |
| first level | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Primary, second level | 18.8 | 29.1 | 8.5 | 33.3 | 18.8 | 5.0 | 9.0 | 7.2 | 0.6 | 12.5 | 33 |
| High school and higher | 15.5 | 24.9 | 10.6 | 31.9 | 16.9 | 3.8 | 9.1 | 9.6 | 0.3 | 17.9 | 53 |
| Wealth Level | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lower | 25.8 | 32.5 | 9.4 | 18.1 | 18.2 | 2.9 | 13.7 | 8.7 | 1.4 | 10.9 | 2,07 |
| Middle | 20.2 | 31.0 | 9.0 | 22.5 | 17.8 | 2.5 | 12.6 | 9.2 | 1.1 | 10.7 | 1,91 |
| Higher | 14.5 | 31.0 | 10.7 | 27.3 | 19.9 | 3.3 | 9.5 | 9.3 | 0.4 | 13.7 | 57 |
| Turkey | 21.7 | 31.7 | 9.4 | 21.4 | 18.3 | 2.8 | 12.6 | 9.0 | 1.1 | 11.3 | 4,55 |

Note: Percentages based on ever-married women reporting physical partner violence.

 ${\it Categories have been calculated independent from each other; therefore their summation may exceed 100.} \\$

Economic troubles/difficulties: Money problems, problems at man's work, man is unemployed, insufficient food at home Man's bad habits: Man drinking, gambling, having an affair

Reasons related to the man: Man is jealous of her, man is suspicious of her unfaithfulness, man is nervous, man wants to separate, man spends time out of home, man is irresponsible, man has another wife

Reasons related to the woman: She refuses sex, she is disobedient, she is jealous of him, she holds back house work, she blames herself Other: Other reasons such as she is pregnant, house is crowded, because of both sides' families

Strategies and services that women use to deal with violence Sharing the violence experienced with close social network

In the survey, women were asked with whom they share the experiences of violence from their close social network and who offered to help among this network. In Turkey, 49 percent of women who have experienced physical or sexual violence by their husband or partner(s) reported that they had not told anybody about the violence they experienced. In other words; almost half of the women who have experienced violence, revealed violence they experienced for the first time to the interviewers during the survey (Table 6.3).

Among abused women, 34 percent of the women told their immediate families about the violence. While 22 percent of the women shared the violence they have experienced with their friends or neighbors, 12 percent of the women shared the violence with man's family.

Table 6.3 Sharing the violence experienced

Percentage of women who told about physical or sexual partner violence by to whom they told, and by region and type of residence, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | Told nobody | Told own family | Told man's family | Told friend/ neighbor | No. of women ever physically or sexually abused by a partner |
|-------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Type of residence | | | | | |
| Urban | 45.3 | 36.0 | 12.1 | 24.4 | 3,516 |
| Rural | 56.9 | 28.7 | 10.0 | 16.7 | 1,365 |
| Region | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 46.0 | 33.3 | 13.6 | 23.8 | 270 |
| West Marmara | 50.1 | 38.6 | 9.5 | 19.7 | 223 |
| Aegean | 43.2 | 37.6 | 11.0 | 26.6 | 311 |
| East Marmara | 47.0 | 38.2 | 11.1 | 23.8 | 330 |
| West Anatolia | 42.7 | 37.0 | 13.4 | 26.9 | 436 |
| Mediterranean | 45.7 | 33.3 | 12.5 | 22.8 | 426 |
| Central Anatolia | 55.8 | 30.3 | 8.5 | 19.2 | 467 |
| West Black Sea | 52.8 | 28.8 | 10.5 | 20.6 | 356 |
| East Black Sea | 50.2 | 38.0 | 14.5 | 21.7 | 369 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 54.8 | 31.2 | 11.8 | 16.5 | 564 |
| Central East Anatolia | 60.7 | 26.1 | 9.3 | 13.8 | 517 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 55.1 | 31.7 | 8.3 | 17.1 | 612 |
| Turkey | 48.5 | 34.0 | 11.5 | 22.3 | 4,881 |

Note: Percentages based on ever-married women reporting physical or sexual partner violence.

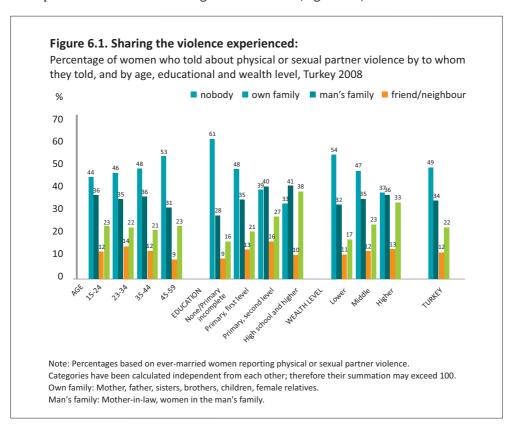
Categories have been calculated independent from each other; therefore their summation may exceed 100.

Own family: Mother, father, sisters, brothers, children, female relatives.

Man's family: Mother-in-law, women in the man's family.

Among the women living in urban settlements, the proportion of sharing violence they experienced with someone is higher than among women living rural settlements (55 percent and 43 percent respectively). At the regional level, in the Central East Anatolia region, at least 6 out of 10 women who experienced physical or sexual violence by their husband or partner(s) did not share the violence they experienced with anybody (Table 6.3).

Sharing their experiences of violence varies according to the age of the women. Young women (between 15-24 ages) are more likely to tell about the violence experienced, whereas sharing is less common among older women. Sharing about the violence with the persons in the immediate social network also varies with education level. When the educational level is high hiding violence is relatively low. While 61 percent of women with no education/who have not completed primary school did not tell anybody about the violence they have experienced, 33 percent of women with high school or higher level education shared the violence at least with one person. When the wealth level is high, telling about violence to persons in the immediate social network appears also relatively more common. For instance, while 17 percent of the women in lower wealth level share the violence experienced with their friends or neighbors, this proportion rises to 33 percent for the women in higher wealth level (Figure 6.1).



Among women who have experienced physical or sexual violence, 55 percent reported that no one among the people who had witnessed the violence or knew about it had actually helped them. 17 percent of the women reporting physical or sexual violence by partner were offered help by their own families. The proportion of women receiving offers of help from their own families is higher among the women living in urban settlements than among those living in rural areas (respectively 18 percent and 14 percent).

Table 6.4 Persons from immediate social network who offered help in relation to the violence experienced

Percentage of women reporting physical or sexual violence by husband or partner, by persons who knew of the violence and offered help, and by region, type of residence and background characteristics, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | Nobody | Own family | Man's family | Friend/ neighbor | No. of women eve physically or sexually abused by a partner |
|-------------------------------|--------|---------------|-----------------|---------------------|--|
| Type of residence | | | | | |
| Urban | 53.4 | 18.0 | 7.4 | 9.5 | 3,516 |
| Rural | 59.2 | 13.5 | 7.3 | 5.0 | 1,365 |
| Region | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 57.1 | 14.5 | 5.4 | 6.6 | 270 |
| West Marmara | 61.0 | 18.2 | 4.3 | 4.6 | 223 |
| Aegean | 48.0 | 19.2 | 7.3 | 12.1 | 311 |
| East Marmara | 58.4 | 17.2 | 6.2 | 7.5 | 330 |
| West Anatolia | 49.7 | 20.6 | 9.1 | 13.5 | 436 |
| Mediterranean | 48.6 | 18.7 | 6.3 | 10.7 | 426 |
| Central Anatolia | 54.5 | 14.2 | 10.1 | 8.3 | 467 |
| West Black Sea | 70.3 | 13.2 | 7.4 | 6.8 | 356 |
| East Black Sea | 59.3 | 17.1 | 11.5 | 6.2 | 369 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 55.7 | 14.8 | 11.7 | 4.7 | 564 |
| Central East Anatolia | 58.2 | 12.7 | 8.5 | 4.7 | 517 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 56.2 | 16.9 | 7.7 | 4.3 | 612 |
| Age | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 44.1 | 20.0 | 8.6 | 12.4 | 503 |
| 25-34 | 53.9 | 16.7 | 10.1 | 8.6 | 1,554 |
| 35-44 | 56.6 | 17.7 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 1,346 |
| 45-59 | 59.4 | 14.7 | 5.3 | 7.9 | 1,478 |
| Education | | | | | |
| None/Primary incomplete | 63.0 | 11.8 | 5.1 | 4.8 | 1,559 |
| Primary, first level | 55.1 | 17.1 | 8.5 | 6.5 | 2,372 |
| Primary, second level | 44.1 | 22.9 | 9.6 | 12.3 | 362 |
| High school and higher | 45.4 | 21.7 | 6.9 | 19.1 | 588 |
| Wealth Level | | | | | |
| Lower | 58.4 | 15.5 | 6.5 | 5.7 | 2,210 |
| Middle | 53.3 | 17.0 | 8.3 | 8.6 | 2,049 |
| Higher | 50.3 | 19.5 | 7.4 | 14.5 | 622 |
| Turkey | 55.0 | 16.8 | 7.4 | 8.3 | 4,881 |

 ${\bf Note: Percentages\ based\ on\ ever-married\ women\ reporting\ physical\ or\ sexual\ partner\ violence.}$

Categories have been calculated independent from each other; therefore their summation may exceed 100.

Own family: Mother, father, sisters, brothers, children, female relatives.

Man's family: Mother-in-law, women in the man's family.

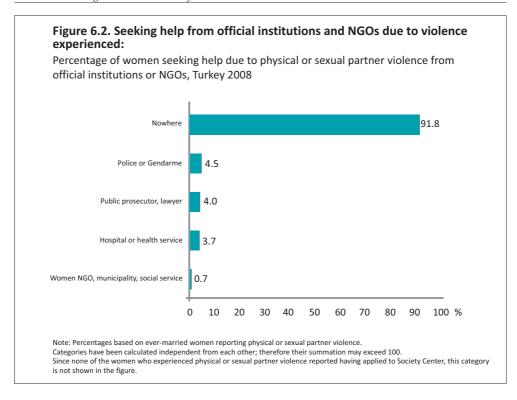
At the regional level, an interesting finding is that, women reporting physical or sexual partner violence in the West Black Sea Region are most likely left alone to cope with the violence. As a matter of fact 7 out of 10 of these women have not been supported by anyone (Table 6.4). On the other hand, in the Northeast Anatolia, East Black Sea, and Central Anatolia, the proportion of abused women who were offered help by the man's family is higher than in other regions.

It is observed that, as educational level of women who have experienced physical or sexual violence increases the proportion of receiving offers of help from their families also increases. Similarly, the share of women reporting physical or sexual violence who were offered help from their friends and neighbors also increases with the rise in the educational level. For every 5 women who have experienced violence, with at least high school education, one has been offered help by their neighbors or friends. This proportion is 5 percent among uneducated women. The tendency for women to be supported against the violence by their friends or neighbors increases as wealth level increases (Table 6.4).

Seeking help from official institutions and NGOs due to violence experienced

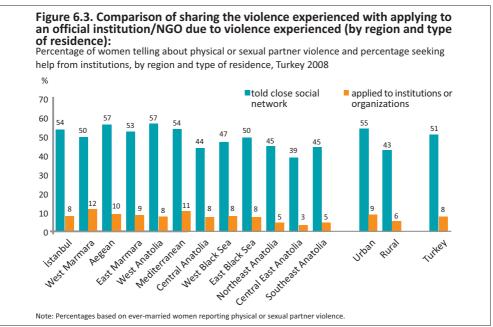
Women who reported physical or sexual partner violence were asked whether, as a result of violence, they have applied to (sought help from) police, gendarmerie, hospital or health institution, public prosecutor, lawyer, women's organization, municipality, the Social Services and Child Protection Institution, Society Center and/or other official institutions or NGOs. The proportion of women seeking help from institutions is very low. A great majority (92 percent) of women, who have experienced physical or sexual violence, has never applied to any of these institutions/persons. (Figure 6.2)

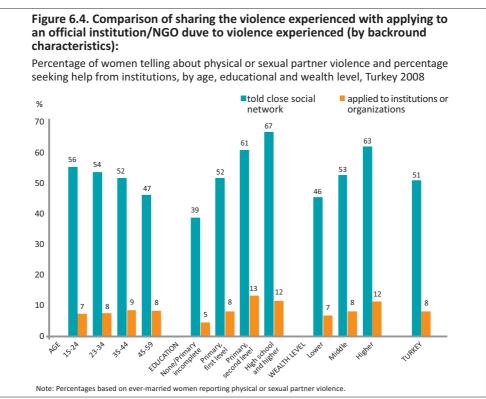
Considering the fact that the proportion of applying to the institutions/organisations is very low, the percentage of women reporting physical or sexual violence, who had applied related institutions/persons at least once, is high among women living in urban settlements when compared to rural areas. The proportion of seeking help from police is generally higher than applying to other institutions/ organisations/persons. Overall, women have applied most commonly to police (4 percent). This proportion is followed by applying to hospitals or health institutions (4 percent). The proportion of women who applied to lawyers or public prosecutors increases as educational and wealth level increases. (Annex Table 6.1).



In the case of partner violence, women are more likely to share the violence experienced with their family, friends and/or neighbors rather than applying to official institutions or NGOs. This is true for women in every region, type of residence, for women of all age groups, educational and wealth levels. While more than half (52 percent) of the women reporting physical or sexual violence share the violence with their close social network, only 8 percent of them applied to official institutions or NGOs (Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.4). Even in the urban settlements where women talk more about the violence and make more applications to official and nongovernmental institutions/persons when compared to rural areas, there is a substantial difference between sharing their experiences of violence with their social network (55 percent) and seeking for official help (9 percent) (Figure 6.3).

Although women who have experienced physical or sexual violence rarely applied to official institutions or NGOs, more than half of the women who had applied to "hospital and other health institution" or "public prosecutor" or "lawyer" for legal support reported that they were satisfied with the service they received (70 percent, 67 percent and 64 percent, respectively). On the other hand, 41 percent of the women who had applied to police reported to have been satisfied with the service they received (Annex Table 6.2).





Among the reasons for asking help from an official institution or NGO due to physical or sexual violence, the most frequently mentioned reason was that they could not endure the violence they were experiencing any longer (41 percent). This is followed by wanting to get legal support (probably for getting divorced or being protected from violence) and being injured badly and fear of being killed (29 percent, 25 percent and 18 percent, respectively). Fear of being killed includes the following acts: man threatening or attempting to kill the women, the woman fears that the man will kill her and the woman fears that the man's family will kill her. Among the reasons for seeking help, not being able to endure violence anymore and being injured badly implicitly indicate that these women have experienced severe violence.

A majority (64 percent) of the women who reported that they had not applied to or sought help from any institution as a result of violence, stated that the violence they had experienced was not a serious problem. Among other reasons for not applying to official institutions the most frequently mentioned ones were "afraid of being blamed" (16 percent), "loved/forgave the partner" (11 percent) and "reasons related to the children" (11 percent) (Table 6.5). Among these reasons, "afraid of being blamed" consists of being afraid that it would bring bad name to the family, being embarrassed/ ashamed/ afraid they would be blamed and being ashamed to tell. "Reasons related to children" includes woman's fear that the children will be unhappy, fear of losing her children, and man threatening the children. 6.9 percent of women did not seek help because they did not know where they could apply to, 4 percent of women did not seek help because they didn't believe that they would receive help (Annex Table 6.3, Annex Table 6.4).

Table 6.5 Most common reasons cited for seeking help and not seeking help from an institution/a person due to violence experienced

Reasons cited for seeking and not seeking help, among women who reported physical or sexual violence and who either had or had not sought help from at least one institution or agency due to husband or partner violence, Turkey 2008

| Most commonly mentioned reasons for seeking help | Percent |
|--|---------|
| Could not endure more | 41.0 |
| To receive legal support | 29.0 |
| Badly injured | 24.8 |
| Afraid would be killed | 18.1 |
| Most commonly mentioned reasons for not seeking help | |
| No serious problem | 64.4 |
| Afraid would be blamed | 16.1 |
| Loved/forgave partner | 11.1 |
| Reasons related to the children | 10.9 |

Note: Percentages based on ever-married women reporting physical or sexual partner violence.

Categories have been calculated independent from each other; therefore their summation may exceed 100.

Afraid would be killed: He threatened or tried to kill her, afraid he would kill her, afraid his family would kill her.

Afraid would be blamed: Embarrassed/ashamed/afraid would be blamed, afraid would bring bad name to the family, ashamed to tell Reasons related to the children: Afraid her children would be unhappy, afraid would lose children, man threatened children

Fighting back

In Turkey, 31 percent of women who have experienced physical violence by their intimate partners reported that they had ever fought back against physical violence with the intention of protecting themselves. While this proportion is 23 in rural settlements, it is 34 percent in urban. The proportion of women who ever fought back is higher among those women who have experienced severe violence compared to those who experienced moderate physical violence (37 percent and 31 percent respectively). Regarding the regions, proportion of fighting back physically against violence is found to be relatively low among women living in regions where physical violence is prevalent (Table 6.6).

Among physically abused women 21 percent who have no education or have not completed primary school fought back against physical violence in order to protect themselves, however this proportion rises to 47 percent for women with high school education or above. The findings show that when severe violence is considered, 61 percent of women reporting physical partner violence with high school or higher education fought back at least once against physical violence. Fighting back in case of physical violence varies according to wealth level. While one fourth of women in the lower wealth level fight back against physical violence, this proportion increases to 41 percent for women in the higher wealth levels and further reaches to 53 percent in cases of severe violence. Physical response to physical violence varies also by age of women. Young women are more likely to fight back than older women (Table 6.6).

Among women who fought back, 42 percent reported that violence had worsened as a result of fighting back. On the other hand 28 percent stated fighting back had stopped violence for that moment (Annex Table 6.5).

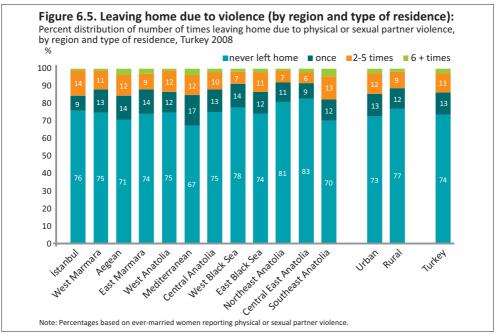
Table 6.6 Fighting back physically to protect herself against physical violence experienced

Percentage of ever physically abused women who ever fought back to protect themselves against partner violence, by region, type of residence, age, educational and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| | pa | rtner | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|---|------------------------|---|------------------------|---|--|--|
| Background characteristics | Ever fought back | No. of women reporting physical violence | Ever fought back | No. of women reporting moderate physical violence | Ever fought back | No. of women reporting severe physical violence | | |
| Residence | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 33.7 | 3,279 | 33.7 | 3,240 | 40.9 | 1,508 | | |
| Rural | 22.9 | 1,273 | 22.8 | 1,256 | 28.6 | 631 | | |
| Region | | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 35.5 | 259 | 35.9 | 257 | 40.6 | 103 | | |
| West Marmara | 29.3 | 210 | 29.3 | 210 | 38.1 | 93 | | |
| Aegean | 35.5 | 285 | 34.8 | 282 | 41.0 | 127 | | |
| East Marmara | 28.3 | 312 | 27.9 | 309 | 38.0 | 124 | | |
| West Anatolia | 31.9 | 418 | 31.8 | 414 | 42.3 | 196 | | |
| Mediterranean | 38.6 | 405 | 39.1 | 392 | 44.8 | 222 | | |
| Central Anatolia | 24.3 | 439 | 24.6 | 428 | 30.0 | 232 | | |
| West Black Sea | 26.5 | 329 | 26.8 | 326 | 34.2 | 136 | | |
| East Black Sea | 34.1 | 322 | 34.2 | 321 | 49.5 | 105 | | |
| Northeast Anatolia | 17.9 | 526 | 18.0 | 522 | 22.2 | 277 | | |
| Central East Anatolia | 19.2 | 474 | 19.2 | 463 | 25.6 | 237 | | |
| Southeast Anatolia | 21.9 | 573 | 21.7 | 572 | 25.0 | 287 | | |
| Age | | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 36.0 | 454 | 36.3 | 451 | 40.4 | 175 | | |
| 25-34 | 35.8 | 1,443 | 35.9 | 1,423 | 41.5 | 613 | | |
| 35-44 | 28.0 | 1,265 | 28.1 | 1,245 | 34.5 | 602 | | |
| 45-59 | 26.2 | 1,390 | 26.0 | 1,377 | 35.3 | 749 | | |
| Education | | | | | | | | |
| None/Primary incomplete | 20.8 | 1,458 | 20.8 | 1,441 | 26.3 | 788 | | |
| Primary, first level | 30.1 | 2,229 | 30.1 | 2,199 | 37.4 | 1,020 | | |
| Primary, second level | 41.3 | 331 | 41.6 | 329 | 48.9 | 129 | | |
| High school and higher Wealth Level | 46.9 | 534 | 47.1 | 527 | 60.7 | 202 | | |
| Lower | 24.8 | 2,070 | 24.7 | 2,043 | 29.9 | 1,108 | | |
| Middle | 33.1 | 1,911 | 33.1 | 1,888 | 41.1 | 816 | | |
| Higher | 40.9 | 571 | 41.1 | 565 | 53.2 | 215 | | |
| Turkey | 30.7 | 4,552 | 30.7 | 4,496 | 37.3 | 2,139 | | |

Leaving Home Due To Violence

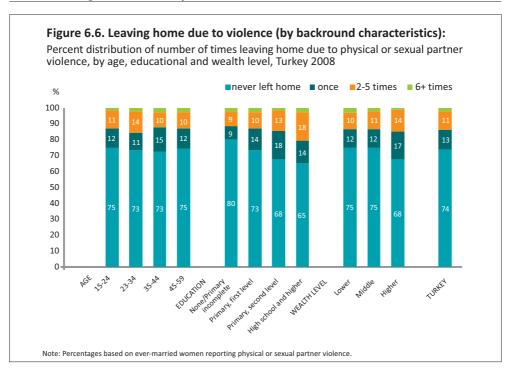
Being exposed to physical or sexual violence causes women sometimes to leave their home. 26 percent of women who experienced physical or sexual violence by their husband or partner(s) had left their homes at least once, for at least one night due to violence. While 13 percent of the women who have left their home only once, 11 percent stated they left their home 2-5 times. Women who had left their home due to violence have generally left only once (Figure 6.5).



Analysis according to regions and type of residence show that it is more prevalent among women living in urban areas to have left their home at least once due to violence than it is for women in rural settlements (27 percent and 23 percent respectively). The lowest proportions of women leaving home due to violence are observed in Central East Anatolia (17 percent), and Northeast Anatolia (19 percent) (Figure 6.5).

Incidents of leaving home because of violence also differ according to educational level of the women. 20 percent of abused women who have no education or have not completed primary education left their homes because of violence. This proportion increases to 35 percent among women with high school or higher education (Figure 6.6).

Most women who had left their homes because of physical or sexual violence went first to their own families (81 percent). Some women went to their relatives (7 percent), friends (4 percent) or husband/partner's family/relatives (4 percent) (Annex Table 6.6).



Women who had left their home at least once reported "not being able to endure more" as the most common reason (56 percent), followed by the reason "being beaten/hit/slapped by the husband or partner severely" (10 percent). One out of 10 women who had left their home at least once had been forced to leave as a result being thrown out of the home. Furthermore, "problems with the man's family", which covers perpetrating or attempting to perpetrate violence against women, is among the commonly mentioned reasons (8 percent) (Table 6.7).

Table 6.7 Most commonly cited reasons for leaving home due to violenceMost commonly cited reasons for leaving home (the last time), among ever physically or sexually abused women who had left at least once because of partner violence, Turkey 2008

| | Percent |
|--|---------|
| Most commonly cited reasons for leaving home | |
| Could not endure more | 55.7 |
| Violence/being beaten/slapped | 10.3 |
| Thrown out of home | 10.3 |
| Problems with the man's family | 7.7 |

Note: Percentages based on ever-married women who had left home at least once because of physical or sexual partner violence Categories have been calculated independent from each other; therefore their summation may exceed 100.

For the women who have left their home due to physical or sexual violence, the reason for returning in more than half of the cases was related to their children (52 percent). "Reasons related to the children" includes women's fear that her children would be unhappy, fear of losing her children, children wanting her to return and men threatening the children. This is followed by "partner asked her to come back" (30 percent) and "loved/forgave partner/thought he would change" (28 percent). 18 percent of women who left their home due to physical or sexual partner violence reported to have returned home because either her own family or husband/partner's family asked her to return (Table 6.8).

Table 6.8 Most commonly cited reasons for returning after leaving temporarily because of partner violence

Most commonly cited reasons for returning home, among ever physically or sexually abused women who had left and returned at least once because of partner violence, Turkey 2008

| | Percent |
|---|---------|
| Most commonly cited reasons for returning | |
| Reasons related to the children | 51.8 |
| Partner asked her to go back | 30.2 |
| Loved/forgave partner/thought he would change | 28.4 |
| Families said to return | 17.6 |

Note: Percentages based on ever-married women who had left home and returned at least once because of physical or sexual partner violence.

Categories have been calculated independent from each other; therefore their summation may exceed 100. Reasons related to the children: Afraid her children would be unhappy, afraid would lose children, children wanted (her) to go back, man threatened children

Loved/forgave partner/ thought he would change: Loved/forgave partner, thought partner would change Families said to return: Her own family said to return, partner's family asked her to return

A great proportion of women who have experienced physical or sexual violence, but whom never left their homes, stated that they did not leave their homes because it was not a serious problem (60 percent). In other words, 6 out of 10 women who have been exposed to physical or sexual violence by husband or partner(s) have not considered the violence they had experienced as a serious problem. "Reasons related to the children" (23 percent), and "loved/forgave partner/thought partner he would change" (16 percent) were among other reasons for not leaving home, and are similar to the reasons for returning home mentioned above. 7 percent of women who had never left home because of violence stated being embarrassed/ashamed/afraid to be blamed as the reasons for not leaving home (Table 6.9).

Table 6.9 Most commonly cited reasons for not leaving home due to violenceMost commonly cited reasons for staying among ever physically or sexually abused women who had never left temporarily because of partner violence, Turkey 2008

| | Percent |
|--|---------|
| Most commonly cited reasons for not leaving home | |
| There was no serious problem | 59.7 |
| Reasons related to the children | 23.0 |
| Loved/forgave partner/thought he would change | 16.3 |
| Embarrassed/ashamed/afraid would be blamed | 6.8 |

Note: Percentages based on ever-married women who had never left home because of physical or sexual partner violence. Categories have been calculated independent from each other; therefore their summation may exceed 100. Reasons related to the children: Afraid her children would be unhappy, afraid would lose children, man threatened children Loved/forgave partner/ thought he would change: Loved/forgave partner, thought partner would change

Women's Reactions to Violence

All women who were ever married or ever partnered, regardless of exposure of partner violence were asked how they would cope with the violence if they experienced violence today. Survey findings indicate that among ever-married women 27 percent reported that they would react verbally, 26 percent would leave their husband, and one fifth of women reported that they will keep silent against the violence.

Reactions of the women to a possible violence vary according to urban and rural settlements. Women who live in rural areas are more likely to prefer to stay silent, conciliate or do nothing. Women living in urban areas prefer to react verbally or physically, to apply to official institutions/NGOs, or to leave their husband. When analyzed according to regions, the types of reactions become similar to that of urban areas from the eastern to western regions. (Annex Table 6.10)

Considering women's educational and wealth levels it can be stated that women have the tendency to act more radical as educational level increases. This tendency is also observed as wealth level of the woman increases (Annex Table 6.10).

Discussion

In view of the fact that domestic violence against women is a multi-dimensional and complex situation, problems with the husband/partner's family and economic problems/difficulties appeared to be the most commonly cited causes of violence when women who had experienced violence by their husband or partner were asked about the reason for it. The causes of violence reported by women vary according to education level of the women. For instance, problems with the husband/partner's family were less commonly stated by highly educated women. It is noteworthy that causes that imply that women bear the responsibility of the violence such as 'refusing sex', 'being disobedient', etc. have been stated by some women. Women's attitudes against violence should be

taken into consideration in order to explain the prevalence of reasons related to women's behaviours. For example, 14 percent of women agreed that a man could beat his wife in some situations (see Chapter 4). Elimination of physical violence can be attained both by determining the causes of violence and altering the women's attitudes towards violence.

Women are left alone to cope with the violence and do not tell about it: Almost half of the women have not shared the physical or sexual violence they experienced with anyone. Women, who share their experiences of violence, share it initially with their families, relatives, or their close social network. Women cannot always get the required support from their families or they get it delayed. Young women and women with higher levels of education tell about the violence they experienced more commonly and are supported more by their families.

Although majority of women think that violence cannot be accepted, they do/may not seek help from official institutions or organizations that could help them. The most common reasons of this are that women do not consider the violence they experienced as a serious matter and they are afraid to be blamed. Women, men, and mothers/mothers-in-law interviewed in the qualitative part of the research stated that couples had experienced violence in their own families during their childhood (see Chapter 7). Hence, experiencing the violence in childhood, witnessing the father perpetrating violence against the mother at home causes them to perceive violence as normal.

Findings of the quantitative part of the research, retaining the qualitative findings, show that a great majority of women interviewed had not sought help from any official institutions/NGOs despite having been exposed to violence. Most of the women, who had not sought help, avoid applying to official networks since they accept violence as normal in their subconscious and disregard it.

In conclusion, women who have been exposed to violence lack both individual and institutional support. Women are left alone and desperate with the violence due to reasons such as not perceiving the violence as a serious problem, not wanting to leave their children, loving/forgiving partner or thinking he would change, obeying families' desire/effort for making them return home as a result of the society's dominant point of view that favors the continuation of the family and not being able to act as they are embarrassed/ashamed/afraid to be blamed.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: EXPERIENCES BEHIND THE NUMBERS

Chapter 7

Perceptions about violence against women: Qualitative research results

Filiz KARDAM, İlknur YÜKSEL

The qualitative research was conducted in Ankara, Mersin and Samsun provinces with the participation of 15 women who experienced intimate partner violence, 7 men who are the perpetrators of violence, 8 mothers/mothers-in-law, 7 NGO representatives, 7 imams, and 20 persons from various professional groups (See Chapter 2). Besides, in order to find out the points of view of men and persons from various professional groups on how and why violence is experienced, nine focus group meetings have been held.

In this chapter the qualitative data will be analyzed. Domestic violence will be assessed based on the information provided during in-depth interviews made with women who have experienced violence, men who are perpetrators of violence, and the mothers/mothers-in-law of women who experienced violence. The interviews conducted with person from various professional groups¹⁵, non-governmental organizations and imams who give medical, psychological and legal support to women who experienced to violence will be referenced. The arguments and suggestions of the professionals on this subject will also be discussed. The comments are made by means of the data of six focus group discussions conducted with groups of men, and of three focus group discussions conducted with journalists and professionals who give medical/psychological and legal support.

Two women who experienced violence are single; the rest are married, widowed or divorced. 7 are high school or higher graduates, 2 are secondary school dropouts, and the others are primary school graduates. They are between 20 and 50 years old. All married and divorced women have children. At the time of the interview, 8 women were employed, and the rest were not.

One of the men who are perpetrators of violence to their wives is 56 years old, and the rest are between 32 and 42 years old. All of them are married, and have children. Two of them are university graduates, one is a primary school graduate, and one is a primary school dropout. At the time of the interview, all of the men were employed.

The ages of the mothers/mothers-in-law who were interviewed vary between 50 and 70 years. 5 of them are illiterate, and 3 are primary school graduates. 3 are widowed, and the rest are still living with their husbands. Only three of them are employed. The daughters and sons of some of the women in the mother/mother-in-law category were married, and

 $^{^{15}}$ Psychologist, social services expert, emergency ward doctor, doctor of forensic medicine, psychiatrist, judge, lawyer, police

both their daughters and daughters-in-law had been exposed to domestic violence; this has given us the possibility to observe the difference of reactions towards the violence their daughters and daughters-in-law experienced.

Most of the professionals who participated in the interviews and focus group discussions - even the ones who do not work on this subject professionally - are concerned about, and have deliberated about violence. Therefore, the facts stated in this chapter may not reflect the general concepts of the persons who have encountered cases of domestic violence in their professional life, and people who give service/support to women who experienced violence. Rather, clues related to the opinions of the persons from various professional groups who have worked, or deliberated on this subject have been emphasized. The impression gained is that, the persons from various professional groups interpret violence against women with respect to the incidents/situations they have encountered in their professional life. Most of the persons who participated in the interviews have defined domestic violence as one of the most important problems of the country; meanwhile, a few people have stated that violence is a subject that requires a holistic approach, and a special research under the heading "violence against women" was not satisfactory.

Marriage and Inter-Relations of Spouses

The interviews conducted with men and women reflected the variety of marriage types. It was observed that arranged marriages and marriages with relatives at early ages are common, however, there are also marriages made upon mutual love and desire. Regardless of the marriage type, men and women could not spend enough time to get to know each other better before marriage, and usually with the will of family, they got married in a short period. Some women have decided to marry in hurry, or without taking their families' consent in order to escape from the pressure and violence at their family homes. In consequence -as pointed out in their narrations - some problems, or disagreements which are supposed to be confronted during the dating or engagement period, are carried to the marriage, and especially in the first years of the marriages a lot of problems are confronted.

The persons who have participated in the interviews have described their marriages as follows:

"My child, our marriage was arranged, in older times it was like that, and we were relatives, neither had they come, nor did I see him, nor did he see me. Just like that we were engaged, five six months later the wedding took place. And then, I was 15 years old. What is a 15 year old baby to do if she marries by dating or if she marries by arranged?"

(50 year old woman, married, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

"It happened by an agreement. I mean I lovingly married him. But I didn't know him

completely, he was my sister's neighbour, they were living in the ...village here, I mean I saw him, and I was alone, I mean because I had no parents I saw marriage as a salvation. I mean even when I was in high school I would stay with my aunts or my sister. I mean I saw marriage without getting to know as a salvation, meaning to have a home of my own, I made such a beginning, otherwise I wanted to go to university too."

(46 year old woman, separated, has 2 children, high school graduate)

"We had evening teas, I dropped her home a few times, she told about her self in those two weeks, her home, her family structure, her family structure..uhm...You know they were living in a slum area, so their mentality was different [...] I mean, we went out for two weeks, after those two weeks I asked permission from her family to marry two weeks later we had our wedding, I mean all and all, from the day I met her to the day we married it's one month..."

(34 year old man, married, has 1 child, primary school graduate)

"...I can say that the marriage process developed so fast, because of the imposition of her family...Yes, I married 1 year later [...] if there had not been such an imposition, maybe these conflicts would have arisen earlier, and the relationship could have ended before the marriage, maybe during engagement or during dating. But it didn't happen like that for us. We married; all those problems and stress during marriage..."

(42 year old man, married, has 2 children, university graduate)

Besides the communication problems that are caused by not knowing each other well in the early marriages whether these marriages were arranged or not, husband's military duty or unemployment can lead to living with the husband's family. This obligation forms a basis for more serious disagreement and causes woman to be exposed to pressure by her husband's family, besides her husband. Living with the husband's family creates problems in any case; however, the early age of the married couples, especially the women's, form a basis for this kind of disagreements. The man either chooses to support his own parents in any circumstance, and puts pressure on his wife; or prefers not to interfere at all; in consequence, the pressure on the woman increases, and a basis for the man's violence is established. During one of the focus group discussions held with men, a young and recently married man has expressed such an event with these words:

"Speaking of beating, I also beat my wife, once I beat my wife. And that, I was living with my family, she spoke against my mother, she screamed and shouted at my mother, therefore I beat her and I regretted it. I apologized and made her forgive me and seeing that it wouldn't work there, two months later, I packed up the furniture and belongings, I [with his wife] moved to another house. Because it wasn't working and since that day we are happy... I mean there were my mother, my father, me, my wife, and my two brothers at home. They were both single then, she shouted around while sitting in the living room, and I couldn't bear it."

(Focus group participant: Man, 20-25 years, married, education below high school)

When the woman is young and the husband is older, the man can exercise authority over woman more easily; and in some cases, women who believe that they are too young and inexperienced for marriage, may blame themselves for most of the problems, including their husband's infidelity:

"I don't know whether these situations would or wouldn't occur again but there were times where I behaved wrong. Maybe I was too young, I could have been indifferent."

(41 year old woman, divorced, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

Besides the early and/or arranged marriages, the marriage without knowing each other may also create negative circumstances that form a basis for violence. If the married couple chooses to live, or has to live with the man's family, the woman may be put under pressure, and abused by the family members, besides her husband.

How and why Violence is Experienced?

Violence from One Generation to the Other and Normalization of Violence

In regard the families in which violence is experienced, the interviews with women, men and mother/mothers-in-law show that violence has been experienced in women's or men's birth families or in both for some cases. Some of the women have decided to marry in a hurry and in many cases without taking consent of their families, in order to escape from violence at their family home, and men expressed their nervous and stressful characteristics as a consequence of the domestic violence they had encountered at their birth family homes. One of the mothers has indicated that the reason of her daughter's escape to a man was the domestic violence at home.

"She married by escaping. Because of the fights in the father's house, there is fighting, there is violence; she sought for happiness in marriage. She escaped to the first person she met..."

(70 year old mother, widowed, has 5 children, has no education)

One of the women interviewed described the violence she experienced at her birth family home with a dramatic language, and added that all of her siblings married at early ages in order to escape from the violence at the family home (See Box 1).

Some of the men have indicated that the difficult circumstances and violence they experienced during childhood is the reason of their violent acts they practice today; however, this may be an explanation used to legitimize their attitudes today:

"We always got up with nerves and stress like this, so it continued like that, or, what should I say, we grew up as orphans, wonder if the nerve-stress of that continued until now I mean, I was brought up by my uncle and my step mother, I mean it could be because of that [...] Oooh, my step mother took care of me until I was 10, [...] but always with

Box 1

"...My father was an alcoholic and gambler and was beating us all the time...Since, we grew up with that psychology, I mean, our psychology was already disturbed there. My father was a very nervous man. He would drink alcohol, he would gamble, I mean he had it all. He would continuously beat my mother, continuously beat us. Imagine this for example; once when we [she and her brother] were playing with the neighbour's kid, while we were playing we had a fight. We came home, the neighbour's kid's mother came and complained about us. First he beat us with a stick, then, my brother and I are about the same age. He tied our hands and feet, you know sofa we called it divan or somya... We laid under the sofa for hours tied up, and he sits on top. He sat on top, in the meanwhile our necks, our backs, our whole bodies stiffened; I mean, no one can come near him out of fear. [...] We already experienced a lot of violence thing. My father was an extremely angry and nervous man. For everything, for example he asks for a glass of water, when the water arrives late he would smash the water on top of your head. The glass would break, I mean together with your head. It must come immediately, in the same instant. [...] We all were like that. All of us... all I mean, when our eldest [sister] first married they said 'husband's house is better than here anyway.' All I mean... They [her sisters] were the most beautiful girls of the village; they were so beautiful, they all married to these weird people just to get away from their father's violence."

(35 year old woman, separated/religious marriage, has 1 child, high school graduate)

problems, everyday -you know our places- I mean it is very bad, beating everyday, violence everyday."

(50 year old man, married, has 5 children, never been to school)

Similarly, some women also stated that the main reason of the violence by their husbands is the abuse which they were exposed to at their birth family home. According to them, a man who witnesses his father beating his mother at family home somehow internalizes violence. One of the women has expressed her point of view about this subject as follows:

"...and then I, I mean, I spoke with my sisters-in-law about why he was like this, he was beaten a lot by his father in his childhood. Am I clear? It started when he was 13... I mean he suffered a personality disorder in his childhood; his father's extreme pressure, extreme beating, I mean, caused disorder in his personality. He was exercising whatever he saw from his father. Because he also beat me in front of my deceased mother-in-law, she cried. She put a scarf on her head, said 'don't cry my girl.' She said 'I experienced the same thing.' Maybe, she had 20 breaches on her head."

(46 year old woman, married, has 2 children, high school graduate)

Men who experienced violence starting in early childhood, and who witness their fathers as a perpetrator of violence to their mothers, see violence as a normal phenomenon, and use it as an indispensable means "to control" and "to knock sense into" women they are in relation with. Some of the men explained this situation as follows:

"Honestly!, I shout when I get angry. Yeah! I shout, I say 'why did you do this? Why did you do that?' Sometimes I also slap her. Sometimes I also slap I mean it is a real thing isn't it? [...] Now they say 'why do men show violence.' Look, if the men don't have to they don't show violence to women. Isn't it? Now, if I didn't have to why should I show violence? What's the reason I mean? Is there something? No!"

(34 year old man, married, has 2 children, primary school second grade drop out)

"...He may be obliged to, I mean he may be obliged, such that if his wife is not doing what he is telling, if she is, excuse my language, on a bad track, if she is squandering what she gets, he does not see what he gives her, doesn't this regard, this man as a victim I mean, isn't it?..."

(56 year old man, married, has 5 children, primary school graduate)

Some women, who witness violence at their birth family home starting in early childhood, may accept violence as a normal phenomenon and feel themselves helpless in the face of violence. Especially with their children around, they behave accordingly as they have learned from their mothers, and accept violence as destiny. During some interviews such inclinations have been observed, especially amongt women 50 years old and older.

A woman, mother of five children who works as a cleaning worker and has experienced violence by her husband, then lost him at an early age, and took the whole responsibility of the children, has expressed her point of view about this subject as follows:

"It's what you're predestined. The pillow changes. The fate does not change, never. Let me go to another, let me change my fate, I'll be happy with someone else, never. Fate. Fate. Never does fate change. It is your predestined fate, your luck, your ordeal to suffer, your problem."

(65 year old mother, widowed, has 5 children, illiterate mother)

A 50 year old woman, a primary school graduate with three children has been exposed to violence both by her father and husband. She describes the conditions at her family home as such: "My father used to disappear into the blue, sleep all day long, and gamble. I got away from one prison, and was locked in another." Her husband left her with three children for another woman spent all of his savings for this woman and came back home after years. On his return, he started to treat not only the woman, but also the children with violence. The woman believes that its his nature and he will never change and she explains his situation and her helplessness as follows:

"The reason is I think it was like that from the beginning, I believe it is like that from nature, and then I also believe mostly in fate, I believe in my fate... There's nothing else to say [...] He still won't admit that it is his guilt; he doesn't say 'I am like this, I went to that woman, God bless, you looked after my babies, stayed with my babies.' He won't say 'I came again, the fault, the guilt is mine.' He is not guilty at all, he is the king on earth, the sultan in the sky, you should see him, he declares himself like that [...] he has declared himself as such; I mean he doesn't accept anything. If I were to say 'that's that, this is this', there would be no harmony at all in this house. We wouldn't be able to live together at all. I consider being at this point is still good since I became 50 now my dear; my father and mother are no longer living; can one go over to live with her sisters or brothers? With whom are we going to stay?"

(50 year old woman, married, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

Several individuals from various professional groups also expressed their points of view on this subject. A doctor of forensic medicine observed the following:

"As they grow up being beaten by their mothers and fathers, getting beaten by their husband is not a problem for them. Am I clear? I mean it's considered normal, only when they are really hurt or injured seriously then the problems arise, or when they are somewhat educated or show their reaction to certain things then the situation comes to fore. Because they are all uneducated, and have encountered such things in their families, they accept that 'he both beats and loves.' Is this logical? But unfortunately this is what is happening."

(Doctor of forensic medicine)

On the other hand, it was observed that when violence is a natural part of the daily life of the husband's family, the woman is exposed to violence not only by her husband, but also by her mother-in-law and father-in-law; the woman suffers more, especially in cases where newly married couple lives with the man's family. One of the women who lived through such violence described the situation as follows (See Box 2):

The women, who experienced violence by their husbands, had also been exposed to violence at their birth family; this indicates that violence is a learned behaviour pattern adopted both by men and women. However, generally the men are the ones who exert the violence, while women are the ones who are exposed to it; this manifests the differences in the experiences and reactions of men and women. Naturally, this does not mean that every child who has grown in a house with domestic violence adopts violence as solution to his/her problems. During one of the focus group meetings, a participant commented on this situation as follows:

Box 2

"...My husband was their first child. And I was the first daughter-in-law ... They wanted us to have a child saying that the time has come for it. As time passed, I was not pregnant so later we consulted a doctor. The doctor referred us to a hospital. We received treatment in a few hospitals. Still nothing changed. We had a doctor in M..... And he at last said that my husband did not have the capacity to have children [...] Because the infertility was related with my husband, my husband and my husband's family didn't accept this in any way. [...] They never accepted my objections. They treated me with violence, you know, they thought that if we beat her she'll accept it. Because they were saying 'we are a big family, a well known family. We cannot tell this to our relatives, we can't say that it's because of our son.' And I always object this kind of thinking because if there is a fact it will be known by others eventually, I mean there is no logic in hiding this. However, each time my objections resulted in being beaten. I really received a lot of beating from my husband. I was also beaten by my father-in-law. Of course to be exposed to violence from my mother-in-law at the end, since she is a woman and being a woman someone who should understand me most, but she didn't. Therefore, experiencing violence from her really exceeded my limits of endurance very much."

(26 year old woman, ongoing divorce suit, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

"...the violence that people encounter in their childhood or, as adults in their own family, here and there, in every field of life, in their growing years, causes them to reflect it later to every field of life after. If the father is beating the mother, it does not necessarily mean that this child will beat his wife. Of course there's no such thing. But I think this violence becomes a serious part of his life and is reflected everywhere."

(Focus group participant: Male, 60-65 years, married for at least 15 years, above high school education)

In the section related to the consequences of violence, the discussion about the transition of the violence from one generation to another and its adoption mostly by men as a means for the solution of the problems will continue.

The interviews conducted both with men and women reveal that they have experienced violence also in their birth families and they have developed different approaches towards violence they have witnessed since their childhood. For women violence is a situation which 'they want to break free from' when they experience it in their birth families, but encounter similar circumstances in the husband's family; it is usually described as a difficult and sometimes even a desperate situation. On the other hand, men tried to legitimize the violence they have exerted by claiming that the violence they were exposed to/have witnessed in their birth families caused them to become "nervous and uptight" persons.

Types of Violence

Domestic violence against women is usually experienced as a complex process including various types of violence. The intensity of violence varies usually in ups and downs and it is sensitive to factors such as unemployment, poverty or chronic diseases which have negative impacts on the family as a whole. It is difficult to find one definite reason or a series of reasons for violence. Partner violence is experienced mainly due to the inequality of power between men and women; men usually exert violence in order to establish authority over women and to keep them under control.

The interviews conducted with women, men and mothers/mothers-in-law reveal that women and men describe violence differently. Not all of the women who experienced violence could easily talk about this situation; however, they gave more detailed information about their experiences compared to men. It is possible to draw a picture of domestic violence based on the descriptions acquired from the women's narratives. In this picture, the colours and lines in the background related to the reasons, the history and progress of violence are rather pale. But it is possible to find clear and detailed lines describing the violence that women experienced which makes one feel the pain created by verbal abuse or physical violence. For a woman, it seems that violence experienced itself is more important than the reason and history of it. Women remember the situation they were/are exposed to, and the scars with all the details, even if they no longer want to think about it, or have left the whole thing behind.

The interviews with men reflect that speaking about violence is not an easy matter for them. Men, who have accepted the fact that they have exerted violence, insisted that these were accidental incidents inevitably breaking out very seldom and mainly as a consequence of women's provocative behaviour. According to them, women talk too much, exaggerate things, carry the outdated events again and again to the agenda and as such become provocative. Some of the participants of the interviews argued that men can sometimes exert violence out of necessity, but the others believe that a man should never resort to violence. Men who are perpetrators of violence avoided talking about their violent acts; instead, they preferred to talk about the reasons of violence in order to underline its inevitability, or to discuss the solutions and their opinions and experiences related to this subject. None of them mentioned that verbal, sexual or physical violence are acts which deeply hurt the abused person. Some of the men who stated that they consider violence a negative behaviour pattern, refused to talk about their own violent acts in detail. It has been observed that, they usually underestimate and consider unimportant.

Physical Violence

The narratives of women about violence reveal that they usually experience various types of violence - economic, emotional-verbal, sexual, physical - at the same time, and some

women are exposed to violence also during pregnancy. Women, who were exposed to violence during pregnancy, stated that they had very hard times, and faced the risk of miscarriage:

"Now, I was beaten by my husband, by the father of my daughter, because of a subject like this. I was beaten and I was pregnant then. My pregnancy was already known. I was three months pregnant. The baby came down to the groins because of the beating. There was a danger of miscarriage. I could have miscarried. I could have lost the baby too... Thank God such a thing didn't happen. After that I left, after the beating I left...."

(26 year old woman, ongoing divorce suit, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

"...A hut like a greenhouse [meaning covered with plastic sheets], he had sacrificial sheep, they stood there, there wasn't beating at the beginning, beating started as time passed. Violence, beating, violence, beating in the mud, like a dog; he took me by the arm and turned me, nobody came to my rescue, I was pregnant."

(34 year old woman, married, has 4 children, primary school graduate)

"...We said he's poor. We thought it doesn't matter. We will support them too, so our child can have her own home. That was our aim, we had no other aim. And it was not strictly necessary for us that he is educated. Every parent wants to see their child get married, and they want to see her happy, have children. We got her married with that aim. About a year their marriage went so-so. Then one year later beating started. She had two miscarriages, because of beating."

(63 year old mother, married, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

Box 3

"...I came home, he started an argument out of nothing, in the morning it was very cold in the house- and the cold there is really something else-, again on the stove was a can of milk, of course that too had turned to ice-cold until the morning; he beat and beat me, my nerves were so loose, of course I scream, but there's no one in the building, you scream and scream there's no one, you can't make yourself heard. My strength is never enough, I turn defensive like this, I sit in the armchair he comes on to me. [...]. He beat me and beat me, then I lost my nerves, I started shouting, as I was shouting he poured down the milk can on me in mid-winter., I totally lost it after that, now he started beating me saying I would be cold in this cold, telling me to take my wet clothes off, I said 'I won't, I'll sit here like this, I'll sit here like this if your conscience can bear it', then he stripped me naked, started to drag me from room to room, beating and pushing me around."

(44 year old woman, married, has 1 child, high school graduate)

Most of the interviewed women have been exposed to violence during their marriages in different intensities and types, and in most cases the physical violence did not occur only once; it was usually a longtime event. The women described the physical violence they had encountered as follows:

"He was not my relative, he saw me at a wedding, he abducted me; my family wanted to take me back, he didn't give me;, he used to tie me on a tree and beat me, tie me on a tree and beat me, in the case of a smallest pretext he would beat me; violence, beating, violence."

(34 year old woman, married, has 4 children, primary school graduate)

"...but this happened for instance, he picked on my red nail polish, but I never thought that if I removed them we would stop fighting. [...] Because of this, for instance, he took the hairgrip from my hair and clipped it on my nose being against the way I dressed my hair; my nose was cut, my nose bled, I mean, just out of the blue..."

(20 year old woman, married, has 1 child, high school graduate)

"...and after twenty-three years, I was kicked out to the street at night with my children. With what I had on... Before this he had done this twice in the winter time; he stripped me stark naked, it was raining outside; he dragged me to the outdoor. [...] Lately he was always packing me off anyway, but I wasn't leaving. At last, he had bought beer, he probably threw it to my children, even my sister-in-law's daughter witnessed this.... Then the police came, at that moment my brother-in-law also came, he calmed things down. Next day he said 'if you don't leave this house I will burn it', he attacked me, attacked with a knife. When he attacked with a knife the children came in between. For example the children are sitting and watching television and I go to the bedroom, he comes after me, he is there to beat me..."

(46 year old woman, separated, has 2 children, high school graduate)

The main violence acts described by women include hitting, dragging or beating; at times they have been attacked with knives, scissors, bats or axes; the perpetrators who wanted to give more harm to the victims, have gone to all lengths such as spilling cold water on the woman, clipping her nose with hirgrips, threatening her with a gun or throwing her out to the street completely naked. At some point, the gun has actually been used. One of the mothers has told the story of her daughter who was shot by her husband who was exerting violence on her (See Box 4):

Physical violence was being explained in details during the interviews with women; however, men's stories about this subject were quite short, and narrow without any details; in their stories violence was described as an inevitable or 'accidental' incidence. Men, who accept that they have exerted violence, trifled the incidents with statements such as: 'It was only a slap.' 'I only pushed her lightly.' or 'I apologized and it didn't happen again.' These men may not have exerted violence to their wives in the sense that is described

Box 4

"...finally the girl came to my house; when she came he [meaning girl's husband] too came to my house. Thinking probably they would make peace - since they were separating and making up later - this had happened before, so I couldn't say anything. He stayed with us three days, ate, drank etc... At last, separation was talked about. We were not talking, but they themselves... He said 'I definitely do not want it." And her sister, sister of my daughter who died said 'she doesn't want you, will you make her your wife by force?' And we didn't say anything at all, but he understood that none of us wanted him; he understood. I was working at this place at that time; I was going to the hotel and working there. Before, a week before, he had come to me and said 'mother, if I let her go, she's young and, beautiful' he said, 'she will probably get married'. 'How can I go around in Mersin while she is right under my eyes? So two bullets in the head' he said. 'One bullet might not kill' he said. He told this to me a week before the event. And then when he stayed with us for three days and understood that he wasn't wanted, he goes, gets a gun and comes back... I am not at home then. Probably if he had pulled the gun out from her front - the girl is strong - , so he goes around her back, shoots her from the back. He fired a bullet through here [she shows her neck], he fired two bullets to the kid. They called me; they had carried her away, and had cleaned up, cleaned up all the blood."

(70 year old woman, widowed, has 4 children, primary school graduate)

by the women interviewed, and this may be one of the reasons of their underestimation. However, it has been observed that the men, with the state of mind of the perpetrator of violence, were restlessly trying to legitimize themselves by highlighting the provocative role of women or bringing forward other excuses. During the interviews made with men such statements were recorded:

"I am not a pro violence person that easily. Violence is the very last thing for me. After it reaches the dimensions of insult, you ask me if I did beat. Yes I have hit my wife. I did and I am not proud of it and I regretted it too. [...] and about 5 minutes later..., I mean didn't I say a little while ago that I wasn't a vindictive person, so my temper lasts 5 minutes. If she stays away from me in those 5 minutes or if I could stay away from her, the issue is solved by itself. Yes I hit my wife, I slapped her. Because she insulted me [...] Not often I mean; we experienced this two times in our 10 year marriage. We experienced it twice."

(35 year old man, married, has 1 child, university graduate)

"I once gave her a kick, on her leg. [...] She was going out on the balcony and shouting. She was going out on the balcony and shouting what an inadequate, bad, terrible person I [...] It happened after such an affair. Except for that there wasn't anything as physical violence in the sense we know. I mean pushing and stuff, that she pushes me, that I push

her has happened sometimes, though not often, but in terms of violence in the sense of hitting, that's the only one."

(42 year old man, married, has 2 children, university graduate)

"Maybe I couldn't bear it, it wasn't anything extreme I mean, something small, like I raised my hand and pushed it towards her face, and she, maybe I mean, she said 'how could you' because this probably hurt her pride... I mean she might have screamed and shouted, too... But, I absolutely didn't beat her I mean..."

(56 year old man, married, has 5 children, primary school graduate)

Sexual Violence

Sexual violence is the most difficult type of violence to be discussed. During the interviews with men this subject was not brought to agenda. Some of the women have implied that their husbands had sex with them without their consent, but they refused to go into the details. Some of these women were long-term victims of all kinds of violence. These women stated that sometimes their partners forced them to sexual intercourse after beating them and sometimes they let their partners have sex with them in order to avoid being beaten. Meanwhile, they tried to imply that they did not have any desire for sexual relation with their husbands after going through different types of violence exerted by them. On the other hand, a young woman who is single confessed that she was raped by her partner, with whom she had been in an unstable relationship for a long time, after being threatened with a gun.

The following is the expression of a woman who had been exposed to violence for a long time by her husband and who found it hard to have sex with him because she believes sex is a way of sharing:

"...My marriage lasted twenty-three years, after twenty-three years, and all this time I was experiencing violence, I mean sexually too. When I didn't want and why I didn't want, for example, he would gamble, and when he lost the money he would come and beat me, and after this beating, for instance after this beating, he wanted to have sex. When I objected I would be beaten again [....] When I reacted negatively, for example when I said that I didn't want it, as you know sexuality, too, is a way of sharing, I mean it has to be mutual. He would beat me for the smallest thing. He would beat me and also reach his aim."

(46 year old woman, married/living separate from her husband, has 2 children, high school graduate) Another woman explained the way she resisted the sexual demands of her husband, who was a perpetrator of violence as follows (See Box 5):

A woman, who was present during her mother's interview, has also given examples of sexual violence exerted on her by her husband and how she felt afterwards while explaining her experiences of violence:

Box 5

"Of course he definitely forces, I mean he does it by using force too; we have sex like that. I mean I am very indifferent towards him. I became extremely indifferent; I now sleep separate from him. I mean he told me 'you spend my money, my savings freely and you don't do your duties as a wife'. And I told him this 'let alone being the father of my two children, if I had 9 or 10 children from you, even if you were the father of all these children, I would still not do it for money, never be a prostitute for you.' (...) I said 'you can't make me do it, don't expect it from me.' If it becomes necessary I'll give up my luxuries, I will not buy what I would buy, won't wear what I would wear, and won't have sex with you for your money. I mean I won't condescend to you or to your money. I mean this very wrong for me, this is, in my opinion, being totally wishy-washy..."

(34 yaşında, evli, iki çocuklu, ilkokul mezunu kadın)

"I have slept with him so many times. So much torment. He drinks, pardon me for saying this, and he wants to have anal sex. He does filthy things. He tormented me very much in every way. I mean, there were times when I got up from the bed retching like a pregnant woman. Now I don't have any retching. waist ache, I couldn't get up and walk because of my waist ache. Now that back ache is gone. [...] He was such a man that, for example, I was to serve the meals I prepared naked. How can one strip and be naked at the meals while serving and eating?"

(Divorced daughter of a 63 year old mother, married, has 3 children)

On the other hand, another woman has stated that she did not have any sexual problems with her husband, and thet he did not force to her to sex; but his physical violent acts also had a negative effect on their sex life. Whenever she "experiences something bad" with her husband, she is unable to have sexual relations with him and this puts the husband into stress (see Box 6):

Kutu 6

"No our sexuality is very pleasant [...] But when we argue or experience some bad things I close myself and all my relations with him. I talk little anyway. Then I also touch little I mean. Or there are days on which we don't even sleep in the same bed. It has happened that we didn't sleep in the same bed for three days. I don't open myself. I close myself to sexuality. And if this period is prolonged it creates stress in him, he feels himself under pressure. He doesn't know what to do. Formerly, he used to do different things, I mean, bringing flowers or doing other things, you know, methods to apologize, nice words etc... For example, I don't feel as valuable as before either [...] I mean I closed it. I closed sexuality to him for a while. What can I do, I don't feel it. And when I don't feel it, it is not a thing that I will do."

(35 year old woman, married, has 1 child, university graduate)

Another woman, who was in a shaky relation with her partner, was threatened by him with a gun. (The gun turned out to have blank cartridge afterwards) and she has explained the incident as follows (See Box 7):

Box 7

"...I sat on the armchair, he came near me and said he loved me, I told him I wanted to go, and when he said 'no, you will stay here today' I went out of my mind, I pushed him, and he fell back. Then he got up and came near me, hit me on the head with his head, this time I fell back and hit my head on the edge of the armchair. In the meanwhile, I got up and started cursing, using words which I wouldn't normally use. I guess he couldn't stand these, he went inside and when he came back he was holding a gun pointed at me: I couldn't do anything, I mean that was the moment I felt I would die because it was even the first time in my life I saw a gun[...] Even when he pointed the gun at me and told me that I had to stay there, this time I couldn't say 'no, I will go'. But then I told myself,f be it as it may and I continued with my insults. He got nervous and angry, he seriously loaded the magazine of the gun and as he was pulling it, his finger got stuck in the magazine and bled, in the meantime his friend came in and hit him to get the gun from his hand; they started fighting. He sent me to the living room inside and closed the door; I think I was there alone for five minutes or so I think, but I was continuously crying because I was very scared; not withstanding my crying they both came in, he hugged me, said 'I love you very much, I don't want to lose you', and I said 'go, I don't want to talk! [...] I said I wanted to be alone, he went inside, 5 or 10 minutes later he came back [...] The gun was again in his hand, even though his friend had taken it away from him a while ago. He took me by the arm and pushed me to the bedroom, trust me I don't remember anything about this part, this is also how I have testified. I only know this, I know how I went there and I know the moment I came to myself. When I came to myself, everything had happened; I couldn't even put my clothes on because they were torn; they were ripped during the rough and tumble. I put on his shirt. In the meantime I recognized that it was half past four, in the month of Ramadan, I know very well at what time the prayer will be called. I put on his shirt and took the key from his pocket and went out..."

(25 year old woman, single, university graduate)

Economic Violence / Abuse

Women frequently talk about economic problems and claim that they are economically abused while some of the men also complain about economic problems, unemployment and poverty saying that these kinds of problems put them under stress and incite them in violence. According to their expressions women talk too much and this becomes a provocative factor which puts them under stress.

Economic violence/abuse of women who are not working/not able to work is mainly based on problems such as the absence of the income required for the needs of the family and the husbands' not allowing them to work. In some cases it has been observed that men sometimes walk out on their wives and children, find another woman and spend all their money for her, but after years they may return to their families as if nothing has happened and at that point they either do not let their wives who have found a job to continue working or start using their income for themselves. Both men's and women's narrations revealed that they consider the economic problems as one of the important reasons of violence.

Women have described how they experienced economic violence as follows:

"...He was behaving very unstable because he was on drugs. I mean, how it starts, for example, he gets his salary, there's nothing to eat at home, you ask for money, I mean, you need to cook, the kids will go to school. He says 'go to the school... talk to the principal, he should support you.' The principal is not my relative or anything, I don't even know him. I would ask my neighbours for stale bread. Of course, not to disclose my situation, I would tell them that the children didn't want to go to the market in the rain... I would get stale bread. In order not to reflect my family problem... I mean when you ask for money, he gets a salary, but in short, for example if I ask him to leave money for food and bread, there is no money. When I ask him why, this becomes a reason for fighting."

(46 year old woman, married/lives separate from husband, has 2 children, high school graduate)

"He told me to quit work, I did, after that we had a separation, in that period I started another job, I started at a private business. While I was going there and coming back he was always around me, behind me; he wouldn't leave me alone; he had even come to my workplace and threatened, because at that time there was a law, so that a woman couldn't work without the husband's permission. [...] I mean the man came and told that he was my husband, that I started working without his permission, things like that, but the boss at my workplace was a man of good intentions. Later, I talked with him [meaning the husband] saying 'don't do this, I have to work', because we had no money and he himself wasn't working; I was in a very difficult situation, I had to work. He accepted it but he would accompany me to work in the morning and come to pick me up in the evening."

(47 year old woman, divorced, has 2 children, high school graduate)

The story in Box 8 reveals that when the couple lives with the husband's family, the mother-in-law or father-in-law may also be a source of economic violence besides the husband.

When the man can not support his family economically and perform his social role as expected by the society, the door is usually opened to disagreements and violence which

become even more aggravated when women complain about their situation. This situation has been described differently by men and women. Some men clearly stated that they do not want their wives to work for certain reasons. They explained their attitude as follows:

"[is telling why his wife once escaped to her family]... There was trouble again, I was unemployed then; there was no peace. Our financial situation was not good, she says 'you lie around, you should get up; you hit the sack and don't look for a job', and I would say 'there is no job', so we quarrelled."

(50 year old man, married, has 5 children, illiterate)

"...I was in Istanbul prison, at that time I was in Istanbul prison when, she told me that she wanted to work. I didn't allow it. I said I didn't want anything like that; my father's pension is enough for you, you can live on that and the child is not going to school anyway. She said 'no, I will work, I got my mind set on it', I said 'well, you'll work, there are many rascals around, one of them enters your life and you will be ruined' [...] I said 'don't you come to me experiencing all that'. But, she set her mind on working and she took the job I didn't approve. Of course, I understand from everything, from the way she talks and walks, that she is experiencing something, that there is someone in her life..."

(46 year old man, married, has 1 child, primary school graduate)

Box 8

"In general we can't get along, to tell the truth we got married immediately, I got pregnant immediately and we had a child, at that time he faltered somewhat, he couldn't take responsibility, found it hard to work. In fact he didn't work and we were living with his family. His parents were grumbling continuously because he wasn't working, but not at him, always at me, so I felt compelled to work. And then when I worked then the problems were different; you're going to work and hear always, 'you're late, where were you, what did you do'. For example even though I was working, his father was still grumbling and saying 'do I have to look after you' and such things and this inevitably caused arguments between us. 'See, because of you they are muttering at me, look you are not taking on your responsibilities'... Later on my husband gradually started jealousies and with the urging of the people around the gap between us got bigger. [...] I am a high school graduate; I succeeded in the university entrance examinations twice. In the first one I was six months pregnant so I couldn't start. The second time, my husband's family made it a problem; they didn't want me to make my preferences for certain schools and start. Therefore, I decided on the Open University; my mother gave me the money for the fees. But his father said 'what will you do studying in the university after this time.' They took the money from me and spent it. Of course I couldn't say anything, so it was left at that."

(20 year old woman, married, has 1 child, high school graduate)

On the other hand, the focus group discussion held with young, educated and recently married men revealed that these men believe that their given social role as the provider of the family can also be considered as "violence" from their point of view; they find it difficult to play this role in terms of their wives' demands and in reality they do not want to play it. The young and educated men believe that they have no authority on their educated wives who are conscious about their rights and have economic freedom (see Box 9). They stated that with today's economic crisis they feel themselves even under heavier pressure and under these conditions they do not want to carry the sole responsibility for their families' living. It was also observed that they view the economic freedom of women and women earning more than their husbands as a potential danger for the existence of the 'family'. Young men expressed their points of view about this subject as follows:

Box 9

"...Now violence, is it something that means that once I punch you on the face, I put you down, or is violence someone having that power, that potential. In Turkish there is a nice word, potency, actually that is power. Someone having the power and others recognizing that power. Actually it is a mutual relationship... Is this my mother running away just with one look of my father's for years? Or is it why I get straightened up when my father looks at me? Now if that is violence itself, I mean if violence is having power, having strength and everybody recognizing it, men experience it also somewhat like women nowadays. Where do they experience it? In business life, at home when the women imposes that power on you by saying 'you'll do like this, you'll do like that, so-and-so's husband has become that, so-andso's has gone there, let's get a new fridge, let's change that, now', isn't that violence? Don't I experience this violence? [...] this was socially determined; we were born as the ones with the power. I mean we were born as the head of the house, the family. Now there is a rebellion, this is clear... There is a rebellion from the opposite side. I mean, she doesn't recognize your power, your force. Why doesn't she recognize it? Why, because she reads the media, she reads this, she learns some things, she looks at herself [...] At the point of not recognizing men's power a conflict occurs; in my opinion a very different form of socialization will emerge from that conflict."

(Focus group participant: Male, 25-30 years, married for at most five years, above high school education)

"Why is the woman still asking her husband for certain things? Now we know that she is working too, but my wife for instance, is asking me to buy a refrigerator... Why does she want this from me? Isn't this a contradiction, I mean if there is this power and other things you're talking about; if she still wants these from you and urges you to work sixteen hours,

there's something social there,... I mean she puts her money into clothing, but when something is needed for the house then she wants it from you, that's what I mean, that role continues..."

(Focus group participant: Male, 25-30 years, married for at most five years, above high school education)

"We have a thousand liras. We are married. Five-hundred of it is yours; five-hundred of it is mine does not work. Five-hundred of it is my handbag, my shoes, whatever my personal cosmetic desires are, my female ideas that stimulate the shopping sector, novelties, etc., the other five-hundred is the needs of the house. Not the needs of the man."

(Focus group participant: Male, 25-30 years, married for at most five years, above high school education)

"...I mean if you have money, you divorce the man, and you go and make your own living... We are being crushed under the weight of the economy of the world we live in... So, some of us beat their wives and some of us just shut up and work twenty-four hours."

(Focus group participant: Male, 25-30 years, married for at most five years, above high school education)

"The moment the woman realizes that she has power, the violence is ended. She doesn't allow violence against her anyway. There is no more domestic violence there, because there is no longer a family."

(Focus group participant: Male, 25-30 years, married for at most five years, above high school education)

Since, the young, recently married and educated men group is composed of medium or high welfare level with working wives, they have brought a new dimension to the problem. Some of these young men ,who are not the only providers for their families and who can not establish authority over their wives like their fathers did to their mothers, - some stated that they do not want to be authoritarian husbands-, do not like the idea of their wives expecting them to be the only providers of their families under these conditions. On the other hand, they are also concerned of not being able to meet their wives' demands and to be forced to work more to do so.

They also seem to be anxious about the fact that their economically independent wives can decide to leave them whenever the wives feel that their husbands are constraining them.

Emotional Violence / Abuse

Emotional and verbal abuse is a type of violence which the women frequently complain about and state that sometimes it hurts them even more than physical violence. However, men, accept that this type of violence "occurs in every household," and they underestimate it. It is even claimed that, as verbal abuse is experienced in almost every household quite frequently, it can not be considered as violence, especially in cases where the partners accept their mistakes mutually and apologise. Young male participants of a focus group meeting expressed their points of view about this subject as follows:

"...Put aside physical violence, but what is the possibility of things like screaming, shouting, slamming the door, swearing not happening? I don't consider it likely..."

(Focus group participant: Male, 25-30 years, married for at most five years, above high school education)

"...If I exert brute force or swear or somehow insult her each time I argue, ok, that's violence. But when I argue and she understands her fault or I understand my fault, if we can come to an agreement, if we can apologize, if we decide to carry on from where we left off, it's just this I mean... I don't consider this as violence."

(Focus group participant: Male, 25-30 years, married for at most five years, above high school education)

However, when verbal violence comes from women, men evaluate this as provocation which also paves the way for physical violence. For many men the 'chitchat' of women and the way they provoke men with constant talk, is an important reason for violence outside of economic problems. One or two men also stated that this provocative behaviour of women is not without reason; certain conditions, including the actions of men themselves, open the way to it. In different focus group discussions, men explained their views as such:

"..In fifty percent of the cases, women provoke it; the other fifty percent is the result of man being unemployed, the income status, and stress at the workplace."

(Focus group participant: Male, 25-30 years, married for at most five years, below school education)

"...When the time comes you have to explode. But I warn her, I say 'don't press me; leave me alone..."

(Focus group participant: Male, 25-30 years, married for at most five years, below high school education)

"Really in general it is women who provoke but if the man drinks and comes home, comes home drunk, and then she'll nag him in the morning... If there's unemployment, if there is lack of money, again the woman provokes but she provokes because of this... But I think she won't provoke for no reason."

(Focus group participant: Male, 60-65 years, married for at least 15 years, above high school education)

In the category of emotional violence, women have mentioned verbal abuse, certain behavioural patterns of their husbands or intimate partners which create psychological pressure on them and restrictions on their actions in general. These include behavioural patterns such as shouting, insulting, cursing (using words such as bitch or whore), damaging personal belongings, depicting the woman as a bad mother to her children; interfering with her clothes, nail polish, hair style, etc.; belittling the woman's family and friends and preventing her contact with them, limiting her relations with other people due to jealousy, locking her up in the house; being unfaithful to her and telling lies about it, leaving the family without any notice, prohibiting the woman doing certain things in the house or outside. Women stated that, besides their husbands, the relatives (especially mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law) with whom they live also exert similar pressure on them. Following expressions are some examples from the women's descriptions of emotional violence:

"He would burn my underwear, I couldn't wear the skirt I liked, he would burn it, and he always burns my belongings. He burns them; he doesn't want me to wear anything... I've got to dress old, got to dress badly"

(34 year old woman, married, has 4 children, primary school graduate)

"...He turns off the lights from the fuse and, says 'go to bed, you have to go to bed'. Not only violence, but he would also exert psychological pressure on us, why should we go to bed at this hour, he says 'you have to go to bed, look, I'm counting till 10; 1,2,3..., If you're in bed, it is okay, if not you've come to the end'. [...] We were scared; we would tip-toe around the house at night when he slept. We would worry about making a sound that would wake him up and that something would happen... When he wakes up and sees us watching television, then it would be the end. You shouldn't watch television, you shouldn't listen to the radio... What kind of life he went through, what kind..."

(44 year old woman, lives separate from her husband, has 1 child, high school graduate)

"This life style, his cheatings, as I said those broke my heart a lot, hurt me a lot. I mean a while, even when living in A.... I witnessed it, he wasn't home for 1.5 years. He was living with a woman and I knew it and we were married then. [...] He always denied it even if I saw it with my own eyes. I saw it too. I saw it too. I mean he chose to deny it."

(41 year old woman, divorced, has 1 child, secondary school drop out)

"[She is telling about the pressures arising from her mother-in-law with whom they were living together] She would interfere. My husband wouldn't interfere but my mother-in-law would. And my husband [...] She wouldn't let me, I mean not allow me to go to the bazaar or go shopping or go to the market. My older daughter was 4 years old when I went to the market for the first time. My mother-in-law had gone to Antalya then... [...] We lived together for 20 years; I would do all the work for her. I didn't have a washing machine so

I would wash her laundry by hand; I would cook her meals, brew her tea, I would bring her slippers, I would put cushions under her.

(43 year old woman, widowed, has 3 children, illiterate woman)

Some of the men explained that they destroy their wives' personal belongings; deliberately spill things and then force their wives to clean the mess, forbid their wives contact with some of their friends by telephone, sometimes even break their cellular phones for this reason, prevent their wives from seeing their families and friends, shout and curse at them during their quarrels. They have also claimed that they had a good reason for doing so in most of these incidents. (See Box 10). Among these causes jealousy, disobedience to the rules set by men and insulting behaviour of women are mentioned. A man, who can not tolerate his wife answering him back, pointed out his discontent as follows:

"I say something, I look, it seems like my words are not welcome by her, I don't know, it seems like she is fed up with me, and then when her answer is not proper, what happens then, I get upset, I get uneasy, that's the situation I mean. [...] Not hitting but, sometimes one can become profane, use filthy words, start to curse. I don't know, when it becomes hard on her, then she sometimes answers back. [...] When she was young she wouldn't come across me much, I mean she wouldn't answer back much when she was younger."

(56 year old man, married, has 5 children, primary school graduate)

Box 10

"And I felt pain inside, at that moment I got mad, actually... Actually I didn't know what I was doing, in order not to beat my wife, I open the refrigerator, throw the eggs on the floor so that she has to clean it, break a few of things that belong to her in order to blow off steam... I did these to punish her at that moment... [...] When I looked at her messages actually one message seemed very awkward, a message that a woman wouldn't send, a message like this if I don't remember wrongly, and most probably I don't remember wrongly it, was like 'kisses, I love you, my love, etc.', I said to myself, 'isn't this a woman, what kind of a message is this?', and checked the name to see if it really came from that woman. I shouted and screamed at her [his wife] a little, saying 'this cannot be, either call her and warn her or go to see and warn her personally, somehow explain to her that such things make me angry'. That evening there was a quarrel like that; I shouted at her and then when I saw that she wasn't shouting and answering back I also cut it short, I showed my authority there."

(35 year old man, married, has 1 child, primary school graduate)

What are the reasons of Violence According to Women and Men?

Above mentioned experiences and points of views related to violence, give us some hints about the reasons of violence. Although the women's narrations related to the reasons of violence for each category differ slightly, the reasons can be collected under a few headings:

- Problems faced in woman-man relationship /psychological problems
- · Economic problems such as unemployment and poverty
- · Problems due to man's bad habits
- Problems arising from the families, especially the man's family
- Problems based on jealousy of the man (or woman)
- Problems arising from the man's (or woman's) relation with a third party

In this section, after some narrations on the views related to the reasons for violence, several points explaining the reasons for violence, mostly by men, will be emphasized.

Problems experienced in the relationship of the woman and man

The interviewed persons expressed these problems such as: early marriages; lack of opportunity to get to know each other better; discovery of the spouse's unknown characteristics over time; psychological problems of the spouse, or his/her natural meanness, and lack of communication due to the differences in their life expectations. In most cases several of these facts, or all of them, are mingled, and some women considered it necessary to mention all of these problems together. A woman who believes that she and her husband belong to different worlds and expressed their communication problem with the following statement (See Box 11):

Box 11

"My husband is very anti-social and, introverted. He doesn't like going out, being with people at all. And I am just the opposite; I like wining and dining, dressing up. I don't want my children to be like their father. [...] but as I said my husband has complexes, to an outsider he is so gentle and polite that, sometimes I can't believe it but he is unbalanced, it is difficult to guess when and how he is going to react. One thing that he doesn't get angry about one day may bother him the next day. [...] Lately he has grown quite distant from us anyway, he has isolated himself. He sits in the kitchen at his laptop for hours, he sits for 5 hours, 6 hours, without getting up, smoking, he doesn't establish the smallest contact with us. Nowadays we close the door, he lives in a separate world, and we live in a separate world... He created a separate world to himself where we don't exist, as I said he is anti-social and very introverted. [...] I think the man has a little personality disorder..."

(34 year old woman, married, has 2 children, primary school graduate)

Disagreements due to the psychological problems of the husband and violence experienced by women were frequently underlined by women.

"I don't know, I couldn't quite figure it, it's like he has dual personality, his one moment doesn't match the other, he changes [...] No, in a moment, he does something totally unexpected, you expect him to say something maybe, at that moment he does something else, he either hits, or pulls my hair, or bites, or pinches, I don't know, or he kicks around. Once he hit and put his hand through the vitrine's glass and cut himself [...] He hurts himself too."

(20 year old woman, married has 1 child, high school graduate)

On the other hand, men who brought forward their psychological breakdown as the reason of inter-relational disagreements at times also claimed that they may be over-reactive due to their wives' bad temper.

"Sometimes because I speak as I mentioned, my wife would say 'you just go [mentioning the doctor], it seems like your nerves are upset', I went sometimes and she gave me a pill, it was drugging me, there was no other solution... No, there is nervousness, I mean normally I am nervous but, when she answers back then I become an uneasy person."

(56 year old man, married, has 5 children, primary school graduate)

"...Her psychology was disturbed too, it's not easy to give birth to 6 children, I mean think about it. She had a miscarriage, she stayed at the hospital. Her psychology was disturbed, she almost died. Therefore, I blame 10 percent of violence to that, I mean, okay, we fought, we argued too, but in some aspects she was right too..."

(35 year old man, married, has 1 child, university graduate)

Economic Problems

Unemployment, poverty and problems of earning a living have been indicated as one of the most important reasons of violence both by women and men. The mothers/mothers-in-law who participated in the interviews also confirmed that economic problems are one of the main reasons of disagreements threatening their daughters'/brides' marriages. In the previous sections, the narrations about economic violence/abuse gave some clues about how financial problems may create an appropriate environment for violence. The following narrations also refer to the economic problems of the households in which violence is experienced:

"The man has does not dare to look at me, and no strength to work. He has bad eyesight anyway, and he is using it as an excuse. Now he doesn't have a job. I mean, I brought up my children on my own feet. For 9 years he didn't care, I am the daughter of someone else, but he didn't even care for his own children. 9 years later, he came. Now it's more or less 8 months since he came, he still hasn't paid rent once, paid for water, electricity. [...] Then

the subject of money comes up, then our problem, I mean, I say 'this and this has to be paid', he says 'is it like I'm working and not paying', etc..."

(47 year old woman, married, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

"[The narration of a mother, whose daughter was exposed to severe violence and at last got divorced from her husband] "Her husband was gambling, was drinking. He had it all [...] No, he wasn't working. God knows, he wouldn't move a finger. My daughter wasn't working either at that time. I looked after them. I always looked after them without him [her own husband] knowing him. He made me suffer a lot. More or less 8 years, 7 years were over, this happened through these 8 year. It had been enough."

(62 year old mother, married, has 4 children, no education)

Man's Bad Habits (alcohol, drugs, gambling)

Among the families suffering from unemployment and financial problems, alcohol and drug use are observed to be common. Some women stated that this situation makes their husbands unbalanced, and cause behavioural disorders, including violent acts (See Box 12). The narrations of women reveal that in many cases of violence, men had drunk alcohol:

"...But if he has argued with the people he was drinking there, if he has something stuck on his mind, it is already obvious from the way he enters the house, he shouts and yells, he has stuff stuck in his mind, he has gotten hung up on us 10 days ago, he hits, he breaks, tells us to go to bed. [...] He drank 3 days a week, he certainly drank two three days, the next day he spent sobering up, he couldn't recover. When he came to the next day he drank again [...] Yes, when he drank, he exerted more violence, I don't know what they were teaching, talking among them."

(44 year old woman, lives separate from her husband, has 1 child, high school graduate)

Box 12

"Because he uses drugs, he is always aggressive. For instance when he gets up in the morning he is like a mad dog, I mean, when he uses drugs he is very mellow. But when he can't find it he is like a wild animal. [...] Of course, the problems arose from this. It changed the personality of my husband. [...] For example, he was planting drugs {marijuana} at home in tin boxes; I have two boys, they are growing, I mean, so that he doesn't set a bad example I say 'if you're smoking this poison, at least don't show it to the boys'. He would threaten that if one leaf of it was harmed, I would be going from the house, he would tell me off. How many times have my neighbours taken me from his hands? Mostly my beatings occurred because of drugs. [...] We have a nice cup of coffee, a nice conversation, in the evening you might get beaten up. Because of drugs, I think there were pills and stuff as well; I don't know for sure, it makes him lose balance. Makes him unbalanced."

(46 year old woman, married, has 2 children, high school graduate)

Problems Arising From the Families

These problems mainly arise when the married couple lives with the man's family, but different life styles of the spouses' families; inter-relational disagreements; denominational differences of the couple and its exploitation as a means of pressure on woman; or side effects of violence at the man's birth family home may also create several problems. In the previous sections, some examples about this subject were given. The following are examples to violent acts which ensue as a consequence of the families' interference:

"I couldn't get along with my family after I separated from my husband. Then I escaped with the father of my daughter. Something like an adventure it was. (She's laughing)... Her father and I belonged to different religious sects. His family didn't want me for that reason. My family didn't want at all anyway. They were pressuring me to return to my husband. I, of course, refused. Because there was nothing left between me and my husband anymore. Like that, I escaped with the father of my daughter in 2005. We were together for 2 years. Surely, we wanted a legal marriage, we wanted to do it but when my husband wouldn't divorce we couldn't. Because we had differences the families of both sides didn't want it. Mine didn't want at all anyway. And we didn't get any support from the family of my daughter's father... The religious sect difference took an extreme dimension. Insults and stuff. At the end, I was three months pregnant to ... [her daughter's name]. From my husband, I mean not husband from the father of my daughter, I experienced violence. I was pregnant then."

(26 year old woman, divorced, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

"No, he wasn't always like this, he changed after his parents started telling him 'she has her eyes on others, she will leave you.' [...] His father is not one to be talked to, but then I would talk with his mother and she would make up excuses like 'I am not saying things like that, others do, and it gets heard, seen."

(20 year old woman, married, with one child, high school graduate)

Jealousy of Woman or Man

Jealousy is an important cause for disagreement which has been brought up during the interviews of both women and men. Men claimed that jealousy of a woman gives rise to disagreements and arguments; on the other side, women stated that men use this argument to increase the pressure on them. The following narrations are some examples of these statements:

"Umm, there was this jealousy issue; I mean he was extremely jealous. I couldn't lift my head and look right or left when walking in the street, I couldn't go out by myself, he wouldn't go to work, he would hide somewhere, he was watching me I mean. You know, you can't talk comfortably to your brother/sister, you can't talk to your cousins, I was having an affair with everyone back then, 'you have an affair with every one, you sleep

with everyone.' [...] He would lock the door on me and leave, the curtains had to be drawn tightly, he would ask why the curtains were drawn back when he came home..."

(41 year old woman, divorced, has 2 children, high school graduate)

"Then I realized this, that when our friendship advanced, I realized these jealousies increased, a little more, for me it is completely violence, I realized that the insults increased. I couldn't see my friends from school anymore; from time to time I couldn't even go to school. [...] Because I had sexual intercourse with him on my own consent. After that happened, he started seeing me as his wife, and I realized that he was putting down limitations. He actually considered himself owning me, and I didn't want him to. After that he didn't let me to see even my friends he met and visited together. [...] I guess he thought that I can't go anywhere anymore, that I belong to him, because really those pressures happened after we had sexual intercourse, before that there wasn't any, there was nothing, I would go and come, and he would be very confident/trusting, after that it was all gone."

(25 year old woman, single, university graduate)

One of the interviewed men avoided speaking openly about his jealousy, but confessed that he did not trust his wife, and suspected that she had other men in her life; he started controlling her, and at the point he lost control, violence took place (See Box 13).

Another man stated that the main reason of disagreement in his relation with his wife has been jealousy; but this time the jealous spouse was not him, it was his wife:

Box 13

"...Look for instance, she had a widowed friend, frankly, as a precaution; I would ask her not to see her... She is a beautiful woman, may God spare her to her man, and a woman always out, always at cafés, I mean actually, ok I don't want to think bad, but I thought a lot about it and I always see contradictions there, but I don't want my wife to see this person. This is what I want from my wife. [...] don't become friends! If she comes, let her come to the house... but don't go out together with her, even erase her number. [...] She had a few such friends, she would always ignore, do it secretly, she would go downstairs and see her secretly, secretly talk on the phone. I would tell her not to do this once, I would tell her twice, I would hear about the third, hear about the fourth, on the fifth I would throw a fit [...] imagine what a man would become at that moment... I mean you get angry, at your angry moment when you raise your voice, and when the other party raises the voice as well, then at that moment you experience the reflexes your brains orders your hands and arms, that moment you hit your wife, hit and break furniture too, I broke many furniture."

(34 year old man, married, has 1 child, primary school graduate)

"I swear all because of jealousy I exert violence to her. I don't exert it for anything else... Imagine I'm sitting outside. Doing something. She immediately comes and says 'you looked at this woman, you're looking at that woman, this woman is looking at you!' I get angry, beat her. Someone comes to the door, a woman. She will say 'why did you talk?', and I say 'why are you saying that? Why are you doing such a thing? Isn't it shameful?' Such things happen [...] I apologize too. I love my wife, I say it to her. I mean I love my wife very much, and she loves me very much, too. She is jealous because she loves. But if it were not for my nerves I wouldn't exert that violence either...!"

(34 year old man, married, has 2 children, primary school dropout)

Infidelity of Woman or Man

"Betrayal" as a motive for violence has been brought up mostly in the narratives of women (women, and mothers/mothers-in-law who have been exposed to violence). While the betrayal by the man is an emotional violence in itself, a woman is exposed to additional violence when she attempts to say or ask something about this subject. It has been reported that, in some cases men who have betrayed their wives and leave their homes, only to return to their families after a while, and continue their violent acts, although sometimes with less intensely.

During the interviews with men, infidelity of a woman was brought up only once. In this story, the doubts of the man about the woman's fidelity prompted him to increase the control on his wife; this has been the beginning of disagreements and distrust in their relation; then, when the men went to jail, the woman had relations with another man, and thereupon the man started to exert violence in various ways; although they are not divorced yet, their relation is completely destroyed.

Women described their husbands' infidelity as follows:

"His eyes saw nothing. He left me - I release him from the legal marriage too. He stayed there how many years, let me see? He had a wedding, he furnished a house, and they [the other woman's family] had a house of their own. He left, and we built a life with the kids, we lived on our own. I took a job there, worked for 5 years or so. Then he came to visit his mother, and said he wanted to make peace, came here, came home with his mother. I hid, I said 'I don't want to make peace, if I were him, I'm a woman he's a man, if he has the least bit of pride he better not come near me' [...] I didn't want at first, said he shouldn't come. He rented a house, he lived there miserably for a month, but our destiny was together after all, again he came. Now it's been 4 -let me see how many years it's been, 2, 3, 4 years it's been. I was working there; he made me quit my job, my job that had social security. And now he has started working at a company, he repairs the cars and stuff. [...] he got sick and stayed at the hospital. Some things happened; the marriage was re-newed. At first we didn't want him to come, he had us quite restless after he came, he did it to the kids, he continued with the same again."

(50 year old woman, married, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

"He creates a life outside for himself. I mean the arguments arose from this of course. Until midnight... But I mean continuously, maybe one-two days in a week, but it doesn't work when its everyday [...] This lifestyle, the cheatings, as I said those broke my heart a lot, hurt me a lot. One, two, three, I mean a while, even when living in A.... I witnessed it; he wasn't home for 1.5 years. He was living with a woman and I knew it and we were married...."

(47 year old woman, divorced, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

Masculine Violence: Use of Force as means of Control

The motives brought forward by women and men form a basis for violence, and create justifications for it. However, violence being perpetrated- especially physical and sexual violence more frequently to- women by men shows that there is an inequality in this situation. Violence is a means of power, and a man who is powerful in the society (and sometimes men who afraid to lose their power), tries to retain his control on the woman by means of violence. A 26 years old woman who has experienced violence during two of her relations described this situation as follows:

"...When a man beats a woman he has the thought of having the power to do so. All men have this. My father had it too. I am strong enough for you. There is such a thought. They say it is ego, but I don't quite believe it, it is only a matter of strength. I mean, there is no such thing as the men satisfying their egos, satisfying themselves. Let's be open, it's not ego or anything. If a man really is powerful enough for a woman that man will always beat that woman. He will always exert violence. This is it.."

(26 year old woman, ongoing divorce suit, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

Some women have stated that men exert violence because they consider their spouses as their own property and dependent persons:

"And then there was this, he thinks 'she is my legal wife, I can beat her as I like, she doesn't have a place to go, no salary, no money, no future, she has a kid at school age, she loves the kid, how is she to put the kid through the school, what is she to do, she can't go, no matter how much I torment her, I can do whatever I want, she won't leave', he says 'what have you done for me?', I say 'I cleaned, did laundry, cooked the meal, did your ironing', 'have you done those for me, have you done those for me, if you're doing such things don't do them at all...'"

(44 year old woman, separated from her husband, has 1 child, high school graduate)

Psychological violence due to the differences of the social status of man and woman has been underlined by a young, single and educated woman:

"...You can't do this because you're a woman, you can't do that because you're a woman, you can't earn money because you're a woman, you can't work because you're a woman...

All of these are psychological violence, and when you relate it to economy, you already know, Turkey has a reality, men work, women stay at home and do housework, because there's no, I mean, even if they have economic freedom it is still the women who do that work at home. [...] There is always psychological violence anyway, I mean underestimating women."

(25 year old woman, single, university graduate)

According to men, the reasons for violence are stress due to economic problems; violence experienced/witnessed at the family home in childhood; and some psychological problems they or their spouses suffer. However, the narrations describing how violence is experienced reveal that the main reasons of men's violent acts are: losing control and authority over women; fear of not being able to "run the show;" or the urge for reminding her duties to her husband. Men have claimed that they are "forced" to exert violence under these conditions. As long as women submissively obey the rules no matter what happens and never argue against her husband, men do not consider violence necessary; but if the women break the rules, and above all, if she talks too much, becomes demanding and calls her husband to account, violence becomes inevitable.

A young man who participated in one of the focus group discussions described the situation as follows:

"..The man has his own rights and wrongs; I mean they have set some rules arising from his environment, from his family. If the woman intentionally comes upon the man, this causes violence. For example, the man doesn't want the woman to be around too much when there's a guest in the house, but if the woman stubbornly goes around, the man exerts violence ... Sometimes there are situations where the woman deserves it too. When she addresses him in public in a degrading, insulting way...He beats his wife"

(Focus group participant: Male, 20-25 years, single, below high school education)

The following narration also describes how a woman "deserves" beating for pointing out the "masculinity" of her spouse and driving him crazy:

"...She has probably seen it at her neighbour, [...] 'I saw it at that place, and it's very beautiful, we should change ours.' She doesn't consider the economic power of man. 'Woman, we can't buy it', 'why can't we buy it, why can't you buy it, who are we lower from, what kind of a man are you, what kind of a man!' What is he to do, he'll either steal or beat. Okay? Therefore, as you say, there are provocative factors. What is a man to do with this? It won't do to sweet talk her... and when she says 'what kind of a man are you!', when she then gets her punch, a blaze, sees the stars in front of her eye, and then it'll be 'I didn't mean it like that, so and so', two days she'll be cross, peace on the third day."

(Focus group participant: Male, 60-65 years, married for at least 15 years, below high school education)

Among the women interviewed, no one clearly supported the idea that sometimes women deserve to be beaten or that women forced the men to exert violence. However, some women are inclined to legitimize men's' actions, pointing out their innate bad/violent natures, or stressed conditions. Additionally, less educated elder women above 50 years old (mostly among the mothers/mothers-in-law), stated that it is the woman's duty to get along with a violent man and tranquilize him, and emphasized the importance of this for the children and the future of the family. According to their point of view, a woman must refrain from bothering her husband; she must not be provocative and know to hold her tongue. During the mothers/mothers-in-law interviews, besides the submission of women, husbands' "training acts" on necessity was also brought up. The following narrations reflect some opinions about this subject:

"I'm not about beating, but a woman must shy off the man a little. 'oooh, why has it happened like that', I don't accept why has it happened like that, a woman must know her womanhood a little, her tongue must become a little shorter. Don't get me wrong but she should protect him when necessary, when her husband is here or if she does something to humiliate her husband in public, then I'll beat that woman. I mean, not beat, but the husband should teach her manners."

(58 year old mother-mother-in-law, widowed, has 4 children, primary school graduate)

"...My, our elders, my mother or my father, we respect our men. Now, it's like this, my mother used to say 'my child, he is a man. You can never get along with a man if you say you're like that I'm like this.' My mother used to say that, may she rest in peace, 'he is to say you are to listen. Then you'll definitely get along' she used to say. And we did so. [...] I suffered many constraints. And I always obeyed him. Obeyed. For my children [...] My children understand now, they always appreciate..."

(65 year old woman, widowed, has 5 children, illiterate)

On the other hand, some young and educated women who were exposed to violence, stated that if a woman does not know exactly what to do with a man who can not control his anger, and unavoidably answers back, this infuriates the man more. However, these women believe that they should not remain unresponsive; the woman must react in some way, try to find a different means for communication, and talk about the violent act with her spouse (See Box 14).

Interviewed women and men pointed out the psychological problems which negatively influence mutual communication; financial problems; problem arising from the man's bad habits, jealousy, infidelity and the problems from the families, especially problems based on the interference and pressure of the man's family as the main reasons of violence. In most cases, these motives are mingled or the presence of one motive triggers the others. Even though the basis for violence is established by these problems, violent acts are usually performed by men against women, and this situation reveals an inequality. It has

Box 14

"I'm not the beaten up poor woman; I mean I've been the person experiencing violence one-on-one. I hit him too, I scratched him and stuff. [...] But this is the thing I don't believe in the most. It really is the thing I don't believe in the most. The thing that shouldn't be between two people. Anyway, I tried this, I didn't like it at all. [...] I decide to leave the house; I stay with a friend for a few days. My arm was purple, he was scratched here, I mean two wild stupid people, both of us [...] When something like this happens, after a while he calms down, he becomes the man I love and he's happy, he can go on with 'we were going to do that, this is left half done, come one we were going there.' But I can't continue my life like this. The things I've experienced are very harsh to me and I am hurt very very badly. [...] I mean as much as his temper situation, I have my sensitive situation; I have sensitivity in my perceptions and stuff. And therefore, effort is needed really, I mean even if not that day, at that moment or maybe the nest day, it is necessary to talk about it. Although I say this now, I couldn't do it."

(35 yaşında, evli, bir çocuk sahibi, üniversite mezunu kadın)

been underlined by some women that the powerful party, or the spouse who fears his/her power is at stake, exerts violence in order to control the other party. The narratives of some men also verify that when women do not do their duties, or do not act as expected; when men fear losing their control over their spouses and feel the necessity of knocking sense into them; or in circumstances where the men are unable to establish authority over women, they exert violence. Men have also stated that, if a woman talks too much, becomes demanding and calls her husband to account; the spouse "inevitably" exerts violence on woman.

Factors affecting the experiencing of violence as a long process

The interviews conducted with women show that, even if the motives, intensity and types of the violence change over time, it is usually a long-term process. As long as the woman does not make a radical decision and take steps to change the situation, violence increases in intensity, expands in context, being affected by certain problems related to family members, continues to be a part of the family life. The long duration of the domestic violence aggravates the physical and psychological problems created by violence for all of the family members, causes violence to be considered as a normal phenomenon, or as a part of socialization, and makes intervention even more difficult than in the beginning. There are many factors which prevent women taking immediate drastic measures; these have been elucidated by the interviewed women.

Thinking of violence as a temporary crisis

If a woman who is exposed to violence for the first time does not react decisively, domestic violence may be a long lasting phenomenon for the family. Women, when faced with unexpected and inexplicable violent acts from their husbands, are inclined to consider this situation as a temporary crisis; with this thought they prefer not to overreact and exaggerate the incident, and be forgiving. When the spouses hardly know each other; when their marriage is based on love; if the woman is much younger than the man; and when the couple lives with the man's family, the woman may take measures too late; she may even blame herself for the disagreements.

The statements below provide a clue regarding such behaviour by the women:

"They told me to get divorced, you'll end up separating, I loved him very much at that time, didn't want to separate or anything. I was hoping he would get better. My father told me many times 'he has not done his military duty yet, he has postponed it, he keeps not going', my father said 'let him go to his military duty, come back and we take you, talk to him from here'. I always talked to him [...] Let's do this, let's do that, you went to the military but nothing has changed. I waited till the last moment hoping it would get better, but instead of getting better everything is getting worse, doesn't change. It is a mistake to wait for it to change, I say I wish I hadn't waited at all, I wouldn't have been worn out that much, at least I would still have my savings in hand, I could make a new start."

(20 year old woman, married, has 1 child, high school graduate)

"[About the emotional violence experienced with the cheating of the husband] Of course I did, I asked why it happened to me. Everybody admires me, says how this could be done to a woman like you, but of course I am blaming myself as well. Wonder why? If I had behaved like this would it have happened or not, would he have treated me like that? I am a person always judging myself anyway. I find my faults as well. There are points in which I find faults. [...] But I don't know if still these would have happened or not, but there were places I behaved wrong. Maybe I was too young; I might have been indifferent..."

(41 year old woman, divorced, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

Despair

For women when they decide to leave home, not having a parent's home to return to, someone to support them in their immediate vicinity, lack of a friend to trust, leaves them desperate and convinces them to stay even though they experience violence. Some women, in the frame of the customs-traditions in their own environment, when speaking of returning to the family will not be accepted after being married, that the issue of honour will be brought up or that their children will not be wanted. And some women mention that their families won't welcome them as they have married against the will of their families, that even their families will be on their husbands' side, or feel alone and desperate

because there is also violence in their families and they don't want to return to that environment (See Box 15). Most of the time, they are also worried about standing on their own feet and continuing their lives, since they are uneducated or have never worked outside their houses. As a result of all these factors, they reach the point of sharing the violence that they experienced only when the dimensions of violence become quite severe, where the limits of endurance are exceeded. On the other hand, some women have mentioned that they didn't want to apply to any official institution or NGO for support unless they have reached a final decision about divorce. In the narrations below, the 'desperate' situations the women experience are stated:

"He would show me the door. His biggest justification, I mean the thing he took courage from was that I had no relatives. That I didn't have parents. That I didn't have a brother. [...] I had my, 'if only's', as I said if I had someone to hold on to at the beginning, I wouldn't have taken that beating. [...] Or else I wouldn't be able to be on my feet. I mean there needs to be moral support but also good financial support. Financial support. Our women suffer because of lack of finances. Really. I mean if a mother or a father support their daughter a woman can stay on her feet. I had no one. That's why I endured that much."

(46 year old woman, married, has 2 children, high school graduate)

"And then the family, my family is conservative, I mean actually they are not too conservative but, I can say they are ignorant, I mean they didn't improve themselves as much as I did, I mean they can't accept easily my divorce, that I'll be divorced [...] I don't think they would guide me. They won't say 'okay, sister, you can't live on an unhappy life like this, we're behind you, if it doesn't work, if you can't make it, finish it, divorce', they won't say it."

(34 year old woman, married, has 2 children, primary school graduate)

The loneliness of the women who experience violence and the lack of support or timely support from their families are reflected in the interviews conducted with mothers/mothers-in-law. Most of the mothers and mothers-in-law, behave based on the role model they have internalized as a woman, their own experiences and the pressure which comes from the environment. Especially when their daughters/daughters-in-law have children they push for continuing the marriage, find jobs for unemployed son-in-laws, provide financial support, think that the disagreements will be settled this way. Generally, they do not encourage their daughters by standing behind them in their decisions. A serious intervention only occurs when the women exposed to violence gets sick from the violence or come to the point of leaving their houses. In some situations, the women exposed to violence hesitate to return to their birth families in a case of disagreement, because they married without the consent of their families often due to violence by the father in their families.

It is generally not welcome by the women's families that the women leave their home and return to their families' homes, and that in connection women endure violence for a very long time. This was stated by a doctor of forensic medicine as follows:

Box 15

"My family is pressuring me to go back to my husband. Because if I go back to my husband, everybody's gossiping will be reduced, people won't regard me as a widow, in a bad way... I don't see going there as salvation, I mean how can I. I will go to hell, I will again see my sister-in-law, my mother-in-law, my brothers-in-law, I will again experience the same things from them, they will always look at me degradingly, I didn't want to do this. The more I didn't the more they pressured. Last time we again had a big fight [...] you know how you have to be on one front in a war, they had to be on one side. And usually my husband's family would be on my husband's side; [...] my family would be on my husband's side, too. You are wrong... They think as 'you're a woman, what can you do, if you divorce what can you do?' [...] You are officially dishonourable; I mean you are out there, dishonourable. You aren't able to do anything, you have nothing to do, nowhere to go, no remedy. No remedy, if someone doesn't help you, there's no remedy. For example I came to this association so that they help me. If there wasn't this association I have no remedy. What will I do? For example I am on the street 2-3 days later, where will I stay, where will I sleep?"

(35 year old woman, separated from her non-civil married husband, has 1 child, high school graduate)

"I don't know, no matter how much the woman is beaten she doesn't easily want to leave the family environment, because when she goes back to her birth family, they don't accept her in this country. Like marriage with no return, once you leave the house as a bride, it is difficult to even come back, and she can't turn even to the closest person she can ask for help... The woman is appalled, she has no family to return to or the family she can return to is already powerless, if this woman returns there, she is regarded as a burden to her birth family..."

(Doctor of forensic medicine)

Shame

Many women, especially those experiencing physical violence, are ashamed of this, causing them to become introverted, not to share this event even with their closest ones, to hide it from others, and as a result this blocks their way to obtain support of any kind. And this, in the end, increases the loneliness of the women experiencing violence. A few women emphasized this subject, and some of them mentioned that they had overcome it after a certain point:

"Of course one can't tell somebody else that one has been beaten... I mean, I always preferred to hide it. [...] You can't say 'we had a fight, I was beaten, this happened, I was beaten like that', it was shameful for me"

(41 year old woman, divorced, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

"There were times on which I didn't leave the house for days, I didn't draw back the curtains for days, I didn't draw back the curtains, I was ashamed of the neighbours, of those voices, and noises [...] I was locking myself up in the house..."

(44 year old woman, married, has 1 child, high school graduate)

"At first I was wearing turtlenecks although the weather was hot, I'd pull it up here so that it wouldn't be seen. I couldn't go out of the house, I was crying, but some time later I overcame it because I learned there was nothing for me to be ashamed of. He had to be ashamed."

(20 year old woman, married, has 1 child high school graduate)

Situation of the Children

The most important factor preventing the women from running away from home is their children. They do not want to leave their children to fathers who don't carry the responsibility for the family, don't have a regular job, have bad habits, neglect their children and sometimes are aggressive towards them. In addition, they have worries about how to support themselves should they leave with their children. Besides, even women, who support the family completely by themselves, are afraid that their husbands will exert more violence and hurt the children too, when they attempt to divorce or leave them. Also, some women do not want their children to grow up without a father, prefer to wait for the children to grow up and make the decision of separation with them.

"One day again I couldn't take it, one night I took my bag and went to my friend, I went to a friend who lived in the neighbourhood. In the morning I got up and saw him at the door with the children. [...] Of course when I saw the children I couldn't resist it and returned back. [...] Later I talked to my son, I told him that I was thinking about divorce, leaving that house, because I thought I was harming them, and my son said 'don't do it mom, see, dad is not interfering with you, stay here, I mean be with us, you can divorce when we grow up, we became a university student or have job'. He said 'don't disrupt our system; let's manage it till I am in the university.'"

(47 year old woman, divorced, has 2 children, high school graduate)

"...As I had nowhere to turn to, I waited for my children to grow. Of course in the meanwhile the purple of my eye would never heal. [...] Where am I to leave my two kids and go, that kind of a person... [...] My kids were small. I mean for their schooling I endured. I waited for my children to grow, when they were in senior high school, finally my older son said 'mom how much more will you endure, how much more will you be patient.' [...] I mean, I struggled for my children."

(46 year old woman, married has 2 children, high school graduate)

On the other hand, the attitude of one woman who left the house where she was exposed to violence during pregnancy, who asked for support from a women's NGO and lived

at the shelter for a while, is that women experiencing violence should take their children and run away from home. She stated her determination about this subject as follows:

"Get your kid and run. I'm serious. I mean I can't understand. Really. They should take their kids; they definitely shouldn't give up on their kids, no matter what. Really, a child is something else. They definitely and definitely shouldn't raise their kids in that environment. They shouldn't even think about it and even if there are ten [children] they should get them and run. She'll probably do something. Create alternatives. Probably, must, when there are kids you feel the urge to explore more. Therefore they should get their kids and run. They should leave that man."

(26 year old woman, divorce suit ongoing, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

The View of Society towards Domestic Violence

Some of the factors that adversely affect efforts to prevent and combat violence are the following: that violence is regarded as a domestic problem in the society; that others from the outside don't want to interfere for the sake of saving the family; that a firm attitude is not assumed towards violence; and, even that it is thought that the one exposed to violence, too, might have a fault. One of the women expressed the society's different point of views towards women and men as follows:

"When a woman beats a man, I mean slaps him, then it is considered as disrespect, very shameful. [...] But when a man does it, nothing like that happens. And a man of course gets presumptuous of that. They regard it as a freedom, as something special for men. I think, maybe if I had the same freedoms I would do it too. Isn't it same with cheatings? The woman always hides it, it is considered very shameful. For the men it isn't anything like that. It is a source of boasting among themselves."

(41 year old woman, divorced, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

In one of the focus group where discussions held with the men, one participant had a similar opinion, however, the same person also emphasized the role women should play:

"...the woman who says 'I'm being beaten at home' is ashamed, but the man saying 'I'm beating my wife" is not ashamed on the street, at the coffee house... I mean if the society condemned the man, if the society was educated like that and this man condemned, this man couldn't do it... Actually, the woman has an important role at this point."

(Focus group participant: Male, 60-65 years, married for at least 15 years, above high school education)

The women's initial lack of reaction against violence usually causes the violence to continue in increased dosages. The women believe at first that the violence experienced is a temporary crisis, they feel shame and are not able to share with others, helplessness created by the lack of close confidants who will open their arms to them and a parent's

home to go to, the situation of children and the general views of society towards domestic violence can be counted among many factors preventing women from taking a serious step against violence and form an obstacle for them. When violence is experienced over a long period of time this increases the damage suffered by all family members, women and children primarily. In addition, when experiencing violence for a long time this makes intervention more difficult than at the beginning, on the other hand it further creates the danger of it being normalized and perceived as a natural part of daily life.

The effects of violence on women, men and children

While the bodies and souls of women exposed to violence suffer serious depredation, some perpetrators of violence also mentioned the loss of joy of life and a feeling of world-weariness. Although the people experiencing violence at home expressed that they try to protect their children and don't let them feel it, it is most of the time the case that each individual, including children, get their share of violence in one way or the other in such families. It is possible to understand from the expressions the women and men interviewed, as well as from the interviews conducted with professionals, that children especially are the most serious victims of violence. Some professionals who have observed the children of women exposed to violence even emphasized that children are the primary victims.

"The children are the primary victims of domestic violence. The women are the secondary... Although there are similarities between violence exerted on women and children, the children are more damaged..."

(Social services expert)

Effects on Women:

The violence experienced and the feelings of fear and anxiety created by violence, has impact on the health, especially the mental health, of the women. Most suffer insomnia, take medicines against depression and complain about the side effects of these; most of them speak about feelings of fear and anxiety. Most of the time the women feel themselves incapable, weak and unable to do many things they used to do before. Many women related physical and psychological disturbances as such:

"...When my husband was about to come I would escape to the toilet. I mean, will he come home drunk, will he beat me... Even at this moment for example, when the door would be slammed loudly I would be very afraid. Because from the way he slammed the door as he entered the house I would know how he came home... All these left psychological things on me."

(46 year old woman, married, has 2 children, high school graduate)

"He beats me now too, but he has put it off a little I mean, he has put it off but he still has his pressure on me. I can't go any place for a visit; I don't know, I am extremely distressed

too, my mental health has deteriorated. I became like crazy, I'm like crazy, when somebody says something, it goes out from here, the words don't settle on my brain. I forget my accounts. For example I want to do my regular prayers, perform salaat, I can't even do that. I'm in such a situation, I mean my mental health has so much deteriorated, I have pills [...] They say there's shrinkage in my brain veins, so I have pills..."

(34 year old woman, married, has 4 children, primary school graduate)

"I feel such a weight on myself, so heavy... I feel sorry for myself, for the time that has passed by... I feel sorry for the time I spent with this man, aware that the time passed won't come back... For example, yes I received psychological treatment, I am still receiving it; the medicines I used were too heavy for me, I couldn't wake up to go to school, I couldn't go to school even if I wanted to. I would go to bed, I would take the medicine, I'd take it at 8, I would go to bed before it was 9. I know days when it was 2-3 o'clock the next day when I got up, can one sleep that much? [...] It affected my life, increased my fears, it even affected my family, I mean now I'm a person who's being checked everyday. I mean I'm being called everyday to see if I'm okay, now people fear for my life, they really do, they fear for my life."

(25 year old woman, single, university graduate)

Some of the women talked about a state of exhaustion, loneliness, feelings of unhappiness and helplessness, inability to join society, feeling shame and feelings of urge for suicide. An expert for social services related how women who have experienced violence feel themselves worthless, in the following words:

"She feels worthless. Sometimes, if her educational level is low, she may also feel guilt... I mean, she may also feel herself to be guilty for the violence she is exposed to. She has the feelings of shame, that's why she is not telling about it to anyone. Worthlessness, she doesn't consider herself worthy. And she views this situation as loss of confidence, loss of dignity in the society; therefore she tends to hide it."

(Social services expert)

One of the women described the change she has gone through as a result of violence and her dilemma as a state of carrying a heavy, insurmountable burden (See Box 16).

Some women also expressed problems such as the inability to participate in social life, inability to talk to people, besides some physical disturbances. In the mean time some also related their efforts to become their own doctors by reading books on women:

"It affected me very much, I couldn't speak in public. For example let's say; my kid says 'there's a parent-teacher meeting' I couldn't go; I was so suppressed that I could not speak in regular sentence, my face would turn red; then I was embarrassed towards people; I was afraid that people would ask me something. I couldn't answer. But then, I pulled myself together; our neighbour, our neighbour downstairs was an instructor in the university, [...]

Box 16

"It's like that ... It's like I'm not myself anymore, like there's someone else, I can't think as I used to... I was a very merry person, kind and loving towards other people, a very friendly person, but now, I became like a ghost. That smiling face is gone for instance... Frowning, always thinking what to do, looking for a remedy for myself, but not able to find it, at a dead end. Imagine I went to my family, stayed there for six months; they had a balcony and a garden near the balcony. For six months I sat at that balcony and watched the leaves of the tree across me [...] Very much so, very broken down, as if the weight of the whole world is on my back. I mean I think about how I should overcome that load, I can't find a solution. There is none, the

(35 year old woman, separated from her non-civil married husband, has 1 child, high school graduate)

I mean because they heard our voices, she brought me books. I read a lot of books about women's psychology. I read a lot of the late Duygu Asena's books. With the books I read, slowly my psychology, I mean, I became my own doctor so to say."

(46 year old woman, married, has 2 children, high school graduate)

And another woman has told that being continuously exposed to violence has made her also inclined to violence and prevented her from acting 'normal':

"Look, when we gathered the furniture and were coming here, when he went down on his knees, I said 'look, I am not normal anymore, because I, too, am exhausted now'. When he shouted at me, I started shouting too, as he kept hitting, I started shouting and also showed other reactions. I broke things, I started breaking whatever was in the house; as he kept shouting I took the panel from the wall and smashed it on the floor, hit the coffee table, it was made of glass, turned the coffee table upside down, I couldn't take my frustration away, I could not do anything to him, so I started to find a vent like that... I also said 'let's go to a doctor together, you are not normal', 'I am quite normal' he said, 'you are the one that's abnormal, you go to the doctor'..."

(44 year old woman, married/lives separate from her husband, high school graduate)

Effects on Men:

Although they did not dwell upon it as much as women, the men who can not get along with their wives and accepted using violence on them from time to time, also mentioned that this situation was affecting them negatively. They suffered headaches and insomnia and some spoke about loss of joy of life and even about hating themselves:

"...one becomes world weary. Sometimes one loses one's joy of life. Let me put it that way, one loses the joy of life [...] Yes, that usually happens to both of us. I mean, it happens to

my wife, too. Headache and insomnia. You can't sleep, you can't sleep comfortably, I mean it hurts... Life pricks, living pricks, but when you make peace or when everything is settled, it becomes better..."

(35 year old man, married, university graduate)

"I told her too. 'Don't force me to do actions that will make me hate myself.' Because I hate myself, I don't like myself in such a situation [...] For example if I am pushed into that quarrelsome environment, which I don't like and then I have to shout and yell, I don't like myself, I start hating myself."

(42 year old man, married, has 2 children, university graduate)

"...if we talk about psychological health, it's not good, I mean [...] there was constant headache, and I suffered heavy insomnia for a while. I mean I am up until 3, 4 {o'clock}, sometimes till the morning listening to music, listening to the television. When you cannot sleep you think that somehow you should find something so that the time will pass...."

(34 year old man, married, has 1 child, primary school graduate)

Effects on Children:

Whenever there is some form of violence in the family, children are usually the closest witnesses of violence and from time to time they experience it directly. Since they try to interfere with the father to prevent his violence to the mother, they themselves may become victims or sometimes the mother may take it out on them. Children are confronted with verbal, emotional and physical violence. It has also been mentioned that these children usually become introverts, have fears and experience communication problems. They are unsuccessful in school life; they don't even want to go to school being shy of their friends asking questions about their parents. The women narrated this situation as follows:

"Imagine, you witness your mother, who is always exposed to violence, being exposed to violence, as you are trying to interfere father hits you too. The children retired into their shells... I mean, he intimidated them. They were just locking themselves up in the room and crying. As they grew, for example when they were in secondary school, they tried to intervene... Finally, when he last beat me, before he threw me out, my older son grabbed his father's throat, saying 'I won't let you beat my mom anymore'. This time, he got swearing and violence [...] For example the children go into the pool, they're in the pool, he swears at them loudly from the balcony. If they don't hear him in the pool... For example, he calls my son, when he doesn't hear him he shouts swearing at him. He is offended among all his friends. He is such a father...."

(46 year old woman, married, has 2 children, high school graduate)

"Their education [...] my daughter who is already married is a primary school dropout, the boy is from high school, junior high school dropout; at the moment I have a daughter going

to secondary school, but she is also problematic. A psychologist has said that the reason for this is fear ... I took her to many doctors when she was little. I mean, there is nothing wrong in any part of her body, but the child is introverted. She answers a question we ask her, but if you don't ask the kid just stares at you with fear. She thinks that the fights and quarrels at that time will kill her. I mean she is introverted."

(47 year old woman, married, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

"When I say I was affected, for instance, when my children were little I was exerting violence on my child, for which I still shed tears... Then, let's say when my neighbour did something I would scold her/him..."

(46 year old woman, married, has 2 children, high school graduate)

While some of the men interviewed told that their children were too introverted or shy, some expressed that their child is 'too much inclined to violence' with the following words:

"... But, as much as possible, you try not to argue near the kid, but you never know when an argument will start, it starts in a flash. You send the kid to the room. The kid is little, but he won't stay alone in the room. He comes back again, hears the voices, comes back asking what is happening. At that time we slow down of course. We say 'just joking around son, we are talking not fighting.' But the kid is affected. He, too, becomes ill-tempered. [...] He becomes ill-tempered and inclined to violence, [...] I mean he throws around his toys, breaks, scatters, spills, tries to draw the attention to himself. I mean he tries to drive us away from that thing. Tries to drive us away from that quarrelsome environment by drawing the attention to himself."

(35 year old man, married, has 1 child, university graduate)

That the tendency towards violence increases especially in boys who have took their fathers as example has also been mentioned in the interview conducted with a professional:

"...The child does the same as his father and it is a 5 year old boy doing this. We took the woman to our shelter, comforted her a little... The shelter is crowded of course, there are kids; the women are making noise. That 5 year old kid immediately went to the kitchen, took a knife somehow, said 'I'm telling you all to shut up, I, too, am crazy like my father, and I'll cut you all up. You have to shut up.' And we had that child treated for a long time. It is very sad, but because these happen in front of the children, the children experience this one-to-one. Of course they are affected."

(Shelter's employee)

Experiencing violence not only affects the one exposed to it, but it also affects everyone in the family, primarily children. While women who experienced violence are harmed physically in various ways, they also have psychological damage which is difficult to heal. Experiencing violence hurts the pride of women, destroys their self confidence and most

the time women become unable to do the things they used to. In the case that they can't share their problems out of shame or because they think they won't get support, they feel completely alone, isolated from society and in a dilemma. Sometimes they direct their accumulated anger towards others, first of all towards their children. Some of the men who have exerted violence (especially those with higher education) explained that this situation has damaged their psychological health, ruined their joy of life. One issue on which women, men and experts agree is the fact that domestic violence is causing great damage primarily to children. It has been mentioned that children living in an environment of violence may experience problems such as introversion, avoiding communication with their friends, not wanting to go to school, as well as becoming ill-tempered and inclined to violence.

The reactions of women to violence

How women react to violence is affected by factors such as their

- age,
- · education,
- · employment,
- what kind of a womanhood role they have internalized,
- number and age of children,
- whether the emotional connection to their husband continues,
- whether they have a social environment and/or family members and close relatives/friends who support them,
- level of knowledge about their rights and about the organizations/institutions which struggle against violence,
- relations with NGOs working on this issue.

In addition, their reactions may change over time, depending on the form and duration of experiencing violence. Most the time, married women with children, especially if their education level is low, are not working and don't have any economic support; they are usually unable to show a very determined reaction to violence and thinking about their children, they don't dare to leave home definitely or divorce. The fact that women do not have someone from their family supporting them causes violence to continue and in this case most the time women find it difficult to make a move because they completely lose their self confidence. And in some cases, women leave their home for a few days or they adapt an opposing attitude by not providing some services that their husbands expect from them. So, they try to punish their husbands in a way, but after a while they forgive them.

Forms of behaviour and reaction

Keeping silent, accepting, 'surrendering to their fate', thinking of their children before

everything else, seeing also the good sides of their husbands and somehow managing to continue living together with their husbands is usually the kind of reaction internalized by women over 50 years of age, with little education and with values of family and women shaped in more traditional family structures. For these women leaving the husband or getting a divorce are forms of behaviour which are also not regarded as appropriate in their social environment. They have been taught "where you go in your wedding dress, you can only leave in your shroud" by their mothers; they have learned that the duty of a woman is to protect the family and the children whatever may come. They themselves feel obliged to behave this way. These women voiced their reactions to violence with the following expressions:

"I try not to run counter to him, for instance if he is saying something I don't answer back ... He finds an excuse says something and breaks your heart. Then he says something, talks out of the place. I try not to complain, I'm used to it now [...] I try not to do things that upset him, so that he can't find an excuse."

(50 year old woman, married, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

"The kids too, because he has a temper everybody tries to hold themselves back... The kids are used to it; they try to go easy on him. [...] We get out of the room, I mean we get out of the place where he is. Since I can not cope with him, I don't answer back."

(48 year old woman, single/lives with her family, university graduate)

Besides, it has been observed that these women do not think positively of actions such as going to the police station and complaining about the husband, leaving home and applying to women's shelters. The reason for this is not only that they are scared of their husbands, but they also think that revealing family problems to others is 'not appropriate.' Mother/mother-in-law interviews have supplied much information about such views and have especially reflected that these women don't regard shelter as places where everyone can go. They regard these institutions as places necessary and appropriate only for women who have nobody and are alone. Expressions below reflect some of the opinions on this issue:

"The shelters are very good places for women who have no one, whom nobody claims. [...] The ones left alone. Rather than living on the streets, it is a very good place. I think so... In my opinion"

(55 year old mother/mother-in-law, married, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

"You see, women are sleeping in the parks. They have opened shelters, how good... Of course we hear, sometimes I get upset, I say I'll go to the shelter. Sometimes when I get upset. I have a lot of people who love me. I myself can not go there. I stay here with my landlady. I have children, I can't do this to them..."

(55 year old woman, married, with 9 children, illiterate)

"...Mostly I think, that the families themselves back up their children. Of course this happens if she has a family, but think about those who don't have a family. When I went to Women's Solidarity [she is talking about a women's organization], and then went to the courthouse, a young woman came there with a baby in her arms, the husband had sacked her out, she had no one. They were going to send her to the Purple Roof [a women's organization]. And there, only for 3 weeks. Do you know what is best my dear, you have to send the girls to school, educate the girls and, ensure that they stand on their own feet..."

(63 year old woman, married, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

Besides the mother and mothers-in-law, among women who are younger and more conscious about women's rights, there were also some who had negative attitudes about applying to official institutions. They stated that only those women who have definitely decided to end their relationship should do this and they don't find it appropriate for themselves to seek shelter in such homes. One of them stated her opinions as follows:

"...I mean I didn't want to. I mean if something like that happened, I mean that is also a method too, you go to the police, gendarme, whatever. All in all this is at the same time a public offence... They send them to the psychological illness departments, for a while he goes there and receives treatment... He is forbidden to come home in the meantime and the woman takes a rest and then again reconciliation. But I don't think this helps a lot. I mean I don't think it functions much in the sense of getting together again. But if you want a divorce, it is the best method to get someone completely out of your life. Because you will be proving it."

(35 year old woman, married, has 1 child, university graduate)

Yet another woman has expressed her negative attitude towards women's shelters by saying that she did not trust the facilities provided by them and she would be living in uncertainty there. Besides she was against the use of the word 'shelter' (See Box 17).

Box 17

"...I don't believe that will be a solution... I don't believe because everyone who has trouble goes to places like those... I know a little how things work in bureaucracy, what is what there... How much this government, or let's say the state to be more accurate, pays to public institutions or institutions-organizations as such. [...] I mean I don't think that place will be a solution and that's why I never thought about going to such places [...] If I went to the women's shelter, how many days can I stay there, what will I do, what will my end be? Will they provide me with a job, a profession, a social security, a salary? No. I mean there will again be uncertainty. Maybe there will be experts, therapists, advisers and so on, but I think I will be more depressed there; I think there's uncertainty there with thoughts of what will my end be, what I will be... What does shelter mean, what am I, a parasite? [...] But a person who doesn't have a place to hold on to, no security, such as a drowning man clutching at a straw, if one has no other alternative, he must go. One goes then of course, but it's not suitable for me."

(34 year old woman, married, has 2 children, primary school graduate)

Another woman who has had the experience of a shelter, after telling about her negative experiences at the shelter, expressed that compared to being beaten by a man, women's shelter can be considered a 'heaven' to live (See Box 18).

While some women show their reaction to violence by resorting to verbal violence, some try to punish the men and prevent violence by getting cross at their husbands and not talking with them, separating their beds, leaving home for a period of time, not providing the services the husband wants or expects and sometimes doing a few of these together.

Two women, who have had to resort to verbal violence or have emphasized the importance of defending themselves by all means, expressed their views as such:

"...Then there's one thing left. He'll shout at me, I'll shout at him, he'll shout at me, I'll shout at him. And then, he goes on saying 'how ugly you are, what an awful woman you are, and so and so...' This time he gets into personal humiliation..."

(35 year old woman, married, has 1 child, university graduate)

"As much as defended myself, I defended verbally. [...] For example, like a woman who says 'I've been beaten but I'm against it' while she is being beaten, at that point you defend

Box 18

"Yes I have made use of it for three months. I stayed there for three months. I stayed at the state's, at SHÇEK's shelters... There are many women there. Of course not all of them experienced violence. Some are running away from someone, some have separated from their husbands. There are pregnant women; there are healthy and unhealthy people. There are psychologically imbalanced, schizophrenic people. When they put such people among pregnant people, among people who are in a very sensitive phase, this causes the healthy to become also unhealthy. [...] Of course;, we all stayed together. There were two rooms. There were 6 beds in each. There was a living room. We stayed there. There were sofas; they were opened when it was crowded. They give the meals in the morning, at noon and in the evening. Since the meals came from a catering company they were not edible. [...] And really I couldn't eat anything until birth. I could feed myself on water and milk. [...] Of course, you are exposed to spiritual violence there. They would shout at women with children, imagine. They would say 'your husbands kicked you out since you are like this.' I mean the staff there have such an understanding. No matter what we did, we could not change this viewpoint they have. [...] We had bath day once in a week. Only fifteen minutes. No more. If you use more time right away you get scolded. [...] Shelters. Its environment is not at all a pleasant environment, but instead of being beaten by a man and getting beaten when you are pregnant carrying a child, or in front of the child, the shelter is like heaven..."

(26 year old woman, divorce suit ongoing, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

yourself and your sect... There is nothing else you can do. He swears at your sect. Come and go easy on this if you can! How will that be? It's not possible. It really isn't. Let's talk frankly. As I have said, I stay distant to lies. This is open and right. I never go easy on it."

(26 year old woman, married, has 1 child, secondary school drop out)

A woman who could not react much to violence in the beginning told about the punishments she gave him later as such:

"Of course I was cross at him and I separated my bed. There was nothing else to be done. [...] You want to punish him somehow at that moment. You don't do what he wants, you separate your bed, don't do his ironing. You don't prepare him his meals and say 'go and get it yourself'. I mean things like these. Otherwise, there's nothing else to be done. And sometimes you take your suitcase and go to your mother's house..."

(41 year old woman, divorced, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

Another woman, thinking that she can prevent violence, applied some strategies with the aim to scare and dissuade her husband. When none of them prevented violence she was compelled to call the police and later on she has left the house with her daughter. How she tricked and tried to stop her husband by telling him that she had placed cameras in various rooms in the house is quoted below:

"...One day I said, my daughter had a computer, I said 'A... [a relative of her husband] has installed a camera; when the computer is on he will see on the camera what you do; he will be able to watch this from his/her own house". He was swearing, shouting in the kitchen and then he would enter the living room saying 'matron, how are you, are you ok, do you need anything'. Actually there is no camera or anything [...]... Now, when he attempted to hit me, swear at me in the kitchen, I would immediately escape to the living room and say 'go ahead, swear now'; he would say 'when did I ever swear at you.' Then I told A..., I said 'I did so and so, don't let your uncle learn about this'. He said 'look uncle, I've installed it in the living room but now I will have one installed in the kitchen too. I will have one installed in that side room'. Now only the bedroom was left; we managed like this for a while..."

(44 year old woman, married, has 1 child, high school graduate)

Some women, while saying that they have endured violence for their children, used different coping strategies to help them put aside their psychological problems such as having the least possible relation with their husbands, not being home most of the time, joining different activities to develop their capacities, wandering around and establishing friendships. One of the women interviewed conveyed this situation as follows:

"I mean, because I think that when I am spending most of the time at home, the problems will grow in my mind and this will return as rage, violence and grudge towards people at home, I mean to my children and my husband - believe me I don't even want to call this

person my husband, I really can't take it.. So I don't want to spend much time at home..."

(34 year old woman, married has 2 children, primary school graduate)

Among the interviewed women, very few women applied for help to NGOs.. It has been observed that although these women are not similar in their life styles, they are generally younger, educated women with wish to stand on their own feet. Other than these there are also some women who reach the relevant NGOs when they feel that they have come to a final point in their experience of violence and need support. It has been observed that with the support women receive from NGOs, they became stronger psychologically, were able to find a job and found the courage to apply for help to official channels or to go to women's shelters. They were also inclined to carry out the legal processes as necessary and also got help when needed. It has also been observed that some women have later directed other women to the NGO they obtained support from or that they themselves started working there as active members. Some of these women stated that they have got the names of NGOs from the women's programs on television or from their acquaintances. The women said that they were provided with shelter or work and received psychological and legal support from these NGOs as follows:

"I asked this place from 118 [unknown numbers]. I asked if I could get the addresses of a few women support foundations. [...] After I started working my head eased a little more, I felt better. I don't think about the house that much; of course I think, it is in my mind, it but it's not like being always in the house and thinking. I can let myself go now.... My mother has also calmed down because she was feeling very sorry for me."

(48 year old woman, single/lives with her family, university graduate)

"After I was exposed to violence by my mother-in-law, I left that house and went to Women's Solidarity Foundation. I had applyed two months before I left the house. I was receiving psychological treatment there. By telephone. And then I applied to the Women's Solidarity Foundation. 4 days, at that time they had a shelter; I stayed there four days. Then I returned to my family..."

(26 year old woman, divorce suit ongoing, has 1 child, secondary school drop out)

"Then we met to the lawyer. With A... [a lawyer from the organization], we came here... and the court process started. We filled in a complaint, first we went to the prosecutor; before the court hearing we went to the prosecutor, I gave a statement to the prosecutor at the court house; there we learned that, the prosecutor - we wanted to file a petition again for his[her partner] arrest, but we learned that we could not, there was no objection authority above the prosecutor's decision, there was no such thing in our laws, and that we could only ask the judge for an arrest, and the first hearing was on February, 12th...[...] I became a member of X [an NGO name]; some of the people there had experienced similar things like me and this organization works on violence against women anyway. So, I wanted to take place in it very very much, I became a member."

(25 year old woman, single, university graduate)

Some women go to NGOs in the end, when they think that there is no way out or apply to an official institution with the support they receive from others:

"Mrs. I.... had me get a doctor's report and from there we went to the hearing, I didn't press charges against him at the hearing, but with the medical report and with a swollen mouth and eyes and burst lips, the judge set him [her husband] on parole. He was neither arrested nor set free; now he has to go and sign for 5 years... [...] Now, like this, although I didn't press charges the judge didn't close the file."

(20 year old woman, married, has 1 child, high school graduate)

Persons from different professions also stated their views on the fact that women apply to institutions only when the final phase is reached:

"When the physical evidences become hard to conceal; other than that, the great majority of the cases applying to the police saying 'he is beating me' are being tried to be solved... But it is a difficult job. It is a difficult job in Turkey for a woman to go and complain."

(Doctor of forensic medicine)

"As a result of my work, among cases we take in to the guest house [shelter], there are cases with no return. I mean, there is not a single woman saying 'my husband slapped me' and leaving the house and coming here. These women's lives were threatened, their lives were seriously under danger, or had left their houses and ran away because their husbands were going to kill them."

(Social services expert)

Sharing/talking about violence with others

Most women share the violence they experienced after some time with their family or someone they feel close to; however they generally can't find support, and are even discouraged from taking action. The families generally react towards the women by saying 'get along with your husband', 'do not break up your home'. Only when violence reaches very high levels, or when the woman gets sick, hurt, or receives threats of being killed does the intervention of the families comes into play. If the women have married without the consent of their families, they usually have more difficulty in bringing such acts to their families. This situation was reflected especially in the mother/mother-in-law interviews. The mothers/mothers-in-law, who experienced violence in their families, suggested to their abused daughters and daughters-in-law, to look after their children and homes. The mothers/mothers-in-law mostly help financially as an outsider by supporting the unemployed husband and intervene only when the women can not endure it anymore. In such cases, while fathers remain outside the event (since they are also often perpetrators of violence or they don't want to be involved or get involved), the mothers try to do something within the frame of their own means and knowledge-experience. Except for one family (and mostly the mother) who supported their abused daughter, from the beginning of her

marriage, and actively took action, most mothers/mothers-in-law, despite blaming the perpetrators of violence, are more inclined to save the 'family' rather than the woman. Meanwhile, it has been observed that the approaches of mothers towards their daughters and daughters-in-law are a little different. While blaming the sons-in-law easier with their daughters, it is seen that on the other hand they prefer to dwell upon how their sons have changed now and to emphasize that their daughters-in-law also have some mistakes. Some statements about the attitudes of mothers towards the violence their daughters and daughters-in-law were exposed to are as follows:

"He started beating her in the first week, though she wasn't telling us much. When she came to us, when we went, her eye would be purple, she'd lie saying 'I hit it on the cupboard; I hit it against the door.' Then it didn't work with him, I found a job in Ankara and brought her here. After she came, my daughter took back the furniture while at my house, we had brought only half anyway, then we sent her back. There's this thing with us you know, you go in with your bridal dress, you will go out in your burial shroud [...] My sisters and brothers said she should go back, she went back. That time she went back she attempted suicide. When she attempted suicide we brought her back, had her treated, I took her to psychiatrist. She stayed with me 2 months, got well. Went back, when the same events happened again, she came back again"

(58 year old mother/mother-in-law, husband deceased, has 4 children, primary school graduate)

"When the groom came to us he was good. We called him an angel, but we didn't know he was hitting the girl. Secretly [...] Finally the girl sulked and came to us. She came towards the evening. She came with her husband. He came and said 'your daughter wants to divorce.' My son couldn't bear it. He said 'What do you mean divorce, there no such thing as divorce with us' [...] 'Tell me what my sister's fault is. Tell me what fault she has done, she has done something wrong, tell me I'll teach her. But I won't accept.' My son attacked her with a knife. Then I saved her again, saying 'he'll end up in jail, she'll end up dead'..."

(55 year old mother/mother-in-law, married, with 9 children, illiterate)

"My daughter-in-law was beaten up very much by my son. My son had a nervous derangement. He would eat glass when he got angry. He was very bad tempered. He would stab himself [...] And the bride was very jealous, somebody came home she would be jealous. The bride is in the wrong towards my son too. And he would say 'mom, I can't bear it, I can't bear it.' He abducted her. I didn't accept. [...] They have been 12 years. [...] And it's been one year that my son stopped beating. The bride has a kidney disease anyway, he stopped. [...] The beating started as soon as they got married, he beat her very much. She took refuge in me, first in God, then in me. I backed her. He went to military duty, I supported her. Now we go to work together. She worships her husband, loves him very much, and worships him. She forgets everything."

(55 year old mother/mother-in-law, married, with 9 children, illiterate)

There are also women who share their problems with their family from the beginning and receive support. Sometimes the mothers, if they have knowledge and skill about using official institutions, become the guides of their daughters, intervene, apply for NGO support and may start necessary legal processes. A mother, who has supported both of her daughters from the beginning, conveyed that she got help from a women's institution as follows:

"...We hired with money the women's foundation gave. She is a very valuable lady, God bless her. I mean she both approached my daughter like a psychiatrist and took very good care of our case. I already had prepared all my papers until then. I mean I prepared the whole file and gave it to her. She said 'you've worked like a lawyer', I said 'thank you.' She only went to the court."

(63 year old woman, married, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

It has been observed that some women, who can not share their problems with their families, when they find someone whom they don't know, but who listens to them with understanding, will tell them about their situation so as to 'breathe':

"For example, if a woman helps me in a way, I promptly tell her my problem, if she is smiling, if she is good natured I tell... [...] I find comfort, I share, I breathe, a deep breath..."

(34 year old woman, married, has 4 children, primary school graduate)

Sometimes women talk about their situations with their close neighbours who already witness the events. A woman living under the heavy pressure of her mother-in-law voiced this situation as such:

"[...] My neighbours were good, my neighbours were very good, I mean they were [...] you have a problem, a thing, go out, go to the bazaar, go to the market, go to the neighbour, the neighbours warned me a little, they warned me a lot."

(43 year old woman, husband deceased, has 3 children, illiterate)

Even though women are ashamed to tell about especially physical violence, they are able to share these subjects with very close friends or people experiencing similar problems:

"My friend... One of my friends, I mean I call my close friend, I have a very close friend. She knows everything about me. I think I know everything about her. We share with her because she had such situations too. To me, her situation was worse than mine... We were sharing with her."

(41 year old woman, divorced, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

It is observed that some women share their situation with the people they work for. Especially if these people are professional women who are in a position to support them (psychologist, lawyer, etc.), they go to some NGOs or apply to official institutions with the guidance of these professional women.

Experiences and opinions about the police

Among the women interviewed the ones conveying their experiences with police were not frequent. However, all of the women who had such an experience talked about some negative behaviour of the police. The women mentioned their complaints such as their rights not being protected enough when the event of violence is reported to the police, that the person administering the violence was treated with tolerance, that violence is regarded as a 'domestic' problem and the police did not want to interfere, that they tried to make peace, with the following statements:

"...They say go to the police. Never. I experienced this, I did. [...] He said we can't hold him... They took our statement, took me to the hospital, got a beating report, my lip was burst; when our statement was done, they said 'you may go'. He [her husband] stayed there; he was to give his statement after us, whatever they talked about... But I say there's no one to trust. He broke the door. I said 'then let me go to the prosecutor's office tomorrow', he said 'no, it doesn't matter, even if you apply to the prosecutor's office this will go there, come back here; 1 month, 1.5 months." If within 1.5 months I don't die, if he doesn't kill me, I will have a court hearing, God allowing. I say 'hold him today, tonight. I mean I'll have my door mended tomorrow, take my precautions, go to the prosecuter; they say 'we don't have the right to hold, to take into custody.' Therefore, I really don't believe in women's rights. I mean, if you can protect yourself, you protect yourself."

(46 year old woman, married, has 2 children, high school graduate)

"I went, when we went to the police station it was half past six, I mean it wasn't seven yet, I gave them my statement, I explained in very detail, because they asked in detail, like it always is in the court house also, down to the clothes I was wearing - the prosecutor had asked this too, I explained in great detail down to the clothes I wore and the commissioner persistently asked me this 'Look, are you going to press charges?' and I argued with the commissioner there, I said 'I came here to press charges, I'm not telling all these to pour my heart out', we started arguing with the commissioner, he was a sharp man, he shouted at me, he said that women pressed charges, then in some way they were scared, so they generally dropped their charges. I said 'such a thing won't happen', gave the address of the house, because it was a house I already knew, gave the address, they went there."

(25 year old woman, single, university graduate)

"...But the police don't do anything. I mean, even the police regard it as normal at first. I mean, they don't admit you're right saying 'oh, ok, you're right, you have been exposed to violence.' Whatever it may be they try to get rid of you immediately. Only if you insist something happens. They first try to make peace, to reconcile you, saying 'he is a man, you will be reconciled, this and that'... I mean, when even the police do this, then..."

(41 year old woman, divorced, with one child, secondary school drop out)

On the other hand, the professionals from different occupations, especially the police officers, mentioned that they are the ones who had great empathy with women who experience domestic violence. The narratives of women, some professional groups and NGOs suggest that police usually try to make peace between women and men in order t protect the family. However, one of the police officers interviewed indicated that there is no such thing as reconciliation.

"Now, there can not be an incident of us reconciling. There's no reconciling with us, we call the parties; if the woman comes, and the woman of course has some demands. They make offers like 'Call my husband, scare him a little, and threaten him, so that he doesn't do it again.' But it is an offer outside us, we don't have such an authority, we don't reconcile and then say 'don't you do this again, if you do it again that such and such', we don't have anything like that. We can not have a reconciling, reconcile parties and get them out of the station."

(Police officer)

The reactions of women, who are exposed to domestic violence are affected by a series of factors such as age, education, financial conditions, internalized values about family and woman, number and age of children, whether or not having support from the family or a close one, knowledge and skill about demanding rights, ability to reach institutions that can help. The interviews revealed that abused women show reactions such as shutting up, accepting their fate, trying to get along well with their husbands, temporarily leaving the house, or punishing their husbands by not doing some chores, taking some dissuasive precautions, minimizing their relation with their husbands and spending their time outside the house as much as possible, bringing suit for divorce, calling the police and leaving the house with their children. The form of the reaction displayed may vary in time depending on how and for how long violence is experienced. In the interim, it is seen that many women find it difficult to leave their husbands and houses, thinking about their children and that they wait for the children to grow up. Mother and mother-in-law interviews have shown the negative effects of the families trying to save the family where violence is experienced, rather than saving the woman experiencing violence. These interviews showed the importance of support provided in the right time and place. Although the number of women applying to NGOs is low, narrations on this subject show how essential NGOs are not only for the psychological, legal and other help they provide, but also for the women to feel safe and to know that they are not alone. And this is hope for a new way out in the view of a woman who feels helpless, can not easily share her problem, and has completely lost her self-confidence. While the few women who have experienced shelter life mentioned that shelters are important and necessary, they also mentioned the deficiencies in the financial situation of the shelters and some negativities arising from the attitudes of the personnel. The criticisms they mentioned about the attitudes of the police are that they regard the violence experienced by women as 'normal', asses it as a domestic problem and try to make peace.

Do men who are perpetrators of violence change?

Both women and men are generally pessimistic about the ability of abusive men to change; while many of them say that it is especially difficult for men who are older to change. They explain this situation with their nature of being so, their growing up this way by learning violence from their families and them having picked up bad habits. However, some think that although it is difficult, men can change with psychological treatment, support and education. Just like it is said that women have a share in the violence, it is also mentioned that women can also share in men's changing. According to some of the mothers and mothers-in-law, the role of sweet-talk and consistent behaviour is great. On the other hand, some of the interviewed people told that this change can take quite a long time saying 'men change as a result of social change' or 'the gender role of men should change, for that reason I'm bringing up my son differently.'

Opinions of those who say men won't change

Some who say men won't change have mentioned their upbringing in the family, thinking that people who have not grown up with parents, have no education, have seen and learned violence and some bad habits in the family can not change. Especially women think that a person who has beaten once won't easily change, that whoever tries to change them will be worn out oneself. Women expressed this by giving examples from their own families from time to time, with these statements:

"My mother was beaten for years and we were 5 kids, we couldn't change our father. We were grown and would go between, defend mom, we were always on my mom's side but we couldn't manage. Eventually its dad, you can act up to one point, speak to a certain point. If you speak after that point you lose dad. Because we knew this. My mom, the woman got beaten for years didn't forget but she tried to forget for us. And my father didn't change."

(26 year old woman, divorce suit ongoing, has 1 child, secondary school drop out)

"Neither can my brother-in-law change nor can my husband change. But if there are some who have changed I don't know. Our men don't change, for years... First of all they have known no parents. As soon as one graduated from primary school, he immediately came from Yozgat to Ankara, with the purpose of working. The relatives helped them through. When I say with relatives, they have grown up staying here and there, they haven't had parents. I mean it won't change. It can be more but it won't be less. I know this I say this."

(47 year old woman, married has 3 children, primary school graduate)

"He definitely can't change. [...] Can't change. For example if your character is stingy, generous, smiling, frowning... that, too, is a character. If you are inclined to violence, that violence always continues. I mean, even if he wanted to he couldn't."

(35 year old woman, religiously married, has 1 child, high school graduate)

According to some women administering violence is something related to 'being a man' and therefore it can not be changed. Some of the women who think this way say that they are at the same time raising their sons like this as well and that this has to change:

"Even if you punish, you try every way, nothing happens. That is within the man. It is something about the man himself. Because he has been brought up like that from the beginning. [...] We are mothers too. Maybe I am raising my child like that too. I don't want him to do so but I give him that freedom. At some point I regard him as a man. This is something coming from earlier. This privilege is given to the men."

(41 year old woman, divorced, has 1 child, secondary school drop out)

Some women think that men won't change but that the women have a role in it as well. According to them, sometimes women provoke the men to administer violence by talking too much:

"Don't get me wrong, but this is 50-50. Some women give men the opportunity to beat them. She talks too much... not that he should beat her, nobody wants a beating, but if she talks about something impossible, for instance, the man loses it."

(58 year old mother/mother-in-law, husband deceased has 4 children, primary school graduate)

On the other hand, one woman mentions that when violent men see that there is a lot to lose, and think about the cost of not changing, when they care about it they may make an effort to change:

"If the cost of what they did is really high, like losing, for example, he really was in depression and I mean is experiencing it deeply. And if he realizes, if he cares about this, maybe he'll make an effort to change. But can he change; I don't know the answer to that. We haven't seen the answer of that yet. We hope that he changes."

(35 year old woman, married, has 1 child, university graduate)

And among men, the issue of 'men won't change' was expressed with the following statements, sometimes giving examples from their environment:

"In my opinion he doesn't change, he won't change. [...] Because I'm his neighbour for 9-10 years, he's always like that I mean, if he would say 'enough' after a certain age, I don't know, if they would say among themselves 'let's not do this, it's shameful, we're too old for this', I wouldn't know about that."

(56 year old man, married has 5 children, primary school graduate)

Some men, who explain that violent men won't change due to age and upbringing, stated their opinions as follows:

"...You can't do anything about men, because men are in a different channel... You can't teach anything to a man after he is 30. His ideas are set. What he knows is best. Don't mind the men going to doctors, actually nothing changes in their lives. [...] Why does nothing change, because you cannot teach anything to that person after 30, there are people growing up with the patriarchal mentality."

(34 year old man, married, has 1 child, primary school graduate)

Difficult but he can change

There were women who said that even though it is difficult, it is possible for violent men to change through education and treatment. According to them, these men can only change with psychological help, treatment and some education programmes. Another subject the women dwelled upon as well was that even if the men have psychological problems, they were not quite willing to get support on this subject. According to them, while women tended more towards seeing their problems and mistakes and seek support, men have difficultly accepting their psychological problems and mistakes in their behaviour. The women stated their opinions about these subjects as follows:

"As for me he won't change, very difficult, maybe if he gets help from an expert, perhaps there's a chance, but you alone are not enough I know that, because I tried very much, talked to him a lot, I trust my persuasion capability, in a moment he acts like he is changing, he says 'okay, I promise you', but a leopard can't change it's spots, he very quickly forgets his promise."

(20 year old woman, married, has 1 child, high school graduate)

"Absolutely treatment, psychological treatment, absolutely, I said before, 'if he beats once, he will beat again', yes he can do this, [...] First of all, he is not aware- it's a psychological sickness in my opinion, but the individual has to realize this or somehow be made to realize it, because they don't know why they are doing this, they really don't. [...] Because he probably also doesn't know that this is a sickness, first this has to be accepted... And maybe treatment, a psychological treatment, may be a psychiatrist, I don't know exactly but I think that he can change but treatment is essential."

(25 year old woman, single, university graduate)

"Yes they can get psychological help. [...] Yes it can ensure. There can be group sessions. Like there are women's programs, seminars, such things can be. For example at his work place -his work place has 300 personnel- there can be educative seminars separate for women and men."

(34 year old woman, married, has 2 children, primary school graduate)

There are some who say that men can change with education in the mother/mother-inlaw interviews as well. Although it is now exactly explained what kind of an education this will be, there is the impression that what they want to state is not limited to only going to school:

"I say he can change. They change for every subject, why shouldn't they change in this issue. Since everybody think that men are leaders, so no one interested in men. He can change, why shouldn't he? The women change, why shouldn't the men change? If this is a man, that is a woman. [...] First of all, education is needed. It all happens because of lack of education. Not schooling, education."

(50 year old woman, married, has 4 children, illiterate)

Another woman among the mothers says that men exerting violence can change with the help of their wives and their 'sweet-talk' besides treatment:

"Of course he can change [...] With sweet-talk, by talking, he can change. Their wives should change them of course. Maybe they need to seek help from something like a treatment, a psychologist. They need to receive treatment. With the help of their wives..."

(55 year old, mother/mother-in-law, married, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

While some of the men say that abusive men can change, they regarded these changes as lon term and radfical rather than some things they can do in a short time themselves. And this in a sense reflects that unless there is a radical social change, men won't change. Another subject that was discussed is economic problem; some are saying that only when these are overcome the abusive men can change. Another subject mentioned is that separating from the wife for a while and reviewing their relationship may change the men. An interesting point is that although among the people interviewed some are getting psychological support either themselves or their husbands - maybe because they think it's of no consequence - they don't associate this with the subject of changing. Opinions about under what conditions men may change were stated as follow:

"As long as the social relationships change, why shouldn't they change? But first these forms of relationships have to be changed. I mean, I don't believe that these problems can be solved, can be solved culturally, as long as the grounds causing those forms of relationships exist, as long as the work life is like this, as long as the political life is like this, as long as the cultural life is like this, above all, as long as education continues like this."

(42 year old man, married, has 2 children, high school graduate)

"...I can change. [...] The thing I need to change, a little tension, I have problem with working. It's probably because of that. If I could gather myself a little, if I had a job, I would be more comfortable. Then there won't be a problem between us, I mean there won't be argument. Because I have some tensions, I do myself... I mean I stress myself, A...'s debt, that debt, I stress myself a little, I mean I get a temper."

(34 year old man, married, has 2 children, primary school drop out)

"He can change [...] Love of family need to be inspired in that person, or he needs to be kept away from his wife for some time. I am also pro this. If a person doesn't miss his wife, that person's love lessens. Therefore, once a year, he needs to stay away from his wife for a week or a month. If he can afford it, he can send her to her family. He can go to his family. One week, 3 days 5 days, without talking on the phone. Then people start to think more logically. [...] Then he understands her value, I mean both sides understand each other's value. How is it with you? How is it without you? He can compare."

(35 year old man, married, has 1 child, university graduate)

Neither women nor men approach the subject of the ability of violent men to change very optimistically. Many have said that it is difficult, even impossible for them to change, because they have learned so in their families, because they were raised as a 'man', because they have some psychological problems. Besides, according to some men, negative political-economic conditions, and financial problems also create conditions causing men to administer violence. Those mentioning that, although difficult, still men could change, said that this can be achieved by mainly psychological support and some training. Expert help has been a subject mainly emphasized by women, meanwhile it has been mentioned that men are not very eager to get this kind of support. Besides, in some of the mother/mother-in-law interviews it has been stated that the women not being provocative, not answering back, acting harmonious and tolerant may play a role in men's changing. And some of the men dwelled on the point that radical social changes would be necessary rather than short term measures.

What can woman do against violence? / What should be done? Opinions of women

While some of the women said that there is nothing to do against violence other than to get along with men, most of them tried to say that it shouldn't be kept quiet, surely some things can be done and that there are various institutions, the state to be the first, which can support women. The recommendations of women about this issue spreads into a wide area from the first reactions that women should show against violence, to more radical measures to change the status of women, to empower them and to some recommendations including the different upbringing of the children with the aim to ensure that coming generations are different.

The ones who say that there is not much to do against violence, women can only prevent men from resorting to violence to a certain degree by being harmonious and easygoing, nobody should interfere with domestic affairs, even if exposed to violence, women are not to leave the house for their children, are women seen mostly among those interviewed in the mother/mother-in-law category, who are older in age and most the time have been a part of domestic violence throughout their lives. Their reactions differ according to type and duration of violence they experienced, and they also show reactions created by a

condition they can not prevent in their own lives. It can be said that they state such a comprehension. Still, it is observed that even if after a certain stage, they support their daughters, who have been exposed to violence, as best they can, that they support their daughters' leaving the house, getting a divorce at the point where it becomes impossible to save the family. Moreover, not all of the women interviewed in the mother/mother-in-law category display such an attitude. Some of them, saying that the situation is not as it once was anymore, there are places where women apply to and they have become more conscious as women, are expressing a type of reaction in their daughters' cases they could not take for themselves . The statements below can be evaluated as examples of different understandings between mothers/mothers-in-law:

"In old times in our village they used to say 'you will endure it, this is your fate, your suffering.' There were many as such. [...] In the neighbourhood, there was N..., he used to beat, the voices would come, our houses are close to each other, nobody can interfere in nobody's house. Everybody closes their door and sits at home. Everybody is responsible of their own house. Isn't it? You can't interfere in the other person's house. [...] I don't prefer that she should separate from her children. It all happens to the children. The mother goes and finds a man. Only God and I know what those children go through."

(65 year old, mother/mother-in-law, widowed, has 5 children, illiterate)

"What should women do? As I said, the women must establish their authority. She must show her reaction at the first beating. For example I was too young, I couldn't do it. People weren't this conscious. The Ankara of my childhood and the Ankara now are a far cry away. [...] The authority of the woman is very important; she must be able to express herself. I mean, she needs to be able to say 'if my husband is working, earning, bringing, I, am also working at home. I am working too, I clean the house, I cook, I do the laundry, I iron, and mine is work too.' I am against beating. Now I tell my husband, as I said now I have the right to speak, 'If I had the wisdom I have today, I would have gotten a report for each beating. If there had been so many women's rights back then, I would have gotten a report for each beating. I would have had you sentenced to death.' I suffered a lot, my dear, I suffered a lot [...] How 47 years passed. Ever since 1990, for 17 years my head is untroubled, for 17 years I am dealing with these [mention her children]. That time I dealt with myself, now I'm dealing with these."

(63 year old, mother/mother-in-law, married, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

Some of the women who have experienced violence gave opinions such as that women exposed to violence should absolutely react to this, even if they had difficulty in doing so themselves, should not be afraid of their husbands, not be reconciled, divorce him and even take their children and run away. According to a young woman among these, being afraid, remaining silent and not taking any steps will totally enlarge the fear within and she has told that it will cause violence to continue as follows (See Box 19):

Box 19

"One should not keep silent for anything negative, because if the boyfriend or whoever is beating you and you are doing nothing against it, after a while this seems like a normal thing for them and he beats again, and after he has beaten once he will beat again. After he has done one thing once he does it a second, a third time. [...] Even though I am afraid from time to time, I suggest not to be afraid, and one should definitely press charges, [...] Because remaining silent in such a thing means 'this is a normal thing, do this again.' Therefore, I suggest definitely not to remain silent, not to be afraid in any way because as I already said, if this fear remains in you, if you don't let it out or if things that actually need to be done are not done, this fear grows in you, it grows anyway, it'll grow, I think so. If I hadn't gone to the police station, yes at first I said no, if I hadn't gone I would be more afraid now..."

(25 year old woman, single, university graduate)

Women who divorced their husbands and are trying to stand on their own feet, while see leaving the husband and getting a divorce as a solution, women, they also emphasized the importance of making the men feel that they can do without them and the importance of being able to stand on their own feet. Another point they dwelled upon was the negative effect of continuous violence at home on the children. Opinions on the issue have been expressed as follows:

"A longer punishment should be given. Crossing and making up doesn't work. You should not make peace, and then you ought to have power. As he sees you accomplishing things, he has more respect. [...] If you are sitting at home, if you are a housewife, he may regard you as helpless. [...] But if you let him feel that you're standing on your feet, that you can do without him too, then his point of view towards you changes."

(41 year old woman, divorced, has 1 child, secondary school dropout)

"Those in the situation I'm living in, should divorce from their husbands, try to stand on their own feet. I may be destroyed here, but it affects the children as well. At 12 in the night coming in, shouting, making noise, the kid will go to school in the morning, how can he study? The kid can not do anything because of fear..."

(47 year old woman, divorce suit ongoing, has 3 children, primary school graduate)

A young woman who had been exposed to violence by both her husbands, had not submitted to this violence and is coping with life with her child with the support of a women's NGO, stated with determination that despite all the difficulties she is experiencing one should not stay in a house where there is violence, that the children should not be raised in that environment.

A mother who wasn't able to separate from her violent husband, and who wasn't able to intervene in time when her daughter was exposed to violence, emphasized the importance of both the economic independence of women and the spouses knowing each other well:

"In preventing violence the economic status of the women will be the thing and they will challenge it. I didn't have economic power, and the kids were important, Being crowded I couldn't go in any direction. The young people should know and think about this, it is not correct at all to trust love. Love ends, it ends when you marry, you need respect. They should marry after asking and inquiring. They should challenge when exposed to violence."

(70 year old, mother/mother-in-law, widowed, has 6 children, primary school graduate)

Another mother mentioned that those exposed to violence need to apply to the state, based on some knowledge she obtained from television, and that she conveyed this to her daughter, too. However, she was not able to tell exactly where women should go; she only said that she had heard about shelters:

"I watch it on television. I feel sorry, they tell so much there. I feel sad, some women on television tell there. I say may God help them. [...] Where to apply, you go to the state. Where else can you go [...] the state has women's branches, they have stuff. Those places, that's what I hear on television. So it's those places, where else I don't know. [...] The women tell on television that they go to shelters."

(62 year old, mother/mother-in-law, married, has 4 children, never been to school)

Many women spoke of women getting stronger and radical changes in their status in order to object to violence. Women need education, work and economic independence in order to stand on their own feet:

"Very radical changes are needed. There are educational problems, economic problems. I mean very radical changes are needed. It isn't something to be solved by reporting to the police and stuff."

(48 year old woman, single, university graduate)

According to some women, beyond these factors, it is important that women learn what violence is and that they question their own gender roles. In this it is important for the woman to want to change/transform but at the same time the role of NGOs to support her is also important. A woman who has passed through several phases during her combat against violence, and who obtained different experiences and came strengthened out of this process, expressed her opinion on this issue as follows (See Box 20).

Another subject brought to the agenda about questioning the women's and men's role models, is not to raise girls different than boys. However, the recommendations of women mentioning this, is mainly targeting the women as a reflection of the women's duties they

Box 20

"Awareness is very important, learning about violence is also very important in my opinion, we are missing this for instance, I first attended the violence training given by NK at the Women's Support Foundation, they were going to have a field work, I joined them there, [...] It's very interesting, I still laugh at myself, I said 'I have not experienced violence', that's our first conversation, because what I understood from violence was physical violence. When the training ended I said 'I've experienced so much violence.' [...] It is really very important to know this. [...] They always say education, and what education is another subject to discuss, I won't say education, but I think increasing social conscience is very important, questioning the gender roles is very important, awareness is very important, and I think every woman needs to have a women's point of view. [...] I see that more work falls on NGOs, I am aware of that, I am aware that NGOs need to be strengthened, but at the same time I think the woman needs to be empowered."

(47 year old woman, divorced, has 2 children, high school graduate)

have internalized. In their statements it is seen that while on one hand there is a blaming/reproach towards women because, after all, it is them who give birth to and raise the men exerting violence, on the other hand they assign the duty of raising the boys differently to women again:

"...It's a woman who gave birth to the man who is beating, exerting violence on me today. The mothers should raise their children well. When I gave some things to my son to help me set the table, his uncles, his grandmother, from my husband's family would tell my son 'leave it, are you a girl?' Now, when I go to bed late, if I haven't ironed my son's trouser's thinking I will get up early and iron it, and if I couldn't get up, my son can iron his own trousers and go to school. This is how I raised my child. I mean, mothers should raise their children well. They shouldn't discriminate between woman and man anymore."

(34 year old woman, married, has 2 children, primary school graduate)

Besides these opinions, some women mentioned some training programs improving communication skills, which should be provided to both women and men, and also emphasized the importance of psychological help. As mentioned in the previous section as well, men do not accept that they have problems and avoid getting support. A woman who emphasized that men do not accept that they have psychological problems and put all the blame on their wives, stated that in order not to experience various problems after marriage, couples should be put through some tests before marriage and be permitted to marry according to the results of them:

"...In my opinion, people should pass a psychological test when getting married. That blood test is absurd I mean [...] They say the children born in consanguineous marriages are handicapped. [..] Okay, consanguinity is a factor in deformations, some genetic dysfunctions, but in my opinion the people's mentality is dysfunctional. Their mind is dysfunctional, their soul is dysfunctional; not a blood test, a psychological test should be performed when marrying, I would want that, I would want such a thing to happen."

(34 year old woman, married, has 2 children, primary school graduate)

Opinions of men

Men have also been interviewed about what women can do against violence; however it has been observed that they emphasized what should not be done rather than thing that should be done, and they preferred to talk about these.

Some interviewed men stated that they negatively approached the issue of having the police intervene, the men being forced away from the house, that they found it offending the pride of men, as follows:

"They are making laws to make the man kill his wife. How can a man be suspended from home? Why should you suspend the man from home? [...] No way, what 6 months, I go crazy if I stay away for 2 days. Is such a thing possible? [...] it can't be like this, 6 months at a distance of 500 meters."

(32 year old man, married, has 1 child, primary school graduate)

"Actually if it were without the police intervention, when the police intervene, I mean [...] Because men are proud creatures, 'you went to the police and pressed charges'. [...] Because the man is a little proud, he may think like this of his wife: 'You against me. I've got nothing to do with you after this.' He may say 'let's divorce and end it.' [...] Because I am a man, too. I may make it a matter of pride."

(35 year old man, married, has 1 child, university graduate)

Again some men said that they don't see divorce as a solution, while underlining that couples should approach each other with love and respect, on the other hand they stated the discomfort they felt because the idea of divorce reminded them of their wives being with someone else:

"I don't know, in my opinion first there needs to be goodness, respect... Getting a divorce is not good. I mean I can't think of it, to give my wife to somebody else, my kid will call somebody else father. [...] Of course it shouldn't be. I am totally against it."

(32 year old man, married, has 1 child, primary school graduate)

"...Getting divorce isn't a nice thing, it never passed my heart, and it won't, let's say there's not much peace today, there's none in the future, then I'll leave, they should stay in the

house, I mean throwing the woman out, it can't be, that's how I see it. [...] It's not a nice thing, it is not humanly I mean. [...] In my opinion it is not a good thing, once you are divorced, you wonder what happens to her at some other place, she'll be worse. I mean it is not a solution."

(56 year old man, married has 5 children, primary school graduate)

The approach of men who gave opinions about shelters has similarities with some women, and they regard shelter as institutions where women stay when they are in difficult situation for a temporary time. According to them, these institutions are more for women who are alone, have nobody and cannot get marry anymore or do not want to.

"Shelters are solution for some women, there are some who have suffered the torments of their husbands for years, it may put the lid on [...] In my opinion, many women wouldn't want to take refuge in there, a woman wouldn't want that lifestyle. She may want to remarry, I don't know,may never have a husband, a man in her life, may not want to, she may say 'having a house is enough for me, there isn't need for man', some may say there is need. [...] I mean she looks at her weight, looks at her appearance, looks at her thoughts, looks at her ideas, if she says 'I cannot get married anymore', if she has 2-3 children, a woman saying 'marriage is past me now', and if she has none, she may choose to stay in the shelter, for a while, until she can manage her life by herself. Temporarily it may be useful for her, but nobody would want to stay at such a place for a long time."

(34 year old man, married, has 1 child, primary school graduate)

Men mentioned some points such as spouses being able to talk with each other, establishing empathy, both sides correcting their own mistakes, in order to prevent violence. According to some, it will be useful to be taught within the education system to establish relations with people and communication skills. One person, who is trying to solve problems by talking about them and discussing these problems with his wife without letting them accumulate, emphasized the importance of providing training about domestic communication to police, officers and other employees at work.

"Both sides need to straighten up themselves. The woman will straighten herself and the man will straighten himself. If you don't want to leave her, if you don't want to leave your kid, your woman, your home, you must tidy up yourself. You must give up drinking you must give up gambling, that way it can be possible."

(32 year old man, married, has 1 child, primary school graduate)

"You must solve the problem; it shouldn't be left to the next day. If it's left to the next day, even if that person says something reasonable, you can't perceive it. You don't want to perceive it because there's a question mark in your head. You think 'she made this mistake that is probably also wrong' and you don't listen. [...] And the solution of this problem goes through education. Both the woman needs to be educated and the man needs to be

educated. [...] In my opinion this should be taught to people as a lesson in primary school, I mean how a human is to act in society, in the family..."

(35 year old man, married, has 1 child, university graduate)

Some women who are older and have been exposed to violence throughout their lives, and most women who have been interviewed in the category of mother/mother-in-law, say that there is not much women can do except keeping silent to prevent violence, that they primarily need to attend to their children and not leave their homes. However, others mentioned that women definitely need to do something against violence. Even women who have experienced violence for many years and have had very difficulty in taking serious actions against the violence think that those exposed to violence need not be afraid, not keep silent, not be reconciled, in situations where it's not possible to reach an agreement to take into account divorce, take their children and leave home. However, many have mentioned that women need to be empowered and become capable of standing on their own feet to do that and have mentioned the importance of the support to be provided by the state. It has also been mentioned that it is important that women both learn what violence is and to question their own gender roles. While it has been said that at first it is necessary for the women to want to change/transform, the importance of the role of NGOs to provide her support was also brought up. Besides this, the persons interviewed spoke of training programs improving communication skills, which should be provided to both women and men; in order to prevent violence and also the psychological support issue has been emphasized. Another issue mentioned is that boys should be raised equally with girls by their mothers. Men talked about what should not be done rather than things that can be done to prevent violence. While they mentioned that they approached subjects such as pressing charges at the police station, suspending the violence perpetrating men from home, divorce, women going to shelters negatively, they dwelled upon subjects such as mutual love and respect, men and women straightening up themselves, mutually talking about the problem, learning to communicate with people as things to be done.

Problems in combating violence and solutions recommended

The impression obtained from the interviews with people of different professions related with the subject of violence against women and representatives of NGOs whose basic work field is violence against women, will be discussed, with special focus on problems experienced and solution recommended.

The people whose opinions we have included here are people of professions such as psychologists, social services experts, doctors of forensic medicine, judge, lawyer, imams and representatives of NGOs which support women who experienced violence. The people whose opinion we have conveyed have primarily spoken of support to be provided

to women exposed to violence, and then of problems regarding the things to do in the long term for the prevention of violence and of their solutions. In this section, the problem fields and recommendations for solutions will be discussed together.

Social conditions perpetuating the violence against women

In the interviews, social conditions perpetuating the violence are mentioned as a problem area regarding the prevention of violence against women before it happens. Among these conditions family and society relations, the sexist structure of the society, the behaviour of women and men, women not being aware of their rights, and the importance of their empowerment for that reason have been mentioned.

Although they have different points of view, the professionals bringing up family relations as a problem field, emphasized the role of unhealthy family relations according to their professional view and philosophy. Especially the male professionals touched upon the relations between women. A lawyer, who mentioned that women are prejudiced against each other, said that women do not support each other; they do not feel bothered that their daughters-in-law suffer in similar ways as they have experienced themselves earlier. According to the lawyer who mentioned that this is a social problem, for the solution of this problem social changes are needed.

Problems and solutions in the mechanisms of support to women exposed to violence

The top priority subject that needs to be tackled in the emergency support system for women exposed to violence is the inadequacy of the number and capacity of the institutions working on this issue, despite the importance they carry. This is valid for both official institutions and NGOs.

Each step taken regarding the support mechanism carries a great importance in the aspect of helping the women who have experienced violence feel a little safer, to be freed of loneliness. In the interviews, the impediments in the operation of the institutions which provide support to women were brought up especially by professionals who have close contact with women who experience violence; it has been observed that some of the people from different occupations (i.e. imams) do not have sufficient information about this mechanism.

The inadequacy of the number of public institutions, women's counselling centres and shelters

The inadequate number of women's counselling centres and shelters is one of the important problems brought up by people working in this field. The women's counselling centres are important establishments in providing psychological support services to the women, helping women not to feel alone by listening to them without judging them and to direct

them to the necessary institutions in accordance with their needs. In the previous section it was described how women endure violence, even some describing this situation as destiny, as well as the destruction and helplessness created by violence experienced for a long time. Therefore increasing the number of women's counselling centres carries importance for empowering of women, the raising awareness of their rights and things they can do.

The shelters opened by public institutions, local administrations and NGOs, which are designed as places for abused women to stay with their children, are important institutions for housing possibilities, especially for women who have been put out of their houses or had to leave their houses. At the moment, the number of shelters in our country is 49, including those connected to SHÇEK. This is far from adequate when considering the population of the country (KSGM, 2008). One of the most important points brought up in the interviews is the deficiency of the services provided at the shelters or women's guesthouses besides the low number of shelters. It has been mentioned that providing only housing possibilities and the duration of stay varying between 3-6 months is a temporary solution, and it has been emphasized that women definitely need to be supported in order to continue an independent life after leaving the shelters and to be able to stand on their own feet. Actually, as mentioned in the previous section, the women who experienced violence also emphasized the insecurity created by the 'temporary' state as one of the problems around applying to shelters.

Along the same lines, the need for activities for women to gain skills and employment was brought up by various professionals. A social services expert working at a shelter explained the deficiencies in the institution as follows:

"It is not enough to meet only the housing needs of women at shelters, women's guesthouses. There also have to be possibilities for the women to become productive, to have activities to utilize their free time, to direct them to a profession if they don't have a profession, and as I said before most do not."

(Social services expert)

"Finally all the woman's solutions finish and finally she goes. She has had fights, she has been to the police forty times, and she has a black eye... She has been to all her relatives, they say 'enough now', when enough has been said the woman goes to the shelters. The shelters must be pulled to a much more positive position in the eyes of the public so that the woman prefers it. In the shelters, there's neither acquisition of a profession, nor a study for children. There can be no shelters without acquisition of a profession. You keep the woman for 3 months, where will you send her after that?"

(NGO representative)

It has also been emphasized in the interviews that besides the education and health services provided for the women and their children and employment possibilities, it is very important that psychological support is provided.

Another lawyer who was interviewed mentioned that it is important that the state makes laws about creating employment possibilities especially for women who were exposed to violence. S/he has suggested that the employment possibilities reserved for ex-convicts and disabled people in certain quotas could also be valid for women who have experienced violence or stayed at shelters. Another lawyer mentioned the following recommendation regarding the employment of women:

"And then in some labour laws it is said to be brought, some conveniences like tax deduction about employing women. Job opportunities have to be ensured for the employment of women."

(Lawyer)

Besides, as a support to be provided for the women after leaving the shelters, the suggestion of rent aid has been mentioned:

"In the first place, some possibilities have to be provided for the women who experienced violence, such as paying their rent... First finding a suitable place to stay, after that having a job to pay her rent... I mean a job, creating the environment for her to build her own home..."

(Lawyer)

Another point mentioned by many professionals, is the importance of the state handling the issue of violence against women as a social problem.

The fact that women come to shelters, after having been exposed to different forms of violence, brings different needs into the agenda. Considering that the women come with their children, the need for an intermediary institution before their placement in the shelters has been mentioned. It has been pointed out that efforts should be made to ensure the women's placement according to their needs. It has been mentioned that the infrastructure of women's guesthouses working under SHÇEK is not suited to provide services to different groups. A social services expert working at a women's guesthouse explained the need for an intermediary institution or station as follows:

"In fact, rather than our guesthouses, our constraints in these subjects, there must be an intermediary institution. Let me give an example of children, you place the children, a child from the street or exposed to violence comes, if you place him/her near those children, he/she immediately harms those children. They are in different age groups, if there were an intermediary institution, there would be at least an observation, a temporary housing. The same for women, the aim of a guesthouse is to provide support for a temporary period,

and for that here must be an intermediary institution. They should be observed there and then brought to the guesthouse; we provide a service for 3 months or 6 months at the guesthouse."

(Social services expert)

The obligation of municipalities to open shelters with the new Municipality Law no. 5393 has been mentioned by social services experts, lawyers and judges, as well as representatives of NGOs working on this issue. However, it has been mentioned that the necessity of every municipality with a population higher that 50.000 by the Municipality Law is not quite operational, that it doesn't satisfy the needs of women when too few municipalities open women's counseiling centers and shelters and that municipalities are not paying attention to the importance of the issue.

Especially, women with alcohol and drug addiction and psychiatric diseases are not being accepted to women's shelters, according to the regulations of SHÇEK. This brings the need of also specialized women's shelters into the agenda. As also mentioned by a Social services expert working at a women's guesthouse, the municipalities can play an effective role in providing services to a broader mass including women with different characteristics.

"Municipalities don't care much about the subject... Especially local governments have to step in this subject, because our women's guesthouse is a guesthouse continuing its operations, which are prepared by regulations set out depending on the law no. 2008/128. Whereas, a guesthouse opened by municipalities can address a much wider mass, can be of higher capacity and broader possibilities. We don't have that many possibilities. Still, we have opened a guesthouse. But the women we take in, also have to comply with the conditions in the regulation. For example we cannot take a woman involved in prostitution, we can't take the alcohol addict and we cannot take the mentally handicapped."

(Social services expert)

Besides, it has been brought into the agenda as the negative experiences of NGOs that the shelters opened by women's association together with some municipalities have been closed due to change in management or other reasons.

The working personnel not having sufficient education and equipment

The lack of equipped personnel to work as experts in violence against women has been brought up as an important problem in the aspect of coordination as well. The inadequate number of psychologists and social services experts and the problems they experience from time to time about authority is affecting the quality of the service provided, and causing inconveniences to be experienced in the situations awaiting an urgent decision.

"There is lack of technical staff, I mean there is lack of personnel to provide family consultancy. Those laws should be implemented under the supervision of those personnel...

There are problems in authority assignment, because there are not enough professional staff. The existing staff have problems in decision making and directing The institutions are not in coordination. Whereas, quick decisions have to be made in the field. People are expecting urgent solutions."

(Social services expert)

Besides the slow progress of activities among state institutions, it has been mentioned that the sensitivity of professionals working on this subject and the people knowing each other is effective in the solution of the problem. A doctor of forensic medicine who had mentioned that they considered the sensitivity of the employees working at the institutions while continuing their activities or deciding the places to send the victims to, underlined that it could put one in a difficult situation should the employees of the institution change, by saying "The sensitivity in every institution every unit is not the same. When going someplace or sending a case we send knowing that that man will pay better attention. Am I clear? I mean the man who has more skills and more sensitivity solves this case."

Budget is needed for combating violence against women

As one of the most important obstacles in the works needed to combat violence, the insufficient budget reserved for this field has been mentioned. That the SHÇEK and NGOs do not have sufficient budget, has been one of the points frequently dwelled upon in the interviews.

"...What is the budget of Social Services Child Protection Institution, how much money is reserved for the shelters, and the personnel there must have very special qualities, it has made accordingly. Is it doing this? I mean if the social services expert sitting at a table and writing papers at the social services and the social services expert at the shelter receive the same money... Does it provide psychological support to those personnel?"

(Focus group participant, women's organization employee)

The institutions which give support to women have sustainability problem

NGO representatives and professionals who have worked on this issue emphasized that there is no sustainability about services for women exposed to violence. Sustainability has been brought into the agenda in different forms by state institutions and NGOs. For example, it has been pointed out that there are problems experienced in the support mechanism provided by the state for the determination of violence occurring in the family, removing women and children who experience violence from this environment and providing necessary possibilities for them to set up a new life. On the other hand, for NGOs, which try to provide services with periodic and limited resources such as dues and donations, there are financial limitations to ensure continuity of services.

When comparing private institutions and NGOs, a social services expert pointed out the

problems of sustainability for the state institutions, and mentioned that the lack of coordination among state institutions as a very important problem.

"They have to render service directed towards coordination, cooperation and the whole. As domestic violence is a whole, you get confused as to where to distribute whom. And when it's this way, the service it provides becomes totally violence exerting. All regulations regarding children are impeded. The service model becomes the violence model. You disrupt the regularity of people. There are no precautions to protect the order. The order is disrupted with temporary solutions. The state doesn't have a continuous policy. Whereas, everything is a whole. If you put this here today, it becomes dust and vanished by tomorrow. Facing the system reveals violence. This is first experienced in school. If the counseiling services in school were proper, the violence experienced by the child, would be revealed there."

(Social services expert)

Lack of communication among institutions

Besides the relations among state institutions, the problems that NGOs experience with the state and among themselves have also been mentioned. Many people interviewed have negative opinions about NGOs. For example, a doctor of forensic medicine, who is in contact with NGOs and gives trainings about violence against women in the province s/he lives in, said that the concept of civil society has not settled enough. Other professionals and imams, although not having a detailed idea about their functions, generally voiced negative opinions especially about women's NGOs. While professionals touched more upon them being incapable of providing enough support, a few of the imams interviewed criticized that the approach of the women's institutions is towards distancing the women from home, and that this is a negative and provocative approach against family integrity. Besides, some of the people interviewed mentioned that the communication among the women's institutions is also problematic.

The NGO representatives mentioned that there is a lot of work to be done in the interviews with them and in the focus group discussions, and they stated that despite the NGOs doing a good job of informing, the financial limitations in many subjects are a very important problem for them. The NGOs, especially those working on women issues, emphasized that the state facilities need to be increased in order to ensure sustainability and that the municipalities need to fulfil their responsibilities.

"These have to be structural and sustainable, when the project ends the activities end. At the moment, I know, there is a shelters project in 8 provinces implemented by the United Nations with the collaboration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. A project. Now, 2 years later the project will end, and then what will happen, how will sustainability be ensured? I mean, this definitely has to be sustainable by the public. This is what the Directorate of Woman's Status needs to worry about... Consequently they must worry but no one except for the NGO worries at the moment."

(NGO employee)

Legal and administrative regulations and implementation of the laws

Most of the professionals we have interviewed, have spoken of their positive opinions about administrative and legal regulations. The changes made in the Civil Law and the Turkish Penal Law in the 2000s were brought up. It can be said that also NGO employees as well as lawyers and judges made comments on the legal regulations, while people from other professions were positive about the developments in the later times despite not knowing exactly the contents.

"Well of course the civil law for women is really very good. Except for a few little things the civil law is quite good. Have you ever looked into it from a woman's view point? There have been made so many changes and the civil law is so positive. There are of course a few little things. I can't say there aren't."

(NGO employee)

Another NGO employee has defined the abolishment of provisions such as the man being the head of the household, the choice of house to belong to the husband, sharing of the acquired properties, etc., which were in the civil law earlier, as a very important innovation. She/He has mentioned that she/he was criticising the previous provisions for being against the principle of equality and that she/he laid importance on the regulation of the new Civil Law. In the interviews it has been mentioned that the changes made in the Turkish Penal Law are also important. A NGO employee has conveyed the changes in the Penal Law with these words:

"There have been tremendous changes in the penal law. The age limits in sexual abuse against children have changed. Adultery has been excluded from being a crime. I mean this is a very natural, normal thing, I mean always women were convicted for adultery. I mean it is a very ugly thing... That is their private life; I mean good changes have come in effect in the penal law too."

(NGO employee)

However, the subject all interviewed persons have dwelled upon most has been the Law no. 4320 for the Protection of Family. Some judges mentioned that the law, which was made in 1998 and has been regulated again in 2007, has begun to be implemented much more in the last 5-6 years. A judge, who has spoken of this law being implemented more effectively in the last years, stated her/his opinion that the implementation of laws will become more prevalent with time, with the following words:

"Now it shouldn't be criticised immediately. The courts were set up in 2003 anyway. In that process, a very short time ago the civil law came into effect. And before that I think it was in 98 the first time the law was made, the protection of family law came in. Now, some laws come into effect but it takes time for them to be implemented. The police

stations would call and ask me about this. 'Your honour, how will we implement this sentence' they would ask, I would describe it..."

(Judge)

The words of this judge reveals that when the law no. 4320 first came into effect, some difficulties were experienced especially at police stations due to not having enough information about how to implement the law. Regarding this issue, it has especially been underlined that among the professions, the training of the police is important and that the effects of the trainings are beginning to be seen. For example, one of the police interviewed mentioned that there might have been some problems experienced earlier, however that especially the police who have received training are acting very sensitive about this subject. S/he has emphasized that the citizen should absolutely make a complaint about the police officer not doing his/her duty when there is a problem in implementation of the law at the police station.

One of the most important problems mentioned about the implementation of the law, is that the women do not have sufficient information about the law. Many of the professionals mentioned the need for some measures to ensure that everyone should learn their legal rights. The problems experienced during the implementation of the laws have been defined as another problem field. The impediments in benefiting from the law no. 4320 have been brought up especially by judges, lawyers and social service experts. It was mentioned that the law was prepared considering the nuclear family, and that it is nearly impossible for women living with the family of their husbands to make an appeal. Regarding this subject a social services expert stated that the law is not consistent with Turkey's family structure, mentioning that a woman living with the family of her husband, has hesitations about how the woman is to live in the same house with her mother-in-law and brother-in-law even though her husband has been suspended from the house.

In the case of a protection decision for woman and children, where husband is suspended from the house, the fact that the only person bringing home money is the suspended husband is preventing the appeal, because of the women for worries about economic problems. A doctor of forensic medicine, who is positive about a law that has been enacted on this subject, mentioned that in cases where the man is unemployed, work possibilities should be provided for the man and a part of his salary given to his wife. In addition, another issue that cause women to hesitate appealing to this law is the worry that the man returning home after the legal suspension term may exert more violence.

Opinions regarding how the protection decision is perceived by women and men, can explain part of the impediments in enforcement. It has been mentioned by the professionals that women do not act accordingly even after the decision has been made, and that for men this decision is hard to accept. A social services expert explained the problems in enforcement of the law socially, as follows:

"The women don't apply the contents of the decision. They take the man into the house. There isn't a determined woman. They use such decisions for scaring purposes. It is valid for the men as well. I mean the laws are made but..."

(Social services expert)

As mentioned in the statements of men in the previous section, according to a judge and NGO employee suspension from home is very difficult for men; they can not accept this and that 4320 is not enforced exactly:

"The man goes home again, he doesn't apply the suspension. The man can't handle that."

(Judge)

"Of course, of course. I mean we inform the police station that the man is coming again; the station here tells me 'it's his home, and of course he will come.' Now if you don't do the application right, it's really good, 4320 is really a good law, but it's a law that has no validity in application"

(NGO employee)

Another deficiency brought into the agenda regarding the law, is the restraint created by the law being valid only in marriages. This subject has been especially mentioned in the judge ¹⁶ and lawyer interviews, and focus group discussions conducted with people providing legal support. A judge, while mentioning that he made his decisions also when a couple is not married, said that the important thing is the protection of women from violence. He stated the deficiencies with these words:

"This law should have taken the violence, which divorced spouses exert to each other even when the marriage is ended after the divorce, within its scope. But this law didn't make it. Its worry was this: you know there are spouses who have religious marriages. It was thought that if you protect the religious marriage, you will have legitimized religious marriage. But this is not true; I mean it shouldn't be thought like that. Okay maybe it would be legitimized but slowly living together is starting in the society, as lovers, as friends... This law should be applied to victims of violence after divorce as well. It should be applied to relationships other than marriage as well. At the end, the important thing is this, okay I don't care much about whether it encourages religious marriage, but religious marriage is a crime. It's a crime according to the penal code; it's a crime according to the republic code. But the important thing here, the main thing is the protection of the victim. Is it important to protect a woman exposed to domestic violence, important to take its precautions, or to encourage religious marriage? If you ask me there are already provisions preventing that."

(Judge)

¹⁶A decree has been issued later on this subject. See T.R. Ankara 8th Family Court reasoned decision no. 2008/108 D.İş decision no. 2008/107.

Many professionals interviewed mentioned that they are aware of the law even if they don't know its details. Some professionals stated that the social structure (especially family structures and relative relations) is not suitable for the application of this decision, and some said that they found the law positive in the aspect of protecting the women without removing them from their houses.

The role the media plays

In almost every interview, the effect of media on the issue of violence against women and its prevention has been brought into the agenda. What the professionals, imams and NGO representatives meant by media has generally been television. The newspapers and magazines have only been mentioned in the focus group discussions conducted with the journalists. These interviewed persons mentioned that besides the media's effect in the increase of violence against women, it can also play a positive role in the decrease of violence.

In many of the interviews the media, especially television, has been discussed with its factors supporting social and individual violence, afterwards opinions about violence against women have been obtained. Examples were given from programmes and series where violence scenes are common and mentioned that such series contribute to the normalization and legitimization of violence. Likewise, in the aspect of violence against women, it has been stated that the representing women as weak, unsuccessful, in need of help and in a poor situation condemned to be exposed to violence by men, opposed to the display of men as tough, successful, crushing women and exerting violence to women causes the existing violence to increase. Almost all of the interviewed persons mentioned the morning programmes which have broadcasts about women. It has been pointed out that these programs ensure rating especially via women who experience violence. It has been criticized that the media only want to increase rating with programmes that are presented by people who do not have knowledge and consciousness about the subject. In stead of being informative and these programs create a suitable environment for the women to tell the violence experienced, thus contributing to the normalization, internalization of violence.

"For one, programs containing violence have to be abolished. Those women's programs have to be abolished completely. In my opinion they are programs with no experts, presented irresponsibly, if there is an aim like preventing violence, for some reason always the person exposed to violence is brought forward but they ask such wrong questions, they ask such irresponsible questions. Such ignorant works are done, such ignorant expressions are made that, in my opinion, they cause more harm..."

(Judge)

"They only get the woman on television, ask her 'what did you do, what happened, what did you experience', make her tell her story just for the sake of rating, make money of her

crying for hours. It's very painful but the women do... I mean let's say, let themselves be used."

(Shelter's coordinator)

A social services expert told that the language the media uses when telling events of violence is important in the aspects of legitimization and normalization of violence as follows:

"I don't approve broadcasts which put violence too much in the foreground. Those expressions about women are not nice. 'Got beaten by her husband', whatever, I don't find them approve under many titles. I think that they should rather give messages about those administering violence, or about preventing violence. Because in the news they write about the victimization of the woman, and at the end what the woman did, what kind of a solution...They never say it if you have noticed. The one being beaten or killed or injured in some way is the woman. But at the end the punishment given to the perpetrator should also be presented as an example."

(Social services expert)

In the focus group discussions conducted with the journalists, the concept of 'if there is a situation of confirming violence, violence is exerted' has been discussed and it was emphasized that violence is prevalent 'in this geography.' It has been mentioned that especially the news on the third pages of the newspapers attract attention because they are sensational and that this is a subject of supply and demand. The discussions also covered the media today having a function of entertaining rather than informing.

Besides, one of the subjects that was discussed was that the women programmes dealing with women's rights will have a positive effect.

"...Now she brought on the victimized women, in those morning programs...which I don't think these programs are right,but... They don't do their duty. For example about those women's rights, or things to do, what women exposed to violence need to do, or where they need to apply, if they told these, informed the women, it would be nice."

(Shelter's coordinator)

Many of the people interviewed about the media, which has been defined as one of the problems, stated opinions about the 'necessity of cleaning out all violence containing factors' in the media. Recommendations were made regarding the elimination of violence, including those programmes that legitimized violence. It was also recommended to present the news about violence in a different way. As for the airing hours, it has been pointed out that it is necessary to act more carefully about which programmes will be aired in the hours when children can watch.

"It can do many things, it should not bring especially these violence incidents into the agenda, [approaching from the aspect of children's health] it should be broadcasted at a certain time, otherwise it sets a bad example. The press shouldn't display such examples."

(Judge)

"The media has a big duty. They should not show wrong examples... I see that television has such manipulations. There was this gentleman whom the whole... [province] knew... He was a person who was being a problem. He had been brought there with the title of victim. Such wrong things do happen."

(Lawyer)

Trainings/Educations carried out about violence against women

Although trainings are being carried out for various professions about violence against women, in the interviews more emphasis was placed the training activities for the police. The reason for this is the police being at a critical point regarding women exposed to violence that their behaviour towards women applying may cause the women not to be trusting and to decide not to get support.

"The first place the woman goes to is the police. And we are able to obtain a positive result when she receives the necessary positive approach... But if the approach there is for her to return home, we can't find that woman again, we can't reach her anyway. Therefore, the education of the police is also very important as it is the first place of appeal."

(Social services expert)

Although the problems regarding education have not been stated very clearly, many professionals mentioned that the level of education is insufficient. Especially some judges emphasized that the quality of education is not good and qualified people are not being raised. With regards to the people defending the opinion that the whole society needs to be educated, they believe that it will be possible to prevent violence with the increase of the educational level in the society. For example, a judge, mentioning that the issue of violence against women should not be discussed alone, stated that this is a social problem and a problem of the education of the society.

On the other hand, there have also been some who stated that, regarding education, the girls and boys are not benefiting of equal levels of education opportunities. The criticism of a doctor of forensic medicine is that, women's benefit less from education possibilities, this weakens them and prevents them from getting away from violence.

"First of all, the woman doesn't have the knowledge to see her future. I mean the woman will go there but our level of education is obvious. Our average education duration has still not exceeded five years in Turkey, isn't it? The woman must be able to figure that she can do something and then go, or the woman is always concerned about 'am I getting divorced

now.' If the woman has the power to get divorced, things don't get this for anyway. The woman doesn't have the power to stand on her own feet... You cannot become an equipped woman in Turkey that easily. You can't... Maybe we need to question our education a little. The education policies."

(Doctor of forensic medicine)

Education has also been mentioned as one of the impediments in the women's employment. Especially in situations where economic constraint is mentioned among the reasons of violence, it has been pointed out that that fact that the women do not have financial opportunities to be self-sufficient plays a role in their acceptance of violence.

Among the professionals who have emphasized that education is very important, especially the judges, doctors and police mention lack of education of women as one of the causes of violence against women. This point of view attracts attention to the importance of being socially educated, instead of focusing on domestic violence against women. With the thought that violence will decrease with the increase of education level, it has been emphasized that different trainings are also needed, besides benefiting from the systematic education system. While on one hand it is recommended that systematic education should be provided to everyone, on the other hand the quality of the education provided should be improved. For example, a police officer mentioned the importance of raising qualified people on this subject with the following words:

"If we raised people of good quality we would have fixed it all. Is it now? We will bring up a good quality generation. Now we don't find the teachers good enough, we don't find the doctor good enough, the sanitarian. We dislike the student, the police. We dislike the pupil, the farmer. We dislike the public in the streets, well what is the root of all these? Human. If we raise a positive human population that thinks healthy, healthy generations, with healthy characters, all human beings, won't we have solved it all from its roots?"

(Police officer)

The professionals, imams and NGO representatives all brought up that the systematic education system needs to be questioned focusing on its different aspects. Some professionals and NGO representatives mentioned that an education system which accepts the inequality between women and men strengthen the system accepting male dominance as well.

"Maybe we need to question our education. Education policies. Education is reading books, this and that, but besides it should be raising more powerful persons. Or else, when you send them to that school with this mentality, then you raise women accepting the male dominance in this system. Therefore these should be questioned but short term solution..."

Doctor of forensic medicine)

Within the review of the education system the behaviour of people working in this sector have also been brought into the agenda. It has been mentioned that more duties fall on especially teachers as they are the people who may have knowledge about what kind of family environment the children live in. Besides, there have also been recommendations regarding the teachers setting examples with their own lives.

Regarding violence against women, besides the systematic education, the need for training programmes aiming to make the professionals conscious about this subject by people from every group of profession, imams and NGO representatives, has been pointed out. Besides the trainings to be provided for the professionals, the need for trainings for women and men has also been underlined.

"But not only that education, the society must be educated, not only women, the men must also be educated, we organize trainings at the community centres here, mother and child trainings, trainings with the father, the people who come ask 'why didn't we receive such a training before', the society needs to be made conscious."

(Social services expert)

A judge, while speaking of the necessity of providing training for women and men, has mentioned that s/he defines trainings only for men who exert violence as discrimination and finds it humiliating.

"The woman needs education too, the man needs education too. Of course as the whole society we all need education. I find the mentality of educating only the men against women who are beaten degrading. I find it extremely degrading and unacceptable. What does it mean let's educate men? Not only women, men, let's educate us all. We all need education. This is what's wrong. Let's not go into classification, let's not discriminate. This discrimination is not a nice thing."

(Judge)

Recommendations regarding things to be done by the state about this subject have been made by lawyers and judges. A lawyer mentioning the importance of considering problems within the family as a social problem, not a family problem, has pointed out the welfare state with the words "like domestic don't interfere. First of all this has to be broken down."

Especially the recommendations of the social services expert regarding education have been presented in a broad frame, reaching from gaining conscious training aiming the awareness of women of their own rights, to trainings for families and trainings for men. A social services expert pointed out the importance of the girls and boys equally benefiting of the right of education and the elimination of gender discrimination created by the traditional structure in the family.

"The gender discrimination in families, which arises from our traditional structure, also has to be abolished. I mean, the jobs allocated to girls and the jobs allocated to boys being very distinctive in the families unfortunately incite it. The boys aren't let to do anything, always the girls are passive, as the people running after every job in the house, when education start there, our women always regard themselves as people who are in the service of others, and when married, in the service of their children, husbands. I mean, education is very important."

(Social services expert)

Another social services expert mentioned that the education given in the family is not on the grounds of being an individual, and that this more valid for girls. That the expectation of women from men continues to fit the traditional roles, despite the changing roles of the women themselves, has been stated as follows:

"She both wants to be an individual and wants her husband to have protective arm like a father. For that reason, when does violence become a problem in most of the cases? She realizes her rights when it comes to a point where she cannot bear it, endure it anymore. Cheating, beating, verbal violence... Working woman or housewife. They return their responsibilities and duties."

(Social services expert)

Professionals underlining that women are not aware of their own rights in the family environment they grow up in, stated that there is need for conscious gaining trainings for women, as follows:

"First of all women must learn the rights they have. One of the problems in our society is that people don't know their own rights and freedoms. The woman doesn't know the law that supports her."

(Imam)

"...That they are a human being, that they are made conscious about not being exposed to such a treatment, realize programs about them being equal, in order to abolish gender discrimination education, which need to start at schools, families, when raising our children as girl and boy, some education needs to start in the family. I think that. Because this is very deep rooted. And in our society traditions predominate. Therefore violence is a structural problem. It is not something that has surfaced later."

(Social services expert)

The need felt for training programmes for women and men has been mentioned by doctors of forensic medicine, who are in close communication with women exposed to violence and by lawyers.

"The thoughts of the men, patriarchal structure, not only women but men need to be conscious as well."

(Social services expert)

"We try to attain something from help groups, to empower women or if there is something to be attained from there for anything."

(Doctor of forensic medicine)

There were also professionals who made recommendations of new institutions, regarding the prevention of violence against women. For example, an imam made the recommendation of a family police or house police regarding the maintaining of peace in the family:

"This exists in Europe. There is house police for example. If you are going to have a construction, you can't do it outside the knowledge of the police. Inspection. There are state officers who make family checks... There need to be 'family control officers'. The human is the most important creature, family forms the society, and it's the smallest unit... As I said, you have to assign house police. Once in every six months, once a year, have to ask questions like you do. 'Are you happy?' If the person has a problem, says 'no, I am not happy', then you have to investigate the reasons and try to solve the problem of the family, you are that state, the state doesn't protect in our country."

(Imam)

Another recommendation by a judge is that before marrying, the women and men should attend a marriage school:

"For these people and this is my claim, before marriage, marriage schools need to be opened. Like getting a driver's licence, we go to school, 45 days... We attend; try to learn driving there, both in theory and in practice. It needs to be explained well what marriage is. What is the mission in a marriage, what is the mission, the responsibilities of the man? All these, woman need to explained very well.

(Judge)

Among the recommendations on what should abused women do, the following were considered essential: benefit from the laws protecting them, apply to the police and obtain a forensic medicine report in order to document the injuries due to physical violence. This was mentioned by many of the interviewed persons. Besides these, almost all of the professionals and NGO representatives drew attention to the importance of providing psychological support to women and children victimized by violence.

In the subject of combating violence against women, many of the professionals who have criticized especially the support mechanisms for women exposed to violence, have drawn attention to the responsibilities of the state in this field. That especially the policies about

education and employment should be reviewed in the aspect of women and in favour of women is among the subjects emphasized and recommended. It has come into the agenda that systematic education alone is not sufficient, and that awareness and communication trainings need to be made for women, men and families. Besides, it is also observed that the number of and service provided by the institutions providing support to women and children exposed to violence is not adequate, that there is lack of equipped, sensitive and sufficient number of personnel, and that this is mostly associated with budget. It has been mentioned that the cooperation of official institutions and NGOs, which provide support, both among them and with the NGOs (including the cooperation within them) is an important problem. Providing psychological support services to women exposed to violence and their children is also among the issues emphasized.

RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 8

An Overview of the Results

Sunday ÜNER, İlknur YÜKSEL, İsmet KOÇ, Banu AKADLI ERGÖÇMEN, Ahmet Sinan TÜRKYILMAZ

The "National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey" presents the results in a descriptive and explanatory way, providing a multi-dimensional perspective for the violence that women experience. In this chapter the violence that women are exposed is evaluated in a wide spectrum.

Violence at home: at father's home, at husband's home

The research findings indicate that domestic violence against women is widespread throughout the country. Women are not only exposed to violence from their spouses or intimate partners, but they are also exposed to physical and/or sexual violence by people from their close environment. Results of the research show that, 75 percent of physical violence experienced by women before 15 years of age is being perpetrated by members of their families. It is also clear that more than half of women who experienced sexual violence before age 15 reported that the perpetrators were persons unknown to them.

In their childhood and youth, women are being exposed to physical violence by their fathers, mothers and brothers. In later years of their lives violence continues in physical and/or sexual form, perpetrated by these women's boyfriends, fiancés, husbands and, rarely, by persons unknown to them. Nationwide, the percentage of ever-married women who reported to have experienced physical partner violence during their lifetime is 39 percent, and almost half of these women (46 percent) stated that they had experienced severe forms of physical violence such as hitting with fist, kicking, choking and threatening with a weapon like a knife or gun. Women get married at early ages without having the opportunity to know her spouse well and in some cases they perceive the marriage as a way of escaping from violence that they are subjected to in their families. Such marriages often fail at saving women from experiencing violence. Moreover, the results show that one out of 10 women reported to have been exposed to violence during pregnancy.

Fifteen percent of ever-married women in Turkey reported that they had experienced sexual violence by a husband or partner at least once in their lifetime. The proportion of women that were ever exposed physical or sexual violence, or both, that is 42 percent demonstrates that these two forms of violence are often experienced together. It also reveals that physical violence is a common form of violence in women's lives. Emotional violence/abuse is higher than other forms of violence in ever-married women's lives with a proportion of 44 percent.

In addition to physical, sexual, emotional and economic violence and abuse, control of women's daily lives by their partners may also be regarded as a different form of violence. Seven out of 10 ever-married women had stated "her husband always wants to know where she is". This finding is challenging in terms of limiting women's control over their own lives.

Violence damages physical and mental health

Women's physical and mental health is severely being affected by the violence they are exposed to. The results show that 24 percent of ever-married women in Turkey were injured as a result of the physical or sexual violence by their husband or partner. Nationwide, most of the women who were injured due to violence stated that injuries had occurred several times. Overall, 58 percent of women who had been injured by violence reported that they had been injured at least three times.

Thirty-three percent of women that had experienced physical or sexual violence reported that they had thought about committing suicide and 12 percent of women reported that they had attempted to commit suicide. Proportions for those who had never experienced sexual or physical violence are 11 and 3 percent respectively. These results indicate that suicide attempts among women who have experienced physical or sexual partner violence are 4 times more than among those who have never experienced such violence.

Violence does not discriminate among women

The experience of violence during women's life-cycles shows variations among subcategories such as women's age, educational and wealth level, region and type of place residence. Nevertheless, there were considerable levels of violence experienced by women in each category. Every woman, including those living in urban or developed areas, even highly educated ones or, women with well paid jobs, living in wealthy households may become victims of violence in any period of their lives. This situation indicates that it is not easy to avoid violence and it may affect all women, without discrimination, independent from the socio-demographic characteristics of the women. Therefore, in the process of developing strategies to combat domestic violence, efforts to change the mentality in the society should be accelerated, in addition to strengthening the position of women through education and participation in working life.

Violence is transferred from one generation to the next

Women who experienced violence and men who perpetrated violence stated that violence also existed in their birth families. This is an important finding since it reveals that violence is transferred from one generation to the next. Thirty-seven percent of ever-married women who reported intimate partner violence mentioned that when they were young, their mothers also experienced intimate partner violence in their families. Similarly, the proportion of women that mentioned violence in their partners' families cannot be

disregarded. This indicates that violence is a learned behavior in the family life. A great majority of ever-married women reported that their children had witnessed the violence they experienced. For example; the children of mothers who experienced violence are two times more likely to be aggressive towards their mothers and other children compared to the children of mothers who were not exposed to violence.

These results show that, in Turkey, domestic violence against women is a phenomenon that is learned during socialization process and consequently, it is transferred from one generation to the next one. Female and male children who learn the violence against women as a natural part of life in the socialization period are affected by violence in different ways. On the one hand, this may cause that male children perpetrate violence against their sisters, girl friends, partners or any other women in their lives and causes them to perceive this as normal behavior. On the other hand, it may make female children accept violence more easily. Moreover, women's fighting back against violence and, in some cases their own perpetration of violence against their children, reflects the continuity of violence among generations. This situation provides the basis for the perception of violence as a common phenomenon among women and men.

Why violence is widespread?

As a cause of the physical violence they experienced, 32 percent of ever-married women in Turkey mentioned problems with husband's/partner's family, while 18 and 13 percent of those women mentioned monetary problems and problems with children respectively. Other situations commonly mentioned as causing violence were disobedience of woman and man being nervous. Men can easily justify and rationalize the violence they perpetrated by referring to stress of work-life and provocation of women. This highlights that men usually think they themselves are not responsible for their acts of violence, but that their circumstances are responsible.

The research results indicate that the majority of women (86 percent) do not approve of violence perpetrated by men onto women. Additionally, 49 percent of women believe that "a woman should not argue with her husband/partner" and 47 percent agree that "men are responsible from women's behaviors". This situation reveals the challenging nature of combating violence against women which is based on unequal gender relations.

Women are all alone...

In Turkey, half of women (51 percent) who have experienced violence reported that they had not told anybody about their experiences. Among the important reasons for this silence are: that women who are exposed to violence experienced it many times rather than once; that they do not believe they can get support about the violence they are being subjected to; that they care about their children; and that violence in the society is regarded as a "private family issue". In addition to family relations, the acceptance of

the violence as normal and common act -partly due to the way the media tackles the issue- and the physical and mental damage that all family members suffer due to violence make women feel insecure and helpless. These factors may prevent women from sharing the violence that they have experienced. Seven out of 10 women who stated that they told about violence shared their experiences with persons from their own families or persons from their immediate social network. However, sharing the violence experienced, especially with persons that have similar experiences and socialization processes, decreases the women's capability of combating violence.

How do women cope with violence?

Ninety-two percent of the women who have experienced physical or sexual violence have never applied for help to any official institution or NGO. Although a great majority of women (86 percent) think that violence is intolerable; women very rarely seek official help. Since most women live in a restricted social environment; they are not aware of their own rights and of the existence of official institutions where they can get help; not knowing where to seek help; being ashamed about seeking help; not believing that those institutions can be really helpful; and finally having insufficient support mechanisms are the main reasons that explain the low proportion of women who apply for help to official institutions and NGOs.

All these reasons cause women to develop their own strategies to combat the violence, such as not to speaking with the husband or partner, not doing housework or leaving home. However, they are mostly temporary strategies. For instance, In Turkey 26 percent of ever married women who experienced violence has left their home at least once. The most mentioned reason for leaving home was that women could not endure the violence anymore. Among the reasons for returning home, the ones related with children become obvious. More than half of the women (52 percent) leaving their home stated that they returned due to the reasons such as fear that her children would be unhappy and fear of losing her children.

When the strength to endure ends

A very small proportion of women sought official help for the partner violence that they experienced. It is noteworthy that the findings of the research show that only 8 percent of women who experienced violence seek help for institutions. When compared to the women who did not seek help for the violence they experienced, it is observed that the ones applied to an institution had tried several methods but they did not succeed and as a the last solution they sought help from official institutions. Among the stated reasons for not enduring the violence anymore, the main ones are women's concern about the safety of their children and the women's own health, and support for children. Reasons that prevent women from taking action are the fact that she has children to look after, and the fear that her children would be unhappy. However, it is seen that women's

strength to endure the violence declines when her children state that they cannot endure the violence anymore or when there is violence also against the children.

Furthermore, the lack of adequate economic and social conditions for the women themselves and for their children is also an important issue for combating the violence. All these conditions make difficult to break the cycle of violence that women find themselves in.

Is the family setting safe for women?

The findings show that, contrary to common belief that the family is the safest place for women, it is in fact unsafe for many women. When domestic violence against women is considered, 4 out of every 10 women were exposed to violence by their partners. This implies that family setting may sometimes turn out to an institution that threatens women's lives. This indicates that as one of the basic policies of Turkey, strengthening families should be reconsidered as a policy within the women's empowerment spectrum.

As a conclusion ...

The research results reveal that violence against women exerted by their husband/partner(s) is widespread in Turkey. During the time of the "Stop Violence" march, organized by women's movement in İstanbul in the year of 1987, it was not so easy to talk about violence against women in society. During 1990s, an increased number of women's organizations emphasized that women who had experienced violence should not remain silent and should not be ashamed of it. In those years the women's movement was institutionalized, women research and support centers were established, and as well as graduate programs in universities were initiated. Moreover, during this period, at the government level, KSGM was founded as a national mechanism, in addition to guest houses (shelters) were established for women under the control of SHÇEK. In 2000s domestic violence against women was recognized as a crime and a violation of human rights. Furthermore, with the gained momentum of the women's movement, important steps have been taken to combat violence against women in the legal infrastructure.

During the last 20 years, women's organizations have been trying to increase women's awareness of violence, to make them knowledgeable about their rights; and finally to provide psychological and legal support to women through women's counseling centers. The first shelters started by women's organizations were those in Ankara, by the Foundation of Women's Solidarity, and, in İstanbul by Purple Roof Foundation. Although there are problems with the sustainability of these shelters and the continuity of the support services for women, those places provided shelter and support for women who do not have any place to go as a result of the violence. In the same period, training programs for women

and professionals have also been conducted¹⁷. In addition to these, various publications have been produced on the experiences with violence and the struggles in the process of combating violence¹⁸. Today, there are many nation-wide women's organizations working actively in sharing information through publications of documents based on the information provided by women. In addition to these, several studies have been conducted mostly in small scale in order to reveal the prevalence of violence against women.

Consequently, appropriate conditions have been developed to conduct the most comprehensive nationwide research that is, "National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey" aimed at determining the dimensions and prevalence of different forms of domestic violence against women and obtaining detailed information on the strategies for combating violence at national level , in urban/rural areas and 12 regions. The findings of the survey indicated that 4 out of every 10 women are subject to physical violence revealing the fact that the levels of violence experienced by women are actually higher than what was known until now.

Another point that makes the National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey different from other studies conducted in this field is the fact that the findings are registered as part of TURKSTAT's official statistics. It is also notable that the results allow for international comparison since questionnaires in this study were designed based on the ones that were developed by the World Health Organization.

¹⁷ Especialy trainings conducted by Women's Human Rigths Project/New Solutions Foundation in cooperation with SHÇEK are noteworthy.

 $^{^{18}}$ Most of these are publications of Foundation for Women's Solidarity, Purple Roof Foundation and KA-MER .

Chapter 9

Lessons learned and recommendations

Henrica A.F.M. JANSEN, Sunday ÜNER, Filiz KARDAM

The National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey has for the first time created a very rich information source about violence against women in this country by providing a multi-dimensional study. The first and most important priority is that the current results will be used to widely create awareness of the scale and scope of the problem and to guide and inform the development of targeted policies, strategies and programs in support of the overall objective: to protect women from domestic violence. This will be in the hands of government agencies, women organizations, media, academicians, educators and everybody working on this topic.

In the first part of this chapter, in the light of the results of The National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey, policy recommendations will be discussed, relating the targets in already formulated in the National Action Plan with the findings of the research. The second part of this chapter will discuss a number of research recommendations.

Policy recommendations

When the research results of this project are evaluated, the most striking two findings are:

- 1. That the phenomenon of domestic violence is more widespread in Turkey than previously known,
- 2. That despite the pervasiveness of violence against women, women are alone; they feel alone in their experience of violence and the feel alone in their combat against violence.

Even though violence against women is common, only half of the women who experienced violence ever told someone in their immediate social network about the violence they have experienced, and only very few women did seek help from an institution or support service. What actually is important now is to investigate the reasons for this; reveal the truths behind this silence of women, their kind of acceptance of violence, their normalization of the events.

But even without knowing all the reasons for domestic violence against women, the research results have once more pointed out the urgency of a total awareness; and the importance of determination and urgent action in combating domestic violence against women.

To ensure efficiency and continuity of essential activities and to provide the necessary support to women victimized by domestic violence, the institutions and services actively involved in this issue should be informed of each other's activities. This, in turn, depends on solid cooperation and coordination.

In this case, it is also important that the targets and policies in the National Action Plan (2007-2010) developed by the Directorate General on the Status of Women be acted upon urgently. We consider it necessary to explicate these targets:

- Target 1. Realization of the legal arrangements on gender equality and domestic violence against women, and elimination of enforcement related defects;
- Target 2. Creation of public awareness and mental transformation on gender equality and domestic violence against women in order to eradicate attitudes and behaviours that generate and reinforce domestic violence;
- Target 3. Making the necessary arrangements for strengthening the socio-economic status of women, and ensuring the full enforcement of such arrangements;
- Target 4. Ensuring organization and implementation of attainable protective services towards women victimized by domestic violence and their children (if any);
- Target 5. Ensuring organization and provision of curative and rehabilitation services towards women victimized by domestic violence and the perpetrators, and;
- Target 6. Establishing a mechanism of cooperation amongst institutions and relevant sectors for the provision of services to women victimized by domestic violence and to their children (if any).

Whereas the first main target describes legal arrangements and the responsibilities of the relevant institutions, the quantitative and qualitative research results show that in practice very few women apply for help to legal support services. This shows that it is crucial to remove the obstacles for women to use these services.

The second and third targets are intended to prevent violence before it occurs. It should be realized that activities towards these targets will be effective only in the long term. Many of the women interviewed during the qualitative research have pointed out that it is important to create awareness both for women and for men. This could be achieved by implementing activities to reach the second target mentioned above.

The third target covers strengthening of the socio-economic status of women in every aspect. This is equally important and the impact of activities towards this target will become visible in the long term. As mentioned in the previous sections, women have mentioned as main reasons for domestic violence "reasons arising from the man's family" and "financial problems experienced in the family". When women have financial autonomy and better educational levels, such problems can be more easily tackled or eliminated.

The fourth and fifth targets are important for the protection, treatment and rehabilitation of women exposed to violence and of their children. Naturally, they imply the implementation

of activities with results at the short and middle term. The important thing here is to ensure that the women exposed to violence apply for help to institutions and establishments providing the mentioned services. A great majority of women, however, are ignorant of what these services are and how they are provided. Furthermore, among the few women who have applied to these services, the majority stated that they were not very satisfied with the services provided.

It is also important to accelerate activities that started with the Prime Ministry Circular no. 2006/17 published in July 2006, which has as aim the prevention of violence against women and children. The circular assigned various duties to specific institutions. It is important that these institutions ensure continuity by incorporating these duties into their own programs. Besides taking steps to eliminate obstacles in the implementation of the assigned duties, it is important to address specific problems like scarcity of resources, so that the activities can be more efficiently carried out.

The people of various professions (social service expert, lawyer, judge, forensic medicine doctor, psychologist, imam, and police) and representatives of women NGOs who have been interviewed during the qualitative phase of the research, have pointed out issues and made recommendations on services for women and on prevention activities. These recommendations include: improvement of the shelters for women exposed to violence; providing women and their families with psychological support and rehabilitation, as well as creating education and employment possibilities which will empower the women in the long term. In addition, the role of the media has been touched upon, and there was criticism of the media and their negative role by presenting programs which contain violence or normalize violence.

Both the points dwelled upon by the various professionals, and the needs as revealed by the research findings, show that the women exposed to violence need to be protected and supported better. In accordance with that, the service infrastructure needs to be strengthened and improved to better respond to violence. It is crucial that not only the number of shelter homes be increased, but also that their equipment and facilities be improved. They must be able to provide multipurpose services, therefore special training needs to be provided to shelter home personnel. Also, the share reserved in the budget needs to be increased in order to realize all these changes. Furthermore, municipalities need to fulfill their responsibilities in this field; in addition to their opening of shelter homes, independent women's institutions should be supported to operate women's shelters in cooperation with the state or municipalities, and their continuity should be ensured.

The role of information centers, especially information centers belonging to women NGOs is very important. Information provided by these centers should help women exposed to violence to gain self-confidence. Women should be informed about possibilities to apply to official institutions, about their rights, employment opportunities and where they can find psychological support. Therefore it is important to keep on the agenda the

necessity of expanding the numbers of such centers and various ways to support them. It should also be realized that women have insufficient knowledge about their rights, laws, and institutions and establishments. This information, too, has to be spread through various channels. The media can play a positive role in increasing awareness and in giving information about this subject.

Besides urgent measures to bring the mechanisms to protect women victimized by violence to an appropriate standard, it is also important that education and employment policies are reviewed to ensure that women can stand on their own feet financially. While the education and employment opportunities are being increased, it is crucial that in the long term the education system will be free from gender biases and provides equal opportunities for women and men. Further, girls and boys should receive equal education from very early ages and they should also be trained in communication skills and ways of solving their problems without using violence.

In addition, many people interviewed during the research have expressed that it would be useful that women, men and various professionals providing violence related services (jurists, police, health personnel, etc.) receive training about violence against women, gender, communication, rights and laws about this subject.

These issues bring us to the sixth target, which points at the importance of cooperation between institutions and relevant sectors to enable the successful implementation of the action plan. Since combat against violence demands different types of measures and a wide range of services, a well-structured cooperation mechanism has to be formed where many different institutions and sectors, at national and local level should act together.

Another important point here is that there is no administrative recording system in Turkey to document violence against women. All public and private establishments and NGOs mentioned above need to urgently set up a communication system within a network connected to each other in order to share and systematize the information they collect.

In conclusion and as shown above, the research findings give important leads to shift the focus of some of the priorities foreseen in the national action plan.

Research recommendations

There are many topics that should be considered for further analysis making use of the wealth data that have already been collected, some of which will be listed in this section. Finally, this section, also addresses recommendations that should be considered for further research and studies on this topic.

Further analysis

The research project has resulted in a large database with qualitative data (transcripts of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions) and quantitative data (the data for each

of the structured interviews at household and individual level collected during the survey). The main results that are presented in this report should be considered as the beginning of an ongoing process of analysis that the team is planning to conduct in the future.

The following subjects are being considered for further analyses using the current database:

- Analyses by region, to determine into more detail the risk and protective factors that could be the basis for the formulation of regional prevention priorities.
- Analysis of the relationship between partner characteristics and the experience of partner violence as reported by the women, including analysis of men's attitudes towards domestic violence, using the qualitative data.
- Analysis of the characteristics of women who are exposed to violence by people other than their husbands/partners after the age of 15 and of women who experienced sexual abuse before the age of 15.
- Analysis of the relation between the age and form of marriage and whether a woman is exposed to violence by her husband, using quantitative and qualitative data.
- Analysis of the relations between violence and reproductive health.
- Analysis of the relations between violence and financial autonomy.
- Analysis of age of first sex and the nature of the first sexual experience and the relation with violence later in life.
- Analysis of narrative comments of interviewers.

Recommendations for future research

Since the current research has provided a very robust and high quality set of baseline data, for the whole of Turkey and each of the 12 NUTS 1 regions, it may be useful to consider in the future to do follow up research using the same core questions for reasons of comparability, or possibly to have a periodic repetition of the survey. Such follow up research will be especially useful if active programs to combat violence against women are firmly in place. It should be realized that the indicator of lifetime violence is not likely to change significantly for many years. To measure change it would be more useful to focus on the 12 month period preceding the research, which reflects the current level of violence, as well as on the types and frequency of violence.

Although there is general interest in the measurement of attitude changes, this issue should be approached with caution, because shortly after a high profile campaign, attitudinal change can be rapid and only temporary. In this sense, information on attitudes should be gathered with care in future research.

A follow up survey can also be considered to specifically assess the impact of special programs that have been put in place.

Based on the experience with implementation of the current survey the following specific

recommendations for a follow-up study can be made based on the lessons learned in the field:

The National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey has been carried out with a very large sample size. This was beneficial as baseline study, but is not needed for follow-up studies, and may have more disadvantages than advantages in terms of logistics, morale, motivation and research quality, and the risk of the topic getting known beforehand due to high sampling density. For this reason, a smaller sample size is thus strongly recommended for follow-up studies. A smaller sample size will have the added benefit that some issues can be explored more in-depth when fewer households will be visited in a day.

In terms of further analysis, it is recommended to focus more on men. With the qualitative research data collected by the in-depth interviews in this research as well as the information collected in previous studies and by women's organizations, rich data is now available on the experiences of violence from the point of view of women. In the interviews done with men, and in particular perpetrators of violence, it was noted that men found it difficult to talk; they were playing down or minimizing while telling about violence. More research could be done about the point of view of men and it could be suggested that if similar research would be repeated to focus especially on in-depth interviews with men.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1. Research Team

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Key Expert

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Key Expert

Responsibility for qualitative research, focus group moderator, qualitative data analysis, report writing

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Annex 3. National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey, Selected Provinces

Table 1: The Selected Provinces

| REGION | PROVINCES | PROVINCE CODE | 12 REGION |
|-----------------------|------------|---------------|-----------|
| İSTANBUL | İSTANBUL | 34 | 1 |
| | BALIKESİR | 10 | 2 |
| WEST MARMARA | ÇANAKKALE | 17 | 2 |
| WEST WARWARA | EDİRNE | 22 | 2 |
| | TEKİRDAĞ | 59 | 2 |
| | DENİZLİ | 20 | 3 |
| | İZMİR | 35 | 3 |
| AEGEAN | MANİSA | 45 | 3 |
| | MUĞLA | 48 | 3 |
| | KÜTAHYA | 43 | 3 |
| | BURSA | 16 | 4 |
| | KOCAELİ | 41 | 4 |
| EAST MARMARA | BOLU | 14 | 4 |
| | ESKİŞEHİR | 26 | 4 |
| | DÜZCE | 81 | 4 |
| | ANKARA | 6 | 5 |
| WEST ANATOLIA | KONYA | 42 | 5 5 |
| | ADANA | 1 | 5 6 |
| | | 7 | 6 |
| | ANTALYA | | - |
| MEDITERRANEAN | HATAY | 31 | 6 |
| IEDITEMMANEAN | İÇEL | 33 | 6 |
| | K.MARAŞ | 46 | 6 |
| ENTRAL ANATOLIA | KAYSERİ | 38 | 7 |
| | KIRŞEHİR | 40 | 7 |
| CENTRAL ANATOLIA | NİĞDE | 51 | 7 |
| | YOZGAT | 66 | 7 |
| | KIRIKKALE | 71 | 7 |
| | KASTAMONU | 37 | 8 |
| | SAMSUN | 55 | 8 |
| WEST BLACK SEA | ZONGULDAK | 67 | 8 |
| | ÇORUM | 19 | 8 |
| | TOKAT | 60 | 8 |
| | ARTVİN | 8 | 9 |
| | GİRESUN | 28 | 9 |
| EAST BLACK SEA | ORDU | 52 | 9 |
| | RİZE | 53 | 9 |
| | TRABZON | 61 | 9 |
| | AĞRI | 4 | 10 |
| | ERZİNCAN | 24 | 10 |
| NORTHEAST ANATOLIA | ERZURUM | 25 | 10 |
| | KARS | 36 | 10 |
| | IĞDIR | 76 | 10 |
| | BİNGÖL | 12 | 11 |
| OFNITO AL FACT / | ELAZIĞ | 23 | 11 |
| CENTRAL EAST ANATOLIA | MALATYA | 44 | 11 |
| | VAN | 65 | 11 |
| | DİYARBAKIR | 21 | 12 |
| | | | |
| | GAZİANTEP | 27 | 12 |
| SOUTHEAST ANATOLIA | MARDÍN | 47 | 12 |
| | ŞANLIURFA | 63 | 12 |
| | ŞIRNAK | 73 | 12 |

Annex 4. Coverage of the Sample and Sample Weights

Ahmet Sinan TÜRKYILMAZ

Coverage of the Sample and Response Rates

In this section, household and woman response rates ¹⁹, and the reasons for non-response in the National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey are presented. For 542 clusters in the sample design of the survey, the targetted sample size is 24,048 households. Of these clusters, interviews in 4 clusters located in urban settlements and 1 in rural settlements were not conducted due to the reasons that are, access to the village was not possible by virtue of road construction, collective housing construction has commenced in urban settlements and the permission was not granted for conducting interviews in military lodgings. A total of 19,505 households were visited and eligible for the interview, of which 17,168 households were successfully interviewed. Overall, the household response rate was found out to be 88 percent. The main reasons that the interviews could not be performed in the eligible households were that 10.9 percent of household members were either away during the summer or some dwellings/addresses were found to be vacant, or some of the addresses were not dwelling units. Besides, the household non-response rate was only 4.4 percent (Table 1).

When the response rates for type of residence and regions were considered, the response rate in rural areas were observed to be relatively higher, as expected. The highest response rate among regions was calculated as 95 percent for the East Black Sea region while the lowest rate belonged to İstanbul.

In the interviewed households, 22,822 women in the age group of 15-59 were identified as eligible for the interview. These women were asked about their background information such as age, marital status and education. It was aimed to perform interview with only one woman in each household for reasons of safety and confidentiality, in order to make women feel comfortable when answering the questions and to increase the reliability of the answers. Of 22,822 eligible women, 14,854 were determined by Kish method (Table 1). Within the scope of the survey, interviews were successfully completed with 12,795 women, where the proportion of refusals was only 2.1 percent. Besides, the response rate for individual interview was found out to be 86.1 percent (Table 1). Unlike the pattern

C + HP + P + HR + DNF + PCWomen response rate(EWRR), belongs to the number of all women divided by the number women for which interview was completed: WC

¹⁹ The household response rate is calculated for completed households as a proportion of completed, no competent respondent, postponed, refused, dwelling not found and Partly completed. The eligible woman response rate is calculated for completed interviews as a proportion of completed, not at home, postponed, refused, partially completed and "other." The overall response rate is the product of the household and woman response rates.

Using the number of households falling into specific response categories, the household response rate (HRR) is calculated as:

| | Type of | Type of residence | a : | | | | NU Reg | NUTS-1 Region | | | | | Total | | |
|--|---------|-------------------|------------|-----------------|--------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|---------|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-------|
| Household | Urban | Rural | İstanbul | West Marmara | Aegean | East Marmara | West N Anatolia | West Mediterranean Central natolia | Central | West Black Sea | West East Black Sea Black Sea | North East Anatolia | Central East Anatolia | South East Anatolia | Total |
| Completed (C) | 69,3 | 80,7 | 6'65 | 74,9 | 71,4 | 0,79 | 73,8 | 73,9 | 66,1 | 2'69 | 72,3 | 74,2 | 78,6 | 82,2 | 72,1 |
| Household present but no competent respondent at home (HP) | 4,0 | 2,2 | 6,8 | 4,4 | 1,7 | 7,1 | 5,2 | 5,4 | 1,0 | 4,7 | 0,1 | 1,2 | 7,0 | 2,4 | 3,5 |
| Household absent (HA) | 11.8 | κ. « | 11.8 | 10.2 | 14.2 | 7.9 | 6 | 7.6 | 13.7 | 11.1 | 18.4 | 11.2 | 10.1 | 5.9 | 10.9 |
| Postponed (P) | 0,0 | 0,1 | 0,1 | 0,2 | 1 | 0,1 | 0,1 | 0,1 | | l (i | | Į į | 0,0 | 2() | 0,0 |
| Refused (R) | 5,3 | 1,8 | 12,3 | 4,0 | 2,8 | 7,7 | 4,6 | 4,6 | 2,0 | 4,6 | 3,0 | 1,2 | 2,2 | 1,8 | 4,4 |
| Dwelling vacant/address not a dwelling (DV) | 6.1 | 4.6 | 8.4 | 5.2 | 5.3 | 5,2 | 4.9 | 6,4 | 5.7 | 83 | 4.7 | 4.8 | 8,8 | 5.3 | 5.7 |
| Dwelling destroy (DD) | 9,0 | 0,3 | 0,5 | 0,2 | 0,2 | 0,3 | 6'0 | 0,4 | 1,8 | 0,1 | 0,2 | 0,4 | 0,8 | 0,4 | 0,5 |
| Dwelling not found (DNF) | 1,7 | 1,5 | 6'0 | 0,7 | 1,7 | 4,1 | 9,0 | 8′0 | 3,7 | 9'0 | 0,7 | 2,9 | 2,1 | 1,3 | 1,7 |
| Partly completed (PC) | 0,1 | 0,1 | 0,2 | 0,1 | 0,1 | 0,2 | 0,2 | 0'0 | 0,1 | 0,2 | 0,1 | 0,2 | 0'0 | 0'0 | 0,1 |
| Other (O) | 1,1 | 0,4 | 9'0 | 0,2 | 2,5 | 9'0 | 1,1 | 0,7 | 3,0 | 9′0 | 0,4 | 0,4 | 9′0 | 9,5 | 6'0 |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |
| Number of HH | 17952 | 2868 | 1896 | 1944 | 2016 | 1968 | 1896 | 2040 | 2040 | 1944 | 2004 | 1992 | 2040 | 2040 | 23820 |
| Household response rate (HRR) | 86,1 | 93,4 | 72,8 | 88,9 | 91,9 | 7,77 | 87,5 | 87,1 | 87,1 | 87,3 | 94,8 | 93,2 | 94,0 | 93,6 | 88,0 |
| Woman | 86,1 | 86,3 | 79,1 | 87,5 | 82,8 | 9,58 | 8,88 | 89,2 | 84,5 | 83,4 | 83,5 | 88,4 | 86,4 | 88'8 | 86,1 |
| Completed (WC) | 2,1 | 1,8 | 4,9 | 2,2 | 2,0 | 4,7 | 1,6 | 3,7 | 6′0 | 2,7 | 0,2 | 1,4 | 0,4 | 1,2 | 2,0 |
| Not at home (WNH) | Ċ | 1 | 0 | 1 | ć | | , | , | , | 1 | , | Ċ | 0 | Ċ | 1 |
| Woman absent (WA) | 8,0 | χ΄, α | 2,8 | 0′, | x, c | 4,0 | 1,c | 4, T | 9,0 | /'/ | 12,0 | δ,δ | χ) (| ט, פ | 0,7 |
| Postponed (WP) | 1,0 | Τ,0 | ۵,۵ | 4,0 | Τ'Ω | 2,0 | | υ, τ | 2,0 | (| , | , | 1,0 | Τ΄0 | U, L |
| Kerused (WK) | 2,7 | ر ا ا | 4, t | ۵,۲ | ۷,۷ | ກ່ວ | 0,2 | D, L | 0, 4 | ۲,۵ | در ۱ | T, Z | U, 1 | ט כ מ | Z, L |
| Wolfield flot engine (WINE) | o, o | , , | 4, C | , 0 | t 0 | , t | , c | , c | , t | , t | , t | 0,0 | , r | ח, כ | 1, 0 |
| Other (WO) | 6,0 | 7,0 | 1,0 | 0,0 | c, 0 | t, 0 | 0,0 | 0,7 | 1,1 | 0,7 | 0,40 | 2,0 | , c | 0,0 | , O |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |
| Number of women | 10958 | 3896 | 1018 | 1101 | 1153 | 1106 | 1204 | 1291 | 1169 | 1102 | 1252 | 1375 | 1489 | 1594 | 14854 |
| Momon sources of MIDD) | , , | | , | | | | | | | | | , | , | 0 | , |

observed for household interview, the eligible women response rate was similar in urban and rural areas. In addition to these, the highest rate was calculated for the Mediterranean as regards the regional level. Furthermore, in all regions except İstanbul the rates were not severely differentiated from each other. However, the response rate for İstanbul remained below 80 percent.

Calculation of Sample Weights

As mentioned earlier, the sample of the National Research on Domestic Violence against Woman in Turkey is not a self-weighted one. In particular, a disproportionate number of sample units were chosen from some of the strata, since there would have been inadequate numbers of observations for these areas if the target number of households had been proportionally allocated across regions. The following describes the procedure for calculating the weights to be used in the analysis of the survey results. Since the final selection was not implemented proportionally in strata, and since there was some variation in urban and rural non-response rates, separate weights are calculated for each of the 30 strata.

The major component of the weight is the reciprocal of the sampling fraction employed in calculating the number of units in that particular stratum:

$$W_h = 1 / f_h$$

The term f(h), the sampling fraction at the hth stratum, is the product of the probabilities of selection at every stage in a stratum:

$$f_h = P_{1h} * P_{2h} * P_{3h}$$

where P_{ih} is the probability of the sample unit in the i-th sample stage for the h-th strata.

A second component taken into account in the calculation of the weights is the level of nonresponse for the household and the individual interviews. The adjustment for household nonresponse is equal to the inverse value of:

$$R_{hh}$$
 = Completed household/Eligible household for the interview

Eligible households include households where interviews were completed, households where there were no competent respondents, households where interviews were postponed and eventually not completed, refusals, and those dwellings that were not found by the fieldwork teams.

Similarly, the adjustment for non-response in the women's survey is equal to the inverse value of:

 $R_{ww} = Completed$ women questionnaire/Eligible women for the interview.

Within the scope of this survey, only one woman was interviewed in each household. If there was more than one eligible woman in the household, one of them was selected by using Kish method. Therefore, this selection procedure should also be reflected in weighting procedure. Accordingly, the reciprocal of the fraction that is, the proportion of eligible woman selected for the interview and the total number women aged 15-59 in each stratum was included in the weighting factor.

$$R_{wk}$$
 = Eligible woman for the interview/Total number of women aged 15-59

The unadjusted weights for the households were calculated by multiplying the above factors for each stratum; they were then standardized by multiplying these weights by the ratio of the number of completed interviewed households to the total unadjusted weighted number of households. A similar standardization procedure was followed in obtaining the weights for the individual women's. The weights also include the adjustments for 5 missing clusters.

The last phase in the calculation of the weights for women is the calibration procedure related to the adjustment of five-year age distribution of women aged 15-59 in 2007 Address Based Population Registry System. The distribution of age groups resulted from Kish method was adjusted through calibration. In order to test the consistency between sampling allocation and the external data set based on specific characteristics and to adjust the sampling allocation according to this external data, the calibration procedure was implemented as below. The five-year age distribution of women aged 15-59 in 2007 Address Based Population Registry System was used as an external data. The calibration was done based on these variables. The steps of this procedure are mentioned below:

$$w_i^{(1)} = \frac{P_j}{P_j}, \dots i \in j$$

 P_j = population distribution of age groups on the basis of women aged 15-59, 2007

 P_i^{\prime} = distribution of age groups weighted by W on the basis of women aged 15-59

$$W_1 = w_i^1 * W$$

As a conclusion, these weights which were calculated on the basis of strata and eliminated the non-response bias were attached to the available data in order to make the data sets ready for analysis. The weights for household and woman by strata are given in Table 2. The final calibration procedure was not included since these weights would differentiate for each woman due to the factor in the related age group.

Table 2. Weights for households and women by strata before the calibration procedure

| Strata | Household | Women |
|--------|-----------|---------|
| 1 | 3,193803 | 3,52732 |
| 2 | 0,392827 | 0,41037 |
| 3 | 0,532803 | 0,53930 |
| 4 | 0,930277 | 0,87652 |
| 5 | 1,799156 | 1,83687 |
| 6 | 1,989018 | 2,06072 |
| 7 | 1,024379 | 0,98946 |
| 8 | 1,667642 | 1,60538 |
| 9 | 1,571963 | 1,60676 |
| 10 | 0,829247 | 0,86594 |
| 11 | 1,231193 | 1,21009 |
| 12 | 1,246898 | 1,16688 |
| 13 | 1,549041 | 1,51773 |
| 14 | 0,569949 | 0,55286 |
| 15 | 1,406919 | 1,38694 |
| 16 | 1,700395 | 1,59538 |
| 17 | 0,514170 | 0,52666 |
| 18 | 0,846661 | 0,86783 |
| 19 | 0,591388 | 0,65096 |
| 20 | 1,413225 | 1,37726 |
| 21 | 0,623176 | 0,62942 |
| 22 | 1,045769 | 1,03801 |
| 23 | 0,243095 | 0,24891 |
| 24 | 0,837219 | 0,90304 |
| 25 | 0,179466 | 0,17621 |
| 26 | 0,514280 | 0,50493 |
| 27 | 0,313507 | 0,30935 |
| 28 | 0,625680 | 0,65599 |
| 29 | 0,733711 | 0,69900 |
| 30 | 0,821441 | 0,85871 |

Annex 5. Construction of the Wealth Index

The wealth index in this study is used as a background variable that reflects socio-economic status besides the other background characteristics of age group and education. The "wealth level" variable was constructed according to the value of "wealth index", calculated by certain questions in the household questionnaire and through which households are ranked and divided into three groups. Assets²⁰ owned by the household were utilized for principal component analysis and wealth scores have been given to each household interviewed. Afterwards, each household has been weighted by using the number of household members, thus the whole household population of the research has been classified according to wealth scores; the lowest 40 percent constituting the "Low", the 40 percent in the middle the "Middle", and the highest 20 percent the "High" group of wealth.

It is assumed that the wealth index assesses the long term welfare of the household by taking assets owned by the household into account. Moreover, the index aims to rank households from lowest to highest levels in terms of wealth. The wealth index provides no information on absolute poverty, current income or level of expenditure, but rather a rank based on data collected by the research. Assistive SPSS software prepared by UNICEF-MICS12 (Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey) has been adapted to the data set of Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey for the construction of wealth index²¹. In this study, wealth index reflecting socio-economic status was used together with age groups and education as an indicator of background characteristics.

²⁰ The assets used in the construction of the wealth index are the following: Refrigerator, gas or electric oven, microwave oven, food processor/mixer/blender, dishwasher, washing machine, iron, vacuum cleaner, LCD/plasma television, television, paid TV broadcast, satellite TV, video camera, DVD/VCD player, camera, cell phone, telephone, computer, internet connection, air conditioner, car, tractor and motorcycle.

 $^{^{21}}$ For the construction of wealth index see Filmer and Pritchett (2001) and Rutstein and Johnson (2004).

Annex 6. Annex Tables of the Chapters

Annex Tables of Chapter 4

| Background characteristics | Slappe | Slapped or thrown something | own so | omethi | ng | | Pushed or shoved | l or sh | oved | | Ħ | Hit with a fist or something | fist or | somet | ning | |
|---|------------|-----------------------------|--------|------------------|-------|------------|-------------------------|---------|------------------|------|--------------|------------------------------|--------------|------------------|------|--------------------------|
| Background characteristics | Percentage | ntage | Ē | Frequency | > | Percentage | ıtage | Ē | Frequency | λ | Percentage | age | Ŗ | Frequency | | |
| | Lifetime | Past 12 months | One | One or two | Many | Lifetime | Past 12 months | One | One or two | Many | Lifetime | Past 12 months | One | One or two | Many | Ever married women |
| Type of residence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 35.5 | | | 48.4 | 21.8 | 19.1 | 5.6 | 20.7 | 49.7 | 29.6 | 14.1 | | 16.8 | 46.6 | 36.5 | 7,981 |
| Rural | 41.4 | 8.8 | 18.6 | 9.09 | 30.8 | 20.1 | 6.1 | 17.2 | 48.3 | 34.5 | 16.9 | 4.1 | 18.2 | 38.6 | 43.1 | 2,817 |
| Region | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 33.8 | 7.2 | 39.0 | 43.6 | 17.4 | 17.5 | 4.2 | 32.3 | 40.2 | 27.6 | 12.2 | 3.8 | 19.7 | 50.4 | 29.9 | 691 |
| West Marmara | 23.7 | | | 31.2 | 26.8 | 12.4 | 3.2 | 16.3 | 27.7 | 26.0 | 8.6 | 2.3 | 4.9 | 41.7 | 53.4 | 829 |
| Aegean | 29.6 | | 30.3 | 54.0 | 15.7 | 15.8 | 3.7 | 32.5 | 51.0 | 16.4 | 11.2 | 5 8 | 29.4 | 40.4 | 30.2 | 848 |
| East Marmara | 34.6 | | | 43.9 | 25.2 | 16.3 | | 14.0 | 45.2 | 40.9 | 12.6 | 2.3 | 6.3 | 39.3 | 54.3 | 822 |
| West Anatolia | 39.8 | | | 56.2 | 12.1 | 22.0 | 9.0 | 23.9 | 58.4 | 1/./ | 16.5 | 4.7 | 19.7 | 54.2 | 26.1 | 915 |
| Mediterranean | 38.7 | 10.3 | 19.6 | 43.2 | 37.3 | 21.5 | 0.0 | 12.5 | 52.6 | 35.0 | 17.2 גיגנ | 5.2 | 14.6 | 46.6 | 38.8 | 964 |
| Central Anatolia | 46.8 | 11.8 | | 52.4 | 23.5 | 78.7 | 8.7 | 20.9 | 46.I | 33.0 | 27.7 | 4.0 | 23.7 | 35.I | 41.1 | 88/ |
| West Black Sea | 39.6 | о. Л | | 46.8 55.6 | 17.4 | 19.9 | 2.7 | 12.5 | 67.3 | 33.I | 15.I | 4.6 | 20.5 21 F | 30.2 | 27.3 | 8// |
| Northoot Anatolia | 10.7 | 1.0 | | 0.7 | t. /1 | 76.0 | 7 0 | 11.0 | 1.70 | 70.0 | 24.2 | . i o | 10.C | 0.00 | 7.7 | 0,0 |
| Notifiedst Aliatolia | 0 T.O | 12.3 | | 41.4 56.6 | 20.7 | 20.7 | 7.7 | 15.6 | 77.7 | 20.0 | 18.7 | 0.0 | 20.0 | 20.T | 71.7 | 1,000 1004 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 46.6 | 18.1 | | 55.1 | 26.8 | 23.6 | 9.6 | 12.7 | 49.6 | 37.7 | 20.0 | 7.9 | 10.2 | 46.2 | 43.7 | 1.165 |
| Age groups | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 30.0 | 15.9 | | 50.1 | 22.0 | 15.1 | 9.2 | 14.1 | 53.6 | 32.3 | 8.7 | 2.7 | 23.3 | 37.2 | 39.5 | 1,194 |
| 25-34 | 33.5 | 10.9 | | 54.1 | 19.8 | 17.9 | 7.2 | 22.5 | 49.3 | 28.2 | 12.0 | 4.9 | 12.1 | 52.5 | 35.4 | 3,652 |
| 35-44 | 37.7 | 7.8 | | 42.2 | 27.9 | 18.9 | 2.0 | 21.5 | 44.4 | 34.1 | 15.1 | 4.2 | 20.2 | 43.5 | 36.3 | 3,009 |
| 45-59 | 43.7 | 4.0 | 22.2 | 43.2 | 34.5 | 23.3 | 3.0 | 18.6 | 50.3 | 31.2 | 20.5 | 2.2 | 16.5 | 36.7 | 46.8 | 2,943 |
| Education | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| None/primary incomplete | 50.6 | $\frac{11.5}{1}$ | | 48.3 | 32.1 | 24.3 | 6.5 | 11.8 | 46.5 | 41.7 | 22.9 | 5.5 | 11.8 | 40.1 | 48.1 | 2,741 |
| Primary, tirst level | 37.6 | 7.9 | | 51.7 | 22.4 | 19.2 | 5.2 | 21.9 | 49.2 | 28.9 | 15.0 | m 1 | 20.4 | 46.6 | 33.0 | 5,237 |
| Primary, second level | 32.3 | 10.8 | | 42.5 | 22.4 | 19.4 | 8.1 | 20.9 | 50.1 | 29.0 | 10.3 | 5.2 | 22.8 | 41.8 | 35.4 | 872 |
| High school and higher Wealth level | 22.3 | 7.0 | 38.5 | 46.7 | 15.1 | 14.2 | 4.8 | 25.1 | 53.5 | 21.4 | 7.3 | 2.4 | 11.9 | 50.9 | 37.2 | 1,948 |
| Low | 45.5 | 12.7 | | 49.1 | 28.2 | 22.4 | 7.7 | 11.8 | 49.7 | 38.5 | 20.4 | 6.4 | 17.0 | 41.1 | 41.9 | 4,189 |
| Medium | 36.1 | 7.5 | | 49.7 | 21.6 | 18.8 | 2.0 | 22.2 | 51.1 | 26.7 | 13.1 | 3.2 | 14.5 | 48.6 | 36.9 | 4,631 |
| High | 24.4 | 4.7 | 41.5 | 45.8 | 12.6 | 15.2 | 3.6 | 42.5 | 42.6 | 14.9 | 8.7 | 1.7 | 29.1 | 51.5 | 19.5 | 1,978 |
| Turkev | 37.0 | 80 | 27.0 | 48.9 | 24.1 | 19.4 | 5.7 | 19.7 | 49.3 | 31.0 | 14.8 | 4.0 | 17.2 | 44.6 | 38.2 | 10.798 |

other 691 859 848 822 915 964 887 779 874 1,000 994 Percentage of each act of physical violence among ever-married women and frequency distribution of number of times women experienced that act, by type of residence, region, age, education and wealth level, Turkey 2008 Ever married 1,194 3,652 3,009 2,943 2,741 5,237 872 1,948 4,189 4,631 1,978 10,798 Many 63.0 15.5 46.1 34.5 15.4 16.9 31.9 .0 18.5 52.6 43.9 18.5 28.4 53.9 20.5 39.9 37.4 60.3 42.7 49.5 25.4 25.4 39.2 Threatened or use of a gun, knife or Frequency One 18.6 444.2 553.9 571.8 84.6 201.9 10.1 11.1 11.1 13.8 13.5 26.3 18.8 32.0 81.5 27.2 24.6 58.8 36.8 or two 31.9 15.1 53.1 57.7 One weapon 44.4 21.6 20.7 23.3 28.7 .0 61.2 59.6 54.4 82.9 25.8 14.2 55.2 28.5 24.1 35.5 21.4 16.9 28.9 13.7 Past 12 months 0.9 0.5 0.8 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 1.2 1.2 1.2 0.5 0.7 Percentage Lifetime 2.4 2.2 2.2 5.6 2222 2.3 Many 37.0 40.5 39.3 36.5 42.5 43.4 18.5 37.2 32.1 15.5 38.9 49.4 Frequency One 39.9 40.9 51.0 35.1 24.2 67.5 40.6 10.2 83.3 41.4 31.3 54.9 33.8 42.3 36.2 47.4 42.9 47.1 28.4 34.9 35.3 32.5 66.7 47.2 40.1 o š Š Chocked or burnt you One 19.4 16.9 49.5 19.0 25.6 32.5 33.5 33.2 .0 .0 17.6 112.3 16.8 53.0 20.9 20.1 12.4 32.3 28.7 22.2 24.1 14.8 15.7 21.1 ANNEX Table 4.1. Acts and frequency st of physical violence (continued) Lifetime Past 12 months 2.5 2.0 1.4 0.8 Percentage 4.0 4.6 5.1 6.3 7.5 4.7 4.7 4.0 50.4 46.0 24.1 53.0 18.8 46.0 41.4 46.7 51.5 51.7 Many 43.2 29.4 44.0 48.7 50.8 51.9 36.7 36.3 42.5 50.0 36.5 19.2 42.4 Frequency Note: *The frequency distribution is given for violence in the past 12 months only. Kicked, dragged or beaten One o N 22.0 38.2 47.0 70.8 38.2 40.3 40.3 44.1 44.1 40.0 38.8 41.4 46.0 36.3 28.1 38.6 39.3 40.4 46.0 43.5 54.6 35.4 One 17.6 18.0 16.8 14.7 20.1 26.2 27.6 19.8 37.2 .0 29.2 10.0 15.0 21.2 10.5 115.8 118.3 20.7 20.7 116.2 116.2 116.5 9.5 24.0 23.3 11.5 Lifetime Past 12 months 2.2 2.2 2.2 2.2 2.2 4.7 4.7 6.7 7.6 7.7 7.6 6.0 3.8 3.0 1.6 5.0 2.9 4.2 2.0 3.3 Percentage 85.5 8.11 9.44 9.54 9.51 11.71 11.71 11.71 11.73 17.9 8.9 9.8 13.1 16.4 19.8 12.3 8.9 6.0 17.6 10.8 6.9 None/primary incomplete Primary, first level Primary, second level High school and higher **Wealth level** Central East Anatolia Northeast Anatolia Southeast Anatolia Type of residence characteristics **Region** Istanbul West Marmara Central Anatolia Mediterranean West Black Sea Aegean East Marmara West Anatolia East Black Sea Background Age groups 15-24 25-34 35-44 45-59 Education Medium Rural

ANNEX Table 4.2. Frequency distribution of types of violence
Frequency distribution of types of violence by an intimate partner among ever-married women who reported partner violence by type of residence, region, age, education and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | Physical violence only | Sexual violence only | Both physical and sexual violence | ever married women |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| Type of residence | | | | |
| Urban | 64.6 | 5.9 | 29.6 | 3,442 |
| Rural | 60.8 | 7.3 | 31.9 | 1,353 |
| Region | | | | |
| Istanbul | 63.5 | 6.3 | 30.2 | 260 |
| West Marmara | 70.7 | 4.3 | 25.0 | 221 |
| Aegean | 66.7 | 6.3 | 27.0 | 300 |
| East Marmara | 59.9 | 9.6 | 30.5 | 320 |
| West Anatolia | 66.7 | 5.4 | 27.9 | 429 |
| Mediterranean | 64.9 | 4.4 | 30.8 | 418 |
| Central Anatolia | 63.3 | 5.1 | 31.6 | 465 |
| West Black Sea | 56.8 | 6.1 | 37.0 | 350 |
| East Black Sea | 62.6 | 8.1 | 29.3 | 364 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 58.6 | 10.9 | 30.5 | 557 |
| Central East Anatolia | 48.4 | 6.9 | 44.6 | 506 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 61.7 | 8.4 | 30.0 | 605 |
| Age groups | | | | |
| 15-24 | 61.5 | 6.7 | 31.8 | 444 |
| 25-34 | 63.5 | 6.3 | 30.2 | 1,537 |
| 35-44 | 61.7 | 9.6 | 28.8 | 1,339 |
| 45-59 | 66.8 | 6.7 | 26.4 | 1,475 |
| Education | | | | |
| None/primary incomplete | 66.2 | 5.4 | 28.4 | 1,550 |
| Primary, first level | 59.0 | 5.4 | 35.6 | 2,366 |
| Primary, second level | 63.5 | 6.3 | 30.2 | 345 |
| High school and higher | 60.2 | 6.4 | 33.4 | 534 |
| Wealth level | | | | |
| Low | 64.0 | 5.3 | 30.7 | 2,192 |
| Medium | 65.9 | 9.2 | 25.0 | 2,013 |
| High | 67.8 | 7.9 | 24.3 | 590 |
| Turkey | 63.5 | 6.3 | 30.2 | 4,795 |

ANNEX Table 4.3. Prevelance of physical and sexual violence according to marital status

Prevalence of physical and sexual violence of by an intimate partner according to marital status by region, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | | Physical violence | Sexual violence | Physical or sexual violence |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Region | | | | |
| Istanbul | Never married* | 13.2 | 4.1 | 14.2 |
| | Currently married | 35.6 | 9.1 | 36.8 |
| | Widowed | 30.8 | 11.3 | 30.8 |
| | Divorced/seperated | 73.8 | 69.8 | 88.9 |
| West Marmara | Never married | 1.1 | 0.0 | 1.1 |
| | Currently married | 22.6 | 8.1 | 24.4 |
| | Widowed | 29.1 | 6.7 | 29.1 |
| | Divorced/seperated | 86.0 | 33.2 | 86.0 |
| Aegean | Never married | 11.9 | 2.1 | 11.9 |
| | Currently married | 28.5 | 11.9 | 32.2 |
| | Widowed | 46.4 | 31.2 | 46.4 |
| | Divorced/seperated | 76.9 | 39.3 | 76.9 |
| East Marmara | Never married | 9.4 | 3.6 | 10.6 |
| | Currently married | 35.4 | 12.4 | 37.3 |
| | Widowed | 60.8 | 12.6 | 65.5 |
| | Divorced/seperated | 49.1 | 31.5 | 52.5 |
| West Anatolia | Never married | 7.8 | 0.5 | 8.3 |
| Mediterranean | Currently married | 40.1 | 14.5 | 42.2 |
| | Widowed | 57.8 | 17.4 | 57.8 |
| | Divorced/seperated | 74.0 | 36.0 | 74.0 |
| Mediterranean | Never married | 5.4 | 0.0 | 5.4 |
| | Currently married | 40.4 | 14.9 | 42.6 |
| | Widowed | 51.5 | 26.5 | 54.0 |
| C | Divorced/seperated | 65.3 | 35.0 | 67.9 |
| Central Anatolia | Never married | 4.1 | 0.0 22.0 | 4.1 51.7 |
| | Currently married Widowed | 48.5 59.0 | 33.2 | 62.6 |
| | Divorced/seperated | 90.0 | 50.2 | 94.7 |
| West Black Sea | Never married | 11.0 | 3.2 | 11.0 |
| West black Sea | Currently married | 41.2 | 16.4 | 45.1 |
| | Widowed | 57.2 | 28.4 | 60.4 |
| | Divorced/seperated | 74.1 | 35.2 | 74.1 |
| East Black Sea | Never married | 3.7 | 0.7 | 3.7 |
| Last Black Sca | Currently married | 37.2 | 17.3 | 41.6 |
| | Widowed | 45.7 | 24.5 | 53.9 |
| | Divorced/seperated | 57.0 | 18.7 | 61.1 |
| Northeast Anatolia | Never married | 3.5 | 4.1 | 7.6 |
| | Currently married | 52.9 | 29.3 | 57.0 |
| | Widowed | 57.9 | 31.5 | 60.1 |
| | Divorced/seperated | 58.2 | 40.5 | 58.2 |
| Central East Anatolia | Never married | 6.2 | 2.3 | 8.5 |
| | Currently married | 46.1 | 19.3 | 50.6 |
| | Widowed | 61.2 | 26.9 | 61.2 |
| | Divorced/seperated | 73.9 | 26.4 | 73.9 |
| Southeast Anatolia | Never married | 8.5 | 3.8 | 8.5 |
| | Currently married | 46.8 | 19.0 | 50.1 |
| | Widowed | 50.3 | 22.6 | 55.8 |
| | Divorced/seperated | 90.8 | 49.4 | 95.4 |
| Turkey | Never married | 9.0 | 2.2 | 9.6 |
| | Currently married | 37.8 | 14.1 | 40.4 |
| | Widowed | 48.7 | 21.7 | 50.7 |
| | Divorced/seperated | 72.6 | 43.9 | 77.0 |

| Background characteristics | Insults | lts | Belittlement humiliation | ment / ation | Intimidation scaring | ation / ing | Threats | Threats or harm | At least one act | one act | |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| | Lifetime | Past 12 months | Lifetime | Past 12 months | Lifetime | Past 12 months | Lifetime | Past 12 months | Lifetime | Past 12 months | Ever married women |
| Type of residence Urban Rural | 36.7 39.5 | 20.6 | 19.5 | 10.5 | 18.0 | 9.4 | 3.7 | 2.1 | 43.3 45.9 | 24.9 24.4 | 7,981 |
| kegion Istanbul West Marmara | 35.0 27.6 | 19.0 | 17.7 | 10.1 | 13.6 | 5.8 | 2.9 | 1.3 | 39.9 31.7 | 22.5 16.6 | 691 859 |
| Aegean East Marmara | 36.6 35.9 | 18.2 18.5 | 14.0 19.1 | 8.5 9.8 | 20.5 19.2 | 9.6 8.5 | 3.5 | 1.2 2.0 | 43.0 44.9 | 22.6 21.9 | 848 822 |
| West Anadolu Mediterranean | 37.0 39.7 | 20.3 23.1 | 18.2 21.8 | 9.2 12.8 | 16.4 20.6 | 8.0 12.7 | 5.1 5.1 | 2.1 2.5 | 42.2 47.1 | 23.7 28.0 | 915 964 |
| Central Anatolia West Black Sea | 42.0 38.9 | 22.1 18.5 | 25.3 18.4 | 15.2 9.3 | 20.7 19.1 | 11.7 9.0 | 5.5 3.4 | 2.5 1.6 | 49.3 44.7 | 27.5 | 887 779 |
| East Black Sea Northeast Anatolia Central East Anatolia | 34.7 44.5 36.4 | 16.4 28.1 23.2 | 18.1 29.5 21.7 | 9.9 18.9 13.6 | 21.1 30.0 20.4 | 10.8 19.3 12.2 | 4.1 5.6 6.0 | 1.4 3.9 3.3 | 42.2 54.7 45.7 | 21.6 35.5 28.6 | 874 1,000 994 |
| Southeast Anatolia Age groups | 44.7 | 28.5 | 27.4 | 16.7 | 23.1 | 15.2 | 5.6 | 3.3 | 51.7 | 34.7 | 1,165 |
| 15-24 25-34 35-44 46-50 | 30.0 35.0 38.7 | 23.2 23.1 21.1 | 18.9 18.3 18.3 | 14.7 10.9 9.9 | 16.6 18.1 17.5 | 12.3 11.1 9.1 | 5.4 3.7 2.0 | 3.1 1.6 | 37.2 42.8 44.5 | 29.1 27.8 24.9 | 1,194 3,652 3,009 |
| Education | 45.2 | 17.7 | 6.13 | o.o | 20.0 | †. | ţ. | r:T | t. /+ | 7.61 | 2,343 |
| None/primary incomplete Primary, first level Primary, second level | 42.9 38.0 35.5 | 22.2 20.5 20.6 | 26.2 19.1 17.6 | 14.0 10.2 10.2 | 21.3 18.0 17.3 | 10.6 9.3 10.8 | 3.7 7.7 8.7 | 2.3 2.3 4.3 4.3 | 50.0 44.5 41.6 | 27.0 24.8 25.5 | 2,741 5,237 872 |
| Wealth level | 50.0 | 7 00 | C C | ų. | 10.0 | | 0 . | 7 7 | 20:0 | 7 T. / | L, 340 |
| Low Medium High | 40.8 37.0 32.2 | 22.9 19.4 18.3 | 22.6 19.3 14.1 | 13.3 9.8 7.2 | 20.1 18.0 16.5 | 11.0 9.4 7.9 | 3.7 3.8 3.8 | 2.7 1.6 1.6 | 47.3 43.7 38.6 | 27.8 23.6 21.7 | 4,189 4,631 1,978 |
| Turkey | 37.4 | 20.4 | 19.4 | 10.6 | 18.5 | 6.7 | 4.2 | 2.0 | 43.9 | 747 | 10 798 |

ANNEX Table 4.5. Acts of economic violence/abuse
Percentage of ever-married women who have experienced different acts of economic violence/abuse by their intimate partners by type of residence, region, age, education and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| | preventi from wor causing to jok | king or quit her | not giving for hous expen | ehold ['] | depriving her inco | | Ever married women |
|-------------------------------|---|---------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Background characteristics | Lifetime | Past 12 Months | Lifetime | Past 12 Months | Lifetime | Past 12 Months | |
| Type of residence | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 26.6 | 9.8 | 8.6 | 4.6 | 3.9 | 1.3 | 7,981 |
| Rural | 13.9 | 5.8 | 6.7 | 4.6 | 3.7 | 1.7 | 2,817 |
| Region | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 26.8 | 8.8 | 8.6 | 3.9 | 4.7 | 1.3 | 691 |
| West Marmara | 19.4 | 5.9 | 3.9 | 1.5 | 3.5 | 1.6 | 859 |
| Aegean | 20.9 | 5.2 | 6.9 | 2.5 | 3.2 | 0.4 | 848 |
| East Marmara | 28.2 | 12.3 | 6.8 | 4.0 | 3.3 | 1.9 | 822 |
| West Anatolia | 27.8 | 10.5 | 6.9 | 3.7 | 3.2 | 1.2 | 915 |
| Mediterranean | 23.2 | 10.0 | 9.1 | 5.7 | 4.1 | 1.3 | 964 |
| Central Anatolia | 22.6 | 10.2 | 7.9 | 5.3 | 2.9 | 1.4 | 887 |
| West Black Sea | 20.1 | 7.5 | 8.9 | 6.2 | 4.9 | 2.4 | 779 |
| East Black Sea | 18.7 | 5.9 | 6.9 | 4.1 | 2.8 | 0.7 | 874 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 13.9 | 6.7 | 14.1 | 11.1 | 4.2 | 1.3 | 1,000 |
| Central East Anatolia | 16.7 | 7.2 | 10.6 | 7.7 | 4.8 | 1.9 | 994 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 20.9 | 11.1 | 10.6 | 7.8 | 4.2 | 2.3 | 1,165 |
| Age groups | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 32.9 | 20.5 | 7.4 | 5.4 | 3.4 | 2.5 | 1,194 |
| 25-34 | 23.7 | 10.7 | 7.1 | 4.9 | 3.3 | 1.4 | 3,652 |
| 35-44 | 22.4 | 7.2 | 8.1 | 4.8 | 4.1 | 1.4 | 3,009 |
| 45-59 | 19.5 | 2.7 | 9.6 | 3.8 | 4.5 | 0.8 | 2,943 |
| Education | | | | | | | |
| None/primary incomplete | 19.7 | 7.5 | 10.4 | 5.9 | 4.0 | 1.6 | 2,741 |
| Primary, first level | 24.5 | 9.2 | 7.6 | 4.6 | 3.9 | 1.3 | 5,237 |
| Primary, second level | 29.6 | 14.1 | 11.1 | 6.0 | 4.2 | 1.4 | 872 |
| High school and higher | 21.7 | 6.9 | 5.6 | 2.7 | 3.7 | 1.4 | 1,948 |
| Wealth level | | | | | | | |
| Low | 21.5 | 10.3 | 9.5 | 5.9 | 4.9 | 2.2 | 4,189 |
| Medium | 26.0 | 9.2 | 7.8 | 4.2 | 3.7 | 1.1 | 4,631 |
| High | 21.2 | 5.5 | 6.3 | 3.4 | 2.6 | 0.6 | 1,978 |
| Turkey | 23.4 | 8.8 | 8.1 | 4.6 | 3.9 | 1.4 | 10,798 |

ANNEX Table 4.6. Experience of physical violence by women's mothers Women's and their mother's experience of physical violence by an intimate partner by type of residence and region, Turkey 2008

| Urban Not experienced violence 18.8 77.2 4,795 Experienced violence 36.9 57.2 2,928 Rural Not experienced violence 19.6 73.2 1,487 Experienced violence 38.0 53.1 1,129 Region Istanbul Not experienced violence 20.7 75.2 1,296 Experienced violence 40.0 55.7 751 751 West Marmara Not experienced violence 15.1 80.7 391 Experienced violence 29.5 63.2 127 Aegean Not experienced violence 16.8 78.6 958 Experienced violence 37.2 58.0 437 East Marmara Not experienced violence 17.0 79.9 664 Experienced violence 36.3 57.6 380 West Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.8 76.9 630 Experienced violence 36.2 58.3 545 Central Anatolia | Background characteristics | | Mother experienced physical violence | Mother did not experience physical violence | ever married women |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------|
| Experienced violence 36.9 57.2 2,928 Rural Not experienced violence 19.6 73.2 1,487 Experienced violence 38.0 53.1 1,129 Region Istanbul Not experienced violence 20.7 75.2 1,296 Experienced violence 40.0 55.7 751 West Marmara Not experienced violence 29.5 63.2 127 Alegean Not experienced violence 29.5 63.2 127 Alegean Not experienced violence 37.2 58.0 437 East Marmara Not experienced violence 37.2 58.0 437 East Marmara Not experienced violence 36.3 57.6 380 West Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.8 76.9 630 Experienced violence 38.9 56.0 460 Mediterranean Not experienced violence 17.9 77.8 765 Experienced violence 36.2 58.3 545 Central Anatolia Not experienced violence 23.5 69.6 265 Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 259 West Black Sea Not experienced violence 15.7 81.4 342 Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 256 East Black Sea Not experienced violence 22.6 74.2 216 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 113 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 | Type of residence | Women's experience of violence | | | |
| Rural Not experienced violence 19.6 73.2 1,487 | Urban | Not experienced violence | 18.8 | 77.2 | 4,795 |
| Experienced violence 38.0 53.1 1,129 | | Experienced violence | 36.9 | 57.2 | 2,928 |
| Region Istanbul Not experienced violence 20.7 75.2 1,296 Experienced violence 40.0 55.7 751 West Marmara Not experienced violence 15.1 80.7 391 Experienced violence 29.5 63.2 127 Aegean Not experienced violence 16.8 78.6 958 Experienced violence 37.2 58.0 437 East Marmara Not experienced violence 17.0 79.9 664 Experienced violence 36.3 57.6 380 West Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.8 76.9 630 Experienced violence 38.9 56.0 460 Mediterranean Not experienced violence 17.9 77.8 765 Experienced violence 36.2 58.3 545 Central Anatolia Not experienced violence 23.5 69.6 265 Experienced violence 15.7 81.4 342 Experienced violence 22.6 | Rural | Not experienced violence | 19.6 | 73.2 | 1,487 |
| Not experienced violence 20.7 75.2 1,296 | | Experienced violence | 38.0 | 53.1 | 1,129 |
| Experienced violence 40.0 55.7 751 West Marmara Not experienced violence 15.1 80.7 391 Experienced violence 29.5 63.2 127 Aegean Not experienced violence 16.8 78.6 958 Experienced violence 37.2 58.0 437 East Marmara Not experienced violence 17.0 79.9 664 Experienced violence 36.3 57.6 380 West Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.8 76.9 630 Experienced violence 38.9 56.0 460 Mediterranean Not experienced violence 17.9 77.8 765 Experienced violence 36.2 58.3 545 Central Anatolia Not experienced violence 23.5 69.6 265 Experienced violence 43.0 50.8 259 West Black Sea Not experienced violence 15.7 81.4 342 Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 256 East Black Sea Not experienced violence 22.6 74.2 216 Experienced violence 33.2 57.5 132 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 | Region | | | | |
| West Marmara Not experienced violence 15.1 80.7 391 Experienced violence 29.5 63.2 127 Aegean Not experienced violence 16.8 78.6 958 Experienced violence 37.2 58.0 437 East Marmara Not experienced violence 17.0 79.9 664 Experienced violence 36.3 57.6 380 West Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.8 76.9 630 Experienced violence 38.9 56.0 460 Mediterranean Not experienced violence 17.9 77.8 765 Experienced violence 36.2 58.3 545 Central Anatolia Not experienced violence 23.5 69.6 265 Experienced violence 43.0 50.8 259 West Black Sea Not experienced violence 15.7 81.4 342 Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 256 East Black Sea Not experienced violence 2 | Istanbul | Not experienced violence | 20.7 | 75.2 | 1,296 |
| Experienced violence 29.5 63.2 127 Aegean Not experienced violence 16.8 78.6 958 Experienced violence 37.2 58.0 437 East Marmara Not experienced violence 17.0 79.9 664 Experienced violence 36.3 57.6 380 West Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.8 76.9 630 Experienced violence 38.9 56.0 460 Mediterranean Not experienced violence 17.9 77.8 765 Experienced violence 36.2 58.3 545 Central Anatolia Not experienced violence 23.5 69.6 265 Experienced violence 43.0 50.8 259 West Black Sea Not experienced violence 15.7 81.4 342 Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 256 East Black Sea Not experienced violence 22.6 74.2 216 Experienced violence 33.2 57.5 132 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 | | Experienced violence | 40.0 | 55.7 | 751 |
| Aegean Not experienced violence 16.8 78.6 958 | West Marmara | Not experienced violence | 15.1 | 80.7 | 391 |
| Experienced violence 37.2 58.0 437 East Marmara Not experienced violence 17.0 79.9 664 | | Experienced violence | 29.5 | 63.2 | 127 |
| East Marmara Not experienced violence 17.0 79.9 664 | Aegean | Not experienced violence | 16.8 | 78.6 | 958 |
| Experienced violence 36.3 57.6 380 West Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.8 76.9 630 Experienced violence 38.9 56.0 460 Mediterranean Not experienced violence 17.9 77.8 765 Experienced violence 36.2 58.3 545 Central Anatolia Not experienced violence 23.5 69.6 265 Experienced violence 43.0 50.8 259 West Black Sea Not experienced violence 15.7 81.4 342 Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 256 East Black Sea Not experienced violence 22.6 74.2 216 Experienced violence 33.2 57.5 132 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | | Experienced violence | 37.2 | 58.0 | 437 |
| West Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.8 76.9 630 Experienced violence 38.9 56.0 460 Mediterranean Not experienced violence 17.9 77.8 765 Experienced violence 36.2 58.3 545 Central Anatolia Not experienced violence 23.5 69.6 265 Experienced violence 43.0 50.8 259 West Black Sea Not experienced violence 15.7 81.4 342 Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 256 East Black Sea Not experienced violence 22.6 74.2 216 Experienced violence 33.2 57.5 132 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced | East Marmara | Not experienced violence | 17.0 | 79.9 | 664 |
| Experienced violence 38.9 56.0 460 Mediterranean Not experienced violence 17.9 77.8 765 | | Experienced violence | 36.3 | 57.6 | 380 |
| Mediterranean Not experienced violence 17.9 77.8 765 Experienced violence 36.2 58.3 545 Central Anatolia Not experienced violence 23.5 69.6 265 Experienced violence 43.0 50.8 259 West Black Sea Not experienced violence 15.7 81.4 342 Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 256 East Black Sea Not experienced violence 22.6 74.2 216 Experienced violence 33.2 57.5 132 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | West Anatolia | Not experienced violence | 20.8 | 76.9 | 630 |
| Experienced violence 36.2 58.3 545 Central Anatolia Not experienced violence 23.5 69.6 265 Experienced violence 43.0 50.8 259 West Black Sea Not experienced violence 15.7 81.4 342 Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 256 East Black Sea Not experienced violence 22.6 74.2 216 Experienced violence 33.2 57.5 132 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | | Experienced violence | 38.9 | 56.0 | 460 |
| Central Anatolia Not experienced violence 23.5 69.6 265 Experienced violence 43.0 50.8 259 West Black Sea Not experienced violence 15.7 81.4 342 Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 256 East Black Sea Not experienced violence 22.6 74.2 216 Experienced violence 33.2 57.5 132 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | Mediterranean | Not experienced violence | 17.9 | 77.8 | 765 |
| Experienced violence 43.0 50.8 259 West Black Sea Not experienced violence 15.7 81.4 342 Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 256 East Black Sea Not experienced violence 22.6 74.2 216 Experienced violence 33.2 57.5 132 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | | Experienced violence | 36.2 | 58.3 | 545 |
| West Black Sea Not experienced violence 15.7 81.4 342 Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 256 East Black Sea Not experienced violence 22.6 74.2 216 Experienced violence 33.2 57.5 132 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | Central Anatolia | Not experienced violence | 23.5 | 69.6 | 265 |
| Experienced violence 33.6 62.8 256 East Black Sea Not experienced violence 22.6 74.2 216 Experienced violence 33.2 57.5 132 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | | Experienced violence | 43.0 | 50.8 | 259 |
| East Black Sea Not experienced violence 22.6 74.2 216 Experienced violence 33.2 57.5 132 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | West Black Sea | Not experienced violence | 15.7 | 81.4 | 342 |
| Experienced violence 33.2 57.5 132 Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | | Experienced violence | 33.6 | 62.8 | 256 |
| Northeast Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.6 65.8 116 Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | East Black Sea | Not experienced violence | 22.6 | 74.2 | 216 |
| Experienced violence 38.2 45.8 132 Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | | Experienced violence | 33.2 | 57.5 | 132 |
| Central East Anatolia Not experienced violence 22.1 63.5 203 Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | Northeast Anatolia | Not experienced violence | 22.6 | 65.8 | 116 |
| Experienced violence 38.0 45.9 181 South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | | Experienced violence | 38.2 | 45.8 | 132 |
| South East Anatolia Not experienced violence 20.2 70.7 436 Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | Central East Anatolia | Not experienced violence | 22.1 | 63.5 | 203 |
| Experienced violence 34.0 54.8 396 Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | | Experienced violence | 38.0 | 45.9 | 181 |
| Turkey Not experienced violence 19.0 76.3 6,282 | South East Anatolia | Not experienced violence | 20.2 | 70.7 | 436 |
| | | Experienced violence | 34.0 | 54.8 | 396 |
| Experienced violence 37.2 56.1 4,053 | Turkey | Not experienced violence | 19.0 | 76.3 | 6,282 |
| | | Experienced violence | 37.2 | 56.1 | 4,053 |

| Background characteristics | Father | Father Mother Step father | | Step father | Younger brother | Elder brother | Male elatives | Elder Male Female Mother Father Brother brother relatives relatives -in-law -in-law -in-law | Mother -in-law | Father -in-law | | Male friends | Teacher | Someone from work place | Stranger Other | Other |
|---|--------|------------------------------|-----|----------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|---|-------------------|-------------------|------|-----------------|---------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------|
| Type of residence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 41.6 | 33.6 | 0.7 | 1.1 | 8.5 | 16.1 | 5.2 | 2.5 | 4.3 | 3.8 | 2.7 | 2.0 | 7.1 | 0.2 | 1.5 | 1.1 |
| Rural | 37.8 | 28.0 | 9.0 | 0.8 | 6.5 | 15.2 | 6.5 | 3.1 | 5.9 | 8.8 | 8.4 | 9.0 | 11.1 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.5 |
| Region | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 43.6 | 30.9 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 8.0 | 20.6 | 4.9 | 1.9 | 2.0 | 2.9 | 1.9 | 3.4 | 2.8 | 0.1 | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| West Marmara | 49.6 | 26.5 | 6.0 | 9.0 | 8.0 | 12.4 | 2.7 | 2.0 | 5.3 | 6.7 | 4.5 | 2.2 | 6.4 | | 1.8 | 6.0 |
| Aegean | 41.7 | 37.1 | 9.0 | 9.0 | 2.0 | 8.6 | 7.8 | 9.0 | 5.6 | 4.0 | 1.8 | 3.0 | 15.0 | 9.0 | 5.9 | 9.0 |
| East Marmara | 45.9 | 37.2 | 0.4 | 1.5 | 9.6 | 13.4 | 3.1 | 5.6 | 6.1 | 3.8 | 1.1 | 1.8 | 5.1 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.7 |
| West Anatolia | 40.7 | 38.1 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 9.8 | 13.5 | 1.9 | 4.6 | 8.1 | 6.7 | 4.7 | • | 12.1 | , | 1.2 | 0.2 |
| Mediterranean | 39.2 | 26.1 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 11.3 | 14.5 | 9.9 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 0.5 | 3.0 | 1.9 | 7.5 | | 2.3 | 1.4 |
| Central Anatolia | 38.9 | 28.9 | | 1.5 | 3.1 | 18.0 | 4.6 | 3.2 | 10.9 | 11.1 | 10.3 | | 0.4 | , | , | 0.7 |
| West Black Sea | 35.9 | 18.9 | | 1.6 | 5.2 | 14.3 | 10.2 | 2.4 | 4.6 | 10.6 | 3.9 | | 17.0 | 8.0 | 0.7 | 0.5 |
| East Black Sea | 36.7 | 27.2 | , | 9.0 | 7.2 | 11.2 | 4.1 | 9.6 | 6.7 | 7.3 | 7.1 | • | 6.6 | 0.3 | 1.3 | 9.0 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 27.7 | 31.3 | , | 0.4 | 6.4 | 22.5 | 2.0 | 0.9 | 13.2 | 11.2 | 13.8 | , | 2.8 | 0.3 | 2.5 | 1.4 |
| Central East Anatolia | 34.2 | 27.0 | , | 0.2 | 6.7 | 21.3 | 8.9 | 3.2 | 6.2 | 5.1 | 7.3 | 0.4 | 15.0 | | 0.3 | 1.1 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 38.1 | 42.4 | 0.3 | 1.0 | 11.5 | 20.1 | 7.9 | 2.7 | 3.1 | 7.0 | 6.9 | 0.3 | 6.5 | , | 8.0 | 1.3 |
| Age groups | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 44.1 | 38.0 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 8.8 | 20.1 | 5.4 | 1.7 | 1.0 | 0.8 | 1.2 | 3.0 | 8.5 | 0.0 | 1.4 | 0.1 |
| 25-34 | 41.0 | 29.7 | 0.7 | 1.3 | 7.7 | 15.4 | 7.0 | 5.6 | 3.9 | 4.0 | 3.6 | 2.5 | 7.0 | 0.1 | 6.0 | 6.0 |
| 35-44 | 41.8 | 30.3 | 0.7 | 6.0 | 7.9 | 13.9 | 5.1 | 3.6 | 7.1 | 8.3 | 5.6 | | 11.2 | 0.3 | 2.4 | 9.0 |
| 45-59 | 33.8 | 27.8 | 1.0 | 1.6 | 7.3 | 11.8 | 4.3 | 3.2 | 9.4 | 9.5 | 7.8 | 0.1 | 6.1 | 0.5 | 1.1 | 5.6 |
| Education | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| None/primary incomplete | 36.0 | 28.6 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 7.7 | 18.5 | 6.2 | 3.9 | 9.7 | 10.3 | 10.9 | , | 2.2 | , | 1.0 | 3.5 |
| Primary, first level | 40.5 | 32.0 | 0.7 | 1.2 | 8.4 | 16.0 | 4.6 | 3.2 | 6.4 | 6.5 | 4.2 | 0.3 | 8.1 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| Primary, second level | 42.5 | 38.5 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 9.0 | 16.8 | 5.6 | 1.5 | 1.0 | 2.1 | 9.0 | 1.7 | 10.5 | , | 2.0 | 1 |
| High school and higher Wealth level | 43.4 | 31.2 | 9.0 | 1.2 | 7.1 | 13.1 | 6.3 | 1.6 | 0.7 | 9.0 | 0.8 | 4.9 | 11.3 | 0.2 | 2.7 | 0.2 |
| Low | 38.2 | 31.7 | 0.5 | 1.0 | 9.9 | 19.2 | 5.6 | 2.8 | 7.3 | 8.1 | 7.0 | 6.0 | 9.9 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 1.6 |
| Medium | 43.7 | 33.3 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 9.5 | 14.7 | 5.2 | 3.1 | 4.0 | 4.1 | 3.4 | 1.4 | 8.0 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.7 |
| High | 39.2 | 31.0 | 0.2 | 0.7 | 8.3 | 12.3 | 5.9 | 1.4 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 0.2 | 3.5 | 11.0 | | 4.2 | 0.3 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Perpetrators of sexual violence among women reporting sexual violence by non-partners, by type of residence, region, age, education and wealth level, Turkey 2008 Other 1.9 6.6 3.4 7.5 3.3 6.0 1.5 1.5 8.2 4.0 2.3 Stranger 54.6 35.3 54.8 39.9 71.9 53.5 46.4 51.4 50.7 56.8 50.0 45.2 40.2 64.2 64.7 40.6 57.4 55.2 48.0 52.5 54.7 51.9 Someone from work place 15.5 9.9 7.6 24.3 2.5 5.4 7.0 1.3 4.1 9.4 11.4 6.7 8.3 3.6 9.2 4.5 7.7 8.3 Teacher 4.5 0.3 0.8 0.7 0.5 0.3 Male friends 2.4 19.9 33.0 3.5 6.1 25.7 5.3 33.0 3.5 3.5 5.1 11.0 5.4 27.0 14.9 6.1 4.1 23.4 27.5 11.5 15.6 27.7 18.2 Father-in-law 0.5 0.1 ANNEX Table 4.8. Perpetrators of sexual violence since the age of 15 years Mothe r-in-law 1.7 3.5 0.8 0.3 0.1 Female relatives 1.9 0.5 0.3 0.5 0.2 Male relatives 12.8 10.4 16.1 6.8 13.1 5.3 28.2 12.2 2.8 2.8 2.8 24.4 26.3 11.4 14.9 12.7 9.7 18.5 6.6 15.1 13.1 9.1 12.4 Elder brother 1.0 3.3 0.9 0.5 Younger brother 0.6 0.6 Father L.3 None/primary incomplete High school and higher Primary, second level Central East Anatolia Northeast Anatolia Southeast Anatolia Primary, first level Type of residence Central Anatolia Background characteristics West Black Sea West Marmara Mediterranean East Black Sea East Marmara West Anatolia **Age groups** 15-24 25-34 **Nealth level** Education Medium Region Istanbul Aegean Urban 35-44 45-59 Rural

| Background characteristics | Father | Mother | Step Father | Younger brother | Elder brother | Male relatives | Female relatives | Male friends | Teacher | Stranger | Other |
|-------------------------------|--------|--------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|-------|
| Type of residence | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 2.3 | | 0.7 | 0.1 | 1.6 | 28.4 | , | 5.4 | 2.7 | 43.8 | 2.5 |
| Rural | 3.2 | 1.0 | | 1.3 | 1.0 | 37.2 | 0.7 | 11.4 | | 29.1 | 4.4 |
| Region | (| | | | | | | | | 1 | , |
| Istanbul | 2.8 | | | | , | 21.4 | | 4.7 | | 52.7 | T.9 |
| West Marmara | 6.4 | | | | 6.9 | 22.6 | | | | 52.9 | • |
| Aegean | 5.6 | | | , | | 23.0 | , | 13.4 | .3 .3 | 44.1 | • |
| East Marmara | • | , | • | , | 2.8 | 20.2 | , | 11.9 | , | 44.6 | 1.9 |
| West Anatolia | • | | 6.4 | | 2.4 | 38.3 | , | 1.5 | 4.1 | 35.1 | 2.4 |
| Mediterranean | 1.3 | | , | , | 4.2 | 34.9 | | 8.2 | 2.2 | 36.5 | 2.7 |
| Central Anatolia | 3.0 | , | | 5.0 | | 55.0 | , | 3.4 | 3.0 | 20.0 | 4.4 |
| West Black Sea | 5.4 | , | • | , | | 37.6 | , | 3.0 | 8.3 | 31.3 | ' |
| East Black Sea | 9.4 | , | • | , | • | 32.3 | , | 4.1 | , | 41.4 | • |
| Northeast Anatolia | • | , | • | , | | 37.0 | | 8.5 | 5.2 | 38.7 | 2.0 |
| Central East Anatolia | | 3.4 | ٠ | 1.2 | | 31.5 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 2.3 | 40.8 | 3.8 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 1.5 | | • | | 3.2 | 41.9 | 1 | 3.1 | 1.5 | 25.3 | 14.0 |
| Age groups | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 2.3 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 0.4 | 1.4 | 31.2 | | 10.4 | 2.4 | 42.6 | 1.3 |
| 25-34 | 3.1 | | • | 0.2 | 1.8 | 35.1 | 0.4 | 1.7 | 0.8 | 39.2 | 2.3 |
| 35-44 | 1.0 | , | 1.8 | , | 2.3 | 20.0 | , | 4.4 | 4.6 | 41.8 | 5.9 |
| 45-59 | 3.2 | , | , | , | | 20.8 | , | 3.2 | 3.2 | 44.0 | 6.5 |
| Education | | | | | | | | | | | |
| None/primary incomplete | 2.7 | | , | 0.5 | 2.8 | 39.1 | | 3.7 | 0.5 | 26.8 | 6.2 |
| Primary, first level | 0.5 | 0.5 | ٠ | , | 1.0 | 34.9 | | 6.4 | 1.5 | 34.0 | 3.6 |
| Primary, second level | 2.1 | ٠ | 3.0 | , | 1.5 | 24.9 | 0.5 | 7.9 | 3.7 | 45.0 | • |
| High school and higher | 3.8 | • | • | 0.5 | 1.6 | 26.5 | | 0.9 | 2.6 | 48.4 | 2.7 |
| Low | 1.0 | 9.0 | ٠ | 0.2 | 3.6 | 34.1 | 0.4 | 5.2 | 2.5 | 25.3 | 3.1 |
| Medium | 3.4 | , | 1.5 | , | 6:0 | 27.2 | , | 9.5 | 3.1 | 45.1 | 1.7 |
| High | 2.4 | | , | 9.0 | 0.7 | 29.4 | | 3.2 | 1.2 | 50.2 | 3.8 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |

Annex Tables of Chapter 5

| | di ney 2000 | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---|------------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Background characteristics | Scratch,abra sion, bruises | Broken ear Cuts, drum, eye punctures, injuries bites | Cuts, punctures, bites | Sprains, disclocations | Fractures, broken bones | Penetratin g injury, deep cuts, gashes | Broken teeths | Internal injuries | Burns | Women injured due to violence |
| Type of residence | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 9:59 | 60.3 | 16.1 | 16.6 | 18.2 | 13.9 | 7.8 | 7.6 | 4.3 | 903 |
| Rural | 65.2 | 60.1 | 18.3 | 16.5 | 11.8 | 11.7 | 9.7 | 2.1 | 3.2 | 309 |
| Kegion | 62 1 | 185 | 13.7 | 10.8 | 17.9 | 15.9 | 2.0 | 117 | 3 0 | 5.5 |
| West Marmara | 5.29 | 0.09 | 26.8 | 21.9 | 16.0 | 15.7 | 9 | 7.1 | , r _v | 5.1 |
| Aegean | 62.1 | 61.4 | 18.0 | 27.7 | 16.8 | 4.6 | 10.0 | 4.4 | 3.5 | 64 |
| East Marmara | 57.0 | 64.5 | 19.1 | 21.5 | 17.0 | 10.8 | 10.3 | 8.1 | 4.0 | 61 |
| West Anadolu | 62.1 | 61.5 | 12.8 | 10.6 | 15.3 | 12.8 | 9.8 | 4.6 | 3.3 | 123 |
| Mediterranean | 76.6 | 61.2 | 14.5 | 16.9 | 15.8 | 14.2 | 9.5 | 8.1 | 5.0 | 121 |
| Central Anatolia | 64.1 | 63.4 | 19.3 | 19.9 | 12.2 | 11.3 | 8.0 | 2.2 | 2.0 | 159 |
| West Black Sea | 57.0 | 67.0 | 14.1 | 19.8 | 7.4 | 20.7 | 11.2 | 3.0 | 0.0 | 73 |
| East Black Sea | 9.09 | 54.5 | 17.4 | 14.8 | 11.1 | 8.3 | 12.5 | 6.0 | 10.0 | 61 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 73.5 | 67.2 | 17.6 | 10.5 | 20.9 | 14.0 | 13.6 | 2.5 | 3.5 | 167 |
| Central East Anatolia | 63.7 | 54.6 | 18 | 9.5 | 17.9 | 11.3 | 10.7 | 2.7 | 4.5 | 126 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 73.5 | 51.3 | 22.2 | 18.3 | 24.8 | 18.3 | 7.3 | 6.3 | 6.5 | 151 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 75.0 | 50.8 | 17.4 | 16.1 | 10.2 | 9.7 | 8.0 | 7.1 | 6.2 | 115 |
| 25-34 | 62.6 | 62.4 | 18.9 | 16.6 | 16.0 | 13.0 | 3.7 | 8.4 | 3.6 | 359 |
| 35-44 | 65.8 | 60.4 | 12.7 | 15.5 | 15.5 | 15.7 | 9.5 | 6.3 | 3.9 | 335 |
| 45-59 | 64.6 | 61.5 | 17.7 | 17.4 | 19.5 | 13.1 | 10.9 | 4.1 | 3.8 | 403 |
| Education | | | | | | | | | | |
| None/primary incomplete | 65.4 | 61.6 | 20.4 | 19.1 | 23.0 | 18.0 | 11.0 | 5.8 | 5.7 | 401 |
| Primary, first level | 64.4 | 63.6 | 14.4 | 16.0 | 14.5 | 11.1 | 7.1 | 5.5 | 3.3 | 584 |
| Primary, second level | 66.1 | 49.4 | 18.6 | 12.8 | 17.2 | 7.9 | 7.9 | 8.2 | 6.9 | 98 |
| High school and higher | 69.3 | 52.3 | 16.3 | 15.7 | 10.5 | 15.4 | 7.1 | 7.8 | 1.8 | 141 |
| Low | 65.8 | 62.0 | 19.8 | 16.5 | 17.7 | 15.2 | 10.5 | 9.9 | 4.8 | 611 |
| Medium | 64.2 | 61.1 | 13.9 | 18.4 | 16.2 | 10.0 | 6.1 | 89 | 4.4 | 461 |
| High | 67.8 | 52.8 | 14.4 | 12.3 | 13.9 | 16.3 | 7.4 | 3.4 | 0.9 | 140 |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Turkey | 65.5 | 60.2 | 16.7 | 16.6 | 16.5 | 13.4 | 8.3 | 6.2 | 4.0 | 1,212 |

ANNEX Table 5.2. Physical or sexual violence, and general health and health status in the past 4 weeks

Percentage of women reporting their general health condition as "poor or very poor" and reporting "severe or extreme pain or discomfort" in the past 4 weeks according to their experience of lifetime physical or sexual violence by age group, education and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | Experienced violence or not | Women who reported their general health as "poor very poor" | Women who reported having "severe or extreme pain or discomfort" in the past 4 weeks | Number of ever married women |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| Age | | | | |
| 15-24 | No | 4.5 | 14.9 | 749 |
| | Yes | 14.0 | 32.5 | 444 |
| 25-34 | No | 6.9 | 18.7 | 2,113 |
| | Yes | 15.5 | 34.0 | 1,538 |
| 35-44 | No | 10.2 | 21.1 | 1,666 |
| | Yes | 21.8 | 38.6 | 1,342 |
| 45-59 | No | 15.4 | 28.0 | 1,464 |
| | Yes | 26.4 | 43.4 | 1,477 |
| Education | | | | |
| None/primary incomplete | No | 22.9 | 36.6 | 1,188 |
| | Yes | 33.3 | 47.1 | 1,552 |
| Primary first level | No | 9.7 | 21.3 | 2,868 |
| | Yes | 17.1 | 37.6 | 2,368 |
| Primary second level | No | 3.8 | 15.1 | 527 |
| | Yes | 15.1 | 28.7 | 345 |
| High school and higher | No | 2.5 | 12.5 | 1,409 |
| | Yes | 8.5 | 26.0 | 536 |
| Wealth level | | | | |
| Low | No | 15.9 | 27.5 | 1,995 |
| | Yes | 27.6 | 43.3 | 2,192 |
| Medium | No | 8.2 | 19.9 | 2,611 |
| | Yes | 16.8 | 36.0 | 2,017 |
| High | No | 4.3 | 15.5 | 1,386 |
| | Yes | 10.8 | 29.1 | 592 |
| Turkey | No | 9.6 | 21.1 | 5,992 |
| | Yes | 20.6 | 38.2 | 4,801 |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

ANNEX Table 5.3. Physical or sexual violence and suicidal thoughts
Percentage of women reporting suicidal thoughts and suicide attempts according to their
experience of physical or sexual violence by an intimate partner by age group, education
and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | Experienced violence or not | Percentage of women who had suicidal thoughts | Percentage of women who attempted suicide | Number of ever married women |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| Age | | | | |
| 15-24 | No | 15.9 | 5.2 | 749 |
| | Yes | 46.3 | 22.2 | 444 |
| 25-34 | No | 11.4 | 2.8 | 2,113 |
| | Yes | 36.9 | 14.3 | 1,538 |
| 35-44 | No | 8.1 | 1.3 | 1,666 |
| | Yes | 30.1 | 9.7 | 1,342 |
| 45-59 | No | 9.1 | 1.9 | 1,464 |
| | Yes | 27.9 | 8.0 | 1,477 |
| Education | | | | |
| None/primary incomplete | No | 14.3 | 2.3 | 1,188 |
| | Yes | 34.0 | 10.8 | 1,552 |
| Primary first level | No | 8.9 | 2.4 | 2,868 |
| | Yes | 31.4 | 11.4 | 2,368 |
| Primary second level | No | 11.0 | 2.4 | 527 |
| | Yes | 36.8 | 16.8 | 345 |
| High school and higher | No | 11.7 | 3.0 | 1,409 |
| | Yes | 36.6 | 13.5 | 536 |
| Wealth level | | | | |
| Low | No | 12.5 | 3.0 | 1,995 |
| | Yes | 34.4 | 12.4 | 2,192 |
| Medium | No | 10.2 | 2.4 | 2,611 |
| | Yes | 32.2 | 12.3 | 2,017 |
| High | No | 9.3 | 2.2 | 1,386 |
| | Yes | 32.7 | 9.3 | 592 |
| Turkey | No | 10.7 | 2.5 | 5,992 |
| | Yes | 33.2 | 11.9 | 4,801 |

| Background characteristics | Mother exposed to violence or not | Frequent nightmares | Bed wetting | Being timid or withdrawn | Being aggresive towards mother/other children | Crying and bad temper | Number of women having children aged 6-14 |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|---|--------------------------|---|
| Type of residence | | | | | | | |
| Urban | O.Z. | 18.8 | 18.1 | 42.5 | 19.5 | 35.4 | 2,097 |
| | Yes | 33.2 | 28.0 | 56.5 | 39.5 | 60.5 | 1,823 |
| Rural | No | 24.3 | 19.6 | 43.6 | 20.2 | 39.0 | 647 |
| | Yes | 32.5 | 27.6 | 53.3 | 35.4 | 56.2 | 671 |
| Region | | | | | | | |
| stanbul | No | 18.8 | 17.8 | 42.6 | 20.6 | 32.4 | 506 |
| | Yes | 36.1 | 25.2 | 57.4 | 50.4 | 6.89 | 136 |
| West Marmara | No | 20.0 | 12.9 | 43.7 | 16.6 | 33.4 | 249 |
| | Yes | 34.4 | 26.9 | 50.1 | 20.8 | 9.95 | 06 |
| Aegean | No | 15.9 | 10.4 | 38.3 | 11.0 | 35.3 | 224 |
| | Yes | 25.8 | 21.6 | 52.0 | 28.1 | 61.4 | 112 |
| East Marmara | No | 16.5 | 13.2 | 44.2 | 26.8 | 39.2 | 216 |
| | Yes | 29.8 | 28.9 | 55.4 | 38.0 | 60.3 | 131 |
| West Anatolia | No | 16.9 | 16.1 | 39.6 | 20.6 | 33.7 | 221 |
| | Yes | 30.4 | 24.6 | 52.8 | 32.2 | 52.5 | 228 |
| Mediterranean | No | 19.8 | 24.1 | 41.2 | 17.3 | 40.9 | 249 |
| | Yes | 27.9 | 23.5 | 59.1 | 37.4 | 61.3 | 202 |
| Central Anatolia | No | 19.2 | 22.2 | 50.1 | 23.3 | 37.2 | 200 |
| | Yes | 30.6 | 26.8 | 62.6 | 37.0 | 57.3 | 231 |
| West Black Sea | No | 18.2 | 21.6 | 43.4 | 19.8 | 42.9 | 163 |
| | Yes | 24.4 | 29.6 | 51.5 | 31.3 | 48.0 | 150 |
| East Black Sea | No | 22.5 | 23.3 | 45.5 | 19.9 | 34.1 | 227 |
| | Yes | 26.1 | 29.0 | 60.2 | 38.6 | 56.5 | 191 |
| Northeast Anatolia | No | 24.9 | 28.6 | 44.5 | 26.9 | 44.4 | 243 |
| | Yes | 44.1 | 32.2 | 60.1 | 40.6 | 60.5 | 332 |
| Central East Anatolia | | 25.9 | 24.4 | 45.3 | 27.9 | 44.4 | 246 |
| | Yes | 40.8 | 39.9 | 56.3 | 42.9 | 63.5 | 309 |
| Southeast Anatolia | No | 35.8 | 28.2 | 48.2 | 19.5 | 33.5 | 300 |
| | Yes | 41.8 | 36.7 | 50.9 | 37.3 | 51.5 | 382 |
| Turkey | Q. | 0.00 | 0 7 | 42.8 | 7 0 1 | r yc | |
| | | | 1 | 1 | | | / /44 |

| Background characteristics | Mother exposed to violence or not | Frequent nightmares | Bed wetting | Being timid or withdrawn | Being aggresive towards mother/other children | Crying and bad temper | Number of women having children aged 6-14 |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|--|--------------------------|---|
| Age 15-21 | Ç Z | 0 0 | 37.1 | о О | 30.3 | 0.73 | 7.4 |
| t. | Yes | 24.2 | 33.3 | 56.7 | 57.8 | 78.3 | 4, |
| 25-34 | No | 20.0 | 23.6 | 45.4 | 21.5 | 39.5 | 1,306 |
| | Yes | 33.2 | 31.9 | 58.1 | 39.3 | 64.5 | 1,170 |
| 35-44 | No | 20.0 | 13.9 | 40.8 | 18.3 | 33.3 | 1,180 |
| | Yes | 33.7 | 27.3 | 55.2 | 36.9 | 54.1 | 975 |
| 45-59 | No | 18.7 | 7.5 | 35.9 | 13.5 | 26.7 | 211 |
| | Yes | 32.1 | 11.8 | 46.7 | 34.2 | 9.05 | 287 |
| Education | | | | | | | |
| None/primary incomplete | No | 30.8 | 25.0 | 45.0 | 21.3 | 36.6 | 533 |
| | Yes | 38.3 | 33.9 | 55.4 | 40.0 | 57.0 | 757 |
| First level primary | No | 21.1 | 20.2 | 47.1 | 20.6 | 39.3 | 1,439 |
| | Yes | 31.6 | 27.1 | 58.9 | 37.7 | 62.4 | 1,313 |
| Second level primary | No | 12.7 | 13.9 | 49.0 | 15.7 | 34.6 | 187 |
| | Yes | 41.6 | 31.5 | 57.6 | 41.5 | 60.5 | 162 |
| High school and higher | No | 12.0 | 11.0 | 27.8 | 17.5 | 28.4 | 585 |
| | Yes | 22.6 | 16.5 | 40.1 | 35.9 | 49.5 | 262 |
| Wealth level | | | | | | | |
| Low | No | 27.2 | 24.3 | 48.8 | 22.5 | 38.7 | 965 |
| | Yes | 34.8 | 32.6 | 57.2 | 37.5 | 59.2 | 1,237 |
| Medium | No | 18.2 | 19.0 | 47.0 | 20.0 | 39.2 | 1,105 |
| | Yes | 32.2 | 26.1 | 57.6 | 39.8 | 59.8 | 952 |
| High | No | 14.3 | 10.8 | 29.5 | 15.8 | 28.8 | 674 |
| | Yes | 29.5 | 18.3 | 45.4 | 37.2 | 58.5 | 305 |
| Turkey | o _N | 20.0 | 18.4 | 42.8 | 19.7 | 36.2 | 2,744 |
| | Yes | 33.0 | 27.0 | ננט | 7 00 | 7 00 | 707 (|

Annex Tables of Chapter 6

ence, ANNEX Table 6.1 Seeking help from official institutions and NGOs due to violence experienced

| Background characteristics | Nowhere | Police | Gendarme | Hospital or health service | Public prosecutor | Lawyer | Women's Organization | Municipality | Services and Child Protection Institution | Other | Applied to at least one inst/person | No. of physically or sexually abused women |
|-------------------------------|---------|--------|----------|----------------------------------|----------------------|--------|-------------------------|--------------|--|-------|---|--|
| Residence | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 6.06 | 4.7 | 0.3 | 4.2 | 3.2 | 2.8 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 9.1 | 3,516 |
| Rural | 94.3 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 2.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 5.7 | 1,365 |
| Region | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 91.7 | 3.9 | 0.1 | 3.3 | 3.2 | 2.4 | 6.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 8.3 | 270 |
| West Marmara | 88.2 | 7.8 | 2.0 | 5.3 | 5.9 | 3.3 | 0.4 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.6 | 11.8 | 223 |
| Aegean | 90.5 | 4.5 | 2.7 | 3.4 | 3.8 | 3.7 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 9.5 | 311 |
| East Marmara | 91.4 | 4.4 | 0.2 | 2.4 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 8.6 | 330 |
| West Anatolia | 91.9 | 4.9 | 0.0 | 3.8 | 3.7 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 8.1 | 436 |
| Mediterranean | 89.2 | 4.7 | 1.1 | 6.5 | 3.0 | 2.9 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 9.0 | 6.0 | 10.8 | 426 |
| Central Anatolia | 92.4 | 3.9 | 9.0 | 4.5 | 2.7 | 2.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 7.6 | 467 |
| West Black Sea | 91.6 | 4.1 | 0.4 | 4.7 | 3.2 | 1.9 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 9.0 | 8.4 | 356 |
| East Black Sea | 92.4 | 5.6 | 1.6 | 4.1 | 1.2 | 5.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 7.6 | 369 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 95.2 | 5.6 | 9.0 | 2.1 | 5.0 | 9.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 4.8 | 564 |
| Central East Anatolia | 96.5 | 1.7 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 6.0 | 1.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.5 | 517 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 95.0 | 2.7 | 0.5 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 5.0 | 612 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 97.6 | 3.9 | 0.3 | 3.2 | 2.1 | 2.7 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 7.4 | 203 |
| 25-34 | 92.3 | 2.5 | 9.0 | 3.8 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 9.0 | 9.0 | 7.7 | 1,554 |
| 35-44 | 91.3 | 4.9 | 9.0 | 3.7 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 9.0 | 8.7 | 1,346 |
| 45-59 | 91.5 | 4.9 | 1.1 | 3.8 | 3.2 | 2.3 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 8.5 | 1,478 |
| Education | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| None/Primary incomplete | 95.4 | 3.0 | 9.0 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.3 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 4.6 | 1,559 |
| Primary, first level | 91.7 | 4.3 | 6.0 | 4.2 | 2.4 | 1.9 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 8.3 | 2,372 |
| Primary, second level | 9.98 | 4.1 | 0.4 | 7.0 | 4.9 | 2.0 | 1.0 | 0.1 | 1.0 | 0.3 | 13.4 | 362 |
| High school and higher | 88.3 | 5.2 | 0.8 | 4.2 | 4.9 | 2.0 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 1.2 | 11.7 | 588 |
| Wealth Level | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lower | 93.1 | 4.0 | 1.1 | 3.1 | 2.5 | 1.5 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 6.9 | 2,210 |
| Middle | 91.8 | 3.5 | 0.4 | 3.9 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 9.0 | 8.2 | 2,049 |
| Higher | 88.5 | 5.7 | 0.5 | 4.9 | 4.3 | 5.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 11.5 | 622 |
| Turkey | 91.8 | 4.1 | 0.7 | 3.7 | 2.8 | 2.4 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 8.2 | 4,881 |

ANNEX Table 6.2 Satisfaction about the services received, among women seeking help due to violence from official institutions or NGOs

Percentage of women who are satisfied with the services they received from official institutions or NGOs among women seeking help due to physical or sexual partner violence by region, type of residence, and age, educational and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | Police | Gendarme | Hospital or health service | Public prosecutor | Lawyer |
|-------------------------------|--------|----------|----------------------------------|----------------------|--------|
| Residence | | | | | |
| Urban | 39.5 | [55.5] | 69.4 | 67.2 | 65.6 |
| Rural | 50.3 | [67.3] | 74.6 | 65.8 | 53.6 |
| Region | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 31.7 | [67.4] | 76.8 | 71.7 | 58.8 |
| West Marmara | 68.2 | [70.3] | 68.4 | 81.4 | 68.7 |
| Aegean | 22.6 | [60.7] | 56.6 | 47.5 | 61.4 |
| East Marmara | 47.3 | [0.0] | 100.0 | 83.4 | 54.1 |
| West Anatolia | 39.5 | [0.0] | 58.7 | 71.2 | 59.3 |
| Mediterranean | 43.8 | [52.5] | 64.4 | 68.4 | 74.0 |
| Central Anatolia | 64.3 | [100.0] | 92.1 | 100.0 | 92.3 |
| West Black Sea | 32.1 | [100.0] | 75.0 | 64.5 | 70.9 |
| East Black Sea | 55.4 | [64.2] | 77.9 | 70.4 | 46.9 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 67.9 | [100.0] | 88.9 | 51.8 | 75.2 |
| Central East Anatolia | 53.6 | [0.0] | 58.5 | 69.4 | 100.0 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 39.9 | [65.4] | 42.8 | 36.5 | 37.9 |
| Age | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 44.9 | [100.0] | 82.8 | 71.3 | 60.9 |
| 25-34 | 60.6 | [61.8] | 65.4 | 78.9 | 57.5 |
| 35-44 | 39.9 | [89.2] | 66.6 | 69.0 | 74.9 |
| 45-59 | 32.0 | [50.7] | 73.6 | 56.6 | 59.9 |
| Education | | | | | |
| None/Primary incomplete | 53.0 | [72.5] | 72.2 | 56.9 | 60.1 |
| Primary, first level | 37.7 | [68.6] | 71.6 | 66.8 | 69.9 |
| Primary, second level | 52.0 | [100.0] | 66.8 | 78.5 | 64.6 |
| High school and higher | 31.9 | [19.1] | 69.1 | 66.9 | 56.2 |
| Wealth Level | | | | | |
| Lower | 50.1 | [76.6] | 69.7 | 68.5 | 62.8 |
| Middle | 38.8 | [58.1] | 69.7 | 56.2 | 53.5 |
| Higher | 27.5 | [0.0] | 73.7 | 81.2 | 77.0 |
| Turkey | 41.2 | [64.0] | 70.5 | 66.9 | 63.6 |
| Number of women ever sought | 184 | 32 | 177 | 117 | 105 |

Note: [..] Number of observations is less than 50.

Number of observations for Women's Organization, Municipality, Social Services and Child Protection Institution and Other are less than 25 each (8, 10, 14, 17, respectively); therefore these categories are not shown in the Table.

Percentages based on ever-married women who had sought help from at least one institution/NGO due to physical or sexual partner violence.

ANNEX Table 6.3 Reasons cited for seeking help from institutions/persons due to violence experienced

| Percentage of women who had sought help from at least one institution/person due to physical or sexual partner violence by reasons for seeking help, and region, type of residence, age, educational and wealth level, Turkey 2008 | n who had sc gion, type of ı | ought helk residence | s from at , age, edι | least one i ıcational a | nstitution, nd wealth | person d Ievel, Tur | lue to p rkey 200 | nysical 38 | or sexua | partne | r violen | ce by r | easons for |
|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| Background characterístics | Encouraged by friends/ family | Could not endure more | Badly injured | Afraid would be killed | Reasons related to the children | Wanted him to be talked to | To get medical report | To receive p legal support | To receive psychological support | To receive financial support | Demand for shelter | Thrown out of home f | Thrown No. of women out of who reported home seeking help from at least one inst./person |
| Residence | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 7.9 | 39.5 | 23.1 | 20.2 | 8.4 | 7.8 | 15.1 | 30.3 | 11.5 | 1.9 | 3.2 | 8.9 | 296 |
| Rural | 7.4 | 47.5 | 32.1 | 9.3 | 6.2 | 8.5 | 11.7 | 23.1 | 9.3 | 6.7 | 6.7 | 3.7 | 73 |
| Region | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 11.9 | 40.5 | 21.6 | 24.1 | 16.1 | 5.0 | 9.5 | 19.6 | 9.6 | 0.0 | 4.8 | 19.6 | 24 |
| West Marmara | 0.9 | 52.4 | 27.6 | 32.8 | 7.7 | 13.1 | 19.1 | 28.4 | 19.6 | 11.0 | 11.0 | 7.9 | 28 |
| Aegean | 3.6 | 36.1 | 11.1 | 15.7 | 11.2 | 19.6 | 14.8 | 36.8 | 9.9 | 11.7 | 8.1 | 3.6 | 30 |
| East Marmara | 0.0 | 45.5 | 19.6 | 23.4 | 8.5 | 8.4 | 8.6 | 37.9 | 11.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 27 |
| West Anatolia | 2.6 | 38.1 | 18.4 | 17.4 | 0.0 | 7.0 | 31.8 | 42.4 | 17.1 | 0.0 | 3.4 | 2.3 | 33 |
| Mediterranean | 12.7 | 46.6 | 25.0 | 15.1 | 3.9 | 4.6 | 18.9 | 26.8 | 13.8 | 0.0 | 3.1 | 1.9 | 46 |
| Central Anatolia | 11.2 | 47.2 | 35.7 | 17.8 | 6.4 | 0.0 | 12.0 | 23.1 | 8.1 | 4.9 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 36 |
| West Black Sea | 2.0 | 31.1 | 36.5 | 14.7 | 0.0 | 10.6 | 7.4 | 22.4 | 7.7 | 5.2 | 0.0 | 2.5 | 35 |
| East Black Sea | 4.2 | 26.3 | 40.5 | 0.0 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 6.5 | 27.9 | 24.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 10.2 | 27 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 11.7 | 59.8 | 36.5 | 2.2 | 6.7 | 13.6 | 4.9 | 12.6 | 2.2 | 2.5 | 0.0 | 3.2 | 30 |
| Central East Anatolia | 17.3 | 53.3 | 41.0 | 9.6 | 13.2 | 4.7 | 3.7 | 22.5 | 0.0 | 4.0 | 0.0 | 7.8 | 21 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 11.6 | 30.0 | 42.1 | 15.6 | 12.7 | 5.9 | 12.4 | 29.0 | 5.8 | 0.0 | 3.1 | 2.7 | 32 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 12.3 | 24.3 | 24.3 | 7.8 | 10.8 | 5.7 | 16.1 | 41.2 | 15.1 | 0.0 | 4.4 | 1.2 | 41 |
| 25-34 | 9.3 | 33.7 | 30.2 | 16.9 | 10.2 | 6.7 | 18.7 | 29.6 | 21.8 | 4.4 | 7.3 | 9.5 | 107 |
| 35-44 | 6.1 | 47.4 | 17.8 | 23.9 | 5.5 | 6.5 | 6.6 | 26.4 | 7.2 | 8.0 | 0.5 | 8.1 | 103 |
| 45-59 | 6.3 | 48.0 | 26.3 | 17.9 | 7.0 | 11.1 | 14.0 | 26.0 | 3.9 | 4.2 | 3.6 | 4.1 | 118 |
| Education | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| None/Primary incomplete | 14.7 | 39.4 | 33.4 | 26.6 | 16.0 | 20.9 | 10.8 | 26.4 | 6.2 | 2.8 | 2.7 | 8.5 | 71 |
| Primary, first level | 7.2 | 41.9 | 23.8 | 16.5 | 4.8 | 8.1 | 14.6 | 25.1 | 9.7 | 3.1 | 3.6 | 6.3 | 185 |
| Primary, second level | 9.3 | 40.7 | 35.2 | 13.2 | 14.3 | 3.3 | 15.1 | 31.9 | 11.3 | 2.2 | 7.3 | 7.3 | 38 |
| High school and higher | 2.9 | 40.4 | 12.8 | 18.8 | 4.8 | 8:0 | 16.5 | 38.5 | 18.2 | 2.4 | 9.0 | 3.4 | 75 |
| Lower | 13.0 | 42.8 | 27.6 | 23.7 | 9.5 | 11.9 | 12.8 | 24.8 | 6.1 | 5.6 | 0.9 | 5.1 | 147 |
| Middle | 6.1 | 38.5 | 30.1 | 14.2 | 9.6 | 7.1 | 16.9 | 28.2 | 14.2 | 1.8 | 3.7 | 9.0 | 156 |
| Higher | 2.4 | 43.2 | 9.4 | 16.3 | 1.9 | 3.1 | 12.1 | 37.5 | 13.1 | 0.0 | 9.0 | 2.5 | 99 |
| Turkey | 7.8 | 41.0 | 24.8 | 18.1 | 7.9 | 8.0 | 14.4 | 29.0 | 11.1 | 2.8 | 3.9 | 6.2 | 369 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Note: Percentages based on ever-married women who had sought help from at least one institution/NGO due to physical or sexual partner violence.

Categories have been calculated independent from each other; therefore their summation may exceed 100.

Afraid would be killed: He threatened or tried to kill her, afraid he would kill her, afraid her would kill her.

Reasons related to the children: He threatened/hit children, could not stand children's suffering.

"Children wanted to leave home", "Afraid she would kill him" and "Afraid her family would kill her" are not shown in the table (added to the category of Other) since their percentages are 0.

The percentage of the category of Other, which is not shown in the table, is 6.8.

No. of women reported not seeking help Percentage of women who had not sought help from any institution/person due to physical or sexual partner violence by reasons for not seeking help, and region, type of residence, age, educational and wealth level, Turkey 2008 ,207 246 194 281 301 301 378 378 378 321 342 534 492 578 461 ,441 ,240 1,484 323 511 ,055 ,887 555 4,497 Other 9.0 8.0 6.8 4.2 6.0 5.9 10.8 12.1 11.3 8.3 6.8 9.6 9.6 9.5 8.6 9.1 9.4 6.7 8.0 ANNEX Table 6.4 Reasons cited for not seeking help from any institution/persons due to violence experienced (They) solved the problem 0.7 2.2 00.5 00.7 11.3 11.7 00.5 00.2 00.2 00.2 0.2 1.1 0.8 3.4 1.1 0.5 1.4 2.2 Lack of support 0.0 11.0 2.3 0.2 11.6 0.0 0.0 0.0 11.4 11.0 1.0 0.7 1.2 1.5 1.3 1.1 1.6 0.9 1.2 0.8 Reasons L related so to the children 10.2 9.2 11.7 11.0 10.6 13.7 11.3 8.9 17.2 10.4 11.5 10.5 8.0 8.7 8.2 11.3 14.0 11.9 13.5 7.3 9.4 10.9 t Was R 1.5 2.7 0.9 1.3 1.7 0.7 1.7 2.3 1.8 1.3 Thought he t would change 3.3 7.9 2.7 2.2 2.2 3.5 4.3 5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0 3.6 5.1 2.8 2.9 2.7 3.5 3.6 Loved/ forgave partner 12.7 13.3 11.8 8.0 6.8 15.8 12.6 7.1 14.4 13.7 12.7 7.3 8.1 13.2 15.8 9.9 11.1 11.1 9.3 10.4 12.9 Note: Percentages based on ever-married women who had not sought help from any institution/NGO due to physical or sexual partner violence. Categories have been calculated independent from each other; therefore their summation may exceed 100. Afraid would be blanned: Embarrassed/sahamed/afraid would be blanned, afraid would bring bad name to the family, ashamed to tell. Was threatened: He threatened to commit suicide, he threatened her, husband's family threatened her. Blamed herself 2.1 1.5 2.0 3.4 3.4 3.2 1.5 1.3 1.2 1.6 2.7 3.1 2.8 0.8 1.9 1.3 2.5 2.4 Fear of threats/ more violence 8.3.9 5.7 2.9 2.9 5.0 4.0 4.7 Reasons related to the children: Afraid her children would be unhappy, afraid would lose children, man threatened children. Afraid would end relationship 3.9 3.6 3.2 4.1 3.7 1.8 5.0 3.8 Did not believe that v she'd receive re help 2.2 2.2 5.6 4.1 11.9 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 4.5 4.7 4.7 6.7 5.7 3.6 2.8 4.6 5.0 4.3 4.3 3.7 3.2 4.2 5.4 Afraid would be blamed 15.4 13.6 18.8 13.5 10.2 10.2 15.5 16.4 17.3 10.6 27.6 23.2 23.2 13.9 11.1 15.5 22.2 21.8 15.3 13.1 8.9 19.0 14.6 12.3 16.1 There was no serious problem 61.4 64.6 62.0 70.8 60.6 58.2 53.1 62.9 68.1 65.6 60.8 57.0 65.1 59.0 67.8 64.4 70.4 No institution/ organization to apply 2.8 2.1 2.0 2.0 2.0 2.5 2.8 3.1 1.8 3.1 1.9 2.5 2.3 2.5 3.4 2.6 1.7 2.9 Other: Other reasons such as she accepted him as he is. Do not know where to apply 6.0 6.3 8.7 5.2 6.3 6.0 5.0 11.0 6.3 3.9 6.7 7.5 7.1 5.1 5.4 3.7 6.9 None/Primary incomplete High school and higher Primary, second level Central East Anatolia Southeast Anatolia Vortheast Anatolia Primary, first level Background characteristics Central Anatolia West Black Sea Mediterranean West Marmara East Marmara West Anatolia East Black Sea Wealth Level **3esidence** Education Region Istanbul Aegean Middle 15-24 25-34 35-44 45-59 Higher Rural

ANNEX Table 6.5 Effect of women's fighting back to protect herself against physical violence experienced on the violence

Percentage of ever physically abused women who ever fought back to protect themselves against partner violence by effect of fighting back physically on violence, and by region, type of residence, age, educational and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | No effect | Violence became worse | Violence became less | Violence stopped | Don't know/ don't remember | Refused/ no answer | No. of wome who fought back to respor physical partner violence |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Residence | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 11.4 | 42.8 | 17.7 | 26.7 | 1.2 | 0.2 | 996 |
| Rural | 12.1 | 40.4 | 15.5 | 30.5 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 258 |
| Region | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 8.5 | 45.0 | 14.2 | 29.9 | 2.4 | 0.0 | 88 |
| West Marmara | 11.7 | 37.7 | 26.1 | 24.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 66 |
| Aegean | 14.3 | 37.2 | 20.7 | 25.7 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 99 |
| East Marmara | 9.2 | 47.4 | 16.7 | 26.0 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 89 |
| West Anatolia | 15.0 | 43.0 | 12.3 | 29.3 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 124 |
| Mediterranean | 14.5 | 33.2 | 20.9 | 30.3 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 154 |
| Central Anatolia | 12.9 | 47.6 | 19.0 | 17.4 | 3.1 | 0.0 | 108 |
| West Black Sea | 12.1 | 44.9 | 15.6 | 27.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 90 |
| East Black Sea | 3.7 | 45.5 | 15.7 | 35.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 106 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 10.4 | 48.7 | 18.5 | 22.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 103 |
| Central East Anatolia | 15.2 | 53.3 | 18.6 | 12.0 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 101 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 7.3 | 46.2 | 17.5 | 26.7 | 2.2 | 0.0 | 126 |
| Age | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 14.0 | 39.7 | 15.0 | 31.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 171 |
| 25-34 | 12.4 | 37.3 | 18.2 | 31.4 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 447 |
| 35-44 | 9.4 | 47.0 | 17.8 | 23.5 | 1.7 | 0.5 | 311 |
| 45-59 | 10.9 | 46.0 | 16.9 | 24.1 | 2.2 | 0.0 | 325 |
| Education | | | | | | | |
| None/Primary incomplete | 11.6 | 43.6 | 17.6 | 24.6 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 262 |
| Primary, first level | 9.8 | 46.2 | 17.4 | 25.5 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 620 |
| Primary, second level | 11.5 | 34.0 | 21.6 | 32.4 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 133 |
| High school and higher | 15.6 | 36.7 | 14.4 | 31.9 | 0.9 | 0.6 | 239 |
| Wealth Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower | 9.6 | 47.4 | 18.1 | 23.7 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 458 |
| Middle | 12.8 | 40.0 | 16.3 | 29.7 | 1.2 | 0.0 | 580 |
| Higher | 12.0 | 39.0 | 18.0 | 28.9 | 1.4 | 0.6 | 216 |
| Turkey | 11.5 | 42.3 | 17.3 | 27.5 | 1.3 | 0.1 | 1,254 |

Note: Percentages based on ever-married women who fought back to protect themselves against physical partner violence.

ANNEX Table 6.6 Places where women stayed first when they left home due to violence

Percentage of women who had left home at least once because of physical or sexual partner violence by first place they stayed the last time when they left, and by region, type of residence, age, educational and wealth level, Turkey 2008

| Background characteristics | Her family | Her relatives | His family/ relatives | Friend | Neighbor | Other | No. of women having left at least once |
|-------------------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------------------|--------|----------|-------|--|
| Residence | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 79.2 | 6.9 | 4.4 | 5.0 | 1.2 | 3.2 | 916 |
| Rural | 87.4 | 6.3 | 2.5 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 2.8 | 316 |
| Region | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 71.3 | 8.2 | 4.8 | 8.9 | 1.7 | 5.1 | 65 |
| West Marmara | 80.7 | 10.1 | 5.6 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 2.0 | 55 |
| Aegean | 80.6 | 8.5 | 2.4 | 6.2 | 0.0 | 2.3 | 91 |
| East Marmara | 89.2 | 5.6 | 2.1 | 1.7 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 84 |
| West Anatolia | 86.4 | 5.5 | 6.9 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 111 |
| Mediterranean | 80.7 | 5.6 | 2.0 | 6.3 | 1.3 | 4.0 | 139 |
| Central Anatolia | 85.4 | 7.5 | 3.5 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 121 |
| West Black Sea | 82.6 | 5.4 | 1.0 | 4.6 | 1.0 | 5.5 | 83 |
| East Black Sea | 83.8 | 4.2 | 5.3 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 5.8 | 82 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 79.9 | 7.1 | 7.6 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 4.7 | 113 |
| Central East Anatolia | 81.3 | 5.5 | 8.0 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 4.3 | 103 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 83.4 | 7.1 | 4.9 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 3.7 | 185 |
| Age | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 79.8 | 1.2 | 8.9 | 8.0 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 127 |
| 25-34 | 86.6 | 5.6 | 2.5 | 4.2 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 395 |
| 35-44 | 76.4 | 8.4 | 4.3 | 4.4 | 0.9 | 5.6 | 345 |
| 45-59 | 80.9 | 8.7 | 3.2 | 1.9 | 1.8 | 3.6 | 365 |
| Education | | | | | | | |
| None/Primary incomplete | 76.2 | 10.7 | 4.7 | 1.0 | 0.3 | 7.0 | 306 |
| Primary, first level | 83.2 | 7.1 | 4.6 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 2.2 | 623 |
| Primary, second level | 88.7 | 3.5 | 2.1 | 3.7 | 0.8 | 1.2 | 115 |
| High school and higher | 77.1 | 3.0 | 2.1 | 15.6 | 0.0 | 2.2 | 188 |
| Wealth Level | | | | | | | |
| Lower | 82.0 | 7.1 | 3.5 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 4.1 | 534 |
| Middle | 82.6 | 7.5 | 4.4 | 2.7 | 0.6 | 2.2 | 522 |
| Higher | 76.4 | 4.6 | 4.0 | 12.0 | 0.0 | 3.0 | 176 |
| Turkey | 81.2 | 6.8 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 0.9 | 3.1 | 1,232 |

Note: Percentages based on ever-married women who had left home at least once because of physical or sexual partner violence. Other: Other places such as police, hotel/lodgings, street.

No. of women having left at least once Percentage of women who had left home at least once because of physical or sexual partner violence by reasons for leaving home (the 395 345 365 306 623 115 188 534 522 176 1,232 Monetary reasons 1.3 1.7 1.0 3.2 2.1 0.0 2.9 2.8 1.2 1.8 2.0 Violence/ Left on N N, being purpose I beaten/ temporarily slapped (intimidation) 33.4 0.0 0.0 0.0 11.5 22.1 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 2.7 1.1 1.6 0.0 3.2 9.3 3.2 11.4 24.8 10.8 14.2 8.6 8.6 11.7 12.3 7.2 4.0 5.5 8.2 9.1 8.9 3.6 8.0 11.6 12.0 8.5 9.5 10.3 s Quarrel, V disharmony, arguing 7.0 5.6 11.2 5.3 3.3 2.7 6.9 6.0 10.0 5.1 8.2 5.5 6.5 Problems with oman's 3.5 3.5 11.9 12.0 7.8 9.6 4.0 8.2 1.9 8.3 10.0 2.1 9.4 6.8 5.1 8.6 6.8 13.6 5.6 9.2 7.1 5.7 7.7 To get divorced ast time), and by region, type of residence, age, educational and wealth level, Turkey 2008 0.7 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.2 0.5 0.0 1.5 0.8 9.0 Couldn't stand being humiliated/ 1.6 1.2 1.4 0.0 0.0 11.8 11.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 2.3 0.6 4.3 3.2 1.1 0.5 5.7 0.6 1.0 0.8 2.5 ANNEX Table 6.7 Reasons cited for leaving home due to violence experienced Note: Percentages based on ever-married women who had left home at least once because of physical or sexual partner violence. 11.8 5.3 10.4 6.8 6.8 7.2 7.2 3.5 8.8 8.8 8.8 9.6 0.6 3.1 2.9 6.2 6.5 10.5 4.4 8.1 8.6 7.1 6.1 Man's bad habits Thrown out of home 9.5 13.5 10.1 6.0 9.3 9.8 10.3 12.5 10.3 11.1 5.9 9.5 9.3 11.6 5.2 8.1 8.1 12.1 10.4 10.8 10.1 9.4 10.3 Man's bad habits: Alcohol/drugs/gambling, man cheating/having an affair "Afraid she would kill him" is not shown in the table (added to the category of Other) since its percentage is 0. The percentage of the category of Other, which is not shown in the table, is 12.5. Categories have been calculated independent from each other; therefore their summation may exceed 100. Could not stand children's suffering 1.3 3.9 3.2 0.9 2.1 3.0 1.2 1.9 2.1 3.1 1.7 2.4 threatened /hit c Afraid to be killed: He threatened/tried to kill her, afraid he would kill her, afraid to be killed 11.7 3.5 0.0 0.0 0.4 0.6 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 1.8 1.0 0.8 1.4 0.7 2.8 0.5 1.0 1.1 1.0 Afraid to be killed th 8.9 2.5 2.5 2.3 5.7 5.7 8.7 5.0 4.0 4.0 4.7 5.0 4.7 8.3 3.3 8.8 4.4 5.6 4.9 9.2 5.1 5.4 Badly injured 6.4 7.6 0.0 8.9 8.9 7.2 5.8 9.1 9.2 7.1 5.2 3.1 6.9 9.2 Could not endure more 52.0 58.3 59.1 59.1 57.7 50.8 51.6 57.4 Encouraged by friends/ family 3.8 55.6 22.1 11.2 33.9 00.9 00.9 14.8 17.4 17.5 6.2 6.2 6.2 6.2 6.1 4.1 3.3 2.8 6.4 2.7 7.1 1.2 4.5 3.1 3.5 None/Primary incomplete High school and higher Primary, second level Central East Anatolia Southeast Anatolia Northeast Anatolia Primary, first level Background characteristics Mediterranean Central Anatolia West Black Sea West Marmara East Marmara West Anatolia East Black Sea Wealth Level **Residence** Education Istanbul Region Aegean Middle 35-44 45-59 15-24 25-34 Rural

| Particular Par | The control of the co | Background characteristics At | Embarrassed/ Ashamed/ Afraid would be blamed | Afraid would end relationship | Fear of threats/ more violence | Blamed herself | Fear of what r others would think | Violence normal/ not serious | Loved/ forgave partner/ thought | He asked her to go back | He threatened to commit suicide/kill her | Reasons Sanctity of related to the marriage children | | Families said to the return | Families threatened her | Couldn't support herself/her children | Could not stay where she went | Problem solved | She was pregnant | No. of women having left and returned |
|---|--|--|---|--|--|--|---|--|--|---------------------------------|---|--|-----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|----------------|------------------------|---|
| 27 2.5 1.1 1.0 6.1 1.4 2.5 2.5 3.0.1 3.4 5.1 4.0 6.1 6.1 3.4 5.1 4.0 6.1 6.1 3.4 5.1 4.0 6.1 | 27 25 21 11 07 61 14 255 301 34 515 40 615 09 48 41 51 53 54 33 41 11 10 11 10 12 25 251 305 301 34 515 40 515 60 | Residence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3.7 4.1 1.1 1.0 7.7 2.6 2.5.1 3.0.5 0.6 5.1.8 6.0 2.0.6 1.0 3.8 8.5 1.4 2.0 1. | many many many many many many many many | Urban | 2.7 | 2.5 | 1.1 | 0.7 | 6.1 | 1.4 | 29.5 | 30.1 | 3.4 | 51.7 | 4.0 | 16.2 | 6.0 | 4.8 | 4.2 | 1.5 | 3.4 | 837 |
| mara 16 6 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 | mana 15 6 6 72 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 | Rural | 3.7 | 4.1 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 7.7 | 5.6 | 25.1 | 30.5 | 9.0 | 51.8 | 0.9 | 22.0 | 1.0 | 3.8 | 8.5 | 1.4 | 2.0 | 291 |
| mary 6 6 7 2 0 0 0 5 6 1 2 0 1 | mary 66 72 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0. | Region | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| mana 66 72 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 | mara 156 7 72 0.0 0 4 46 0.0 455 281 281 28 0 120 0.0 0 0 5 33 81 0 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 | Istanbul | 3.9 | 1.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 9.9 | 5.0 | 26.1 | 23.9 | 1.7 | 64.5 | 2.7 | 8.0 | 0.0 | 5.6 | 1.9 | 0.0 | 1.7 | 29 |
| mary 17 48 31 19 68 26 463 307 19 544 18 19 10 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 | mary 17 48 31 119 68 26 463 307 19 448 29 10 0 5 3 8 80 00 15 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 | West Marmara | 9.9 | 7.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 4.6 | 0.0 | 35.9 | 28.1 | 6.4 | 58.0 | 0.0 | 13.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.2 | 0.0 | 3.7 | 49 |
| 17 24 25 25 26 26 26 27 28 27 28 24 25 26 27 28 27 28 24 25 27 28 24 25 27 27 28 27 28 28 27 28 28 | numary 1, 1, 3, 1, 0, 0, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 0, 0, 0, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, | Aegean | 1.7 | 4.8 | 3.1 | 1.9 | 8.9 | 5.6 | 46.3 | 30.7 | 1.9 | 44.8 | 5.9 | 12.9 | 0.0 | 5.3 | 8.0 | 0.8 | 1.5 | 75 |
| Marchia 3.2 5.9 1.1 0.0 5.0 2.8 3.97 4.1 4.2 5.0 6.0 5.0 7.2 4.2 5.0 5.0 4.5 4.2 | Antendia 3.2 5.9 11.1 0.0 5.0 1.2 3.9.7 41.3 4.2 50.1 81 17.2 0.0 0.5 2.4 1.3 4.9 Antendia 1.2 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 1.5 | ast Marmara | 1.7 | 3.7 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 5.1 | 6.0 | 27.7 | 28.3 | 1.7 | 54.4 | 1.8 | 14.0 | 0.0 | 3.7 | 8. | 0.0 | 7.0 | 70 |
| rranean 2.2 16 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.7 1.6 1.5 26.7 1.9 26.2 5.9 46.9 5.1 174 0.0 7.2 6.2 4.2 5.1 ack-sea and analysis and a set of a set | Tarnean 2.2 16 18 0.8 76 1.15 2.17 2.29 5.5 9 4.69 5.1 174 0.0 7.2 6.2 4.2 5.1 Antoliola services 3.1 1.1 2.2 7.1 16 2.2 2.2 2.2 4.69 5.1 174 0.0 7.2 6.2 4.2 5.1 Color services 3.1 1.2 2.7 1.2 2.7 1.2 2.2 2.2 2.2 2.2 2.2 2.2 2.2 2.2 2.2 | West Anatolia | 3.2 | 5.9 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 5.8 | 39.7 | 41.3 | 4.2 | 50.1 | 8.1 | 17.2 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 2.4 | 1.3 | 4.9 | 101 |
| Anatolia 0.0 5.6 0.0 13. 2.7 1.6 0.6 73.9 12. 0.6 7.0 3.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0 | the Acta of the Ac | Aediterranean | 2.2 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 0.8 | 9.7 | 1.5 | 21.7 | 26.2 | 5.9 | 46.9 | 5.1 | 17.4 | 0.0 | 7.2 | 6.2 | 4.2 | 5.1 | 128 |
| backea 3.1 1.5 1.5 1.0 6 3.3 1.0 19.6 7.9 1.0 54.2 7.6 23.1 0.0 2.0 7.2 0.0 1.0 abckea ast Anatolia 5.5 3.1 1.5 1.5 2.0 6 3.3 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 5.0 5.0 1.0 0.0 1.0 0.0 1.0 0.0 1.0 0.0 1.0 ast Anatolia 5.5 3.1 2.1 2.1 2.1 2.1 1.2 1.2 1.2 1.2 1.2 1 | tekees 3.1 15 1.5 1.0 6.3 1.0 19.6 5.1 0.0 54.2 1.0 54.2 1.0 54.2 1.0 1.0 54.2 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 | entral Anatolia | 0.0 | 5.6 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 2.7 | 1.6 | 26.7 | 32.9 | 1.2 | 46.8 | 5.6 | 19.0 | 3.0 | 5.9 | 3.7 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 104 |
| Stephanolia 50 133 31 0.0 12 12 12 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 | text Anabelia 5.5 a 3.1 a 3.1 a 0.7 a 3.4 a 0. 3.5 a 4.6 a 3.5 a 2.6 a 0.6 b 0.0 d.6 b 13.3 a 0.0 d.6 b 13.3 a 1.0 a 3.4 a 0. 3.5 a 0.6 b 13.3 a 1.1 a 0.1 a 3.4 a 0. 3.5 a 0.6 b 13.3 a 1.1 a 0.1 a 3.4 a 0. 3.5 a 0.6 b 13.3 a 1.1 a 0.1 a 0.0 | Vest Black Sea | | 1.5 | 1.5 | 2.0 | 6.3 | 1.0 | 19.6 | 27.9 | 1.0 | 54.2 | 7.6 | 23.1 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 7.2 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 9/ |
| sst Anatolia 5.5 3.1 2.1 2.0 11.2 19.0 35.8 13 6.2 5.6 5.6 5.6 5.6 5.6 5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0 5.0 | sat Anatolia 5.5 3.1 2.1 2.0 112 115 0 358 13 62.6 52.5 0.6 4.0 5.0 5.0 6 Anatolia at Anatolia at Anatolia 3.6 0.0 0.0 0.0 112 112 115 3.0 4 412 3.5 2.8 8 4.0 10.0 4 5.0 5.0 6 Anatolia at Anatolia 3.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 1.3 3.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0 | ast Black Sea | | 1.3 | 3.1 | 0.7 | 8.3 | 4.0 | 32.4 | 48.2 | 9.0 | 54.8 | 3.3 | 21.5 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 13.3 | 0.0 | 4.6 | 98 |
| East Anatolia 0.8 1.9 0.0 0.0 7.0 0.0 25.5 24.6 2.9 44.2 2.5 26.8 4.0 10.4 4.3 5.3 0.8 ast Anatolia 0.8 3.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 7.0 0.0 2.5 24.5 24.6 2.9 44.2 2.5 26.8 2.8 3.8 3.9 2.8 2.8 2.8 2.8 2.8 2.8 2.8 2.8 2.8 2.8 | Best Anabolia 0.8 19 0.0 0.0 7.0 0.0 255 246 2.9 442 2.5 5.8 8.4 0 10.4 4.3 5.3 0.8 ast Anabolia 0.8 19 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0. | ortheast Anatolia | | 3.1 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 11.2 | 1.5 | 19.0 | 35.8 | 1.3 | 9.79 | 9.6 | 25.5 | 9.0 | 4.0 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 9.0 | 116 |
| ast Anatolia 3.0 0.0 0.5 0.0 9.2 0.6 17.3 30.4 1.2 45.2 3.4 31.9 5.2 3.9 4.5 2.8 1.1 3.5 6.0 1.8 1.9 6.1 1.6 40.0 34.7 7.0 25.7 2.2 19.3 3.4 0.8 5.2 5.8 1.1 2.2 1.6 0.6 0.6 6.9 1.4 33.2 3.8 2.4 5.6 2.9 16.3 0.9 6.0 5.2 5.8 0.7 1.0 4.2 1.8 1.2 0.5 4.9 1.4 0.4 5.3 2.8 2.4 5.6 2.9 1.6 2.9 1.6 3.0 6.0 5.0 6.0 1.0 1.2 0.5 1.0 1.0 1.2 0.5 1.4 0.5 1.0 1.2 0.5 1.4 0.4 0.4 0.4 0.4 0.4 0.4 0.4 0.4 0.4 0 | ast Anatolia 3.0 0.0 0.5 0.0 9.2 0.6 173 30.4 1.2 45.2 3.4 31.9 5.2 3.9 4.5 2.8 1.1 3.5 6.0 1.8 1.9 6.1 1.6 40.0 34.7 7.0 25.7 2.2 19.3 3.4 0.8 2.3 3.1 9.0 4.2 1.8 1.2 0.7 8.3 2.8 24.5 26.7 2.8 54.6 5.7 14.8 0.5 5.0 4.2 1.7 3.1 4.2 1.8 1.2 0.7 8.3 2.8 24.5 26.7 2.8 54.6 5.7 14.8 0.5 5.0 4.2 1.7 3.1 4.2 1.8 1.2 0.7 8.3 2.8 24.5 26.7 2.8 54.6 5.7 14.8 0.2 3.9 6.7 1.0 2.5 4.2 1.8 1.2 0.5 4.9 1.0 0.9 1.4 9.5 0.4 21.3 29.3 2.1 50.1 50.1 50.2 2.1 16.0 0.5 0.0 4.2 1.7 3.1 4.5 second with a second of the secon | entral East Anatolia | | 1.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 7.0 | 0.0 | 29.5 | 24.6 | 5.9 | 44.2 | 2.5 | 26.8 | 4.0 | 10.4 | 4.3 | 5.3 | 8.0 | 95 |
| 3.5 6.0 1.8 1.9 6.1 1.6 4.0 34.7 7.0 25.7 2.2 19.3 3.4 0.8 2.3 3.1 9.0 2.2 1.6 0.6 0.6 0.6 0.9 1.4 33.2 35.8 2.4 56.5 4.4 21.3 0.6 5.2 5.8 0.7 1.0 4.2 1.8 1.2 0.7 8.3 2.8 2.4 2.5 2.4 56.5 4.4 21.3 0.6 5.2 5.8 0.7 1.0 4.2 1.8 1.2 0.7 8.3 2.8 2.4 2.5 2.4 5.6 2.9 1.6 0.9 6.0 6.7 1.0 4.2 1.8 0.9 0.9 1.4 0.5 2.3 2.3 2.4 2.3 2.4 2.1 5.0 2.5 2.5 2.5 2.5 2.5 4.2 1.8 0.9 1.4 0.4 2.3 2.3 2.4 2.3 2.4 2.1 5.0 2.5 2.5 2.5 2.5 2.5 2.5 4.3 1.4 0.4 0.5 2.3 2.4 2.3 2.4 2.3 2.5 2.5 2.5 2.5 2.5 4.5 1.8 0.0 1.4 3.3 3.3 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 4.5 1.8 0.0 1.4 3.3 3.3 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 4.5 1.8 0.0 1.4 3.3 3.3 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 4.5 1.8 0.0 1.4 3.3 3.3 3.5 3.5 3.5 4.5 1.8 0.0 1.4 3.3 3.3 3.5 3.5 3.5 4.5 1.8 0.0 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 4.5 1.8 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 4.5 1.8 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 4.5 1.8 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 4.5 1.8 0.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 4.5 1.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 4.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 4.5 0.5 0.5 0.5 4.5 0.5 0 | 1.5 6.0 1.8 1.9 6.1 1.6 40.0 34.7 70 25.7 2.2 19.3 3.4 0.8 2.3 3.1 9.0 2.2 1.6 0.6 0.6 6.9 1.4 33.2 2.4 2.5 2.5 2.5 4.4 21.3 0.6 5.2 5.8 0.7 1.0 3.4 2.1 2 | outheast Anatolia | 3.0 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 9.5 | 9.0 | 17.3 | 30.4 | 1.2 | 45.2 | 3.4 | 31.9 | 5.2 | 3.9 | 4.5 | 2.8 | 1.1 | 172 |
| 1.5 | 3.5 but 1.8 1.6 0.6 6.9 1.8 1.0 0.7 8.3 2.8 24.5 22.7 22.8 54.6 2.9 16.3 0.6 6.7 1.8 3.1 9.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 | ge . | L | , | , | , | , | , | | , | 1 | ı | 0 | , | | 0 | 6 | , | 0 | ı |
| 1.5 | 1.0 | 5-24 | υ. υ. | 0.0 | × . | J. 9 | 0.T | i.b | 40.0 | 7.4.0 | 0.7 | 7.5.7 | 7:7 | 19.3 | 4.0 | ν r | 2.3 | 3.F | 0.0 | 105 |
| 1, | 1, | 0-04 | 2.2 | 0. 0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | , c | F. C | 23.7 | 000 | 4. 6 | 0.00 | 4 0 | 2T.3 | 0.0 | 7.0 | 0 0 | | D. F | 200 |
| on Company Com | Continue | 1 1 | 7 | 0 0 | 1.4 | 5 0 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.50 | 26.4 | 2.0 | 2 4 | 5.7 | 14 0 | 0 0 | 0 0 | 7 1 | . T | 7.0 | 5.42 |
| Figure 4 9 19 19 0.9 14 9.5 0.4 21.3 29.3 21 56.1 56.1 56.1 56.1 56.1 56.1 56.1 56. | Figure 4.9 1.9 0.9 1.4 0.5 0.4 21.3 29.3 2.1 50.1 50.1 50.2 21.5 0.5 4.6 6.2 1.3 4.5 4.5 6.5 6.5 1.3 4.5 6.5 6.5 1.3 4.5 6.5 6.5 1.3 1.7 56.5 40 1.5 0.3 5.0 4.7 1.3 1.7 5.5 6.5 40 1.5 0.3 5.0 4.7 1.3 1.7 5.5 6.5 40 1.5 0.3 5.0 4.7 1.3 1.7 5.5 6.5 40 1.5 0.3 5.0 4.7 1.3 1.7 5.5 6.5 40 1.5 0.3 5.0 4.7 1.3 1.7 5.5 6.5 40.3 5.5 6.5 1.7 1.3 1.7 1.4 6.1 | ducation | | ? | 7:1 | 3 | ì | Pi | 200 | 1.0 | r i | r 5 | ; | 9 | 7. | ; | ; | o i | 9 | 2 |
| first level 3.0 3.8 14 0.4 5.3 2.1 26.3 26.9 17 56.5 40 15.9 0.3 5.0 47 1.3 1.7 14 6.1 4.2 4.2 41.3 26.3 26.9 1.7 56.5 40 15.9 0.3 5.0 47 1.3 1.7 14 6.1 14 6.1 14 1.3 0.0 14.3 3.3 3.1 4.2 41.3 2.6 18.1 0.9 6.0 7.1 1.4 6.1 1.4 6.1 1.4 1.4 1.4 1.4 1.4 1.4 1.4 1.4 1.4 1 | ## A condition of the c | one/Primary incomplete | 4.9 | 1.9 | 6.0 | 1.4 | 9.5 | 0.4 | 21.3 | 29.3 | 2.1 | 50.1 | 2.0 | 21.5 | 2.5 | 4.6 | 6.2 | 1.3 | 4.5 | 289 |
| \text{\cond} vectored level 1.2 2.4 1.8 0.0 1.1 3.3 3.1 3.1 4.2 4.1 3.2 5.5 45.3 5.6 17.3 0.7 1.8 4.6 5.7 3.2 Level 1.2 2.4 1.8 0.0 1.4 3.3 3.3 4.2 4.1 4.5 5.5 45.3 5.6 17.3 0.7 1.8 4.6 2.7 3.2 \text{Level 4.5 3.8 1.0 1.2 6.8 0.9 24.8 29.7 2.1 52.0 4.4 18.1 1.6 5.1 6.7 1.3 3.2 \text{2.3 2.5 0.9 0.6 6.4 1.7 28.7 31.7 3.9 51.0 4.0 18.0 0.6 3.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 \text{3.3 3.2 3.2 3.3 3.7 36.2 28.0 1.3 3.9 51.0 4.0 15.8 0.0 4.8 4.3 3.2 \text{2.3 2.9 1.1 0.8 6.5 1.7 28.4 30.2 2.7 51.8 4.5 1.5 0.9 4.5 5.3 1.5 3.0 1.4 \text{3.3 3.4 3.2 3.2 3.2 3.3 3.3 3.3 3.3 3.3 3.3 3.3 3.3 \text{3.4 3.2 3.3 3.3 3.3 3.3 3.3 3.3 3.3 3.3 3.3 3.3 \text{3.5 3.9 3.9 3.9 3.9 3.9 3.9 3.9 3.9 3.9 3.9 3.9 3.9 3.9 \text{3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.0 3.3 \text{3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 \text{3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 \text{3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 \text{3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 \text{3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 \text{3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 \text{3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 \text{3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 \text{3.5 | Level 4.5 3.8 1.0 1.1 2.2.4 1.8 0.0 1.1 3.0.0 3.3.8 3.1.5 4.9 41.3 2.6 18.1 0.9 6.0 7.1 1.4 6.1 1.2 bool and higher 0.9 1.8 0.0 1.4 3.3 3.3 4.2.2 41.8 5.5 45.3 6.6 17.3 0.7 1.8 4.6 2.7 3.2 1.2 level 4.5 3.8 1.0 1.2 6.8 0.9 24.8 29.7 2.1 52.0 4.4 18.1 1.6 5.1 6.7 1.3 3.2 3.2 3.2 3.2 3.2 3.2 3.2 3.2 3.2 3 | rimary first level | 3.0 | 00 | 1.4 | 0.4 | | 2.1 | 263 | 96.9 | 1.7 | 56.5 | 4.0 | 15.9 | 0 | 0.5 | 4.7 | | 1.7 | 581 |
| Level 4.5 4.8 6.9 4.8 6.9 4.9 6.9 1.8 6.0 1.4 3.3 4.2 4.8 6.9 4.5 4.5 4.5 6.0 1.3 6.7 1.8 4.6 1.7 6.7 1.8 6.7 </td <td>Level 45 38 33 42 418 55 45.3 66 17.3 0.7 1.8 46 27 3.2 Level 45 38 10 1.2 68 0.9 248 297 2.1 520 44 181 1.6 5.1 6.7 1.3 3.2 3.2 3.2 3.7 3.6 2.9 2.0 4.6 4.7 2.8 3.7 3.9 5.10 4.0 1.8 0.0 4.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 0.8 1.8 1.8 1.0 6.3 3.7 3.6 2.9 1.5 6.0 4.8 4.3 2.9 1.9 1.8 1.0 8.8 4.5 1.5 9.9 1.8 4.8 3.7 3.6 2.9 1.8 4.3 3.2 9.9 1.8 4.3 3.2 9.9 1.8 4.8 4.3 2.9 1.9 1.8 4.8 4.3 2.9 1.8</td> <td>rimary, second level</td> <td>1.2</td> <td>2.4</td> <td>1.8</td> <td>0.0</td> <td>11.3</td> <td>0.0</td> <td>33.8</td> <td>31.5</td> <td>4.9</td> <td>41.3</td> <td>5.6</td> <td>18.1</td> <td>6.0</td> <td>0.9</td> <td>7.1</td> <td>1.4</td> <td>6.1</td> <td>66</td> | Level 45 38 33 42 418 55 45.3 66 17.3 0.7 1.8 46 27 3.2 Level 45 38 10 1.2 68 0.9 248 297 2.1 520 44 181 1.6 5.1 6.7 1.3 3.2 3.2 3.2 3.7 3.6 2.9 2.0 4.6 4.7 2.8 3.7 3.9 5.10 4.0 1.8 0.0 4.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 0.8 1.8 1.8 1.0 6.3 3.7 3.6 2.9 1.5 6.0 4.8 4.3 2.9 1.9 1.8 1.0 8.8 4.5 1.5 9.9 1.8 4.8 3.7 3.6 2.9 1.8 4.3 3.2 9.9 1.8 4.3 3.2 9.9 1.8 4.8 4.3 2.9 1.9 1.8 4.8 4.3 2.9 1.8 | rimary, second level | 1.2 | 2.4 | 1.8 | 0.0 | 11.3 | 0.0 | 33.8 | 31.5 | 4.9 | 41.3 | 5.6 | 18.1 | 6.0 | 0.9 | 7.1 | 1.4 | 6.1 | 66 |
| Level 4.5 3.8 1.0 1.2 6.8 0.9 24.8 29.7 2.1 52.0 4.4 18.1 1.6 5.1 1.3 3.2 1.0 0.6 6.4 1.7 28.7 31.7 3.9 51.0 4.0 18.0 0.6 3.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 0.9 0.6 6.3 3.7 36.2 28.0 1.3 52.9 5.9 15.8 0.0 4.8 4.3 2.2 0.9 0.6 6.3 3.7 36.2 28.0 1.3 52.9 5.9 15.8 0.0 4.8 4.3 2.2 0.9 0.9 1.1 0.8 6.5 1.7 28.4 30.2 2.7 51.8 4.5 17.6 0.9 4.5 5.3 1.5 3.0 1.1 0.8 6.5 1.7 28.4 30.2 2.7 51.8 4.5 17.6 0.9 4.5 5.3 1.5 3.0 1.1 0.8 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 | Level 4.5 3.8 1.0 1.2 6.8 0.9 24.8 29.7 2.1 52.0 4.4 18.1 1.6 7.1 3.3.2 3.2 0.9 0.6 6.3 3.7 36.2 28.0 1.3 52.9 5.9 15.8 0.6 3.8 4.2 1.4 3.3.2 0.9 0.6 6.3 3.7 36.2 28.0 1.3 52.9 5.9 15.8 0.0 4.8 4.3 2.2 0.9 1.1 0.8 6.5 1.7 28.4 30.2 2.7 51.8 4.5 17.6 0.9 4.5 5.3 1.5 3.0 1.4 0.6 1.8 1.8 0.0 4.8 4.3 2.2 0.9 1.1 0.8 6.5 1.7 28.4 30.2 2.7 51.8 4.5 17.6 0.9 4.5 5.3 1.5 3.0 1.4 0.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1 | igh school and higher | 6.0 | 18 | 0 0 | 1.4 | 33 | 33 | 42.2 | 41.8 | 5.5 | 45.3 | 99 | 17.3 | 0.7 | 8 | 4.6 | 2.7 | 3.7 | 159 |
| 4.5 3.8 10 12 6.8 0.9 24.8 29.7 21 52.0 44 18.1 1.6 5.1 6.7 1.3 3.2 2.3 0.9 0.6 6.4 1.7 28.7 31.7 28.9 51.0 4.0 1.5 51.0 6.6 3.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 2.5 0.9 0.6 6.4 1.7 28.7 31.7 28.9 51.0 4.0 1.5 5.9 1.5 6.7 1.3 3.2 2.5 0.9 0.6 6.4 1.7 28.7 31.7 28.4 30.2 2.5 1.5 6.0 6.5 3.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 2.9 1.5 6.0 1 | 4.5 3.8 1.0 1.2 6.8 0.9 24.8 29.7 2.1 5.0 44 18.1 1.6 5.1 6.7 1.3 3.2 2.3 2.5 0.9 0.6 6.4 1.7 28.7 31.7 3.9 51.0 4.0 18.0 0.6 3.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 3.2 2.5 0.9 0.6 6.4 1.7 28.7 31.7 3.9 51.0 4.0 18.0 0.6 3.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 2.9 2.9 1.5 8 0.0 4.8 4.3 2.2 0.9 3.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 2.9 2.9 1.1 0.8 6.5 1.7 28.4 30.2 2.7 51.8 4.5 1.7 0.9 4.5 5.3 1.5 3.0 1.2 1.4 3.7 2.8 4.3 2.2 2.9 1.4 3.7 2.9 2.9 1.1 0.8 6.5 1.7 28.4 30.2 2.7 51.8 4.5 1.7 0.9 4.5 5.3 1.5 3.0 1.2 1.4 3.7 2.4 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.2 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.2 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.7 3.0 1.4 3.2 | Vealth Level | | 2 | | i | i | 5 | i | 2 | 5 | | 2 | 2 | ; | 9 | 2 | i | 1 | |
| 2.3 2.5 0.9 0.6 6.4 1.7 28.7 31.7 3.9 51.0 4.0 18.0 0.6 3.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 2.0 1.0 0.6 3.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 3.7 3.1 3.1 3.2 5.0 1.3 5.2 5.0 1.3 5.2 5.0 1.3 5.2 5.0 1.3 5.2 5.0 1.3 5.2 5.0 1.3 5.2 5.3 1.3 5.2 5.3 5.3 1.3 5.2 5.3 5.3 5.3 5.3 5.3 5.3 5.3 5.3 5.3 5.3 | 2.3 2.5 0.9 0.6 6.4 1.7 28.7 31.7 3.9 51.0 4.0 18.0 0.6 3.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 0.9 0.6 6.3 1.8 1.8 0.0 6.5 3.8 4.2 1.4 3.7 0.9 0.8 0.8 1.8 1.8 0.0 6.3 1.8 1.8 0.0 6.3 1.8 1.8 0.0 1.8 1.8 0.0 1.8 1.8 0.0 1.8 1.8 0.0 1.8 1.8 0.0 1.8 1.8 0.0 1.8 1.8 0.0 1.8 1.8 0.0 1.8 1.8 1.8 0.0 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 1.8 | ower | 4.5 | 3.8 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 8.9 | 6.0 | 24.8 | 29.7 | 2.1 | 52.0 | 4.4 | 18.1 | 1.6 | 5.1 | 6.7 | 1.3 | 3.2 | 492 |
| 2.9 1.8 0.0 6.3 3.7 36.2 28.0 1.3 5.2 9 5.9 15.8 0.0 4.8 4.3 2.2 0.9 9.9 15.8 0.0 4.8 4.3 2.2 0.9 0.9 4.5 1.3 5.2 9 5.9 15.8 0.0 4.8 4.3 2.2 0.9 0.9 4.5 1.3 0.0 0.9 4.5 0.9 0.9 4.5 0.9 0.9 0.9 0.9 0.9 0.9 0.9 0.9 0.9 0.9 | 2.9 2.9 1.1 0.8 6.5 1.7 28.4 30.2 2.7 51.8 4.5 17.6 0.9 4.5 5.3 1.5 3.0 what of the chief on ever-married women who had left home and returned at least once because of physical or sexual partner violence. What of the swould hadge. The ad aloved woman, affaird would brink bad mane to the family, attended to commit suicide/kill her: He threatened to commit suicide/kill her: He threatened to commit suicide/kill her: He threatened to commit suicide would be subpayed and would be suiced would prink. On the suicide kill her: He threatened to commit suicide, he threatened her. I set alot to the children Affaid her children would be unappay affaid and would be she children, what her children shad be unappay affaid would be suiced. The children was also alone to commit suicide her to return, partner's family hasked her to return. The stated to the children Affaid be children was keed her to return. The stated to the children Affaid her children would be made to be children washed her to return. The state of the children washed her to return. | liddle | 2.3 | 2.5 | 6.0 | 9.0 | 6.4 | 1.7 | 28.7 | 31.7 | 3.9 | 51.0 | 4.0 | 18.0 | 9.0 | 3.8 | 4.2 | 1.4 | 3.7 | 482 |
| 2.9 2.9 1.1 0.8 6.5 1.7 28.4 30.2 2.7 51.8 4.5 17.6 0.9 4.5 5.3 1.5 3.0 les recretages based on ever-married women who had left home and returned at least once because of physical or sexual partner violence. What others would think: Did not want to be a divorced woman, afraid would bring bad name to the family. I sogave partner, thought partner would change. Loved/forgave partner, thought partner would change. The threatened to commit suicide, he threatened her. The stream of the commit suicide, he threatened her. The stream of the children wand be unhappy, afraid would lose children, children wanted children. Afraid her children would be unhappy, afraid would lose children, children wanted then? | ercentages based on ever-married women who had left home and returned at least once because of physical or sexual partner violence. What others would the based on ever-married women, which are also once the sexual partner violence. What other would the based on the present the sexual partner violence. What other would the based women, affaird would bring bad name to the family. Set also entruely foungith the would charge: Loxed/forgave partner, thought partner would change. Set also for the children Affaird bet children would be unappay affaird would bring would be unappay affaird would bring would be unappay affaird would bring would be unappay affaird would bring would be unappay affaird would bring would be unappay affaird would bring would be unappay affaird would be set hidren. Affaird bet children water family saked her to return. Set the set of the children Affaird bet children would be unappay affaird would be set hidren, the contraining safe or the unappay affaird would be set to return. Set the set of the children Affaird between the standard would be affaired between the contraining safe or the children Affaird between the standard between the set of the children Affaird between the standard between the set of the children Affaird between the standard bring the set of the children Affaird between the standard between the set of the children Affaird between the standard between the set of the children Affaird between the standard between the set of the children Affaird between the standard between the set of the children Affaird between the set of the children Affaird between the set of the children Affaird between the set of the children Affaird between the set of the set of the children Affaird between the set of the set o | ligher | 8.0 | 1.8 | 1.8 | 0.0 | 6.3 | 3.7 | 36.2 | 28.0 | 1.3 | 52.9 | 5.9 | 15.8 | 0.0 | 4.8 | 4.3 | 2.2 | 6.0 | 154 |
| | | urkey | 2.9 | 2.9 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 6.5 | 1.7 | 28.4 | 30.2 | 2.7 | 51.8 | 4.5 | 17.6 | 6.0 | 4.5 | 5.3 | 1.5 | 3.0 | 1,128 |
| | | vote: Percentages based on sategories have been calcu ear of what others would: oved/forgave partner/ tho de threatened to commit sto teasons related to the chilic | n ever-marrik ulated indepe think: Did no sught he wou uicide/kill he dren: Afraid P | ed women when dent from enter the standard from enter the standard from enter the standard from the st | no had left ach other; a divorced ved/forgav ned to corr ould be ur | home and therefore I woman, ve partner nmit suiciren | d returnec e their sum afraid wou r, thought de, he thre fraid would | dat least onc nmation may uld bring bac partner wou eatened her. | re because of exceed 10 in ame to the second 10 in ame to the second 10 in a change. | of physical 0. he family. | l or sexual pa | rtner violen ck, man thre | ce. | ildren. | | | | | | |

No. of women never having left Percentage of women who had never left home because of physical or sexual partner violence by reasons for not leaving home, and by region, type of residence, age, educational and wealth level, Turkey 2008 196 166 214 237 320 283 343 268 278 441 407 339 1,142 989 1,103 L,235 L,738 237 363 1,650 1,493 430 3,573 No place to go 3.4 6.4 7.3 6.4 4.4 4.8 5.0 5.0 5.7 5.7 5.2 4.1 5.5 4.5 3.9 2.4 4.8 0.3 1.4 0.7 1.2 0.8 0.6 1.0 1.1 0.7 Man left home 1.8 1.2 1.5 1.5 2.5 2.6 0.5 0.3 0.0 0.3 0.2 0.9 1.3 0.4 0.8 2.4 6.1 0.4 1.4 Afraid Families Elder Mi would threate family le bring bad ned her members hon name to intervened family 2.5 11.3 11.3 0.6 0.7 0.7 0.9 2.5 2.5 2.8 2.8 1.0 1.8 3.1 0.4 3.4 1.5 1.4 1.5 2.1 0.2 0.8 0.5 0.0 0.6 0.7 0.3 1.0 0.1 0.5 0.0 0.1 0.7 23.0 22.4 28.6 28.6 20.3 22.6 21.9 14.0 30.2 18.0 21.4 18.7 26.5 19.1 20.3 25.3 25.1 24.7 22.9 23.0 18.9 25.7 21.2 20.3 tþe ANNEX Table 6.9 Reasons cited for not leaving home due to violence experienced d Loved/ He R forgave threatened repartner/ to commit thought he suicide/ cl would change kill her 0.6 0.0 0.0 0.0 11.5 11.6 11.4 11.0 11.3 0.6 0.6 1.9 1.0 1.2 1.2 0.9 0.4 6.0 16.3 14.0 23.9 18.3 9.0 17.4 17.3 11.8 13.2 14.1 14.1 21.5 25.3 23.4 17.8 16.2 12.3 15.9 16.9 15.1 15.3 17.8 15.8 12.9 Blamed herself 1.5 2.7 0.9 0.5 0.5 2.0 0.8 0.8 1.3 1.3 1.6 1.6 0.7 0.5 2.4 1.5 1.6 1.0 1.8 0.6 3.0 Reasons related to the children: Afraid her children would be unhappy, afraid would lose children, man threatened children Note: Percentages based on ever-married women who had never left home because of physical or sexual partner violence. Fear of threats/ more 0.6 11.2 2.5 2.7 2.7 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.8 1.2 2.1 1.2 2.0 2.0 2.0 3.3 3.3 2.3 1.8 1.8 1.4 2.4 1.4 0.3 1.7 Sustain her relationship /family Categories have been calculated independent from each other; therefore their summation may exceed 100. 2.2 4.9 7.0 7.0 1.9 4.1 7.7 7.7 7.7 7.7 7.3 8.8 8.8 8.3 6.7 2.7 4.7 4.5 4.5 3.6 4.3 Loved/forgave partner/ thought he would change: Loved/forgave partner, thought partner would change He threatened to commit suicide/kill her: He threatened to commit suicide, he threatened her Didn't believe she'd receive help 2.2 1.9 3.8 2.7 2.1 1.0 1.0 2.1 2.1 3.9 2.9 3.4 2.8 2.8 3.3 1.3 2.1 3.0 3.1 2.0 1.5 2.3 3.0 2.0 0.8 2.3 Sustain her relationship /family: Afraid would end relationship, to keep the family together Monetary Embarrassed/
reasons ashamed/
afraid would
n be blamed Families threatened her: Her own family threatened her, partner's family threatened her 5.7 6.8 7.1 6.9 6.7 5.3 8.5 4.3 8.5 11.9 5.7 8.9 6.1 5.0 5.3 8.3 8.9 he percentage of the category of Other, which is not shown in the table, is 5.7. 11.5 22.3 22.5 22.8 22.8 22.0 22.0 22.0 22.6 33.3 33.3 1.4 2.5 2.5 1.8 2.3 2.0 3.1 2.6 1.6 2.3 2.1 There N was no serious problem 55.3 57.3 63.5 57.5 55.5 55.0 68.1 61.3 59.7 63.2 61.4 54.6 55.4 61.4 60.0 63.9 56.4 63.2 59.7 60.2 58.4 61.6 No inst./ org. to apply 0.0 1.6 1.1 1.1 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.8 0.7 0.9 Didn't know where to apply 11.7 11.3 2.2 2.2 3.0 3.0 3.0 11.7 11.7 11.5 11.5 11.5 1.9 3.2 1.9 1.1 0.8 2.4 2.2 1.3 None/Primary incomplete High school and higher Primary, second level Central East Anatolia Southeast Anatolia Northeast Anatolia Primary, first level Background characteristics Central Anatolia West Black Sea Mediterranean East Black Sea West Marmara East Marmara West Anatolia Wealth Level Education stanbul Middle Region Urban 15-24 25-34 35-44 45-59

| | : | : | | : | - | : | | | | | | | : | i | ; |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|-------|---------------------------------|
| Background characteristics | Stays silent/ Conciliates Reacts cries/ keeps verbally silent | / Conciliate s | s Reacts verbally | rights back | complains to her own family | complains to man's family | Applies to official inst./ | Leaves her nusband | Does nothing /cannot h do anything | expels her husband | Iries to talk to her husband | ls cross with him | Don't know | Other | No. of ever-married women |
| Residence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 18.6 | 9.0 | 28.7 | 16.9 | 4.4 | 5.6 | 10.7 | 28.1 | 8.4 | 1.3 | 2.9 | 5.9 | 1.5 | 6.5 | 7,981 |
| Rural | 32.8 | 12.8 | 20.9 | 9.5 | 4.8 | 1.9 | 7.7 | 18.8 | 15.0 | 0.3 | 1.3 | 3.0 | 1.7 | 6.7 | 2,817 |
| Region | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Istanbul | 17.6 | 8.6 | 28.8 | 15.7 | 3.0 | 1.2 | 9.0 | 26.7 | 7.8 | 1.2 | 2.4 | 2.1 | 2.8 | 5.8 | 691 |
| West Marmara | 22.0 | 10.5 | 26.4 | 13.6 | 4.5 | 1.9 | 13.7 | 22.7 | 11.2 | 9.0 | 5.9 | 0.7 | 5.6 | 4.9 | 859 |
| Aegean | 21.1 | 8.7 | 23.2 | 16.5 | 4.6 | 2.9 | 11.5 | 34.0 | 8.2 | 6.0 | 2.0 | 3.1 | 6.0 | 7.0 | 848 |
| East Marmara | 17.2 | 6.5 | 27.0 | 14.4 | 4.7 | 3.0 | 10.1 | 29.0 | 10.0 | 1.0 | 3.2 | 5.6 | 9.0 | 4.9 | 822 |
| West Anatolia | 20.7 | 10.5 | 36.2 | 18.5 | 7.2 | 3.8 | 15.6 | 27.6 | 4.5 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 8.0 | 7.5 | 915 |
| Mediterranean | 23.1 | 12.6 | 27.3 | 18.6 | 3.9 | 2.3 | 9.3 | 24.7 | 10.2 | 1.2 | 3.0 | 3.2 | 6.0 | 7.1 | 964 |
| Central Anatolia | 26.7 | 11.3 | 24.8 | 15.4 | 2.7 | 1.4 | 6.1 | 14.3 | 10.9 | 0.3 | 1.9 | 6.1 | 1.1 | 9.4 | 887 |
| West Black Sea | 30.0 | 11.6 | 28.8 | 12.5 | 3.7 | 0.8 | 8.8 | 22.7 | 4.7 | 1.2 | 5.6 | 3.7 | 2.8 | 8.8 | 779 |
| East Black Sea | 27.3 | 15.3 | 31.8 | 15.3 | 2.7 | 3.1 | 13.3 | 28.2 | 4.5 | 0.7 | 1.3 | 3.8 | 6.0 | 6.1 | 874 |
| Northeast Anatolia | 27.7 | 5.3 | 17.8 | 9.8 | 4.8 | 3.7 | 7.0 | 18.0 | 23.1 | 8.0 | 1.9 | 4.1 | 2.8 | 6.7 | 1,000 |
| Central East Anatolia | 32.8 | 8.4 | 17.5 | 7.1 | 0.9 | 2.2 | 6.9 | 17.1 | 20.1 | 6.0 | 1.9 | 3.3 | 1.7 | 6.2 | 994 |
| Southeast Anatolia | 24.8 | 9.5 | 18.2 | 9.1 | 5.7 | 3.6 | 5.1 | 20.9 | 22.3 | 9.0 | 2.4 | 2.8 | 6.0 | 5.5 | 1,165 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15-24 | 23.7 | 7.9 | 25.5 | 13.0 | 0.6 | 4.6 | 7.4 | 27.0 | 8.9 | 0.2 | 2.7 | 4.9 | 2.3 | 5.5 | 1,194 |
| 25-34 | 18.8 | 9.4 | 29.4 | 15.4 | 6.1 | 3.3 | 10.7 | 29.5 | 7.3 | 6.0 | 2.8 | 3.0 | 1.5 | 8.9 | 3,652 |
| 35-44 | 21.8 | 9.7 | 27.6 | 16.3 | 3.7 | 2.3 | 10.8 | 25.1 | 11.1 | 1.5 | 5.6 | 2.4 | 1.5 | 6.5 | 3,009 |
| 45-59 | 25.5 | 11.9 | 23.5 | 14.4 | 1.5 | 0.5 | 9.6 | 21.5 | 12.6 | 1.3 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 1.2 | 8.9 | 2,943 |
| Education | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| None/Primary incomplete | 34.7 | 14.4 | 17.7 | 9.5 | 3.1 | 1.1 | 9.9 | 13.2 | 19.9 | 9.0 | 1.0 | 1.7 | 1.0 | 8.9 | 2,741 |
| Primary, first level | 24.3 | 11.1 | 29.5 | 15.4 | 4.3 | 2.5 | 9.4 | 22.0 | 9.6 | 0.7 | 2.3 | 5.9 | 1.9 | 5.9 | 5,237 |
| Primary, second level | 13.2 | 7.1 | 28.7 | 16.1 | 8.9 | 2.8 | 10.4 | 31.9 | 2.0 | 1.1 | 3.5 | 4.4 | 1.4 | 9.1 | 872 |
| High school and higher | 8.9 | 3.4 | 28.7 | 20.2 | 5.7 | 3.5 | 15.2 | 46.7 | 2.3 | 5.6 | 4.3 | 3.7 | 1.1 | 9.9 | 1,948 |
| Wealth Level | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lower | 31.6 | 13.7 | 21.7 | 10.0 | 3.7 | 2.1 | 8.1 | 17.0 | 15.4 | 0.5 | 1.2 | 2.5 | 1.2 | 5.9 | 4,189 |
| Middle | 19.8 | 9.3 | 29.9 | 17.2 | 5.4 | 2.7 | 9.4 | 26.5 | 8.2 | 1.0 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 1.7 | 6.7 | 4,631 |
| Higher | 10.9 | 5.1 | 28.7 | 19.1 | 4.2 | 2.3 | 14.3 | 39.0 | 4.7 | 2.1 | 3.8 | 3.5 | 1.8 | 7.2 | 1,978 |
| Turkey | 22.2 | 10.0 | 76.7 | 15.0 | 7 2 | 7 0 | 10.0 | 7 3 6 | 101 | , | 7 5 | 0 0 | - - | U | 10 700 |

Annex 7. Questionnaires

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE OF POPULATION STUDIES TURKEY WOMAN AND HEALTH SURVEY 2008 HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

| | | IDENTIF | ICATION | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|----------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| CLUSTER NO | | | PROVINCE | | | |
| HOUSEHOLD NO | | | DISTRICT_ | | | |
| 5 REGIONS | | | SUB-DISTE | RICT | | |
| 12 REGIONS | | | VILLAGE_ | | | |
| PLACE OF RESIDENCE-URBAN | (1)-RURAL(2) | | QUARTER | | | |
| | | | STREET | | | NO |
| | I | NTERVIEV | WER VISITS | | | |
| | 1 | | 2 | 3 | | FINAL VISIT |
| TARİH (GÜN-AY) | | | | | | |
| GÖRÜŞMECİ ADI-SOYADI | | | | | _ | |
| SONUÇ (*) | | _ | | | | |
| DATE NEXT VISIT TIME | | | | | | TOTAL NUMBER OF VISITS |
| (*) RESULT CODES | | | NUMBER (| OF PERSONS | | |
| 01 COMPLETED 02 NONE OF THE HOUSEHOLI MEMBER PRESENT AT HO! 03 NONE OF THE HOUSEHOLI | ME DURING VISITS D MEMBERS PRESENT A | | TOTAL IN | HOUSEHOLD LIST | | |
| HOME DURING THE SURVI 04 POSTPONED 05 REFUSED 06 DWELLING VACANT/ADDR | | | | UAL RESIDENTS O JESTION 4) | F HOUS | EHOLD |
| 07 DWELLING DESTROYED 08 DWELLING NOT FOUND 09 PARTLY COMPLETED | | | 15-59 WOM (CHECK QU | IEN IN THE HOUSE UESTION 14, IF NO | EHOLD 15-59 W | OMAN RECORD "00") |
| 96 OTHER(SPECIFY) | | | HH LINE N | UMBER OF SELEC | TED WO | 0MAN |
| SUPERVISOR | | | | | | |
| SULEKVISUK | FIELD EDITO | R | 1 | KEYER-1 | 1 | KEYER-2 |
| | | \perp | | | ╢_ | |
| DATE | DATE | | DATE | | DAT | TE |

| HOUR | MINUTE I | Hello, my nar family life. Yo other institution | – HOUSEHOLD I me is, I' comir our responses or you ons or persons. Now ich as age and educa | g from H ar name o I would | r addre | ss infort | nation d | efinitely | will no | t be shared with |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| HH LINE NO | HOUSEHOLD LIST CONTINUE BY ASKING A-B-C | C-D-E. | RELATION SHIP TO RESPON- DENT | 1 | | EHOLI ERSHI | | SE | CX | AGE |
| | A. Would you please tell me the names of living in this household beginning with household head? B. Is there anyone who usually lives in this is absent at present? C. Additionally, are there persons who do I live here but have stayed here for last 4 vincluding last night? D. Are there any other persons such as sma or infants? | the s house but not usually weeks all children | What is the relationship of to you? USE CODE LIST. | Does usually here | / live e? | Has . stayed for le we include last n | I here ast 4 eks ding ight? | Is male fema | e or ale? | How old is? (what age has completed?) OBTAIN AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS. IF OLDER THAN 95, |
| (0.4) | E. Are there any others who are not member family but live here, such as lodgers, fri | | (0.0) | NO | | NO | | FEMA | | WRITE "95". |
| (01) | (02) | | (03) | (04 | 1) | (0 | 5) | (0 | 6) | (07) |
| 01 | | | 0 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | |
| 02 | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | |
| 03 | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | |
| 04 | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | |
| 05 | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | |
| 06 | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | |
| 07 | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | |
| 08 | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | |
| 09 | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | |
| 10 | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | |
| | RE IF AN ADDITIONAL QUESTIONN. D WITH THE REST OF THE INTERVI | | | QUESTI | ONNA | IRE. | | | | |
| (03) CODI | ES FOR RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHO | OLD HEAD | | | | | | | | |
| 01 RESPON 02 WIFE/HU 03 SON/DA | 10ENT | ARTNER CHILD JIBLING SIBLING | 15 COUSI 16 GRAN 17 GRAN 18 SIBLIN 19 SIBLIN 20 SIBLIN 21 FATHI | D PAREN D PAREN IG –IN- L. IG –IN- L. IG -IN-LA | T –IN- I AW AW'S P. .W'S CH | ARTNER IILD | 23 24 30 88 96 | SECON | D WIFE ND'S SE NT LATED | AW'S SIBLING ECOND WIFE |

| HH LINE NO | | | DUCATION STATUS | |
|---------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|-------|
| | Is literate? YES 1 NO 2 DK 8 | Has ever attended school? YES | What is the highest level of school attended? What is the highest grade completed at that level? USE CODE LIST. SCHOOL GRADE | Did |
| (01) | (08) | (09) | (10A) (10B) | (11) |
| 01 | 1 2 8 | 1 2 8 | | 1 2 8 |
| 02 | 1 2 8 | 1 2 8 | | 1 2 8 |
| 03 | 1 2 8 | 1 2 8 | | 1 2 8 |
| 04 | 1 2 8 | 1 2 8 | | 1 2 8 |
| 05 | 1 2 8 | 1 2 8 | | 1 2 8 |
| 06 | 1 2 8 | 1 2 8 | | 1 2 8 |
| 07 | 1 2 8 | 1 2 8 | | 1 2 8 |
| 08 | 1 2 8 | 1 2 8 | | 1 2 8 |
| 09 | 1 2 8 | 1 2 8 | | 1 2 8 |
| 10 | 1 2 8 | 1 2 8 | | 1 2 8 |

(10A) LEVEL CODES

- 1 PRIMARY SCHOOL
- 2 SECONDARY SCHOOL 3 PRIMARY EDUCATION 4 HIGH SCHOOL 5 UNIVERSITY

- 6 MASTER'S DEGREE/Ph.D.

8 DK

(10B) GRADE CODES

00 LESS THAN ONE YEAR/PREPARATORY LEVEL 66 MASTER'S/Ph.D.

98 DK

| HH LINE NO | | IARITAL STATUS AGE 12 AND OVER | ELIGIBILITY FOR INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW | SELECTION OF WOMAN FOR INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW |
|------------------|--------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--|
| | Has ever married? | What is's marital status? | | CHECK AGE FROM 07. ORDER ELIGIBLE WOMEN FROM THE OLDEST TO YOUNGEST BY GIVING THE ELDEST WOMAN "1" |
| | YES 1 NO 2 | CURRENTLY MARRIED 1 WIDOWED 2 DIVORCED 3 SEPARATED 4 DK 8 | CIRCLE LINE NUMBER IF 15- 59 WOMAN | PROCEED SELECTION OPERATION BY USING "SELECTION TABLE" AND CIRCLE THE SELECTED BOX |
| (01) | (12) | (13) | (14) | (15) |
| 01 | 1 2 L _{→ 14} | 1 2 3 4 8 | 01 | |
| 02 | 1 2 L _{• 14} | 1 2 3 4 8 | 02 | |
| 03 | 1 2 L _{→ 14} | 1 2 3 4 8 | 03 | |
| 04 | 1 2 L _{→ 14} | 1 2 3 4 8 | 04 | |
| 05 | 1 2 L _{→ 14} | 1 2 3 4 8 | 05 | |
| 06 | 1 2 L _{→ 14} | 1 2 3 4 8 | 06 | |
| 07 | 1 2 L _{→ 14} | 1 2 3 4 8 | 07 | |
| 08 | 1 2 L _{• 14} | 1 2 3 4 8 | 08 | |
| 09 | 1 2 L _{▶ 14} | 1 2 3 4 8 | 09 | |
| 10 | 1 2 L _{• 14} | 1 2 3 4 8 | 10 | |

| | | | | | Hou | sehol | d Nui | nber | | | | |
|-------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|-------|-------|------|----|----|----|----|
| Number of | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| Eligible Women | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 |
| in the | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 |
| House- hold | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 |
| 6+ | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |

PERSONS, GO BACK TO THE COVER PAGE AND COMPLETE THE NUMBER OF PERSONS SECTION

SECTION 2. HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

| 21 | Now I will ask some questions about the dwelling that you usually live in. Would you please include bedrooms, living rooms, sitting rooms and studying rooms? | NO OF ROOMS |
|-----|---|---------------------------|
| 22 | From all you listed, how many rooms in your house are generally used for sleeping? | ROOMS USED FOR SLEEPING I |
| 23 | I want to ask you whether you have some goods in order to have an idea about the wealth level of your household. Do you have the following in the household? a) Refrigerator b) Gas or Electric oven c) Microwave oven d) Food processor/Mixer/Blender e) Dishwasher f) Washing machine g) Iron h) Vacuum Cleaner i) LCD/Plasma TV j) Television k) Paid TV services l) Satellite TV m) Video camera n) DVD/VCD Player o) Camera p) Cell phone (IF YES) How many members have cell phones? r) Telephone s) Computer l) Internet connection u) Air conditioner v) Private car (IF YES) How many? x) Taxi/Minibus/Bus/other commercial vehicles y) Tractor z) Motorcycle | NO YES REFRIGATOR |
| 24 | LANGUAGE(S) USED FOR CONDUCTING THE HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE | TURKISH |
| 25 | WAS AN INTERPRETER USED? | YES1 NO2 |
| 268 | RECORD THE TIME | HOUR-MINUTE |

AGE - YEAR OF BIRTH TABLE

| | 2008 | |
|-----|--------------|--------------|
| | | F BIRTH |
| | HAS NOT | |
| | CELEBRATED | CELEBRATED |
| | BIRTHDAY IN | BIRTHDAY IN |
| | 2008 | 2008 |
| AGE | DON'T | KNOW |
| 0 | 2007 | |
| 1 | 2006 | 2007 |
| 2 | 2005 | 2006 |
| 3 | 2004 | 2005 |
| 4 | 2003 | 2004 |
| 5 | 2002 | 2003 |
| 6 | 2001 | 2002 |
| 7 | 2000 | 2001 |
| 8 | 1999 | 2000 |
| 9 | 1998 | 1999 |
| 10 | 1997 | 1998 |
| 11 | 1996 | 1997 |
| 12 | 1995 1994 | 1996 1995 |
| 13 | 1994 | 1995 |
| 15 | 1993 | 1994 |
| 16 | 1992 | 1993 |
| 17 | 1990 | 1991 |
| 18 | 1989 | 1990 |
| 19 | 1988 | 1989 |
| 20 | 1987 | 1988 |
| 21 | 1986 | 1987 |
| 22 | 1985 | 1986 |
| 23 | 1984 | 1985 |
| 24 | 1983 | 1984 |
| 25 | 1982 | 1983 |
| 26 | 1981 | 1982 |
| 27 | 1980 | 1981 |
| 28 | 1979 | 1980 |
| 29 | 1978 | 1979 |
| 30 | 1977 | 1978 |
| 31 | 1976 | 1977 |
| 32 | 1975 | 1976 |
| 33 | 1974 | 1975 |
| 34 | 1973 | 1974 |
| 35 | 1972 | 1973 |
| 36 | 1971 | 1972 |
| 37 | 1970 | 1971 |
| 38 | 1969 | 1970 |
| | 1968 | 1969 |
| 40 | 1967 1966 | 1968 1967 |
| 41 | 1965 | 1967 |
| 43 | 1963 | 1965 |
| 44 | 1963 | 1964 |
| 45 | 1962 | 1963 |
| 46 | 1961 | 1962 |
| 47 | 1960 | 1962 |
| 48 | 1959 | 1960 |
| 49 | 1958 | 1959 |
| 0 | 1/30 | 1/3/ |

| 2008 | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|--|--|--|--|
| YEAR OF BIRTH | | | | | | |
| | HAS NOT | | | | | |
| | CELEBRATED | CELEBRATED | | | | |
| | _ | - | | | | |
| | BIRTHDAY IN | BIRTHDAY IN | | | | |
| 4 CE | 2008 | 2008 KNOW | | | | |
| AGE | | | | | | |
| 50 | 1957 1956 | 1958 | | | | |
| 51 | 1956 | 1957 1956 | | | | |
| 53 | 1954 | 1955 | | | | |
| 54 | 1953 | 1954 | | | | |
| 55 | 1952 | 1953 | | | | |
| 56 | 1951 | 1952 | | | | |
| 57 | 1950 | 1951 | | | | |
| 58 | 1930 | 1950 | | | | |
| 59 | 1948 | 1949 | | | | |
| 60 | 1947 | 1948 | | | | |
| 61 | 1946 | 1947 | | | | |
| 62 | 1945 | 1946 | | | | |
| 63 | 1944 | 1945 | | | | |
| 64 | 1943 | 1944 | | | | |
| 65 | 1942 | 1943 | | | | |
| 66 | 1941 | 1942 | | | | |
| 67 | 1940 | 1941 | | | | |
| 68 | 1939 | 1940 | | | | |
| 69 | 1938 | 1939 | | | | |
| 70 | 1937 | 1938 | | | | |
| 71 | 1936 | 1937 | | | | |
| 72 | 1935 | 1936 | | | | |
| 73 | 1934 | 1935 | | | | |
| 74 | 1933 | 1934 | | | | |
| 75 | 1932 | 1933 | | | | |
| 76 | 1931 | 1932 | | | | |
| 77 | 1930 | 1931 | | | | |
| 78 | 1929 | 1930 | | | | |
| 79 | 1928 | 1929 | | | | |
| 80 | 1927 | 1928 | | | | |
| 81 | 1926 | 1927 | | | | |
| 82 | 1925 | 1926 | | | | |
| 83 | 1924 | 1925 | | | | |
| 84 | 1923 | 1924 | | | | |
| 85 | 1922 | 1923 | | | | |
| 86 | 1921 | 1922 | | | | |
| 87 | 1920 | 1921 | | | | |
| 88 | 1919 | 1920 | | | | |
| 89 | 1918 | 1919 | | | | |
| 90 | 1917 | 1918 | | | | |
| 91 | 1916 | 1917 | | | | |
| 92 | 1915 | 1916 | | | | |
| 93 | 1914 | 1915 | | | | |
| 94 | 1913 | 1914 | | | | |

CONVERTING YEAR OF BIRTH ACCORDING TO RUMI CALENDAR INTO GREGORIAN CALENDAR YEARS:

RUMI YEAR + 584 = GREGORIAN YEAR

WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE AGE – YEAR OF BIRTH TABLE

| 2008 | | | | 2008 | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------------|-----|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| | YEAR OF BIRTH | | | YEAR OF BIRTH | | |
| AGE | HAS NOT CELEBRATED BIRTHDAY IN 2008 | CELEBRATED BIRTHDAY IN 2008 | AGE | HAS NOT CELEBRATED BIRTHDAY IN 2008 | CELEBRATED BIRTHDAY IN 2008 | |
| 0 | 2007 | | 30 | 1977 | 1978 | |
| 1 | 2006 | 2007 | 31 | 1976 | 1977 | |
| 2 | 2005 | 2006 | 32 | 1975 | 1976 | |
| 3 | 2004 | 2005 | 33 | 1974 | 1975 | |
| 4 | 2003 | 2004 | 34 | 1973 | 1974 | |
| 5 | 2002 | 2003 | 35 | 1972 | 1973 | |
| 6 | 2001 | 2002 | 36 | 1971 | 1972 | |
| 7 | 2000 | 2001 | 37 | 1970 | 1971 | |
| 8 | 1999 | 2000 | 38 | 1969 | 1970 | |
| 9 | 1998 | 1999 | 39 | 1968 | 1969 | |
| 10 | 1997 | 1998 | 40 | 1967 | 1968 | |
| 11 | 1996 | 1997 | 41 | 1966 | 1967 | |
| 12 | 1995 | 1996 | 42 | 1965 | 1966 | |
| 13 | 1994 | 1995 | 43 | 1964 | 1965 | |
| 14 | 1993 | 1994 | 44 | 1963 | 1964 | |
| 15 | 1992 | 1993 | 45 | 1962 | 1963 | |
| 16 | 1991 | 1992 | 46 | 1961 | 1962 | |
| 17 | 1990 | 1991 | 47 | 1960 | 1961 | |
| 18 | 1989 | 1990 | 48 | 1959 | 1960 | |
| 19 | 1988 | 1989 | 49 | 1958 | 1959 | |
| 20 | 1987 | 1988 | 50 | 1957 | 1958 | |
| 21 | 1986 | 1987 | 51 | 1956 | 1957 | |
| 22 | 1985 | 1986 | 52 | 1955 | 1956 | |
| 23 | 1984 | 1985 | 53 | 1954 | 1955 | |
| 24 | 1983 | 1984 | 54 | 1953 | 1954 | |
| 25 | 1982 | 1983 | 55 | 1952 | 1953 | |
| 26 | 1981 | 1982 | 56 | 1951 | 1952 | |
| 27 | 1980 | 1981 | 57 | 1950 | 1951 | |
| 28 | 1979 | 1980 | 58 | 1949 | 1950 | |
| 29 | 1978 | 1979 | 59 | 1948 | 1949 | |

CONVERTING YEAR OF BIRTH ACCORDING TO RUMI CALENDAR INTO GREGORIAN CALENDAR YEARS:

RUMI YEAR + 584 = GREGORIAN YEAR

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE OF POPULATION STUDIES TURKEY WOMAN AND HEALTH SURVEY 2008 WOMEN'S QUESTIONNAIRE

| IDENTIFICATION | | | | | |
|---|-------------|--|-----------|--------------|--------------------|
| CLUSTER NO | | DISTRICT SUB-DISTRI VILLAGE _ QUARTER_ | CT | | |
| | | | LINE NUMB | EER OF WOMAN | |
| INTERVIEWER VISITS | | | | | |
| | 1 | | 2 | 3 | FINAL VISIT |
| DATE (DAY-MONTH) INTERVIEWER'S NAME-SURNAME RESULT (*) | | | | | |
| DAY- MONTH NEXT VISIT HOUR | | | _ | | TOTAL NO OF VISITS |
| | | (4) PECT | T COPPS | | |
| 101 COMPLETED 06 WOMAN IS NOT ELIGIBLE FOR INTERVIEW 102 WOMAN IS NOT AT HOME DURING VISITS 09 PARTLY COMPLETED 103 WOMAN IS NOT AT HOME DURING SURVEY DATE 04 POSTPONED 05 REFUSED (SPECIFY) | | | | | |
| SUPERVISOR | FIELD EDITO | OR | К | EYER-1 | KEYER - 2 |
| DATE | DATE | | DATE | | DATE |

As I mentioned before, you have randomly selected for our study on women and family life. I want to denote that all your answers will be kept absolutely secret and neither your name nor address information will be shared with other persons or institutions. Your participation to this study and sharing your experiences with us will be very useful for other women in Turkey and will contribute to improvement of services for women and family.

Our interview will take approximately 30 minutes. Do you accept to participate in this study?

| SHE ACCEPTED THE INTERVIEW1 | SHE REJECTED THE INTERVIEW2 |
|--|--|
| ASK THE SELECTED WOMAN WHETHER SHE HAS QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY. MAKE NECESSARY EXPLANATIONS. GO TO A PLACE THAT YOU CAN BE ALONE WITH THE WOMAN AND BEGIN THE INTERVIEW. | THANK THE SELECTED WOMAN FOR HER TIME AND END THE INTERVIEW. |

| THIS PART WILL BE FILLED BY THE INTERVIEWER |
|---|
| I CERTIFY THAT I INFORMED THE SELECTED WOMAN FOR THE INTERVIEW ABOUT THE STUDY AND RECEIVED HER CONSENT |
| SIGNATURE: |

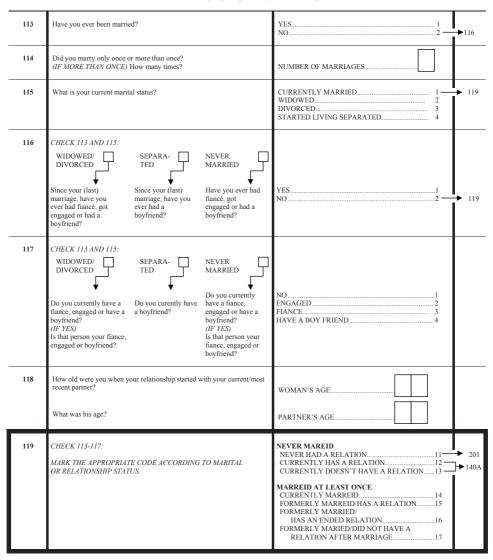
SECTION 1A. RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND

| 100S | RECORD THE TIME | HOUR-MINUTE | |
|------|---|--|---------------|
| 101 | First I would like to ask some questions about your age and educational status. In what year and month were you born? | MONTH | |
| 102 | How old are you exactly? What age have you completed? CHECK ANSWERS TO 101 AND 102 USING AGE-YEAR OF BIRTH TABLE. IF INCONSISTENT, PROBE AND CORRECT. AGE MUST BE DETERMINED! | AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS | |
| 102A | For most of the time until you were 12 years old, where did you live? (NAME OF RESIDENCE) Was this place then a province centre, a district centre, a subdistrict or a village? Or was it abroad? | CURRENT RESIDENCE 0 PROVINCE CENTRE 1 DISTRICT CENTRE 2 SUB-DISTRICT-VILLAGE 3 ABROAD 4 | ▶103 |
| 102B | In which province is this place now? RECORD THE NAME AND CODE OF THE PROVINCE | NAME OF PROVINCE PROVINCE CODE | |
| 103 | Are you literate? | YES | |
| 104 | Have you ever attended school? | YES | ▶ 105D |
| 105A | What is the highest level you attended? | PRIMARY SCHOOL 11 SECONDARY SCHOOL 12 PRIMARY EDUCATION 13 HIGH SCHOOL 14 UNIVERSITY 15 MASTER'S/PH.D 16 | |
| 105B | What is the highest level you have completed at that level? RECORD "00" IF THE RESPONDENT COMPLETED PREPARATORY CLASS OR SHE DID NOT COMPLETE ANY GRADE, AND "66" FOR MASTER S/Ph. D. | GRADE | |
| 105C | Did you graduate (receive diploma) from this school? | YES | |
| 105D | Aside from your own housework, did you work in a job whether paid or unpaid in last one week? | YES | → 105G |

| 105E | As you know some women sell small things, sell goods at the market place, work on the family farm or business, look after children, work as housemaids etc. Did you do any of these or any other work of similar nature in the last week? | YES111 | → 105G |
|------|---|--|--------|
| 105F | Do you have a job that you normally work at? | YES | → 105M |
| 105G | What is your occupation? What kind of job do you have? (RECORD THE JOB IN DETAIL AND CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE SECTOR IN THE NEXT COLUMN) | AGRICULTURE | |
| 105H | Do you work for public or private sector? | PUBLIC | |
| 105J | What is your status/position in your job? | Color Colo | |
| 105K | Do you pay social security when doing this job? (IF YES) According to which schedule? | NO | |
| 105L | 1057 | N'YE GEÇİN. | |
| 105M | You have told that you are not currently working. What is your main reason for not working? | JUST ABOUT TO START WORKING | |
| | | OTHER 96 (SPECIFY) | |

| 105N | Are you covered by any health insurance? | NO | | |
|------|--|--|-----------|--------------|
| | (IF YES) According to which schedule? | SSK EMEKLİ SANDIĞI | | |
| | (ii 125) Necotaing to which schedule. | BAĞ-KUR | 3 | |
| | | PRIVATE HEALTH INSURANCEYEŞİL KART | | |
| | | OTHER(SPECIFY) | 7 | |
| 106 | Do you own any of the following, either by yourself or with someone else? | SADECE BAŞKAL. KENDÎNE AÎT ÎLE ORT. | ARI HAYIR | |
| | a) Land, field? | LAND1 2 | 3 | |
| | b) House? | HOUSE1 2 | 3 | |
| | c) A company or business? | COMPANY/BUSINESS1 2 | 3 | |
| | d) Motor vehicles (car, tractor etc.)? | MOTOR CAR 1 2 | 3 | |
| | e) Savings in the bank? | SAVINGS IN BANK | 3 | |
| | c) Savings in the bank: | | , | |
| | f) Other property? | OTHERl 2 | 3 | |
| | FOR EACH,PROBE: Do you own this (these) on your own, or do you own it with others? | (SPECIFY) | | |
| 107 | Do you earn money or have any income by yourself? | YES | 1 | |
| 107 | bo you can money or have any meonic by yoursen: | NO | | • |
| | | DEFENSED AND ANSWER | | → 110 |
| | | REFUSED/NO ANSWER | 9 — | Ī |
| 108 | Are you able to spend the money you earn how you want | SELF/OWN CHOICE | 1 | |
| 100 | yourself, or do you have to give all or part of the money to | GIVES PART | | |
| | others (your husband or family)? | GIVES ALLREFUSED/NO ANSWER | | |
| | | REFUSED/NO ANSWER | | |
| 109 | Is the money that you bring into the family, more than what | ONLY SHE EARNS IN THE HOUSEHOLD | 0 | |
| | other family members contribute, less than what others | MORE | | |
| | contribute, or about the same as others contribute? | ABOUT THE SAME | | |
| | | DON'T KNOW | | |
| | | REFUSED/NO ANSWER | 9 | |
| 110 | In case of emergency, do you think that you alone could raise | YES | 1 | |
| | enough money to house and feed your family for 4 weeks? | NO | 2 | |
| | | DON'T KNOW | | |
| | | REFUSED/NO ANSWER | 9 | |
| 111 | Do any of your family members live close enough | YES | 1 | |
| | that you can easily see/visit them? | NO | 2 | |
| | | LIVES WITH THE FAMILY NOBODY'S ALIVE FROM HER FAMILY | 3 4 | 1 113 |
| | | REFUSED/NO ANSWER | | |
| | | | | |
| 112 | When you need help or have a problem, can you usually count on any members of your family for support? | YESNO. | | |
| | Louist on any incliners of your failing for support! | INO | | |
| | , | DON'T KNOW | 8 | |

SECTION 1B. MARRIAGE



| CHECK 11 | t to ask some questions about y 4: IF MARRIED ONLY ONCE, ED MORE THAN ONCE, USE USBANDS. | , USE FIRST ROW. | THE FIRST HUSBAND, AI | ND USE THE FOLLOWING | ROWS FOR THE |
|--|---|---|--|--|--|
| 121 RECORD BY BEGINNING WITH THE FIRST HUSBAND (FIRST HUSBAND, SECOND HUSBAND, ETC.) | 122 In which month and year did you start living with? | 123 How old was when you started living together? | 124 Did you have a civil marriage ceremony with? Did you have a religious ceremony? | 125 How was your marriage with arranged? Did you decide on it together or was it arranged by your families? | 126 Did you family take your consent when your marriage with was arranged? |
| 01 | Y | | CIVIL 1 RELIGIOUS 2 BOTH 3 NONE 4 | FAMILY | YES1 NO2 |
| 02 | M | | CIVIL | FAMILY | YES |
| 03 | Y | | CIVIL 1 RELIGIOUS 2 BOTH 3 NONE 4 | FAMILY | YES1 NO2 |
| 04 | M | | CIVIL | FAMILY | YES1 NO2 |

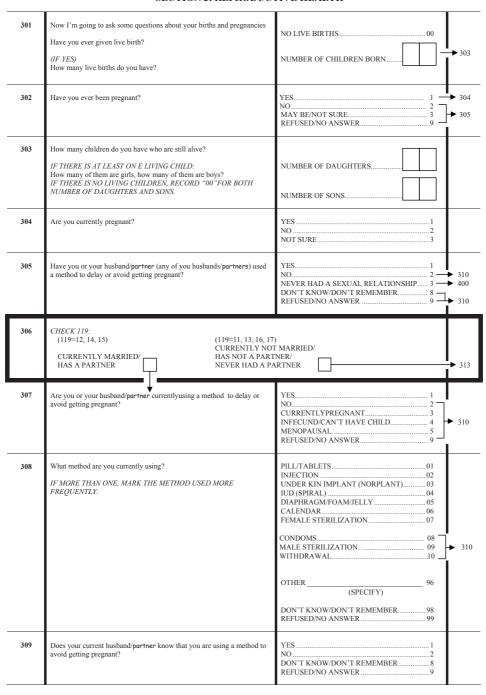
| 127 Did or his family pays brides money? | the brides money has had a positive impact on how you are treated by your husband and his family, a negative impact, or no particular impact? | first started to live with | 130 Are (were) you related to? (IF YES) What is (was) his relationship to you? | 131 IS THIS MARRIAGE CONTINUING? |
|--|---|----------------------------|--|--|
| YES | POSIIVE | YES | NO 0 AMCA OĞLU | YES |
| YES | POSIIVE 1 NEGATIVE 2 NO EFFECT 3 OTHER 7 (SPECIFY) | YES1 NO2 | NO | YES |
| YES | POSIIVE 1 NEGATIVE 2 NO EFFECT 3 OTHER 7 (SPECIFY) | YES1 NO2 | NO | YES |
| YES | POSIIVE 1 NEGATIVE 2 NO EFFECT 3 OTHER 7 (SPECIFY) | YES1 NO2 | NO | YES |

| BE TH HU SE | ECORD BY GGINNING WITH HE FIRST USBAND (FIRST USBAND, COND USBAND, ETC.) | 133 In which month and year did your marriage with end? | end? Did divorced | with you get , did I you start | divorce/separation initiated by you, by your husband, or did you both decide that you should separate? | 136 DOES SHE HAVE ANOTHER MARRIAGE? |
|----------------------|--|---|---|---|--|---|
| 01 | | Y | WIDOWED 136 - DIVORCED SEPARATED | ← | HERSELF | YES |
| 02 | | Y | WIDOWED 136 - DIVORCED SEPARATED | ← | HERSELF | YES |
| 03 | | Y | WIDOWED 136 • DIVORCED SEPARATED | 2 | HERSELF | YES |
| 04 | | MY | WIDOWED 136 - DIVORCED SEPARATED | 2 | HERSELF | YES |
| 137 | Has your husband | or any of your husbands ever had | d a second wife? | | NO ANSWER | 139 139 |
| 138 | Does your husban | d currently have a second wife? | | NO | /NO ANSWER | 2 |
| 139 | Have you ever bed | en a second wife? | | YES NO REFUSED | /NO ANSWER | 2 2 9 → 201 |
| 140 | Are you currently | a second wife? | | NO | NO ANSWER | 2 |

SECTION 2. GENERAL HEALTH

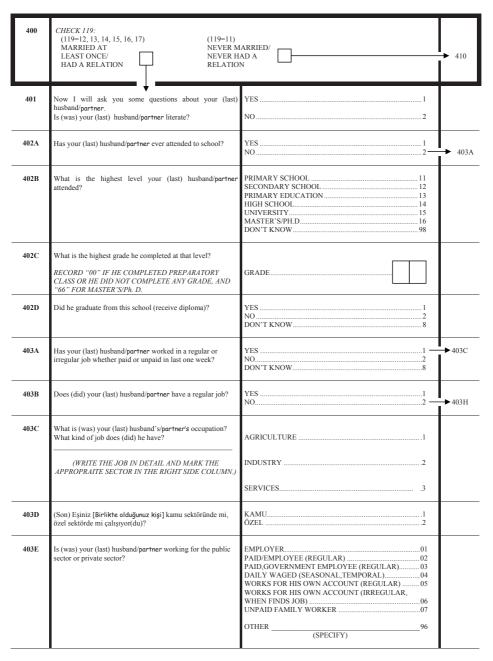
| 201 | In general, how would you describe your health; would you describe as | EXCELLENT1 | |
|-----|---|------------------------------|------|
| 201 | excellent, good, fair, poor or very poor? | GOOD 2 | |
| | executinit, good, talli, pool of very pool: | FAIR | |
| | | POOR 4 | |
| | | VERY POOR | |
| | | | |
| | | DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER8 | |
| | | REFUSED/NO ANSWER9 | |
| 202 | In the past 4 weeks have you been in pain or discomfort? | NO PAIN OR DISCOMFORT1 | |
| 202 | in the past 4 weeks have you been in pain of disconnort: | SLIGHT PAIN OR DISCOMFORT | |
| | IF YES: Would you say not at all, slight pain or discomfort, moderate, | MODERATE PAIN OR DISCOMFORT3 | |
| | severe or were you in extreme pain or discomfort? | SEVERE PAIN OR DISCOMFORT4 | |
| | severe of were you in extreme pain of disconnoit: | EXTREME PAIN OR DISCOMFORT5 | |
| | | | |
| | | DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER8 | |
| | | REFUSED/NO ANSWER9 | |
| 203 | I want to ask questions about some other problems that you could have | | |
| | experienced in the past 4 weeks. | YES NO | - 1 |
| | In the past 4 weeks; | | |
| | a) Did you have headaches frequently? | HEADACHES1 2 | 1 |
| | | | 1 |
| | b) Was your appetite poor? | APPETITE1 2 | |
| | c) Did you have problems in sleeping? | SLEEPING PROBLEMS 2 | |
| | d) Have you ever frightened easily? | FRIGHTENED1 2 | |
| | In the past 4 weeks: | | |
| | e) Did your hands shake? | HAND SHAKE 1 2 | |
| | f) Did you feel nervous, tense or worried? | NERVOUS | |
| | | | |
| | g) Was your digestion poor? | DIGESTION 1 2 | |
| | h) Did you have trouble thinking clearly? | THINKING1 2 | |
| | In the past 4 weeks: | | |
| | i) Did you feel unhappy? | UNHAPPY 1 2 | |
| | j) Did you cry for small things? | CRYING1 2 | |
| | | NOT ENJOY 1 2 | |
| | k) Were you having troubles about enjoying your daily activities? | | |
| | Did you find it difficult to make decisions? | DECISIONS 2 | |
| | In the past 4 weeks: | | |
| | m) Did you have troubles in doing your daily activities? | DAILY ACTIVITIES 2 | |
| | n) Have you ever thought that you're not playing a useful part in life? | USEFUL PART 2 | 1 |
| | o) Did you loose your interest in things that you used to enjoy? | LOST INTEREST 2 | 1 |
| | p) Did you feel that you're a worthless person. | WORTHLESS 2 | |
| | In the past 4 weeks; | | |
| | q) Has the thought of ending your life been on your mind? | ENDING LIFE 2 | |
| | r) Did you feel tired all the time? | FEEL TIRED | 1 |
| | s) Did you have uncomfortable feelings in your stomach? | STOMACH 1 2 | 1 |
| | t) Have you got tired easily? | EASILY TIRED 2 | |
| ••• | | Luna . | |
| 204 | Have you ever thought about ending your life until now? | YES | → 30 |
| | | NO2 - REFUSED/NO ANSWER 9 | 30 |
| | | KLI OSED/NO ANSWER | |
| 205 | Have you ever tried to take your life until now? | YES1 | |
| | | | |
| | | NO2 | |

SECTION 3. REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH



| 310 | Did/Has your current husband/partner ever wanted you to stop using a method? | YES |
|-----|---|--|
| 311 | What is the reason of the disapproval of your husband/partner for using methods to avoid getting pregnant? Else? MARK ALL MENTIONED. | DID NOT APPROVE THE METHOD |
| 312 | In what ways did your husband/partner let you know that he disapproved of using methods to avoid getting pregnant? Else? MARK ALL MENTIONED | TOLD ME HE DID NOT APPROVE A SHOUTED/GOT ANGRY B THREATENED TO BEAT ME C THREATENED TO LEAVE HOME D THREATENED TO THROW ME OUT OF HOME E BEAT ME F TOOK /DESTROYED METHOD G ACCUSED ME OF BEING UNFAITHFUL H OTHER X (SPECIFY) |
| 313 | CHECK 301 AND 303: AT LEAST ONE LIVING CHILD NO CHILDR ALIVE | |
| 314 | Do you have any children aged between 6 and 14 years? IF YES: How many? INCLUDE 6-YEAR-OLD AND 14-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN | NUMBER OF CHILDREN NO CHILDREN AGED BETWEEN 6 AND 1400 400 |
| 315 | | |
| 515 | How many of these children (ages 6-14 years) currently live with you? | NUMBER OF CHILDREN LIVING TOGETHER |

SECTION 4. HUSBAND/PARTNER



| 403F | Does (did) he pay social security while doing this job? | HAYIR |
|------|--|---|
| | IF YES: According to which schedule? | EMEKLİ SANDIĞI |
| | | BAĞ-KUR 3 |
| | | PRIVATE HEALTH INSURANCE4 |
| | | OTHER 7 |
| | | (SPECIFY) |
| 403G | SVID | TO 405. |
| 403G | SKIF | 10 403. |
| 403H | What is (was) the reason for your (last) husband/partner not | LOOKING FOR A JOB/UNEMPLOYED00 |
| | working? | JUST ABOUT TO START WORKING01 |
| | | STUDENT |
| | | INCOME RECIPIENT |
| | | FAMILY WORKER06 |
| | | DISABLED/SICK |
| | | CARING FOR ELDERLY08 CARING FOR CHILDREN 09 |
| | | ABOUT TO SERVE/SERVING IN THE MILITARY10 |
| | | JUST GRADUATED11 |
| | | JUST MIGRATED/LEFT 12 |
| | | DOES NOT NEED TO WORK13 |
| | | OTHER96 |
| | | (SPECIFY) |
| | | DON'T KNOW98 |
| 404 | For how long is your husband/partner unemployed? | |
| 404 | To now long is your nusband/put their uncomployed: | DAY1 |
| | FOR THE MOST RECENT HUSBAND/PARTNER: When | |
| | your relationship was over, for how long was he | MONTH2 |
| | unemployed? | MONTH |
| | IF IT IS LESS THAN ONE MONTH, RECORD IN DAYS. | |
| | IF IT IS LESS THAN ONE YEAR, RECORD IN MONTHS. | YEAR |
| | | NEVER HAD A JOB400 |
| | | DON'T KNOW998 |
| | | |
| 405 | Description (lead) hostered (section description) | DOESN'T DRINK ALCOHOL |
| 405 | Does (was) your (last) husband/partner drink(ing) alcohol? | DOESN'T DRINK ALCOHOL |
| | IF YES: | ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK |
| | Does (was) he drink(ing) everyday, nearly every day, once | 1-3 TIMES IN A MONTH |
| | or twice a week, a few times in a month or less than once a month? | AYDA BİRDEN AZ4 |
| | month: | AT DA DICOLA AZ |
| | | DON'T KNOW/DON'TREMEMBER 8 |
| | | REFUSED/NO ANSWER9 |
| | | |
| 406 | In the past 12 months (last 12 month of your relationship) | NEVER |
| | have you ever seen your (last) husband/partner drunk? | MANY DAYS |
| | IF YES: Is (was) he drunk most days, weekly, once in a | ONCE IN A WEEK |
| | month or less than once a month? | LESS THAN ONCE IN A MONTH4 |
| | | |
| | | DON'T KNOW/DON'TREMEMBER 8 |
| | | REFUSED/NO ANSWER9 |

| 407 | Does (was) your (last) husband/partner gable(ing) as muc as it affect(ed) family income? IF YES: Does (was) he drink(ing) everyday, nearly every day, once or twice a week, a few times in a month or less than once a month? | DOESN'T GAMBI EVERY DAY OR I ONCE OR TWICE 1-3 TIMES IN A M AYDA BİRDEN A DON'T KNOW/DO | LE | Y1 2 3 4 |
|-----|---|--|--|------------------------|
| 408 | Does (was) your (last) husband/partner use(ing) drugs? IF YES: Does (was) he drink(ing) everyday, nearly every day, once or twice a week, a few times in a month or less than once a month? | EVERY DAY OR I ONCE OR TWICE 1-3 TIMES IN A M AYDA BİRDEN A DON'T KNOW/DO | RUGS NEARLY EVERY DA' A WEEK IONTH Z. DN'TREMEMBER SWER. | Y1 2 3 4 8 |
| 409 | Has your (last) husband/partner had a relationship with any other women while being with you? | NO MAY HAVE DON'T KNOW/DO | DN'TREMEMBER SWER | 2 3 8 |
| 410 | Now, I am going to read you some sentences. I want to lear whether you agree or disagree with these statements in general. | 1 | | |
| | | AGREE | DISAGREE | NO IDEA |
| | A good wife should not argue with her husband and keep silent if she disagrees with him. | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| | b) A woman should spend her own money according to her own will. | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| | c) In some cases men can beat their wives. | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| | d) Men should also do housework like cooking, dishwashing, cloth washing, ironing. | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| | Sometimes, it maybe necessary to beat children to discipline them. | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| | f) Male family members are responsible of the attitudes and behaviours of a woman. | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| | g) It's a wife's obligation to have sex with her husband even if she doesn't feel like it | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| | I | | | |

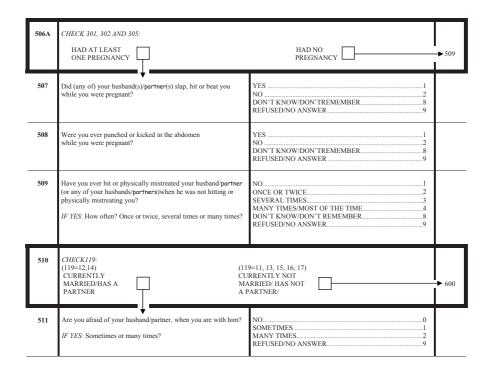
SECTION 5. RESPONDENT AND HER HUSBAND/PARTNER

| 500S | RECORD THE TIME | HOUR-MINUTE | | | |
|------|---|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| 500 | CHECK 119: (119=12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17) MARRIED AT LEAST ONCE/ HAD A RELATION | (119=11) NEVER MA NEVER HAI RELATION | | | ➤801A |
| | Now, I would like to talk about the behaviours of your hu many women face with, as well as you might have experience | | you. These behaviours | are about the ones that | |
| 501 | Now, I want to learn whether the following situations are true for your (last) husband/partner: | YES | NO | DK | |
| | Does (did) he try to keep you from seeing your friends | 1 | 2 | 8 | |
| | b) Does (did) he try to restrict/prevent contact with your family of birth | 1 | 2 | 8 | |
| | c) Does (did) he insist on knowing where you are at all times | 1 | 2 | 8 | |
| | d) Does (did) he ignore you and treats you disinterested? | 1 | 2 | 8 | |
| | e) Does (did) he get angry if you speak with another man? | 1 | 2 | 8 | |
| | f) Is (was) he often suspicious that you are unfaithful? | 1 | 2 | 8 | |
| | g) Does (did) he expect you to ask his permission before seeking care for yourself? | 1 | 2 | 8 | |
| | h) Does (did) he intervene the clothes that you wear you to and he wants wear clothes in the way that he likes? | 1 | 2 | 8 | |

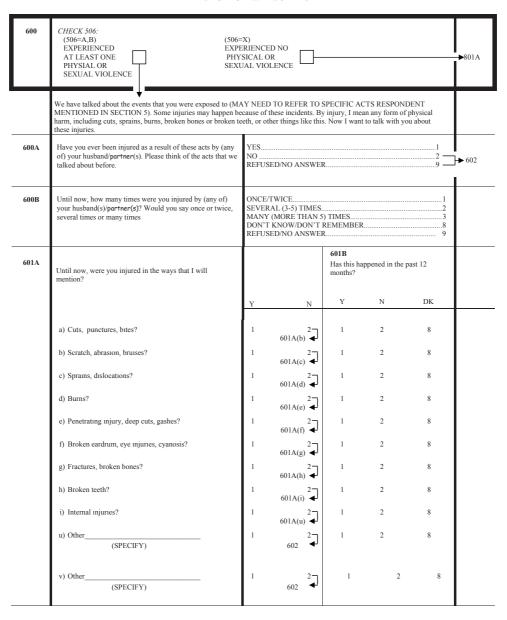
| | | | | | | | 502B Did y exper this v your husbs partr | ou rience vith last and/ | | nis happened past 12 ns? | would this ha | past 12 i I you say as happer a few tin times? | that ned | 12 mo | is happ nths? S: did the n once, times? | his | |
|------|----|--|---|--------------|---------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|------------------|--|-------------|---------|---|---------|-------------|
| 502A | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | M A |
| | | s your current husband/partner, or any ner husbands/partners ever: | Y | N | N | Α | Y | N | Y | N | ONE | FEW | MAN Y | NO | ONE | FE W | N Y |
| | a) | Prevented you to work or make you to leave the job even though you wanted to work? | 1 | 2 502A(b) | | 8 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 502E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | b) | Does your husband/partner ever refuse to give you money for household expenses, even when he has money for other things? | 1 | 2 502A(c) | | 8 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 502E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | c) | Taken your earnings from you against your will (in the case you had your own earnings)? | 1 | 503A | | 8 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 502E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | | | | | | | Did y exper this v your husbs partr | ou rience vith last and/ | | nis happened past 12 ns? | would this ha | past 12 i I you say as happer a few tim times? | that ned | 12 mo | is happ onths? S: did to n once, times? | his | |
| 503A | | s your current husband/partner, or any ner husbands/partners ever: | | Y | N | | Y | N | Y | N | 0.00 | | | | | | M A N |
| | a) | Made you sad by insulting or cursing you? | | 1 | 2 03A(b) - | 7 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 503E | ONE 1 | FEW 2 | MANY 3 | NO 0 | 1 | FEW 2 | Y 3 |
| | b) | Belittled or humiliated you in front of other people? | | 1 5 | 2 03A(c) | J | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 503E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | c) | Done things to scare or intimidate you on purpose (e.g. by the way he looked at you, by yelling and smashing things)? | | 1 50 | 2 03A(d) | 7 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 503E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | d) | Threatened to hurt you or someone you care about? | | 1 | 2 504A | J | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 503E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |

| | | | | 504E Did y expe this v your husb parti | you rience with last and/ | | his happened past 12 hs? | month say th happe | past 12 ns would at this ha ened once mes or n | as e, a | month IF YE | S: did tl a few or | nis happ | pen |
|------|---|-------|----------------|--|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--|------------|--------------|-----------------------|----------|----------|
| 504A | Has your current husband/partner, or any other husbands/partners ever: | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | ONE | FEW | MAN Y | NO | ONE | FEW | MAN Y |
| | Slapped you or thrown something a that could hurt you? | ou 1 | 2 504A(b) | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 504E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | b) Pushed you or shoved you or pulled your hair? | 1 | 2 504A(c) ◀ | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 504E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | c) Hit you with his punch or with something else that could hurt you? | 1 | 2 504A(d) | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 504E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | d) Kicked you, dragged you or beaten up? | ou 1 | 2 504A(e) | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 504E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | e) Choked or burnt any part of your bo | y? 1 | 2 504A(f) | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 504E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | Threaten you with a weapon like a long gun or actually used them against you? | ife 1 | 505A T | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 504E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | | | | 505E Did y expe this y your husb parts | you rience with last and/ | | his happened past 12 hs? | month say th happe | past 12 ns would at this ha ened once mes or n | as e, a | month | S: did tl a few or | nis happ | pen |
| 505A | Has your current husband/partner, or any other husbands/partners ever: | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | ONE | FEW | MAN Y | NO | ONE | FEW | MAN Y |
| | physically force you to have sexual intercourse even you d not want to? | 1 | 2 505A(b) | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 505E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | had sexual intercourse with you at time that you did not want to because you were afraid of whyour partner or any other part might do during sex? | ıt | 505A(c) 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 505E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | c) forced you to do something so | ual 1 | 506 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 → 505E | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |

| 506 | CHECK 504A AND 505A: | AT LEAST ONE "YES" IN 504A: WOMAN EXPERIENCED PHYSICAL VIOLENCE | |
|-----|----------------------|--|--|
| | | AT LEAST ONE "YES" IN 505A: WOMAN EXPERIENCED SEXUAL VIOLENCE | |
| | | NO "YES" IN 504A AND 505A: WOMAN DID NOT EXPERIENCED ANY PHYSICAL OR SEXUAL VIOLENCEX | |

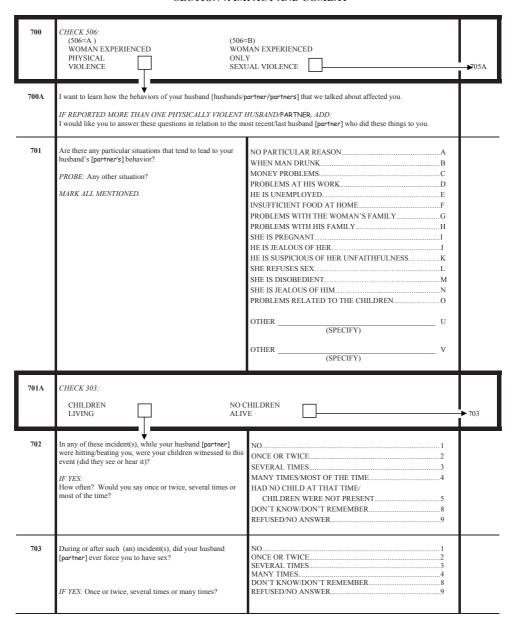


SECTION 6. INJURIES



| 602 | Until now, did you ever lose consciousness because of what (any of your) your husband/partner(s) did to you? | YES NO DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER. REFUSED/NO ANSWER | 2 |
|------|---|--|--------------|
| 603 | Has this happened in the past 12 months? | YES NO DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER. REFUSED/NO ANSWER | 2 |
| 604 | CHECK 601A: AT LEAST ONE "YES"ANSWER | NO "YES" ANSWER | → 700 |
| 605A | Until now, were you ever hurt badly enough by (any of) your husband(s)/partner(s) that you needed health care (even if you did not receive it)? IF YES: How many times? | TIMES NEEDED HEALTH CARE | 94 700 |
| 605B | did you ever receive health care because of these injuries? IF YES: Did you receive health care for all of them, for some of them or you never received health care because of these injuries? | YES, FOR SOMEOF THEM YES, FOR ALL OF THEM NO, FOR NONE OF THEM DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER REFUSED/NO ANSWER | 238 700 |
| 605C | Has this happened in the past 12 months? | YES NO DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER REFUSED/NO ANSWER | 2 |
| 606 | Did you tell a health worker the real cause of your injury? | YES | 2 |

SECTION 7. IMPACT AND COMBAT



| 704 | During the times that your husband [partner] behaved | NO | 0 — | I → 705A |
|------|--|-------------------------------------|-----|--------------------|
| | harmfully towards you, did you ever fight back physically to | ONCE OR TWICE | | ľ |
| | defend yourself? | SEVERAL TIMES | 2 | |
| | IF YES: Once or twice, several times or many times? | MANY TIMES | 3 | |
| | 11 125. Once of twice, several times of many times: | DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER | | |
| | | REFUSED/NO ANSWER | | |
| | | KEI OSED/NO ANSWER | | |
| 705 | In general, what was the effect of you fighting back on the | NO CHANGE/NO EFFECT | 0 | |
| | violence at the time? Would you say, that it had no effect, the | VIOLENCE BECAME WORSE | 1 | |
| | violence became worse, the violence became less, or that the | VIOLENCE BECAME LESS | 2 | |
| | violence stopped, at least for the moment? | VIOLENCE STOPPED | 3 | |
| | | DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER | 8 | |
| | | REFUSED/NO ANSWER | 9 | |
| | | | | - |
| 705A | How has your husband's [partner's] behaviour towards you | NO EFFECTLITTLE EFFECT | | |
| | affected your mental health? Would you say, that it has had no effect, a little effect or a large effect? | | | |
| | no enect, a nuic enect of a large enect: | A LOT EFFECT | | |
| | | DON'T KNOW/DON'T REMEMBER | | |
| | | REFUSED/NO ANSWER | 8 | |
| | | | | |
| 706 | Have you told anyone about your husband's [partner's] behavior? | NO ONE | | |
| | benavior? | FRIENDS. | B | |
| | IF YES: Who? | MOTHER. | | |
| | | FATHER | D | |
| | Anyone else? | SISTERS | Е | |
| | | BROTHERS | F | |
| | | FEMALE RELATIVES | G | |
| | | MOTHER-IN-LAW. | | |
| | MARK ALL MENTIONED. | WOMEN FROM HUSBAND/PARTNER'S FAMILY | | |
| | | CHILDREN | | |
| | | NEIGHBOURS | | |
| | | OTHER | U | |
| | | (SPECIFY) | | |
| | | OTHER | V | |
| | | (SPECIFY) | | |
| 707 | Did | | | |
| /0/ | Did anyone who knew/witnessed these incidents ever try to help you? | NO ONE | | l |
| | | | | |
| | IF YES: Who? | MOTHER | | |
| | Amuono aloo? | FATHER | | l |
| | Anyone else? | SISTERS. | | |
| | | BROTHERS | | |
| | | FEMALE RELATIVES | | l |
| | LA CREATE AND A CONTROL OF THE CONTR | MOTHER-IN-LAW | | |
| | MARK ALL MENTIONED. | WOMEN FROM HUSBAND/PARTNER'S FAMILY | I | l |
| | | CHILDREN | J | |
| | | NEIGHBOURS | K | |
| | 1 | OTHER | U | |
| | | | | |
| | | (SPECIFY) | | |
| | | (SPECIFY) OTHER | v | |
| | | (SPECIFY) | | |

| | As a result of these incident(s) you experienced, did you ever go to any of the following organizations/people for help? | | | 708B ASK ONLY FOR S MARKED YES IN Were you satisfied services given? | 708A. |
|------|--|---|--|--|---|
| | | YES | NO | YES | NO |
| | a) Police | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| | b) Gendarmerie | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| | c) Hospital or health institution | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| | d) Public prosecutor | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| | e) Lawyer | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| | f) Women's organization | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| | g) Municipality | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| | h) Social Work and Children Protection Institution | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| | i) Society center | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| | j) Other | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| | k) Other(SPECIFY) | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| 708C | APPLICATION A | NO APPLICATION |] | | |
| 708C | AT LEAST ONE APPLICATION What were the reason(s) that made you go to these organizations/people for help? | ENCOURAGED B COULD NOT ENI BADLY INJURED | OURE MORE | \MILY | ABC |
| | AT LEAST ONE APPLICATION What were the reason(s) that made you go to these | ENCOURAGED B COULD NOT ENI BADLY INJURED | OURE MORE | | ABC |
| | AT LEAST ONE APPLICATION What were the reason(s) that made you go to these organizations/people for help? Anyone else? | ENCOURAGED B COULD NOT ENE BADLY INJURED HE THREATENEI HE THREATENEI COULD NOT STA | OURE MORE D/TRIED TO KE D/HIT CHILDR IND CHILDRE | | ABCD |
| | AT LEAST ONE APPLICATION What were the reason(s) that made you go to these organizations/people for help? | ENCOURAGED B COULD NOT ENI BADLY INJURED HE THREATENEI COULD NOT STA COCUKLAR EVD AFRAID SHE WO AFRAID HE WOL | OURE MORE O/TRIED TO KI O/HIT CHILDR ND CHILDREI EN AYRILMA ULD KILL HIN ILD KILL HER | ILL HER | A B C C D D E F G H H I I |
| | AT LEAST ONE APPLICATION What were the reason(s) that made you go to these organizations/people for help? Anyone else? | ENCOURAGED B COULD NOT ENI BADLY INJURED HE THREATENEI HE THREATENEI COULD NOT STA COCUKLAR EVD AFRAID SHE WO AFRAID HE WOL AFRAID HIS FAM | DURE MORE D/TRIED TO K. D/HIT CHILDR ND CHILDREI EN AYRILMA ULD KILL HIM ILD KILL HER IILY WOULD I | ILL HER | A B C C D D E F F G H I J |
| | AT LEAST ONE APPLICATION What were the reason(s) that made you go to these organizations/people for help? Anyone else? | ENCOURAGED B COULD NOT ENI BADLY INJURED HE THREATENEI HE THREATENEI COULD NOT STA ÇOCUKLAR EVD AFRAID SHE WO AFRAID HE WO AFRAID HER FAI WANTED HIM TO | DURE MORE D/TRIED TO KI D/HIT CHILDR ND CHILDREI EN AYRILMA ULD KILL HIN ILD KILL HER HILY WOULD I MILY WOULD D BE TALKED | EN | A B C C D D D D D D D D D D D D D D D D D |
| | AT LEAST ONE APPLICATION What were the reason(s) that made you go to these organizations/people for help? Anyone else? | ENCOURAGED B COULD NOT ENI BADLY INJURED HE THREATENEI HE THREATENEI COULD NOT STA ÇOCUKLAR EVD AFRAID SHE WO AFRAID HE WOU AFRAID HE FAI WANTED HIM TO TO GET MEDICA TO RECEIVE LEC | DURE MORE D/TRIED TO KI D/HIT CHILDR ND CHILDREI ND CHILDREI ND KILL HIM ILD KILL HER IILY WOULD I MILY WOULD D D BE TALKED L REPORT GAL SUPPORT. | EN | ABCDEFGHJKKMN |
| | AT LEAST ONE APPLICATION What were the reason(s) that made you go to these organizations/people for help? Anyone else? | ENCOURAGED B COULD NOT ENI BADLY INJURED HE THREATENEI HE THREATENEI COULD NOT STA ÇOCUKLAR EVD AFRAID HE WOL AFRAID HES FAN AFRAID HER FAN WANTED HIM TO TO GET MEDICA TO RECEIVE LEG TO RECEIVE PSY | DURE MORE D/TRIED TO KI D/HIT CHILDR ND CHILDREI EN AYRILMA ULD KILL HIM JILD KILL HER IILY WOULD I MILY WOULD I D BE TALKED L REPORT JAL SUPPORT. | EN | A B B C C D D D D D D D D D D D D D D D D |
| | AT LEAST ONE APPLICATION What were the reason(s) that made you go to these organizations/people for help? Anyone else? | ENCOURAGED B COULD NOT ENI BADLY INJURED HE THREATENEI HE THREATENEI HE THREATENEI COULD NOT STA COCUKLAR EVD AFRAID SHE WO AFRAID HE WO AFRAID HER FAI WANTED HIM TO TO GET MEDICA TO RECEIVE PEY TO RECEIVE FIN DEMAND FOR SI | DURE MORE D/TRIED TO KI D/HIT CHILDRE IND CHILDREI EN AYRILMA ULD KILL HER HILY WOULD I MILY WOULD I D BE TALKED L REPORT GAL SUPPORT. (CHOLOGICAL SUPPORT. SUPPORT. | EN | A B C C D D D E E F F G G H H I J J S K M N N O O P P S S |
| | AT LEAST ONE APPLICATION What were the reason(s) that made you go to these organizations/people for help? Anyone else? | ENCOURAGED B COULD NOT ENI BADLY INJURED HE THREATENEI HE THREATENEI HE THREATENEI COULD NOT STA COCUKLAR EVD AFRAID SHE WO AFRAID HE WO AFRAID HER FAI WANTED HIM TO TO GET MEDICA TO RECEIVE PEY TO RECEIVE FIN DEMAND FOR SI | DURE MORE D/TRIED TO KI D/HIT CHILDRE IND CHILDREI EN AYRILMA ULD KILL HER HILY WOULD I MILY WOULD I D BE TALKED L REPORT GAL SUPPORT. (CHOLOGICAL SUPPORT. SUPPORT. | EN | A B C C D D D E E F F G G H H I J J S K M N N O O P P S S |

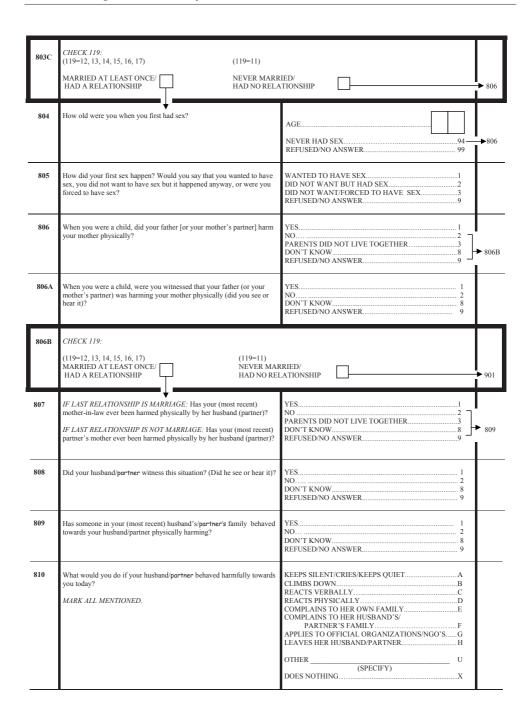
| | SKI | IP TO 711. | |
|-----|--|--|-----------------|
| 710 | You told that you did not demand any help for these incident(s) that you experienced. What were the reasons that you did not go to any of these? | DID NOT KNOW WHERE TO APPLY | |
| | Anything else? MARK ALL MENTIONED. | PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS EMBARRASSED/ASHAMED/AFRAID WOULD BE BLAMED D DID NOT BELIEVE THAT SHE WOULD RECEIVE HELP E AFRAID WOULD END RELATIONSHIP F FEAR OF THREATS/ MORE VIOLENCE G BLAMED HERSELF. H | |
| | | REASONS RELATED TO THE HUSBAND/PARTNER LOVED/FORGAVE HUSBAND/PARTNER I THOUGHT HUSBAND/PARTNER WOULD CHANGE J HE THREATENED TO COMMIT SUICIDE K HE THREATENED HER. L REASONS RELATED TO THE CHILDREN AFRAID HER CHILDREN WOULD BE UNHAPPY M AFRAID WOULD LOSE CHILDREN N HE THREATENED CHILDREN O REASONS RELATED TO FAMILY AND ENVIRONMENT AFRAID WOULD BRING BAD NAME TO FAMILY P HUSBAND'S/PARTNER'S FAMILY THREATENED R OTHER U (SPECIFY) | |
| 711 | Have you ever left your home/been obliged to leave your home because of your husband's [partner's] behaviors towards you even it was for one night? IF YES: How many times? | NUMBER OF TIMES LEFT | ➤ 716 ➤ 801A |
| 712 | What were the reasons why you left (the last time)? Anything else? MARK ALL MENTIONED. | ENCOURAGED BY FRIENDS/FAMILY | |

| | 1 | | | |
|-----|--|--|------------|------|
| 713 | Where did you go first (at the last time) you left home? | HER OWN FAMILY | 11 | |
| | , , , , , , , | HER OWN FELATIVES. | | |
| | | PARTNER'S FAMILY/RELATIVES. | | |
| | | HER FRIENDS | | |
| | | HER NEIGHBOURS | | |
| | | POLICE | | |
| | | WOMAN ORGANIZATION |)7 | |
| | | KADIN KURULUŞU | | |
| | | NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION | | |
| | | HOTEL/LODGINGS | | |
| | | STREET | 1 | |
| | | OTHER | v. | |
| | | OTHER S | 76 | |
| | | (SPECIF 1) | | |
| | | | ΠÌ | |
| 714 | How long did you stay away from home (the last time)? | DAY (LESS THAN ONE MONTH)1 | | |
| | | | = | |
| | RECORD ANSWER AS DAYS AND MONTHS. | MONTH | | |
| | IF LESS THAN ONE MONTH RECORD AS DAY. | MONTH2 | _ | |
| | | DID VOT DETVIDVATOR I HING WITH DADTINED | | |
| | | DID NOT RETURN/NOT LIVING WITH PARTNER | 300 | 801A |
| | | | | |
| 715 | What were the reason(s) that you returned? | PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS | | |
| | | EMBARRASSED/ASHAMED/AFRAID WOULD | A | |
| | | BE BLAMED | | |
| | Anything else? | AFRAID WOULD END RELATIONSHIP | | |
| | MARK ALL MENTIONED | FEAR OF THREATS/ MORE VIOLENCE | | |
| | MARK ALL MENTIONED. | BLAMED HERSELF | | |
| | | DIDN'T WANT TO BE A DIVORCED WOMAN | | |
| | | VIOLENCE NORMAL/NOT SERIOUS | .F | |
| | | REASONS RELATED TO THE HUSBAND/PARTNER | | |
| | | LOVED/FORGAVE HUSBAND/PARTNER | G | |
| | | THOUGHT HUSBAND/PARTNER WOULD CHANGE | | |
| | | HUSBAND/PARTNER ASKED HER TO GO BACK | | |
| | | HE THREATENED TO COMMIT SUICIDE | J | |
| | | HE THREATENED HER | K | |
| | | DELGOVO DEL LEDD DO TUD GUAL DELG | | |
| | | REASONS RELATED TO THE CHILDREN AFRAID HER CHILDREN WOULD BE UNHAPPY | | |
| | | AFRAID WOULD LOSE CHILDREN | | |
| | | CHILDREN WANTED (HER) TO GO BACK | | |
| | | HE THREATENED CHILDREN | | |
| | | | | |
| | | REASONS RELATED TO FAMILY AND ENVIRONMENT | Γ | |
| | | AFRAID WOULD BRING BAD NAME TO FAMILY | | |
| | | SANCTITY OF MARRIAGE | | |
| | | HER OWN FAMILY SAID TO RETURN | | |
| | | HUSBAND'S/PARTNER'S FAMILY SAID TO RETURN | | |
| | | HER OWN FAMILY THREATENED HUSBAND'S/PARTNER'S FAMILY THREATENED | | |
| | | COULDN'T SUPPORT HERSELF/HER CHILDREN | | |
| | | COULD NOT STAY THERE (WHERE SHE WENT) | . X | |
| | | | | |
| | | OTHER | Y | |
| | | (SPECIFY) | | |
| | | OTHER | _Z | |
| | | (SPECIFY) | | |
| | | | | |

| | SKI | P TO 801A. |
|-----|--|--|
| 716 | You told that you did not leave your home because of your | DID NOT KNOW WHERE TO APPLYA |
| 10 | husband's [partner's] behaviors towards you. What were the | NO INSTITUTION/ORGANIZATION TO |
| | nasound s [par mer s] centrions towards you. What were the | APPLYB |
| | reason(s) that you did not leave your home? | THERE WAS NO SERIOUS |
| | | PROBLEMC |
| | | FINANCIAL REASONS |
| | | REASONSD |
| | Anything else? | PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS |
| | 1 2 | EMBARRASSED/ASHAMED/AFRAID WOULD E |
| | | BE BLAMED |
| | MARK ALL MENTIONED. | DID NOT BELIEVE THAT SHE WOULD RECEIVE |
| | | HELP F AFRAID WOULD END RELATIONSHIP G |
| | | FEAR OF THREATS/ MORE VIOLENCE |
| | | BLAMED HERSELF. |
| | | |
| | | REASONS RELATED TO THE HUSBAND/PARTNER |
| | | LOVED/FORGAVE HUSBAND/PARTNERJ |
| | | THOUGHT HUSBAND/PARTNER WOULD CHANGEK HE THREATENED TO COMMIT SUICIDEL |
| | | HE THREATENED HER |
| | | THE THREATENED HERE |
| | | REASONS RELATED TO THE CHILDREN |
| | | AFRAID HER CHILDREN WOULD BE UNHAPPYN |
| | | AFRAID WOULD LOSE CHILDRENO |
| | | HE THREATENED CHILDRENP |
| | | REASONS RELATED TO FAMILY AND ENVIRONME |
| | | AFRAID WOULD BRING BAD NAME TO FAMILYR |
| | | HUSBAND'S/PARTNER'S FAMILY |
| | | THREATENED S |
| | | HER OWN FAMILY THREATENED T |
| | | IRREATENED |
| | | |
| | | OTHERU |
| | | (SPECIFY) |
| | | OTHER V |
| | | (SPECIFY) |
| | | (GLECIFI) |

| | SECTION | 8. OTHER | EXPERIENCES | | | |
|------|--|---------------|--|-------------------|---------------|--|
| 801A | In their lives, many women experience different forms of violence from relatives, other people that they know, and/or from strangers. I would like to remind you that all of your answers will be kept secret. | | 801 B How many times did this happen? Once or twice, a few times, or many times? | | | |
| | Since the age of 15 years, has anyone [other than your hus ever beaten or physically mistreated you in any way? IF YES: Who? CONTINUE IF YES OR NO: A relative? Someone from school or workplace? | band/partner] | ASK ONLY FOR THOSE | E MARKED IN 801A. | | |
| | A friend or neighbor? | | | | | |
| | A stranger? | | ONCE OR TWICE | A FEW TIMES | MANY TIMES | |
| | NOBODY | Α | ► 802A | | | |
| | FATHER. | | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | MOTHER | C | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | STEP FATHER | | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | STEP MOTHER | E | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | BROTHER | . F | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | ELDER BROTHER | G | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | MALE FAMILY MEMBER (UNCLE/COUSIN etc) | | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | FEMALE FAMILY MEMBER | I | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | MOTHER-IN-LAW | J | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | FATHER-IN-LAW | K | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | BROTHER-IN-LAW | L | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | BOYFRIEND | M | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | TEACHER | N | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | SOMEONE FROM WORKPLACE | O | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | STRANGER | P | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | OTHER (SPECIFY) | U | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| 802A | Since the age of 15 years, has anyone [other than your hus ever forced you to have sex or to perform a sexual act who want to? IF YES: Who? | | 802 B How many times did this Once or twice, a few time | | | |
| | CONTINUE IF YES OR NO: A relative? | | ASK ONLY FOR THOSE MARKED IN 802A. | | | |
| | Someone from school or workplace? A friend or neighbor? A stranger? | | ONCE OR TWICE | A FEW TIMES | MANY TIMES | |
| | NOBODY | A — | ► 803A | | | |
| | FATHER | В | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | MOTHER | C | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | STEP FATHER | D | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | STEP MOTHER | Е | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | BROTHER | . F | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | ELDER BROTHER | G | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | MALE FAMILY MEMBER (UNCLE/COUSIN etc) | H | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | FEMALE FAMILY MEMBER | | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | MOTHER-IN-LAW | | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | FATHER-IN-LAW | | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | BROTHER-IN-LAW | | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | BOYFRIEND. | | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | TEACHER | | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | SOMEONE FROM WORKPLACE | | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | STRANGER | P | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | | ** | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | OTHER (SPECIFY) | U | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | (SI ECH I) | | | | | |

| - | | | _ | | | | |
|------|--|-----|--|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 803A | Before the age of 15 years, do you remember if anyone in your fami or your relatives ever made you do something sexual that you didn't want to or touched you in an (sexually) embarrassing way? IF YES: Who? | | 803B ASK ONLY FOR THO | OSE MARKED IN 803A. | | | |
| | CONTINUE IF YES OR NO: Is there any other person that you want to mention? | | a) | b) | c) | | |
| | Ones from school? Friend or neighbor? A stranger? | | How old were you when it happened with for the | How old was? | How m | | s did this |
| | IF YES: Who? | | first time? AGE | AGE | ONC E TWI CE | FEW TIM ES | MANY TIMES |
| | NOBODY | Α | →803C | | | | |
| | FATHER | В | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | MOTHER | . С | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | STEP FATHER | D | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | STEP MOTHER | E | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | BROTHER | F | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | ELDER BROTHER | G | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | MALE FAMILY MEMBER (UNCLE/COUSIN ETC) | Н | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | FEMALE FAMILY MEMBER. | Ι | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | MOTHER-IN-LAW | J | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | FATHER-IN-LAW | K | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | BROTHER-IN-LAW | L | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | BOYFRIEND | M | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | TEACHER | N | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | SOMEONE FROM WORKPLACE | О | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | STRANGER. | P | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | OTHER(SPECIFY) | U | | | 1 | 2 | 3 |



SECTION 9. COMPLETION OF INTERVIEW

| 901 | I would now like to give you a card on which there are two pictures. The first picture is of a sad face, the second is of a happy face. I would like you to put a mark below the sad picture if someone has ever touched you sexually, or made you do something sexual that you didn't want to, before you were 15 years old. Please put a mark below the happy face if this has never happened to you. Once you have marked the card, please fold it over and put it in this envelope. This will ensure that I do not know your answer. MAKE SURE THAT THE RESPONDENT FOLDS THE CARD, PUTS IT IN THE ENVELOPE; AND SEALS THE ENVELOPE BEFORE GIVING IT BACK TO YOU. WRITE THE CLUSTER AND HOUSEHOLD NUMBERS ON THE ENVELOPE. | CARD GIVEN1 CARD NOT GIVEN2 | |
|------|--|---|--|
| 902 | We have now finished the interview. Do you have any comments, or is there anything else | e you would like to add? | |
| 902A | How did you feel by the end of this interview? WRITE DOWN THE RESPONSE GIVEN BY RESPONDENT. | GOOD/BETTER | |
| 903 | ALL RESPONDENTS: I would like to thank you very much for your time and for helpin been difficult for you to talk about. It is necessary to have information on what the won women to be developed. No one deserves to be mistreated by someone else. IF RESPONDENT HAS DISCLOSED VIOLENCE: Sharing your thoughts and experiyou are. | nen experience for the services provided to | |

| 904 | RECORD TIME. | HOUR – MINUTE | |
|-----|--|-------------------------------------|-------|
| 905 | WAS THE INTERVIEW INTERRUPTED? IF YES, APPROXIMATELY HOW MANY MINUTES? | NO | |
| 906 | ACCORDING TO YOU WHAT IS THE RELIABILITY OF THE RESPONSES? | WEAK 1 AVERAGE 2 GOOD 3 VERY GOOD 4 | |
| 907 | IN WHAT LANGUAGE WAS THE INTERVIEW MADE? | TURKISH | ▶ 909 |
| 908 | WAS A TRANSLATOR USED? | YES1 NO2 | |

| 909 | INTERVIEWER COMMENTS TO BE COMPLETED AFTER INTERVIEW | |
|-----|--|--|
| | | |
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| | | |

| PROVINCE TRAFFIC CODES | | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|--|--|
| 01 ADANA | 21 DİYARBAKIR | 41 KOCAELİ | 61 TRABZON | | |
| 02 ADIYAMAN | 22 EDİRNE | 42 KONYA | 62 TUNCELİ | | |
| 03 AFYON | 23 ELAZIĞ | 43 KÜTAHYA | 63 ŞANLIURFA | | |
| 04 AĞRI | 24 ERZİNCAN | 44 MALATYA | 64 UŞAK | | |
| 05 AMASYA | 25 ERZURUM | 45 MANİSA | 65 VAN | | |
| 06 ANKARA | 26 ESKİŞEHİR | 46 K.MARAŞ | 66 YOZGAT | | |
| 07 ANTALYA | 27 GAZİANTEP | 47 MARDİN | 67 ZONGULDAK | | |
| 08 ARTVİN | 28 GİRESUN | 48 MUĞLA | 68 AKSARAY | | |
| 09 AYDIN | 29 GÜMÜŞHANE | 49 MUŞ | 69 BAYBURT | | |
| 10 BALIKESİR | 30 HAKKARİ | 50 NEVŞEHİR | 70 KARAMAN | | |
| 11 BİLECİK | 31 HATAY | 51 NİĞDE | 71 KIRIKKALE | | |
| 12 BİNGÖL | 32 ISPARTA | 52 ORDU | 72 BATMAN | | |
| 13 BİTLİS | 33 İÇEL | 53 RİZE | 73 ŞIRNAK | | |
| 14 BOLU | 34 İSTANBUL | 54 SAKARYA | 74 BARTIN | | |
| 15 BURDUR | 35 İZMİR | 55 SAMSUN | 75 ARDAHAN | | |
| 16 BURSA | 36 KARS | 56 SİİRT | 76 IĞDIR | | |
| 17 ÇANAKKALE | 37 KASTAMONU | 57 SİNOP | 77 YALOVA | | |
| 18 ÇANKIRI | 38 KAYSERİ | 58 SİVAS | 78 KARABÜK | | |
| 19 ÇORUM | 39 KIRKLARELİ | 59 TEKİRDAĞ | 79 KİLİS | | |
| 20 DENİZLİ | 40 KIRŞEHİR | 60 TOKAT | 80 OSMANİYE | | |
| | | | 81 DÜZCE | | |
| 90 FOREIGN COUNTRY | | | | | |