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**CEİDizler Grant Scheme
Traces of Violence Project
CEİD/HP/2021/46**

**Data Evaluation Report
on Enforcement of the
Law No. 6284 in
Preventing Violence**

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**Data Evaluation Report on
Enforcement of the Law No. 6284 in
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Data Evaluation Report on Enforcement of Law No. 6284 in Preventing Violence, 2017-2021

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Abbreviations

EU-28	28 Member States of the European Union
DVAW	Domestic violence against women
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEİD	Association for Monitoring Gender Equality
CCP	Code of Criminal Procedure
GBV	Gender-based violence
EIGE	European Institute for Gender Equality
CJP	Council of Judges and Prosecutors
AD	Administrative data
KADAV	Women's Solidarity Foundation
VAW	Violence against women
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
ŞÖNİM	Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centre
TPC	Turkish Penal Code
TCC	Turkish Civil Code
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence

1. **Executive Summary**

1. Executive Summary

“Traces of Violence: Capacity Building Project for Monitoring Legal Data to Combat Violence Against Women” Project started on 16 August 2021 and was implemented in a 12-month period under the partnership of the Association for Equal Generations and Ankara Bar Association. The Contracting Authority of the Project is the “Association for Monitoring Gender Equality (CEİD)”.


The overall aim of the project, envisaged to be completed on 16 August 2022, is to strengthen non-governmental organisations active in the field of rights-based gender equality in order to achieve gender equality and participatory democracy more effectively in Turkey. Thus, it aims to contribute to the effective fight against violence by increasing the monitoring capacity regarding the effective implementation of Law No. 6284, increasing the advocacy capacity of stakeholders and raising awareness on legal support mechanisms in the combat against violence.

The project is implemented as a rights-based monitoring approach, and it is also aimed to evaluate the applications made by women victims of violence to Ankara Bar Association Gelincik Centre according to indicators, to monitor the effectiveness of legal mechanisms in the combat against violence and to formulate an evidence-based policy within this project. The direct target group of

the project is the staff and volunteer lawyers of Gelincik Centre of Ankara Bar Association. The indirect target group of the project is non-governmental organisations (NGOs) working with women victims of violence, other stakeholder institutions, women and children who are victims of violence.

This report is prepared to present the methodology and the findings of the "Activity 1.4 Data evaluation on the enforcement of the Law No. 6284 in preventing violence" carried out within the project. It is envisaged that this project, in which strategies and approaches aiming to strengthen the advocacy capacity of stakeholders and actors will be implemented, as well as activities focusing on data collection and reporting, will contribute to the development of policy recommendations for the prevention of violence against women and gender-based violence and the establishment of effective intervention mechanisms.

Violence against women is a violation of human rights and is mainly caused by gender inequalities. The İstanbul Convention and the Law No. 6284, drafted on the basis of this convention, is one of the most important legal achievements in the combat against violence in Turkey, and it is the most important law that protects those who are



exposed to violence and entails measures to prevent violence. In line with the obligations arising from international conventions, it is necessary to collect data and monitor the violence and the functioning of intervention mechanisms.

In the following sections of the report, current national and international legislation on the prevention of gender-based violence,

data on violence, examples of good practices in collecting administrative data, main problem areas, the scope and methodology of the quantitative and qualitative field study, the findings obtained from the study, and finally, recommendations for the development of legal mechanisms in the combat against violence against women are presented.

2 ● Gender-based violence and relevant national and international legislation

2. Gender-based violence and relevant national and international legislation

2.1 Violence against women: definitions

Violence against women continues to be a major problem in Turkey, where women are killed every day. Violence against women, defined as a violation of rights of women, a form of discrimination and a public health problem, is one of the leading social problems that need to be addressed urgently considering the increasing femicide.

Violence against women has become a social mechanism by which men dominate and hinder the advancement of women as well as force women into a subordinate position compared with men ¹. It should be known that the basis of the phenomenon of violence against women is the patriarchal power structure and the aim of keeping women under control.

Gender-based violence is understood as the form of violence that individuals experience because of their gender. Violence against women is a dimension of gender-based violence and refers to a form of violence that women are exposed to simply because they are women. Women around the world are at

¹ United Nations's Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993)

risk of being exposed to gender-based violence, regardless of country, ethnicity, class, religion, economic and/or social status (Yüksel Kaptanoğlu and Tarım: 2015)². This makes violence against women a universal problem rather than a problem specific to a certain geography, culture or country.

In the 1970s, international organisations and women's organisations brought violence against women to the international arena, arguing that violence against women is a violation of rights. World women's conferences and international conventions have made a significant contribution to ensuring equality between women and men and to putting the combat against violence against women on the agenda of countries.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is one of the international conventions that forms the basis for combating violence against women. Although the concept of violence against women is not directly mentioned in CEDAW, it is stated in the CEDAW Recommendation No. 12 dated 1989 that the states parties

² Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey (2015), Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies

should act to protect women from all forms of violence in the family, workplace or social life and they have responsibilities in this regard. CEDAW Recommendation No. 19 dated 1992 defined gender-based violence as a form of discrimination crucially hindering women's enjoyment of their rights and freedoms on an equal basis with men. With this Recommendation, the responsibilities of the state parties are reminded, and detailed recommendations are made once again.

In 1993, the “Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women” was adopted at the United Nations General Assembly. In the said Declaration, violence against women is defined as follows:

“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 in private life”.

Studies on the protection of women's rights and combating violence against women in the Council of Europe have started to be carried out more effectively since the 1980s. The latest convention prepared by the Council of Europe in the field of violence against women is the "Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence", better known as the İstanbul Convention and was signed in 2011. With

this Convention, the scope of domestic violence is expanded as "all acts of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence that occur within the family or domestic unit or between former or current spouses or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim". With the Istanbul Convention, violence is defined as an intimidation mechanism, as well as physical violence, economic, psychological and sexual violence, and includes LGBTI individuals. Turkey's withdrawal from being a party to the İstanbul Convention as of July 2021 is alarming for women's organizations in terms of combating violence against women. At the hearing of the decision to withdraw from the İstanbul Convention, the Prosecutor of the Council of State requested the annulment of the President's decision. Ten lawsuits filed for the annulment of Turkey's decision to withdraw from the İstanbul Convention were heard at the Council of State on 28 April 2022. The hearing ended after the prosecutor requested the annulment of the withdrawal decision and it was announced that the decision would be notified later. Following the further hearings, the Council of State is expected to announce its decision.

Women are exposed to violence by men they know and also do not know, particularly by the men in their close circles. However, in some cases, women can also be subjected to violence from women in the family and from the state. Exposure to violence causes women to live in fear, helplessness and

insecurity. It is known that perpetrators often create a perception that they will use violence, intimidate the victims with threats, suspicion and fear, keep them under control and make them feel insecure.

Known as the most common form of violence against women, domestic violence refers to all kinds of physical, sexual, psychological and economic violence in the family or violence used by other members of the family, even if the victim and perpetrator do not share the same household. Domestic violence does not only mean violence between people living in the same house, it can occur between people who are in close relationships, such as divorced, separated and engaged people.

Cycle of Violence ³

Women enter the "violence cycle" in relationships where they are exposed to violence and have difficulty in breaking this cycle. Although they try to get out of this cycle every time, it may not be an easy process, and the cycle repeats itself.

- 1. Escalation of Tension:** The perpetrator increases the tension, becomes jealous, fights over small things, tries to control the woman's whole life and applies psychological violence. In this case, the victim woman tries to reduce the tension as much as possible.

- 2. Violence Phase:** The anger of the violent man suddenly increases; the man does not control his anger and applies physical violence. At this point, it is not possible for the woman to calm the anger of the man, but she can try to protect herself and her children and to minimize the damages of violence.

- 3. Honeymoon Phase:** The violent man tries to win the woman's heart, expresses his regret and his will to change, and buys gifts. He acts constructively, caringly and lovingly to make himself forgiven. The woman wants to believe in these attitudes and behaviours of the man and gives a second chance, but the man escalates the tension again after a while.

³ Mor Çatı Foundation: [Şiddetin Döngüsü - Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı \(morcati.org.tr\)](https://www.morcati.org.tr)

2.2 Forms of violence against women

There are different types of violence against women, including physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence. Today,

stalking, dating violence and digital violence have also been included in these forms. In the field study within this report, the standard definitions given in the table below are used.

Table 1: Standard definitions used in the indicators (European Institute for Gender Equality)

Intimate partner violence	Any act of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence that occurs between former or current spouses or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim.
Physical violence	Any act which causes physical harm as a result of unlawful physical force. Physical violence can take the form of, among others, serious and minor assault, deprivation of liberty and manslaughter.
Psychological violence	Any act which causes psychological harm to the partner or former partner. Psychological violence can take the form of, for example, coercion, defamation, verbal insult or harassment.
Sexual violence	Any sexual act performed on the victim without consent. Sexual violence can take the form of rape or sexual assault.
Economic violence	Any act or behaviour which causes economic harm to the partner/spouse. Economic violence can take the form of, for example, property damage, restricting access to financial resources, education or the labour market, or not complying with economic responsibilities, such as alimony.
Rape	Engaging in non-consensual vaginal, anal or oral penetration of a sexual nature of the body of another person with any bodily part or objects.
Femicide	The killing of a woman by an intimate partner and the death of a woman as a result of a practice that is harmful to women. Intimate partner is understood as a former or current spouse or partner, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim.

3 • Administrative Data on combating VAW

3. Administrative Data on Combating VAW

3.1 Current data on violence against women in Turkey

Intimate partner violence is a form of violence that affects women all over the world, and according to EU Agency for Fundamental Rights data, it is seen that one out of every 5 women over the age of 15 at EU level is exposed to sexual or physical violence from their intimate partners (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014). The most comprehensive research on violence in Turkey was conducted in 2014 by Hacettepe University. The findings of this research are summarised below.

Data on violence against women

- According to recent estimates, nearly 1 in 3 women aged 15 and over in the world experience physical or sexual violence at least once in their lifetime by their intimate partners or other people.
- According to the latest research, 4 out of 10 women in Turkey are exposed to physical and/or sexual violence by their spouses or intimate partners at some point in their lives.
- According to studies, only 40% of women exposed to violence worldwide report violence. In most countries with relevant data, most of

the women seeking help reach out to their families and friends, while few of them apply to government agencies such as the police and health services. Only less than 10 percent of those seeking help turn to the police.

- The number of reports made by those who witnessed violence is also very low. Witnesses of violence can support the woman by contacting the authorities in person, encouraging the victim to report it and/or accompanying her. However, Eurobarometer's survey reveals that only 12 percent of those surveyed—whether a friend or family member, a neighbour or a colleague at work—who knew about domestic violence reported the situation to the police.
- While more than half of the women who are subjected to physical and/or sexual violence in Turkey tell this situation to their close social circle, only 11 percent apply to an official institution or a non-governmental organization for help. This situation varies according to the age group, education and wealth level of women, the region they live in and the type of residence.

The mapping study, presenting the collected data on femicides committed in Turkey in

the last 10 years, once again reveals the gravity of the situation. According to the mapping study available at kadincinayetleri.org, 2534 women were killed between 2010 and 2020 in Turkey. The study shows that 40.4% of the murdered women were between the ages of 26-40, 20.9% were between the ages of 41-55, and 19.4% were between the ages of 19-25. In 1656 cases, the perpetrator was registered as a spouse/former spouse, boyfriend/former boyfriend or religious spouse. Among the "excuses" of femicides, which were reflected in the media, the highest rankings are the women's desire for separation/divorce, the suspicion of being cheated on, and the murders committed with the motive of jealousy, rejection, and 'so-called' honour/morals. One out of every 5 femicides occurred during the divorce/separation phase. 1 out of every 5 women killed was a victim of violence/harassment. 6 out of 10 women who experienced violence applied for protection for security purposes. Femicides were mostly committed at home and with firearms. One out of every 5 femicides in the last 10 years committed during the divorce/separation phase. In 517 femicides, that is, 2 out of every 10 femicides, there was violence, threats or harassment before the murder. In this regard, at least 1 in 10 women had applied for protection for security purposes before they were killed. This reveals that in 517 femicides with a history of violence, 63 percent of women showed a protective reflex, yet they were still killed. In 10 years, 169 women were killed

despite being exposed to violence and applying for protection while in the phase of separation/divorce.

According to the data of the We Will Stop Femicide Platform (Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu), 24 femicides were committed in April 2022, 16 women were found suspiciously dead; 24 femicides were committed in March 2022, 21 women were found suspiciously dead; 23 femicides were committed in February 2022, 21 women were found suspiciously dead; 26 femicides were committed in January 2022, and 28 women were found suspiciously dead. The murdered women were mostly killed on the pretext of wanting to make decisions about their own life such as requesting a divorce, refusing to reconcile, refusing to marry, refusing to have a relationship, and on economic pretexts. According to the report of the We Will Stop Femicide Platform again, while there were 280 femicides in Turkey in 2021, 217 women suspiciously died.

In the 280 femicides committed this year, it was revealed that 33 of the murdered women had previously filed a complaint to the police or prosecutor's office or had a protection order. Another important result is that in the 35 femicides committed this year, 20 of the murdered women were killed together with their relatives, and in 17 cases, the relatives of the women were injured.

Among the 280 women killed in 2021, 124 women were killed by their husbands, 37 women by their intimate partner, and 24 women by a familiar person, 21 women by their former husbands, 16 women by their relatives, 13 women by their former partners, 13 women by their father, 11 women by their son, 6 women by their brother, 3 women by someone they did not know, and 1 woman by a man who had been following her for a while. The degree of affinity of the people who caused the death of 11 women could not be determined.

178 of the women were at home, 33 in the middle of the street, 12 in the field, 10 in the workplace, 9 in the car, 8 in the deserted place, 6 in the hotel, 2 in the entrance of the apartment, 2 in the park, 1 in the coal yard, 1 in the shed, 1 in front of the school, 1 in the minibus, 1 in the toilet outside her house, 1 in the law office, 1 in the factory, 1 in the parking lot, 1 in front of her house, 1 in the garden of the health centre when they were murdered.

Of the 280 women killed in 2021, 134 were killed by firearms, 93 by cutting tools, 31 by burking, 8 by being beaten, 3 by being burned, 2 by being thrown from a height, 4 by being hit with a hard object, and 3 by being under a vehicle.

It was not known whether 251 of the women killed in 2021 had a protection order. 24 women had a restraining or protection order, 9 women had complaints to the police or

prosecutor's office, and 30 of the murdered women were in the phase of divorce.

As can be seen, while the dimensions of violence against women are large enough even on the basis of the news reflected in the media and the 2014 research, the lack of up-to-date and aggregated administrative data makes comparative data analysis impossible and there is not enough evidence-based data to evaluate the effectiveness of policies.

3.2 Main problem areas regarding data collection

One of the most important tools in combatting violence against women and gender-based violence is the regular and periodic compilation and sharing of administrative data by relevant institutions, which will enable the formulation of evidence-based policies. Although there are various public institutions and organisations active in the field of combating violence in Turkey, violence data are not shared with the public, and there are only secondary data collection studies conducted by a few non-governmental organisations. Below are the main challenges within this scope.

3.2.1 Challenges regarding definition and scope

Studies show that there are variations of the definition and scope of intimate partner violence both in the EU and at the national level. In EU Member States, the scope of the crime and the means of trial vary and affect

the scope of the findings in the statistical data. Therefore, it is not possible to compare national data with international data, especially on the basis of certain indicators.

In most cases, the terms "partners", "spouses", "former partners" and "former spouses" are used. Occasionally, cases between individuals who are not in a legally recognised relationship are also included, although the scope may vary for different institutions. In this respect, it is important that the violence cases related to the individuals sharing the same house even though they are not married and are therefore considered within the scope of domestic violence, are included in the official statistics. Nevertheless, the findings from the field show that it is not always easy and possible to make this distinction as the data of the victims of violence who live separately even though they are married, who live together without being married and who do not share the same house but have a relationship, should be carefully collected and separated under these categories. This is important both in terms of determining the place where the violence occurred and the relationship between the perpetrator of violence and the victim. Finally, a lack of clear understanding of the scope of the relationship and marital status will affect data quality and comparability.⁴

⁴ European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) (2021), EIGE's indicators on intimate partner violence, rape and femicide: EU state of play,

3.3.2 Data limitation on economic and emotional violence

Economic and emotional/psychological violence remains largely invisible in discourses on forms of violence against women and is often intertwined with other forms of violence in complex ways. While psychological violence can exist on its own, it is not possible to not have psychological violence in a household where there is physical violence. Similarly, although economic violence is widespread, administrative data on this issue remains limited. In most Member States, criminal proceedings do not cover forms of economic violence (for example, financial control, failure to comply with financial obligations through failure to contribute financially to the household or failure to fulfil child support obligations). Even if such cases are considered abusive, they are prosecuted by family courts rather than criminal courts, creating additional difficulties for the availability and comparability of data between the Member States.

3.3.3 Differences in measurement units

The unit of measure used has a significant impact on the comparability of the data. The two most common units of measure for police data are the number of crimes reported to the police and the number of victims. The two most commonly used units

Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg.

of measure in the justice sector are the number of cases and the number of people involved. There are critical points that affect whether and how these units are used interchangeably. For example, the number of crimes is not always the same as the number of woman victims, as some Member States only report data based on the number of cases or crimes where the victim is a woman. In other words, whether more than one notification is made by the same victim is also an important data. These concepts need to be clarified.

The second important point is that measuring intimate partner violence requires the coexistence of several components and this itself poses a challenge. In intimate partner violence case, the gender of the victim, the gender of the perpetrator, and the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim should be considered together. In some countries, victim-related data is not recorded systematically, instead focusing on crimes. It is agreed that this has the most repercussions in the justice sector.

3.3.4 Keeping administrative records

It is clear that no separate budget is allocated in of most countries for keeping the administrative records. For this reason, the collection of administrative data is considered an additional burden for many institutions. Many countries do not have trained personnel to deal with data requests, particularly from international and European institutions and independent researchers. Monitoring creates an

additional workload for institutions that do not consider data collection and reporting among their primary duties. For this reason, it is essential to establish units to be responsible only for data collection and reporting, especially in justice and law enforcement institutions.

The justice sector is particularly affected by the lack of resources to collect data beyond what is needed to monitor performance. For example, in most Member States, the available statistical information from courts does not go beyond the total number of cases heard in a year (e.g., Belgium, Ireland, Malta). Where statistical information is available on the persons involved, details such as the type of relationship between the victim and the perpetrator are often missing, although data on the sex of the convicted person are often available (e.g., Denmark, Sweden).

Data on intimate partner violence cases and victims vary significantly depending on the stage at which they were collected. In all systems, the numbers decrease as cases progress through successive stages of the justice chain. The progress of litigation in the justice sector takes different forms. For example, in cases where there is insufficient evidence for prosecution or the victim withdraws her complaint, these data are not included in forensic statistics in some countries. On the other hand, in the case of countries such as Sweden, all complaints to the police are recorded immediately, while in other countries such as Denmark or Ireland,

the police only record the incident when there is sufficient evidence that the crime has occurred. In the justice sector, data which is not recorded in case of waiver of the claim, for example the forms of violence mentioned in the petition, can be important sources of qualitative data for researchers.

3.3.5 Lack of integration and coordination between data systems

Different institutions, including the police, gendarmerie, detention centres and probation services, need to work in coordination to collect data from each stage. Only in this way the data of different institutions can be associated with each other and a complete picture of violence can be revealed. Unfortunately, cooperation and integration between law enforcement and justice institutions are limited. These two institutional mechanisms often use different registration systems and classifications and cannot "talk" to each other in terms of data since they do not have a common database. Therefore, a fragmented picture emerges where some contextual information such as repeat offences (perpetrators convicted of the same crime) is not visible.

3.3.6 Non-public disclosure of data

Article 11 of the Istanbul Convention states that available data on violence against women should be publicly accessible (Council of Europe, 2011). Unfortunately, very few countries fulfil this requirement and present the data on men violence to the public with the necessary breakdowns. Evidence on the extent of violence cannot be collected without reliable and regular data flow, and the information obtained sporadically from different sources reflects very little of the true extent of violence.

Considering these limitations, it was aimed to compile the data on violence against women within the scope of the project through the Ankara Bar Association Gelincik Centre, and the data were compiled from the application files of the last 5 years. In-depth interviews were conducted with 10 women who applied to the Gelincik Centre and focus group meetings were held with the lawyers of the Gelincik Centre. The findings of the quantitative and qualitative research are summarised in the next section.

**4 ● Data on violence
Against women in
Ankara province
Between the years
2017-2021**

4. Data on violence against women in Ankara province between the years 2017-2021

4.1 Purpose and methodology of quantitative research

Keeping the data in a sound way in the face of the prevalence of gender-based violence is extremely important for the sustainability of the service provided. Regular data collection and indicator-based monitoring are essential in order to formulate evidence-based policy recommendations and to determine the well-functioning provisions of the current law. In the project, it is aimed to develop a strategy in order to facilitate the indicator-based monitoring of the applications of women victims of violence to the Gelincik Centre. Indicator-based monitoring reveals the frequency, extent and prevalence of violations and whether rights are exercised to provide an overall human rights practice in a country. In this approach, monitoring is done by means of indicators showing the level of achievement of international targets in a particular field of rights, developed in accordance with the referenced international

norms and standards, and produce quantitative data conducive to comparison.

It is highly important to determine the level, frequency and prevalence of violence against women in the society, and then to carry out follow-up studies, to prevent all kinds of violence against women, to protect women and to eliminate all kinds of victimisation. Identifying the current situation is important both for claims and for planning future activities. Although monitoring is not a control tool, it can be a basis and guide for the work of women's organisations with the data collected and analysed within this scope. When women's organisations shape, justify and strengthen their demands according to concrete and scientific information obtained in compliance with the scientific principle of "if you measure, you can manage", and move their legal efforts to the axis of producing scientific knowledge by monitoring and examining temporal changes, they will be able to strengthen their legal struggles.

The service-oriented aim of the project is to create a "data collection form" to be used all over the country by obtaining standard data on women victims of violence, in accordance with international norms and indicators, comparable and statistically interpretable, and which can lead to solution-oriented results.

At the meetings held within the scope of the project, the current application form was examined, as a result of the interviews and examinations held with Ankara Bar Association Gelincik Centre lawyers and employees on 8-9 September 2021; the form, features, methods and follow-up results of the applications were reviewed, then, a "needs analysis" was conducted according to the application form available in the files (Figure 1), out of 10 randomly selected files, by meeting with the lawyers who will carry out the file examination and data collection processes in the project. In these analyses, it was determined that there are very valuable data in the Centre where intensive and effective works are carried out on "violence against women" and volunteerism is the basis in the Centre where applications and requests are evaluated within the borders of

Ankara province as the Centre is located in Ankara. However, it was observed that it is very difficult to organise and evaluate the information recorded prospectively, that there are unfilled in parts in the information form, and that all information can be transformed into purposeful data by developing a new format.

In the examination of data collection form given in Figure 1, it was seen that the form of violence was not inquired in detail in the application forms, the information obtained from the applicant was recorded in the database by the legal counsellors, the disability status was not asked, the age, occupation, income level of the perpetrator was not included, the time, duration and frequency of the violence were not specified, and the questions regarding the follow-up of the applicant's litigation processes were not included. The importance of monitoring was emphasised in line with the aims of the project, and it was suggested to include questions to monitor other indicators such as the amount of alimony, restraining and protection measures taken during the case after the applicant's case was concluded.

Current application form used in the Gelincik Centre

- 1) The applicant: Woman herself and others
- 2) Name
- 3) Surname
- 4) Home/mobile phone
- 5) Age
- 6) Address

- 7) Province
- 8) District
- 9) Occupation
- 10) Date of interview
- 11) Time of interview
- 12) Interview method
- 13) Request to be picked up from the specified location
- 14) Reason for application
- 15) Is there anyone else interviewed? Yes No
- 16) Affinity
- 17) Shelter
- 18) Purpose of the interview
- 19) Duration of the interview
- 20) Preliminary information
- 21) Questions to be asked
- 22) Information obtained
- 23) Observations
- 24) Evaluation
- 25) Request for legal remedies to be applied
- 26) Decision
- 27) Subject of assignment
- 28) Social security institution
- 29) Has she given power of attorney to another lawyer before?
- 30) Has she benefited from the services of Gelincik Centre before?
- 31) How the applicant makes a living?
- 32) Monthly income of the applicant
- 33) How do family members make a living?
- 34) Monthly income of the family members
- 35) Movables and real estates of the woman and her family members
- 36) Jewellery
- 37) Does she have any bank account?
- 38) Does she have instalment payments?

Figure 1. The Form Used for Data Collection in the Application Process at the Gelincik Centre


According to the examination of the applications and requests since the establishment of the Gelincik Centre, it was determined that the current form (Figure 1) is not sufficient in obtaining the data to get information to serve to the purpose of the "Traces of Violence" Project, and that this information can only be accessed in the file content. Following the "needs analysis" conducted on the file with the lawyers at the Gelincik Centre on how to collect indicator-based data, a sustainable "Data Collection Form" was developed, which is suitable for the project format and can allow the collection of data to be statistically evaluated in the "SPSS" program (Figure 2). International guidelines set minimum

criteria for data to be collected on violence against women. In these guidelines, it is recommended that national mechanisms primarily collect data on physical violence, sexual violence, psychological violence and economic violence. In addition, female genital mutilation, forced marriage at an early age, society attitude and perception towards violence against women, and reporting of violence cases are among the other data priorities recommended.

The following indicators are determined for data monitoring before the development of a new form in accordance with the purpose of the project .

Indicator	Indicator Values			
	Baseline Data (2017/2019)		Current Value (2020/2021)	
	TR	Ankara	TR	Ankara
1. Prevalence of forms of violence perpetrated against women applied to Gelincik Centre by their intimate partners				
a. Prevalence of physical violence				
b. Prevalence of sexual violence				
c. Prevalence of emotional/psychological violence				
d. Prevalence of economic violence				
e. Prevalence of stalking				
f. Rate of applications made to the Centre due to violence against women to include violence against children				
g. Number of women staying in women's shelters due to violence				
2. Number of women reaching the Gelincik Centre phone line				
3. Number of women victims of violence applied to the Gelincik Centre and sought legal support (by age, marital status, employment status, educational status, district)				
a. Number of women victims of violence who applied for the first time to the Centre				

b. Number of women victims of violence who applied more than once to the Centre				
c. Rate of women who were referred to the Gelincik Centre from other institutions (women's shelter, ŞÖNİM, etc.) among the total applicants				
d. Rate of women who have their own real estate/jewellery and/or personal income (such as salary) among women victims of violence				
e. Rate of women who applied to the Gelincik Centre from outside Ankara				
f. Rate of persons with disabilities among applicants				
4. Rate of women injured as a result of physical/sexual violence among applicants				
a. Number/rate of forensic reports received as a result of physical violence				
5. Monitoring the capacity at the Gelincik Centre				
a. Number of legal counsellors				
b. Number of volunteer lawyers				
c. Number of regular training sessions involving the gender sensitive approach for the lawyers and volunteer lawyers of the Gelincik Centre				
6. The number of protection orders requested by women victims of violence pursuant to Law No. 6284				
a. Number of protective measures requested according to Law No. 6284				
b. Number of preventive cautionary decisions requested according to Law No. 6284				
c. Number of coercive imprisonment verdicts given				
d. Ankle monitors implementation rate among the protective measures taken				
7. Rejection rate of protection orders requested according to Law No. 6284 (in terms of protective and preventive measures)				
8. The distribution of the duration of the protection measures given according to the Law No. 6284				
a. Number/rate of extended protection orders				
9. Distribution of the amount of alimony received in the civil lawsuit filed due to violence (child support/poverty alimony)				
10. Average amount of compensation (material/moral) received in a civil lawsuit filed for violence				
11. Number of perpetrators brought criminal cases for violence				



For these indicators, a new draft data collection form was developed according to the information to be obtained from the files, then a "***Jot Form***" was prepared for ease of implementation, and training was delivered to the project lawyers who will examine the files, and the data collection process was

initiated. The data obtained by examining all files were collected in a way that can be analysed and tabulated in the SPSS program after data cleaning is done directly in the computer environment.

In order to submit this form, you should open it with Adobe Acrobat Reader.

Şiddetin İzleri - Veri toplama formu

Bu form, Cinsiyet Eşitliği İzleme Derneği'nin Sözleşme Makamı olduğu ve Aİİ Delegasyonu tarafından desteklenen CEİD/NİP/2021/46 Şiddetin İzleri Projesi kapsamında Gelinçik Merkezindeki bayvuru dosyalarından 2017-2021 yıllarına ait verilerin derlenmesi amacıyla hazırlanmıştır. Bu formda yer alan bilgiler proje ortaklarının izni olmaksızın yayınlanamaz ve üçüncü taraflarla paylaşılamaz.

Veri Analisti *

 Adı Soyadı

Dosyanın yılı *

Form No

BÖLÜM A: GÖRÜŞMEYE AIT BİLGİLER

1. Görüşmenin yapıldığı tarih


 Day Month Year

2. Görüşmenin yapıldığı saat

 Saat Dakika

3. Bayvuru şekli
 Kendisi
 Başka bir kurumdan yönlendirme ile

4. Merkeze yönlendiren kurum

Create your own automated PDF's with Jotform PDF Editor. [Düzenle](#) 

5. Gelinçik merkezine ilk bayvuru mu?
 Evet
 Hayır
 Bilinmiyor

6. Gelinçik merkezine bayvuru öncesinde başka bir kuruma şiddet bildirim yapıldıysa belirtiniz.

	Evet	Hayır
ŞÖNİM	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Polis	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jandarma	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Abi 183	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
KADES	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Belediye Kadın Danışma Merkezi	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kaymakamlık	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Valilik	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hastane/sağlık kuruluşu	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

7. Bayvurana görüşmeye gelme şekli
 Araç talebi ile
 Kendi başına

BÖLÜM B: TALEPÇİYE YÖNELİK VERİLER

Bu bölümdeki sorular, talepçiyeye ait verilerle doldurulacaktır.

8. Dosya No: *


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Figure 2. Screenshot (first page) of the Enhanced Data Recording System (Jot Form) for Analysis of the Data in the Victim's File

The indicator-based data obtained here are quantitative data, showing the frequency, degree and prevalence of violations and whether rights are being implemented to provide an overall picture of human rights practice in a country. In this approach, monitoring is done through indicators developed in accordance with referenced international norms and standards. Follow-up is extremely important in terms of revealing the level, frequency and prevalence of violence against women in society. Revealing the current situation is necessary both to make clear claims and to plan future activities. The data collected and analysed here will form the basis for all studies on the subject throughout the country.

In accordance with the project calendar, between 2 December 2021 and 31 March 2022, the "data collection form" prepared by 5 lawyers at Ankara Gelincik Centre, 2,527 files containing information about the applicant, the perpetrator and the legal process of the applications of women victims of violence were examined, without any sampling. The information obtained in the "data collection form" prepared was registered in the computer environment. The data were then sorted on the form and tabulated on the basis of indicators related to violence against women and interpretations were made according to the results obtained.

4.2 Presentation of quantitative research findings

The total number of files including information about the violence against women who applied to the "Gelincik Centre" of Ankara Bar Association between 2017-2022, the perpetrator of violence and the legal process was found as 2527. Table 1 and Figure 3 show the distribution of applications by years. According to the evaluation of the applications by years, it is seen that the year with the highest number of applications is 2019 with a rate of 26.0%. It can be assumed that the reason why the numbers fell in 2020 and 2021 is the Covid-19 pandemic. It is known that violence against women has increased with the effect of lockdown and curfews during the pandemic, and it is seen that women have applied less for support or to complain. The reason why the applications made in 2020, when the pandemic started, were less than in 2021, can be explained by the fact that the restrictions were much tighter in 2020, and the vaccine was not found yet. During the pandemic, the rate of application to health institutions and other institutions decreased due to the fear of virus infection. The increase in violence against women and the decrease in applications for support by women were significant problems encountered during the COVID 19 pandemic.

Table 2. Number of Files by Years

Years	Number	%
2017	428	16,9
2018	496	19,6
2019	658	26,0
2020	425	16,8
2021	492	19,5
2022*	28	1,1
TOTAL	2,527	100,0

* Data for the first 3 months.

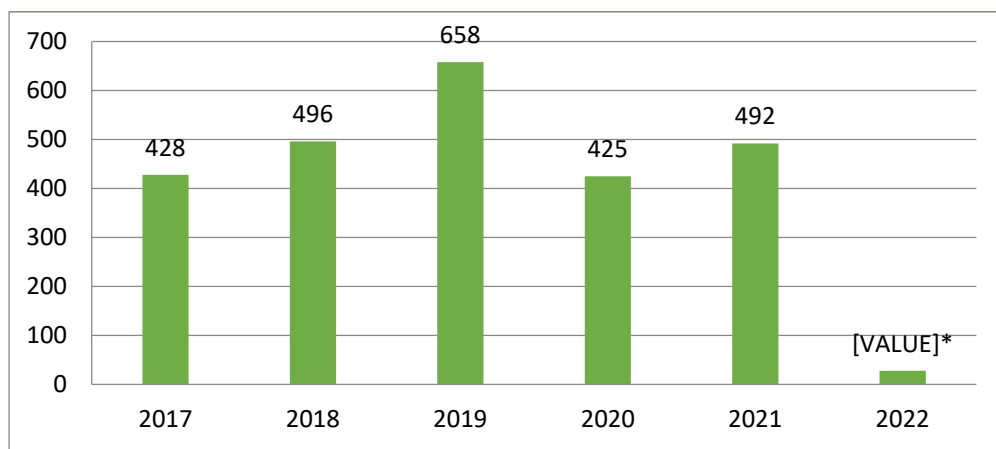


Figure 3. Number of Files by Years (*Data for the first 3 months of 2022)

The data obtained with the data collection form were collected and tabulated under 4 main headings: information on "interview", "applicant", "violence" and "legal process". Information about the interview includes information about the form of application,

the number of times the application was made to the Gelincik Centre, whether a notification was made to another institution before the centre, and the way the applicant came to the interview (Table 2).

Table 3 Distribution of Information About the Interview Obtained from the Files (N=2.527)

Information About the Interviews	Number	%
Application Type		
Woman by herself	1.637	64,8
With referral from another institution	887	35,1
Unspecified	3	0,1
Is it the First Application to the Gelincik Centre?		
Not Known	1.251	49,5
Yes	1.158	45,8
No	118	4,7
Those Notified to Another Institution Before Applying to the Gelincik Centre (there may be more than one option)		
Police	1.259	49,8
ŞÖNİM	970	38,4
Hospital/health institution	632	25,0
Prosecutor's Office	268	10,6
Gendarmerie	62	2,5
Alo 183 (Hotline 183)	18	0,7
Municipality Women's Counselling Centre	14	0,6
Emergency Support Application for Women (KADES)	9	0,4
District Governorate/ Governorate	5	0,2

The way the applicant came to the interview		
By herself	2.216	87,7
With a family member/s	163	6,5
With ŞÖNİM representative	70	2,8
Other	78	3,1

According to the distribution of information about the interview in the last 5 years in Table 2, of the women victims of violence, 1.637 (64.8%) applied to the Centre by themselves, 1.158 (45.8%) applied for the first time, 1259 (49.8%) applied to the police before the Gelincik Centre, 2.216 (87.7%) came to the Centre on their own. In this table, it is remarkable that the number of applications made by 1.251 (%49,5) women to the Centre is not known and 632 (25.0%) women applied to the hospital/health institution, and only 5 (0.2%) women applied to the district governorate/governorate before the Gelincik Centre (Figure 4).

It is seen that 118 people applied to the Gelincik Centre more than once. At this

point, it can be said that the applicants withdraw their applications for some reason and then reapply. The fact that women victims of violence “notify the police” before applying to the Gelincik Centre is the data revealing that they complain to law enforcement authorities after being subjected to violence. Applying to law enforcement and keeping official records is important for starting the judicial process. On the other hand, it is known that there are women victims of violence who withdraw their complaints. Due to social pressures and feeling insecure about "how to start life again", women still do not complain or withdraw their complaints despite being subjected to violence.

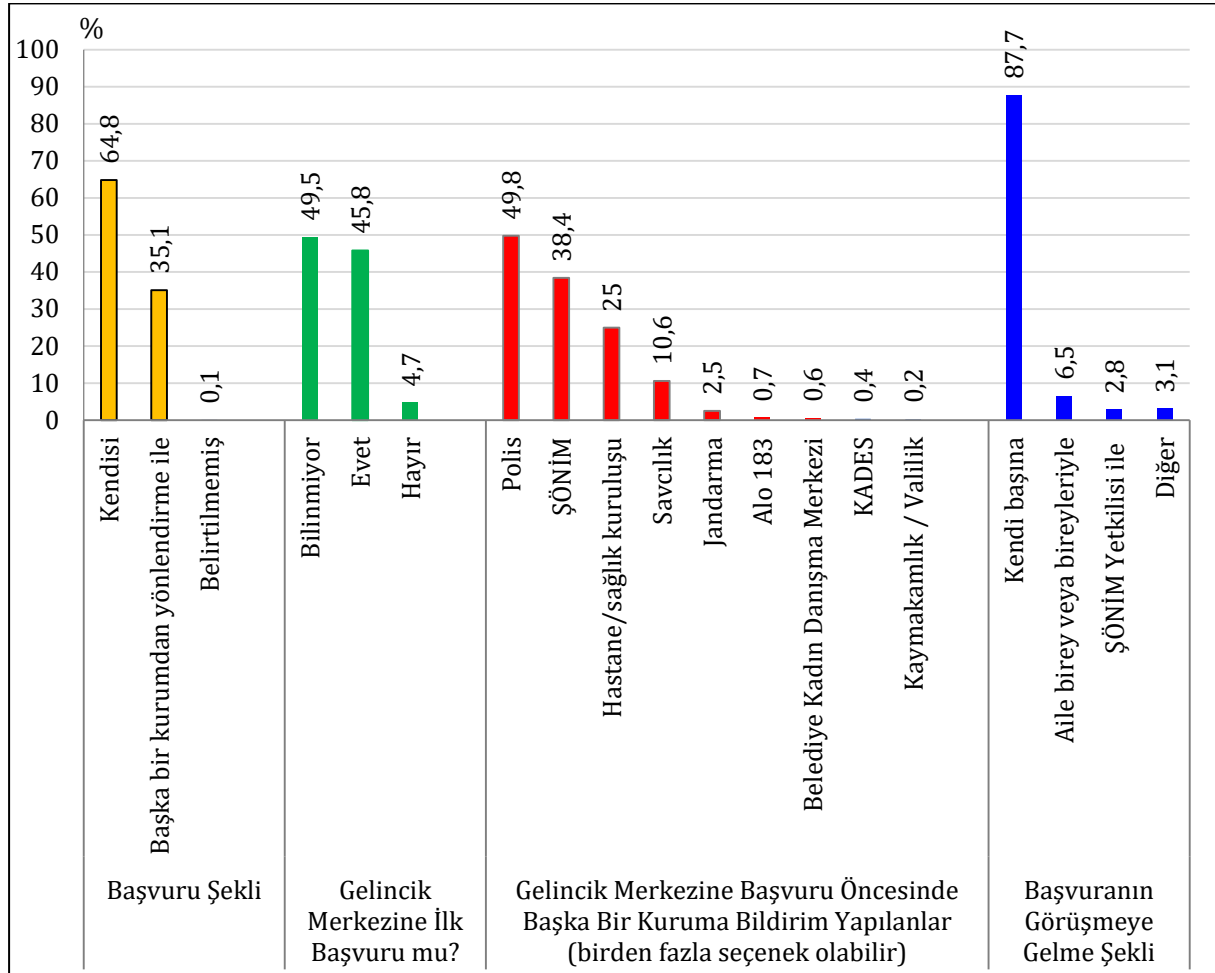


Figure 4. Distribution of Information About the Interviews with the Participants (%)

Information about age, place of residence, education level, occupation, marital status, social security status, disability status, number of children, real estate, bank account and jewellery belonging to women who apply to the Gelincik Centre and are defined as “applicants” is given in Table 3. According to the information about the

applicants, 1,004 (39.7%) women were in the 25-34 age group, 785 (31.1%) women were in the 35-44 age group, 0.9% of them did not specify the age group; 32.4% of them was residing in the centre of Ankara, followed by Sincan and Keçiören with the rate of 14.5% and 11.5%; 4.6% of them were only literate, but 81.6% of them did not specify their

educational status; 78.5% of them were not working; 83.5% of them were married at the time of application; 61.1% of them did not have social security; 33.5% of them had 2 children; 2.3% of them had 3 children over the age of 18; 1.3% of them had disabled

children, 76.9% of them did not specified the disability situation of their children; only 6.8% of them owned a real estate; 51.1% of them had jewellery and 55.0% of them did not specify their bank account status.

Table 4. Distribution of Applicant's Characteristics (N=2.527)

Sociodemographic characteristics	Number	%
Place of Residence		
ANKARA	818	32,4
Sincan	367	14,5
Keçiören	291	11,5
Mamak	270	10,7
Etimesgut	212	8,4
Çankaya	154	6,1
Yenimahalle	143	5,7
Altındağ	141	5,6
Pursaklar	33	1,3
Gölbaşı	12	0,5
Çubuk	6	0,2
Polatlı	6	0,2
Akyurt	5	0,2
Haymana	5	0,2
Ayaş	4	0,2
Elmadağ	3	0,1
Kahramankazan	2	0,1
Kalecik	1	0,0
Kızılcahamam	1	0,0
Temelli	1	0,0
Beypazarı	1	0,0
Other	51	2,0

Age Group of the Applicant		
18 - 24	415	16,4
25 - 34	1.004	39,7
35 - 44	785	31,1
45 - 54	230	9,1
55 - 64	61	2,4
65 - 74	6	0,2
75 and over	2	0,1
Unspecified	24	0,9
Education Level of the Applicant		
Literate	116	4,6
Illiterate	71	2,8
Primary school	59	2,3
Middle School	50	2,0
High school	86	3,4
Associate's degree	12	0,5
Undergraduate degree	63	2,5
Master's degree	7	0,3
Unspecified	2.063	81,6
Disability Status of the Applicant		
Yes	32	1,3
No	552	21,8
Unspecified	1.943	76,9
Employment / Work Status of the Applicant	Number	%
Not working	1.984	78,5
Paid employee (private sector)	201	8,0
Student	55	2,2
Temporary/seasonal	29	1,1
Paid employee (public sector)	17	0,7
Retired	8	0,3
Self-employed/on her own behalf	7	0,3
Unspecified	226	8,9

Marital Status of the Applicant at the Date of Application		
Married	2.110	83,5
Married but living separately	160	6,3
Never married	124	4,9
Divorced	88	3,5
Not married but living together	34	1,3
Widowed	4	0,2
Unspecified	7	0,3
Social Security Status of the Applicant		
None	1.544	61,1
Social Security Institution (SGK)	342	13,5
Green Card	37	1,5
Unspecified	604	23,9
Number of Children of the Applicant		
None	385	15,2
1	631	25,0
2	846	33,5
3 and over	452	17,9
Unspecified	213	8,4
Number of Children Over the Age of 18 of the Applicant		
1	172	6,8
2	179	7,1
3	57	2,3
Real Estates of the Applicant		
Yes	172	6,8
No	1.506	59,6
Non stated	849	33,6

Jewellery of the Applicant		
Yes	99	3,9
No	1.137	45,0
Non stated	1291	51,1
Bank Account of the Applicant		
Yes	245	9,7
No	893	35,3
Non stated	1.389	55,0

Sincan, Keçiören and Mamak are the three districts that stand out as the residence place of the applicants. It is noteworthy that these districts are relatively conservative districts of Ankara. It can be seen that the gender-based division of labour is also adopted in traditional families, that is, women work in the private sphere, undertake domestic care responsibilities, and men work in the public sphere to support the household in return for income. This division of labour is based on gender roles between men and women, and it is a structure that reinforces gender inequality. It is inevitable for the woman to be in a secondary position in the household where the man is the breadwinner and therefore has the economic power. This power imbalance between men and women is one of the leading causes of violence against women.

It is difficult to interpret the relationship between violence against women and the education level of the victim, as 81.6% of the applicants did not specify their educational status. However, the fact that 78.5% of

women victims of violence were not working; 61.1% did not have social security; 59.6% did not own a real estate and 35.3% did not have their own bank accounts shows that women are left behind in terms of standing on their own feet or living as independent individuals. These data reveal that women victims of violence are dependent on a man.

The unbalanced power relations between men and women and the dependence of women on men constitute an important obstacle for women victims of violence to follow a new path for themselves.

The fact that 83.5% of the applicants were married indicates that women are victims of "domestic violence". Considering the data revealing that 846 women had two children, 631 had one child, and 452 had three or more children, women should have the economic power to support not only themselves but also their children so that they can establish a new life free from violence and stand on their own feet.

According to the analysis of the data in Table 3, it is seen that a significant part of the information about applicant can be accessed from the file content, but the "*Unspecified*" percentage of education status, disability status, employment status, number of children, real estate, jewellery and bank account status is quite high and expected to cause problems in data comparison. These critical data will be useful in determining the questions to be asked in the development process of a practical new model.

The "information on violence" obtained with the data collection form includes information stated in the application such as the form of violence, by whom the violence was used, perpetrator's age group, employment status, occupation, education level, type of violence, frequency of violence, damage caused by violence, whether there was a forensic medicine report, duration of violence, whether violence was applied to children, personal characteristics of the perpetrator and whether he had a firearm, and the data obtained are given in Table 4.

Table 5. Distribution of Information on Violence Obtained from the File (N: 2.527)

	Number	%
Form of Violence Specified in the Application		
Psychological/emotional	2.398	94,9
Physical	2.335	92,4
Economic	1.672	66,2
Sexual	787	31,1
Violence against child	541	21,4
Stalking	132	5,2
Perpetrator of violence		
Spouse	2.259	89,4
Former spouse	60	2,4
Boyfriend	55	2,2
Former boyfriend	34	1,3
Relative of the victim	168	6,6
Relative of the partner/spouse	221	8,7
Age Group of the Perpetrator		
18 - 24	16	0,6
25 - 34	70	2,8

35 - 44	80	3,2
45 - 54	29	1,1
55 - 64	17	0,7
65 - 74	5	0,2
75 and over	2	0,1
Unspecified	2.308	91,3
Occupation of the Perpetrator		
Stated	615	24,3
Unspecified	1.912	75,7

Employment / Work Status of the Perpetrator	Number	%
Paid employee (private sector)	346	13,7
Not working	226	8,9
Self-employed	180	7,1
Paid employee (public sector)	105	4,2
Temporary/seasonal	52	2,1
Retired	39	1,5
In prison	15	0,6
Student	8	0,3
Unspecified	1.556	61,6
Education Level of the Perpetrator		
Literate	1	0,04
Illiterate	7	0,3
Primary school	14	0,6
Middle School	8	0,3
High school	17	0,7
Associate's degree	28	1,1
Undergraduate degree	7	0,3
Master's degree	3	0,1
Unspecified	2.442	96,6

Form/Type Violence of the Perpetrator (There may be more than one answer)		
Verbal, insult, humiliation, intimidation, threat, restraint	2.427	96,0
Beating, punching, slapping, kicking	2.307	91,3
Economic violence (confiscation of money/belongings, forced labour, not giving money)	1.696	67,1
Harassment, rape, sexual assault	715	28,3
Sharp objects	269	10,6
Stalking (physically or by phone, on social media)	145	5,7
Firearm	111	4,4
Frequency of Violence		
Often, constantly	247	9,8
Once a week	35	1,4
Three a week	1	0,04
Intermittent	5	0,2
First time	17	0,7
No violence	2	0,1
She declared that the tribe decided her death according to the custom.	1	0,04
Unspecified	2.219	87,8
Damage Due to Violence		
No medical intervention / no physical damage	1.271	50,3
Simple medical intervention	984	38,9
Serious injury	162	6,4
Sexual assault	6	0,2
Unspecified	104	4,1
Forensic Medicine Report		
	Number	%
Yes	724	28,7
No	824	32,6
Unspecified	979	38,7

Duration of Violence		
More than 12 months	2.102	83,2
Previous 12 months	402	15,9
Unspecified	23	0,9
Violence against Children by Perpetrator, if any		
Yes	738	29,2
No	1.411	55,8
No children	345	13,7
Unspecified	33	1,3
Current State of the Perpetrator		
Alcohol addiction	599	23,7
Substance abuse	294	11,6
Unemployment	186	7,4
Psychological disturbance	179	7,1
Gambling addiction	106	4,2
Disability	16	0,6
Firearm of the Perpetrator		
Yes	252	10,0
No	82	3,2
Unspecified	2.193	86,8

According to the data obtained, it is found that 2.398 (94.9%) of the women victims of violence were subjected to psychological/emotional violence; 2.335 (92.4%) were subjected to physical violence. The rate of economic violence was 66.2% (1,672 women), sexual violence was 31.1% (787 women), and the rate of violence against children was 24.1%, which is quite high. In addition, these results show that the

perpetrator used more than one form of violence at the same time.

It was stated that 89.4% of women were exposed to violence by their husbands; the 25-34 age group ranked first with the rate of 3.2% in the distribution of the perpetrators by age groups, 13.7% of them were working in the private sector; 96.0% of the women exposed to verbal insults and threats while

91.3% of them exposed to violence in the form of beating, punching and slapping; 9.8% of them subjected violence continuously; 28.7% of them had a forensic medicine report; 83.2% of them subjected to violence lasted longer than 12 months, 55.8% of them did not observed violence against children; 23.7% of the perpetrators were alcohol addicts and 11.6% were substance addicts; 10.0% of them had a firearm (Figure 5) 28.7% of them had a forensic medicine report; 83.2% of them subjected to violence lasted longer than 12 months, 55.8% of them did not observed violence against children; 23.7% of the perpetrators were alcohol addicts and 11.6% were substance addicts; 10.0% of them had a firearm (Figure 5).

In the light of the data given in the Table, it is seen that the perpetrators used violence against their spouses and that women are victims of domestic violence. It can be understood that women are exposed to physical, psychological and economic violence to a large extent. Economic violence is used by the confiscation of women's earnings as well as the fact that women are economically dependent on their husbands as a result of not being employed. In terms of gender equality, it can be indicated that the unequal positions of women and men in the household and power relations cause the emergence and continuation of violence.

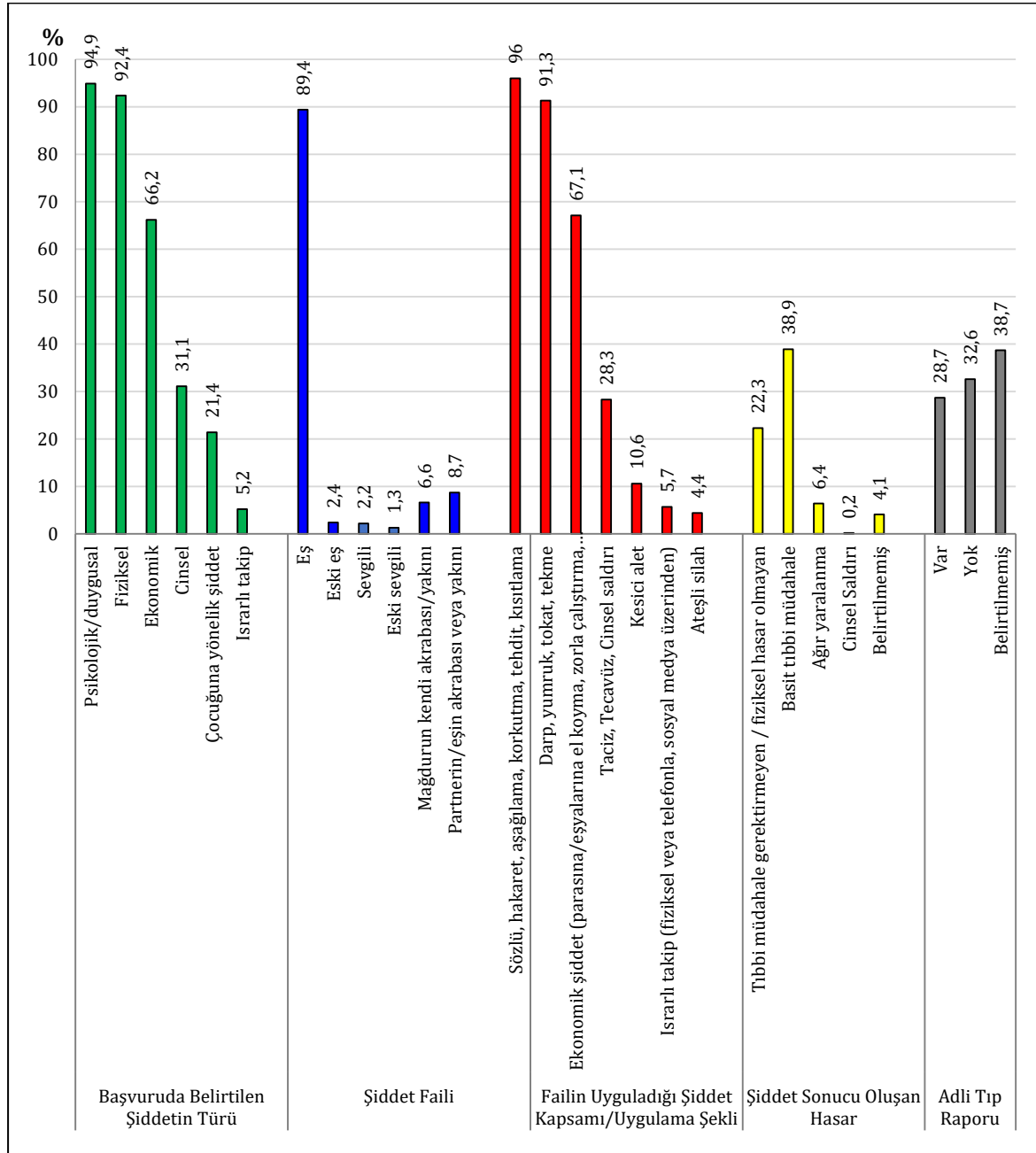


Figure 5. Distribution of Victims' Exposure to Violence (%)

According to the Table 5, it can be seen that 91.3% of the perpetrator's age group; 61.6% of his working status; 96.6% of his education level; 86.6% of the scope of violence; 87.8% of frequency of violence; 38.7% of the presence of a forensic report; 86.8% of whether the perpetrator had a firearm were not specified. The lack of this data is important and valuable in developing a new model.

The rest of the data obtained with the developed data collection form is related to the "legal process" in the files. Information on the legal expectation of the applicant, the status of the file, the criminal case against the perpetrator, the result of the legal process, the alimony received as a result of the lawsuit, compensation, preventive cautionary decisions requested within the scope of the Law No. 6284 and its duration, and temporary alimony is given in the Table 5 and Table 6.

Table 6. Distribution of the Characteristics of the Legal Process Caused by Violence (n=2.527)

Legal Process	Number	%
Legal Expectation/Demand of the Applicant		
Restraining/protection order	2.435	96,4
Divorce	2093	82,8
Alimony	1.981	78,4
Compensation	1.740	68,9
Custody of the child	1.664	65,8
Follow-up of the lawsuit filed by the other party	253	10,0
Other	357	14,1
File Status		
Continuing file	1.395	55,2
Withdrew by the applicant	586	23,2
Closed file	476	18,8
Unspecified	62	2,5
Incompetence	6	0,2
The spouse committed suicide and died	1	0,04
The applicant was killed by another man during the course of the case	1	0,04

Criminal Case Status Against the Perpetrator		
Yes	425	16,8
No	1224	48,4
From another crime	5	0,2
Unspecified	873	34,5
Conclusion of the Legal Process		
Withdrawal of the applicant	577	22,8
Divorce case is concluded	417	16,5
Alimony is settled	230	9,1
Custody of child/children is obtained	222	8,8
Compensation is received	124	4,9
Litigation is ongoing	1.342	53,1

According to the results obtained from the data related to the legal process, the expectation or request of 96.4% of the victims was restraining/protection order, while 82.8% of them was divorce. 55.2% of the files related the applications within the last 5 years were continuing, 23.2% of them were withdrew by the applicant; only in

16.8% of the applications criminal case was brought against the perpetrator, in 34.5% there was no information about the criminal case brought against the perpetrator; 22.8% of the applicants withdrew the case in the legal process, and 16.5% of the cases were resulted in divorce; in 9.1% of them, alimony was settled for the victim.

Table 7. Results of the Legal Process (N=2.527)

Legal Process		
Alimony (amount) received as a result of the lawsuit	Min: 150 – Max:1.750 TL	
	Number	%
Alimony is not settled	570	22,6
Only child support	93	3,7
Both child support and poverty alimony	87	3,4
Only poverty alimony	38	1,5
Only temporary alimony	1	0,0
Litigation is ongoing	230	9,1

Withdrew by the applicant	11	0,4
Case dismissed	2	0,1
Unspecified	1.495	59,2
Compensation (amount) received as a result of the lawsuit	Material: Min:1.000 – Max: 30.000 TRY Moral: Min:1.000 – Max: 40.000 TRY	
None	710	28,1
Both moral and material compensation	97	3,8
Only material compensation	22	0,9
Only moral compensation	9	0,4
Litigation is ongoing	317	12,5
Withdrew by the applicant	25	1,0
Case dismissed	4	0,2
Unspecified	1.343	53,1
Preventive measure taken/requested under Law No. 6284		
a	2.141	84,7
b	1.269	50,2
c	1.973	78,1
ç	619	24,5
d	1.460	57,8
e	1.517	60,0
f	1.877	74,3
g	693	27,4
ğ	429	17,0
h	617	24,4
ı	434	17,2
Request denied	14	0,6
None/not known	230	9,1

Temporary Alimony	Number	%
Yes	507	20,1
No	961	38,0
Unspecified	1.059	41,9
Duration of the preventive cautionary decision		
No preventive cautionary decision	406	16,1
1 month and less	131	5,2
2 months	83	3,3
3 months	222	8,8
4 months	43	1,7
5 months	13	0,5
6 months	266	10,5
Unspecified	1.363	53,9
Preventive cautionary decisions taken in accordance with the Law No. 6284		
Changing/concealing identity and other related information and documents	642	25,4
Annotation on family residence	43	1,7
Health measure	33	1,3
In case of marriage, determining a separate settlement from the joint settlement	19	0,8
Ankle monitor	10	0,4
Change of workplace	8	0,3
Other	68	2,7

As a result of the lawsuit, for 3.7% of the victims, only child support alimony was settled, for 3.4% of them, both child support and poverty alimony were settled, the amount of alimony varied between TRY 150 and TRY 1750; 28.1% of the victims did not receive any compensation; 3.7% of them received both material and moral

compensation, the amount of the material compensation varied between TRY 1,000 and 30,000, and the amount of the moral compensation varied between TRY 10,000 and 40,000. It was found that for 20.1% of them, temporary alimony was settled and no preventive cautionary decision was given for 16.1% of them. According to the data on the

legal process, the fact that 59.2% of the alimony status and amount; 53.1% of the compensation status and amount; 41.9% of the temporary alimony status; 53.9% of the duration of the preventive cautionary decision determined as a result of the lawsuit was not specified is also an important shortcoming, as observed in other findings, and prevents to establish a statistical significance relationship between parameters in cross tables.

The relationship between the age groups and education levels of the applicant and the perpetrator and the form of violence is shown in a cross table in order to compare the data collected regarding the applicant, the perpetrator, the form of the violence and the legal process, with the analysis of the files and the developed data collection form (Table 7).

According to the examination of the legal process, it was found that 570 women were not paid alimony, 93 women were only child support alimony, and 87 women were paid both child support and poverty alimony. Considering that women do not receive education and do not participate in employment, as mentioned in the previous section, it is important to settle alimony for women after divorce. Staying away from education and employment, which are seen as the most important obstacles in front of women's empowerment, makes women (in the case of marriage) dependent on men and makes it difficult for them to take a divorce

decision despite being subjected to violence. Therefore, alimony is an important right for women. It is a major problem that the right to alimony can be discussed before reaching a social order in which gender equality is ensured and women are defined as individuals apart from the roles of spouses and mothers in the family. Considering that most of the women victims of violence have children, the "right to alimony" is important for women to decide on divorce when they are victims of violence and to establish a life free from violence.

Within the scope of Law No. 6284, it is observed that the decisions in subparagraphs a, c and f are requested or given by the court at the highest rate among the "preventive cautionary decisions" of the applicants.

It was found that they demand mostly "a. Not to exhibit an attitude and behaviours including the threats of violence, insult and humiliation against the victim of violence". This can be evaluated as how negatively this psychological violence affects women and how they primarily try to protect themselves from the psychological violence perpetrated by men.

This demand was followed by "c. Not to approach to the protected persons and their residences, schools and workplaces." and "b. To move from the shared dwelling or the vicinity immediately and to allocate the shared dwelling to the protected person." This means that women victims of violence

request support for ensuring their life and home security.

The above-mentioned "preventive cautionary" decisions are followed by "f. Not to cause distress to the protected person by means of communication instruments or alternative channels". This reveals that women are also exposed to "digital violence" and demand that their abusive spouses and partners be restricted from contacting and disturbing them via digital communication tools. Finally, it should be noted that women demand "e. Not to damage the personal belongings and household goods of the protected person" as another preventive cautionary decision. This refers to a dimension of physical violence experienced by women victims of violence from their spouses and partners. Physical violence is a form of violence that men use their power as a threat. The demanded "preventive cautionary decisions" are of great importance for women to lead a life free from violence, to ensure their own safety of life and property, and to continue their lives.

Considering the duration of the preventive cautionary decisions, it was seen that the measures for 3-months and 6-months come to the fore, however, in approximately 53% of the files examined, information on the duration of the preventive cautionary decisions could not be reached.

As one of the conditions for keeping women away from men exposing violence during

judicial processes is to ensure that they receive financial support, "temporary alimony" is another important issue in this regard. In the files examined, it is determined that there was a lack of information about this issue, and it is important that 38% of the temporary alimony was not settled.

Considering the "preventive cautionary decisions", which were demanded by the applicants most within the scope of Law No. 6284, a. Changing/concealing identity and other related information and documents is seen. The request of women victims of violence to have their identity documents and other information changed or concealed indicates their desire to escape from the perpetrator and start a new life. In this sense, women can get out of the cycle of violence and have the chance to live a free and non-violent life, thanks to the protective measures they requested. Another preventive cautionary decision is b. Putting an annotation on the family house ensuring that the perpetrator of violence cannot approach the house. In this way, women try to protect their lives and their children and to erase the negative traces of violence on themselves and their children. However, it is also known that this protection measure can be broken by the perpetrator with the request to see the children or speak for the last time, and this causes the deaths of women. Putting an annotation on the house is of vital importance for women and their children.

Table 8. Distribution of Forms of Violence Specified in the Application by Age Group of the Applicant

Applicant's Age Group	Form of Violence Specified in the Application									
	Physical		Sexual		Economic		Emotional/ Psychological		Stalking	
	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*
18 - 24 (n=415)	375	90,4	130	31,3	236	56,9	396	95,4	37	8,9
25 - 34 (n=1004)	943	93,9	315	31,4	674	67,1	964	96,0	46	4,6
35 - 44 (n=785)	722	92,0	254	32,4	541	68,9	735	93,6	39	5,0
45 - 54 (n=230)	213	92,6	65	28,3	165	71,7	215	93,5	4	1,7
55 - 64 (n=61)	53	86,9	11	18,0	39	63,9	58	95,1	2	3,3
65 - 74 (n=6)	5	83,3	2	33,3	2	33,3	5	83,3	2	33,3
75 and over (n=2)	2	100,0	1	50,0	2	100,0	2	100,0	0	0,0
Unspecified (n=24)	22	91,7	9	37,5	13	54,2	23	95,8	2	8,3

* Percentages are based on (n) numbers.

When the distribution of violence forms according to the age groups of the applicants was analysed, it was found that all forms of violence were mostly used in the 25-34 age group (Figure 6). These data indicate that young and middle-aged women are subjected to physical, psychological and economic violence by their spouses and/or partners.

The increasing rate of violence in the 18-24 age group also points to the violence against women, which has been named as "dating violence", in recent years. It is important to inform young women and men between the ages of 18-24 about dating violence.

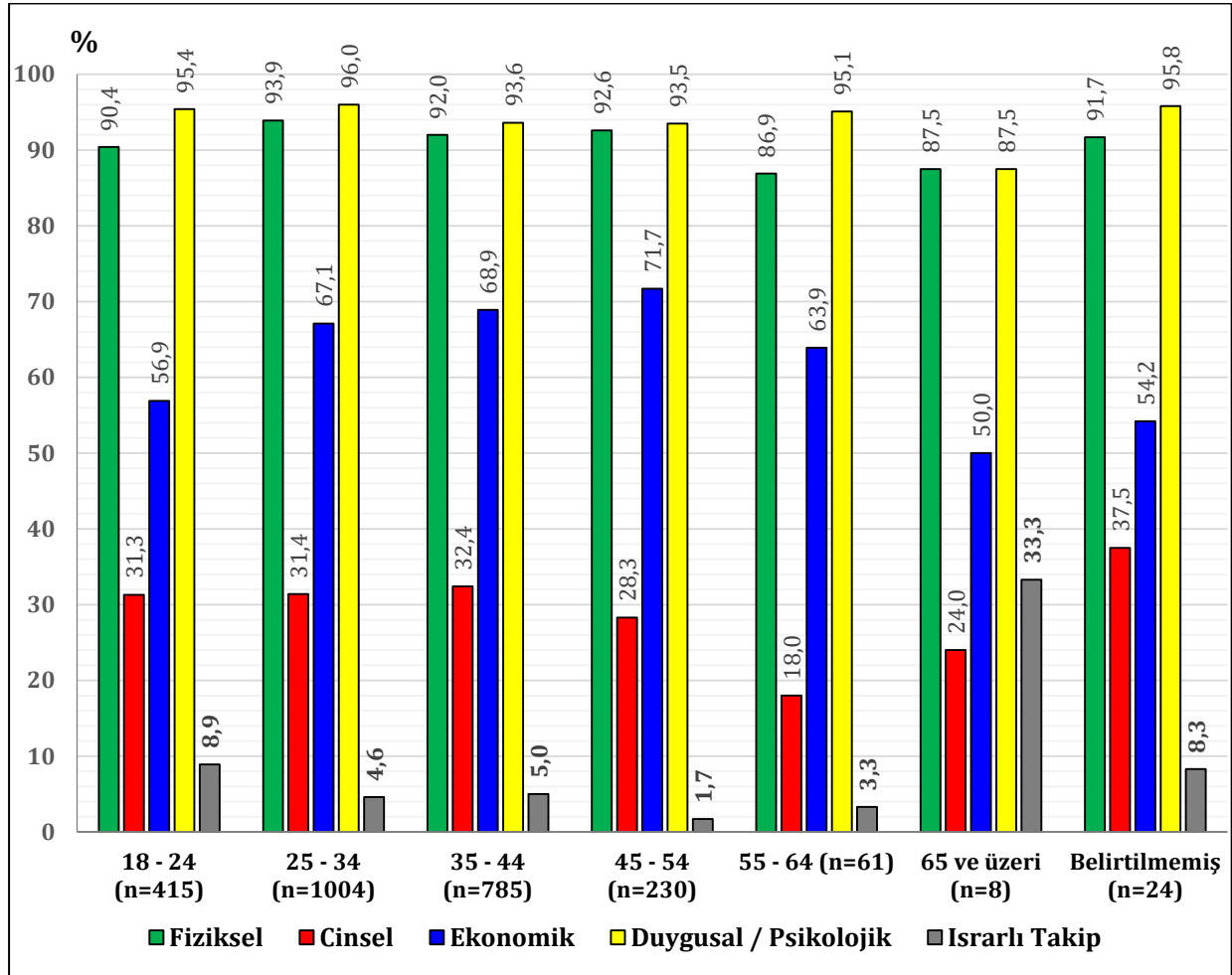


Figure 6. Distribution of Forms of Violence Specified in the Application by Age Group of the Applicant (%)

The distribution of the forms of violence specified in the application according to the

age groups of the perpetrator is presented in Table 8 and Figure 7.

Table 9. Distribution of Forms of Violence Specified in the Application by Age Group of the Perpetrator

Age Group of the Perpetrator	Form of Violence Specified in the Application									
	Physical		Sexual		Economic		Emotional/ Psychological		Stalking	
	N.	%*	N.	%*	N.	%*	N.	%*	N.	%*
18 - 24 (n=16)	15	93,8	6	37,5	7	43,8	14	87,5	0	0,0
25 - 34 (n=70)	69	98,6	21	30,0	49	70,0	68	97,1	0	0,0
35 - 44 (n=80)	74	92,5	29	36,3	61	76,3	77	96,3	0	0,0
45 - 54 (n=29)	29	100,0	12	41,4	24	82,8	26	89,7	0	0,0
55 - 64 (n=17)	15	88,2	4	23,5	11	64,7	15	88,2	0	0,0
65 - 74 (n=5)	3	60,0	3	60,0	2	40,0	5	100,0	0	0,0
75 and over (n=2)	2	100,0	1	50,0	1	50,0	2	100,0	0	0,0
Unspecified (n=2.308)	2.128	92,2	711	30,8	1517	65,7	2.191	94,9	7	0,3

* Percentages are based on (n) numbers.

The information related to the age group of the perpetrator was "unspecified" at a very

high rate, which prevents making comparisons and statistical evaluations.

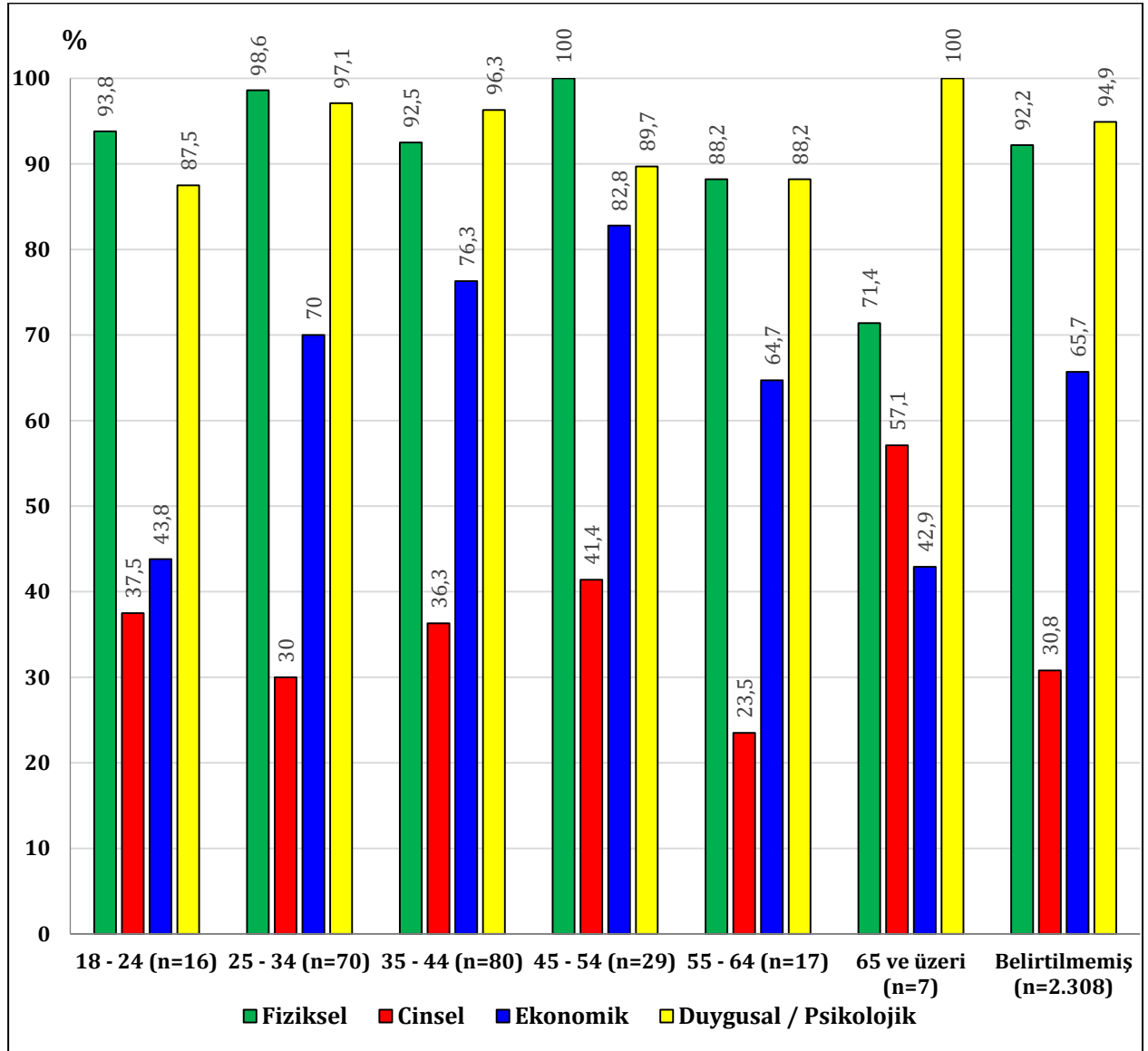


Figure 7. Distribution of Violence Forms Specified in the Application by Age Group of the Perpetrator (%)

The education level of the applicant and the perpetrator and the forms of violence at the time of application were compared (Table 9; Figure 8). According to the data given in the table, while physical violence is a risk factor for women in the young and middle age

group, psychological violence starts to pose a risk for women with increasing age. Particularly for elderly women over the age of 65, the rate of psychological violence reaches 100%.

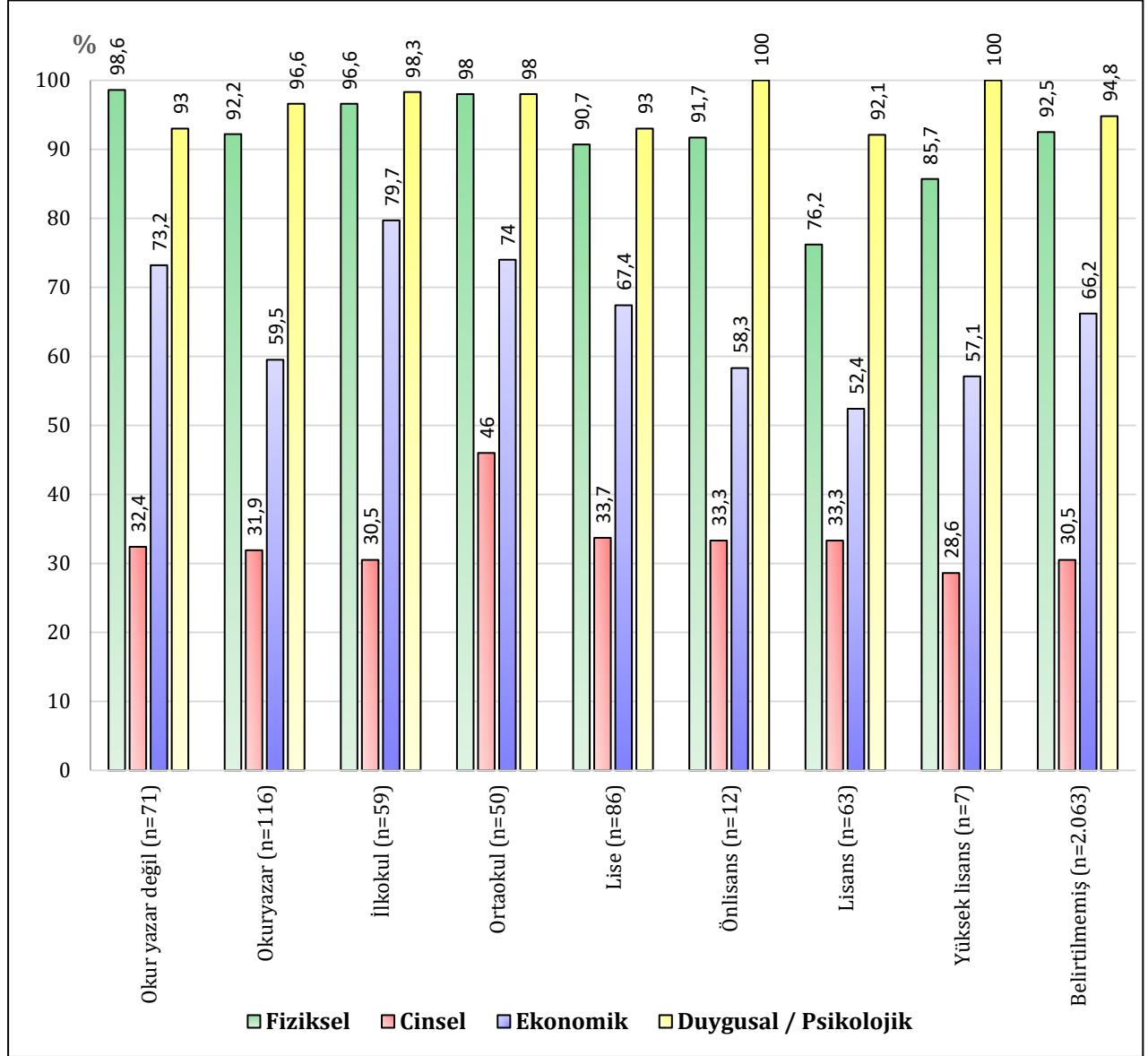
Table 10. Distribution of Forms of Violence Specified in the Application by Education Level of the Applicant

Educational Status of the Applicant	Form of Violence Specified in the Application									
	Physical		Sexual		Economic		Emotional/ Psychological		Stalking	
	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*
Illiterate (n=71)	70	98,6	23	32,4	52	73,2	66	93,0	0	0,0
Literate (n=116)	107	92,2	37	31,9	69	59,5	112	96,6	1	0,9
Primary School (n=59)	57	96,6	18	30,5	47	79,7	58	98,3	0	0,0
Middle School (n=50)	49	98,0	23	46,0	37	74,0	49	98,0	0	0,0
High School (n=86)	78	90,7	29	33,7	58	67,4	80	93,0	0	0,0
Associate's Degree (n=12)	11	91,7	4	33,3	7	58,3	12	100,0	0	0,0
Undergraduate degree (n=63)	48	76,2	21	33,3	33	52,4	58	92,1	0	0,0
Master's Degree (n=7)	6	85,7	2	28,6	4	57,1	7	100,0	0	0,0
Unspecified (n=2.063)	1.909	92,5	630	30,5	1.365	66,2	1.956	94,8	6	0,3

* Percentages are based on (n) numbers.

Considering the distribution of forms of violence specified in the application by the education level of the applicant, it was found that all forms of violence were mostly used against illiterate people. However, the high

rate of the unspecified education status limits the interpretation. It is the same for the relation between the educational status of the perpetrator and the form of violence



Distribution of Forms of Violence Specified in the Application by Education Level of the Applicant (%)

The relation between the education level of the perpetrator and the violence he used is shown in Table 10 and Figure 8.

Table 11. Distribution of Forms of Violence Specified in the Application by Education Level of the Perpetrator

Education Level of the Perpetrator	Form of Violence Specified in the Application									
	Physical		Sexual		Economic		Emotional/ Psychologic al		Stalking	
	Num ber	%*	Num ber	%*	Num ber	%*	Num ber	%*	Num ber	%*
Illiterate (n=1)	1	100,0	1	100,0	1	100,0	1	100,0	0	0,0
Literate (n=7)	7	100,0	2	28,6	5	71,4	7	100,0	0	0,0
Primary School (n=14)	14	100,0	6	42,9	10	71,4	14	100,0	0	0,0
Middle School (n=8)	8	100,0	2	25,0	7	87,5	8	100,0	0	0,0
High School (n=17)	16	94,1	10	58,8	11	64,7	15	88,2	0	0,0
Associate's Degree (n=7)	7	100,0	2	28,6	4	57,1	7	100,0	0	0,0
Undergraduate degree (n=28)	21	75,0	10	35,7	17	60,7	26	92,9	0	0,0
Master's Degree (n=3)	3	100,0	0	0,0	3	100,0	2	66,7	0	0,0
Unspecified (n=2.442)	2.258	92,5	754	30,9	1.614	66,1	2.318	94,9	7	0,3

* Percentages are based on (n) numbers.

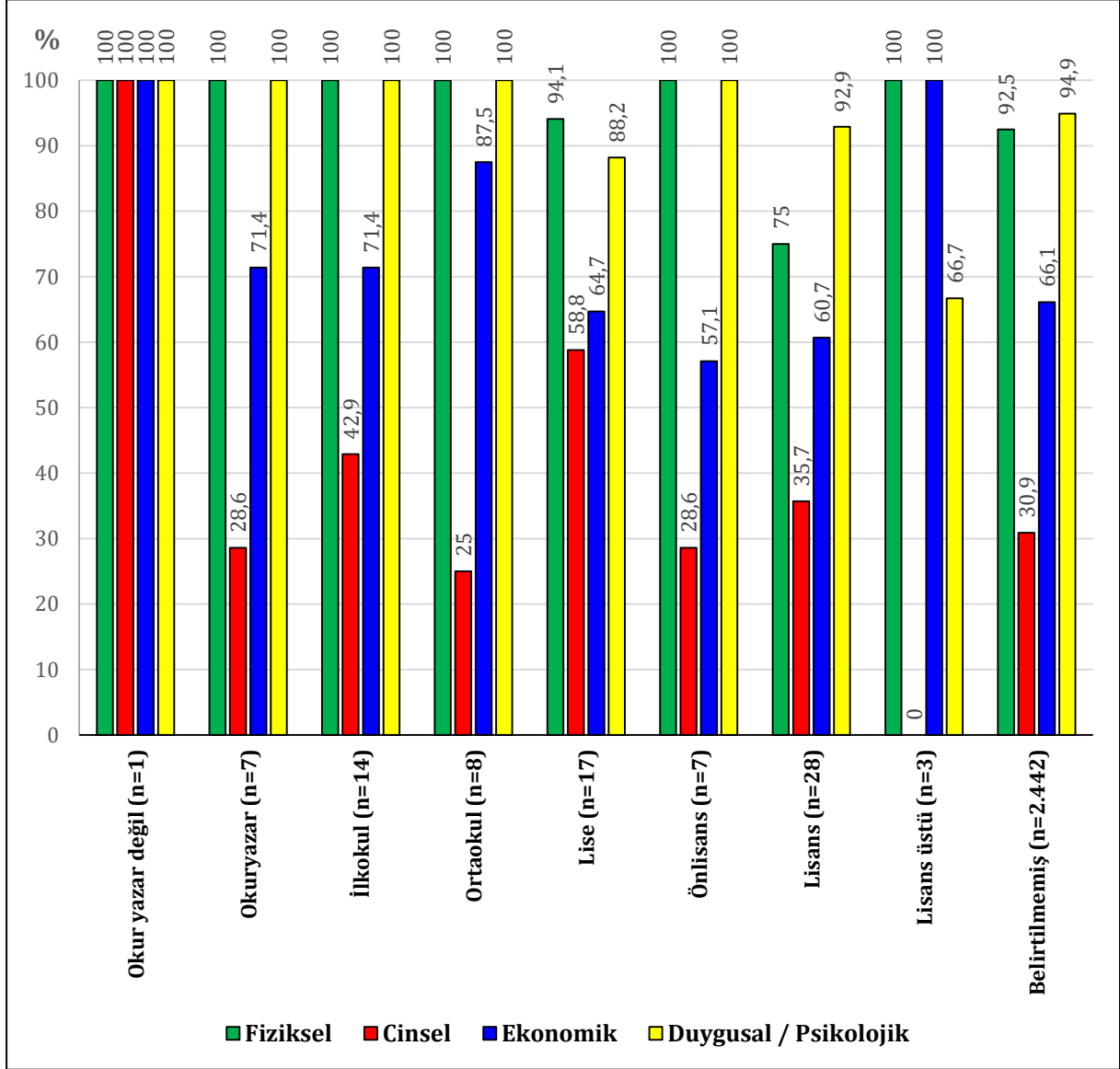


Figure 8. Distribution of Forms of Violence Specified in the Application by Education Level of the Perpetrator (%)

The data obtained as a result of the examination of 2,527 files through the developed data collection form reveals a 5-year breakdown of the women victims of violence who applied to Ankara Bar Association Gelincik Centre for the years 2017-2021. For this reason, it is necessary to develop a "**model**" in order to obtain data related to "**Unspecified**" parameters, clearly visible in the tables and graphs. In the development of this model, it is necessary to ensure well-defined concepts for standardization. The importance of using standard definitions in the collection of administrative data and the main problem areas are explained in detail in the sections above.

4.3 Qualitative research methodology

This field study includes in-depth interviews with 10 women who have received legal support from the Gelincik Centre before, in order to contribute to the study with qualitative research methods, following the analysis of the application files made to the Gelincik Centre within the scope of the project and the collection of data with quantitative methods. Content analysis of the findings obtained in the study was made. The aim of the in-depth interviews is to reveal the experiences of women who are victims of violence in benefiting from the existing legal mechanisms and their

practices of preventing violence and empowerment with the legal support they receive in the light of the quantitative data obtained from the files.

Objectives of the research:

1. To learn the experiences of women victims of violence in the judicial process and to identify their needs
2. To identify limitations and well-functioning aspects in legal mechanisms
3. To formulate suggestions in order to improve the functioning of legal mechanisms
4. To emphasise the gender aspect of violence based on women's experiences of violence

The field study was planned to be carried out online or face-to-face in Ankara, with 10 women who had applied to the Gelincik Centre and received legal support before, by selecting them from the files using a random sampling method. Women willing to participate in the interview were reached and their consent was obtained by their volunteer lawyers in order to keep their identities confidential. Interviews were held between the period 10 May-27 May 2022 in Ankara by the experts of the project.

The following semi-structured questionnaire was prepared to be used in in-depth interviews.

Questionnaire

Table 12: In-depth interview questionnaire

Demographic Information	
Age	
Marital status	
Number of children, if any	
Occupation	
Employment status	
Social security status	
Disability status	
Education level	
Province/District	
In-depth Interview Questions	
<p>1. History of Violence</p> <p>1.1 What do you understand by the term “violence”?</p> <p>1.2 The extent, duration of violence? Children's witnessing of violence, if any.</p> <p>1.3 Can you describe your marriage? Occupation, education, age of your former-spouse or spouse?</p> <p>1.4 How did you feel when you experienced violence for the first time?</p>	
<p>2. Application process to the Gelincik Centre</p> <p>2.1 How did you hear about the Gelincik Centre? Did you know about legal support and your rights before? Have you applied to another institution?</p> <p>2.2 How did you decide to apply? When did you apply? Has anyone else supported you?</p> <p>2.3 How was the process after your application? Which services were provided to you? Was the process easy for you?</p> <p>2.4 What do you think was the most satisfying aspect of the service you received? What could be better?</p>	
<p>3. Litigation process</p> <p>3.1 What was your legal expectation from the Gelincik Centre?</p> <p>3.2 Could you tell us a little about the lawsuit process?</p> <p>3.3 What was the result of the lawsuit?</p> <p>3.4 What did you do after the lawsuit was concluded?</p> <p>3.5 Do you think existing laws and legal mechanisms are sufficient to prevent violence? What are your suggestions?</p>	
<p>4. Current situation</p> <p>4.1 How would you describe your current life?</p> <p>4.2 How do you think your life would be different now if you had not reported the violence to</p>	

the authorities and asked for support?
4.2 What would you like to say to women who are going through the same things as you to put an end to violence?
4.4 Is there anything else you want to add?

Table 12: In-depth interview consent form

VOLUNTEER PARTICIPATION FORM

Dear Participants,

This study aims to analyse the effectiveness of legal mechanisms in combating violence against women within the scope of the “Traces of Violence Project” carried out by the Equal Generations Association and Ankara Bar Association. Your answers to the questions will be used to develop policies and recommendations to improve the Gelincik Centre services and legal support services, and to better support women like you who have experienced violence at some point in their lives. Therefore, it is very important that you answer all questions sincerely and honestly. The recommendations developed as a result of the research will be shared with the stakeholders involved in the combat against violence, particularly the Ankara Bar Association, without using your personal information.

Your participation in the research is completely voluntary. I would like to state that the information obtained through the interview will remain confidential and will only be used for research purposes. For this reason, we will not record your personal information such as name-surname, address, etc. during the interview. If you wish, you can choose a nickname or name for yourself. Our interview will take approximately 1 hour. We would like to take an audio recording with your permission during the interview. Thus, we will be able to completely report the information you share with us. You can stop the audio recording at any time, end it or request the deletion/removal of the parts you do not want. If you do not want a voice recording, the interview will not be recorded in any way. This interview will be held by my friend, the Project Assistant and I (.....). We will take notes during the interview.

Thank you for participating in the interview, answering our questions and agreeing to be a light to all women who think they are condemned to live with violence.

Date

Ankara

Before the interview, the above consent form was read to the participants and their verbal consent was taken. Written consent and signature were not requested from the participants as it was aimed not to reflect their experiences in the judicial process to the consent process. No audio recordings were made, but notes were taken simultaneously by two experts during the interviews. Interviews were conducted face-to-face and over the phone, depending on the participant's preference, and lasted an average of 2 hours and 20 minutes. Participants were asked to choose a nickname for themselves and the nicknames listed in the section below were used. The findings of the qualitative research are summarized in the following section.

4.4 Qualitative Research findings

The information about experiences and opinions of the participants in the following focus areas, obtained from the interviews conducted in line with the in-depth interview form described in the previous section, are included in this section. In this context, qualitative data collected in 5 main focus areas are divided into sub-areas as follows.

1. Gender Roles/Attitudes
 - Definitions regarding gender
 - Perspectives Developed with the Impact of the Family
- Perception of Marriage and Femininity
2. Experiences of Violence
 - Violence perceptions and definitions
 - The severity and level of the violence exposed
 - Violence dynamics and cycle
 - The effects of violence on women
 - The effects of violence on children
3. Help Seeking Behaviours
 - Support of family and relatives
 - Reasons for giving in to violence
 - Breaking point
 - Awareness of rights
 - Experiences related to the institutions applied previously
 - Police
 - Women's Shelter
 - Judges
 - Gelincik Centre
4. Judicial process
 - Protection order
 - Duration of the process
 - Temporary alimony, alimony and compensation
 - Impunity of the perpetrator
5. Empowerment practices
 - Education and economic empowerment
 - Psychological support
 - Future expectations and dreams
 - Regrets of women and suggestions to other women.

The demographic characteristics of the participants in the interviews conducted with a total of 10 women are presented in the table below. According to the information obtained, the participants were between the ages of 26-50, and their education levels varied between secondary school and undergraduate degrees. Although all of the participants have children, 2 participants do not have joint children with the perpetrator of violence. It was observed that the age at first marriage was quite low (between 17-25 years). It was found that 5 participants were

working in a paid job during marriage and after violence, and 5 were unemployed.

Examining the disability status of the participants during the interviews, it was found that 2 participants had a mild disability before the violence, but 4 participants had a disability or their disability status got worse after the violence. Two participants had walking and visual disabilities due to the violence they experienced.

Table 13: Demographic profile of the participants

Nickname	Age	Marital Status	Number of Children	Age of First Marriage	Education Level	Employment Status	Disability/Chronic illness
Cherry Blossom	28	In divorce process	1	26	Undergraduate	Employed	None
Clove	43	Divorced	2	18	Master's (after divorce)	Employed	None (chronic pain)
Pink	45	Married	3	20	High school	Employed	Post-violence visual impairment in 1 eye
Daisy	50	In divorce process	4	20	Vocational school	Unemployed	None
Rose	39	In divorce process	3	17	High school	Unemployed	Visual impairment
Peace	45	In divorce process	4	16	High School (After divorce, open education high school graduate and business associate degree student)	Employed	Post-violence physical disability
Raindrop	32	Divorced	1	25	Middle School	Unemployed	Mild speech impairment (since childhood)
Gold	29	Second marriage	3	18	Middle School	Unemployed	None
New Life	30	In divorce process	1	21	High school	Employed	None
Jasmine	26	In divorce process	2	17	Middle School	Employed	Visual disability in 1 eye

4.4.1 Gender Roles

In the first session of the in-depth interviews, the attitudes of the participants towards gender roles and their family/marriage stories were inquired.

History of women before the marriage is of great importance. In the interviews, it was found that the factors such as the positive attitude towards marriage in the society, the perception of "married, happy women with children", the desire to escape from family pressure, the expectation of receiving the love and attention from her husband that she could not receive from her father, and the desire to belong to somewhere, feeling herself as "unprotected" can be effective in the decision of marriage. Sometimes, due to family/society pressure, women do not get to know their future spouses well before marriage, and the marriage decision is "hurried".

“My parents are separated, I grew up with my sister, my sister wanted me to get married as soon as possible. I had an unorganised life, I wanted to get rid of it as soon as possible. I wish I had given up then. We were engaged for 5 months. We couldn't know each other very well. Engagement was to meet, but we could not meet. I have a bigoted family; we couldn't meet

so my father wouldn't get angry. The first violence started in the shopping for our engagement.”
(Gold, 29)

“He found me by phone, we talked on the phone. I didn't know he was drinking alcohol. We got engaged with a quick decision and then we got married.” (Jasmine, 26)

“I met my former husband through social media. His family wanted him to marry a nurse. He wanted to get married as soon as the families met. My friends were married and happy; I was impressed. It was a hasty decision. I got married within a year.”
(Cherry Blossom, 28)

According to the interviews, factors such as the woman's marriage at a very early age, the age difference between the spouses, the man's previous marriage experience, the effects of perspective of her own family and her spouse's family on women and the role of women in marriage are among the factors affecting the violence experience of women.

“I got married at the age of 18. He was our distant relative. He was 9-10 years older than me. We were living with her two siblings when we got married. We got married after 9 months of engagement. Everything happened so fast.” (Clove, 43)

“We met in 1 month, I was 16 when we got married, he was 29 years old. We got married willingly. I was living with my oppressive family. My mother beat me because I had a boyfriend. I wanted to get married to get out of the house. I sought fatherly affection.” (Peace, 45)

Family perceptions and, more generally, society's perceptions and expectations about what a woman/mother should do, how she should behave in marriage, what kind of wife/mother she should be affect what women want to do as an “individual”, their limits and expectations, and shape the expectations of women from marriage and relationship, who were brought up with stereotypes for women determined by society from an early age. The woman's right to object is not taken into account because the interests of children and marriage come before the interests of the woman as an individual.

“I got married at 17-18 years old. My former husband was 20-21 years old and working in a biscuit factory. He was middle school graduate. His siblings were likewise, 2 brothers. His father always picked up them from the police station. They were constantly getting into fights. His mother would always say, 'my son is fine, perfect, like a lion'. My mother-in-law used to say, 'He is a man. A

man does it when he gets angry. You should be on the right side of him, I was beaten too many times, this made me a woman.” (Gold, 29)

“I got married at 17. I was not thinking of getting married. “Maybe I didn't feel a sense of protection or fatherly love, I looked for someone to turn to. I made a mistake”. (Jasmine, 26)

Since the perception that "violence has no excuse" is not accepted by most of the women and society yet, women sometimes try to understand the reason for violence and question their motherhood/femininity. The fact that women are valued primarily as a mother and wife, not as an individual, is used as a justification for women to maintain these roles. It is not enough that the perception that there can be no excuse for violence is adopted only among women. It seems extremely important that the woman's family, the perpetrator's family, and all parties involved in the support mechanisms for combating violence against women have this perspective and fulfil their duties in this respect. Despite all the work done, legal support mechanisms and other mechanisms aimed at empowering and protecting women from violence, the perception of "an enduring woman" and "men make houses women make homes" still seems to be widespread in the society.

“I have always been silenced. We are divorced, my mother said, don't get divorced.” (Gold, 29)

“My mother said, 'I left you at a young age', she said, 'Don't do the same to your children'. Still, we ran away and went to my mother, my mother said, "Only your dead body can be here", and she closed the door in my face. I went and took shelter in a women's shelter. Thankfully, the state was behind me, it was always kept as a secret. I got a job there.” (Gold, 29)

“My mother-in-law put psychological pressure on me and tried to discourage me by saying, "It happens in every family, you will have a child.” (Cherry Blossom, 28)

It is seen that the perceptions of femininity and masculinity in all of the interviewed women reflect the traditional view of society. The abused woman begins to question whether she is a good wife/mother, and takes the blame for the violence on herself. As it can be understood from the statements below, the women interviewed have a perception that masculinity is superior in family structures, and that femininity has a suppressed position in the traditional family. It has been observed that the perpetrator tries to suppress and oppress the woman by using the role of mother.

“My motherhood/partnership was not valued.” (Rose, 39)

“When a woman experiences something, she becomes a guilty woman. It's enough to be side by side with a man. It is always said 'It was definitely you calling on him, why you and not someone else'.” (Pink, 45)

“I would ask 'Am I ugly', I would ask if the house is not clean, I can't take care of the children, what is missing in me? He used to find excuses saying, 'I wouldn't do anything if you didn't answer me, I wouldn't hit you if you didn't cry'. 'I'm a man, I'm the pillar of the house, without me you wouldn't be alive.’” (Peace, 45)

“If I had ten wives, I'd f... them up. He was saying I am a rooster, let his mother be a mother. According to him, making a child is a pleasure. Let it be, but I won't look after a child, let her mother take care of him/her.” (Raindrop, 32)

“He said, "F... your womanhood, are you a mother too?" He would say, "Is there any good in the milk that comes from you, your milk is poisonous.” (Raindrop, 32)

As emphasized in the relevant literature, violence begins in the family, and the

individual who witnesses and / or is exposed to violence in his/her own family is affected by this picture. This can manifest as the individual opposing all forms of violence and turning to positive behaviours instead of violence, or it can also manifest as the repetition/reflection of the violence experienced in the family by the individual who does not know a different example/role model, unfortunately. The interviewed women also shared their experiences and observations in this regard. Under normal conditions, the family and society, which are on the side of the victim and the oppressed, may tend to protect the man under the influence of the patriarchal structure when it comes to violence against women. According to the interviews again, women can be considered guilty in case of violence with the thought of protecting the man and the family, and excuses can be made such as that the woman does not conform to the "honour" patterns and is not a good mother/wife.

“My son was hyperactive because he could not speak, his uncle would hit my child at the dinner table. I used to tell this to my mother-in-law and she was saying, ‘Oh, is this the point, you hit his child too’. So, violence was used in the whole family. His father

also beat his mother a lot, and a child does what he sees.” (Gold, 29)

“A mother leads a child. What did that child go through? His family turned him into an animal. He was taking alcohol, drugs, everything, and that was tolerated. He didn't know how precious a mother was. I think everything happened was because of the family.” (Pink, 45)

As can be seen, the findings obtained in the in-depth interviews show that unequal gender roles are constantly reproduced in the traditional family model and violence is normalized in the male-dominated family structure.

4.4.2 Experiences of violence

In the in-depth interviews, the following questions were asked to analyse the violence experiences of the participants, and they were asked to describe their experiences.

- Perceptions regarding violence and definitions
- The severity and level of the violence exposed
- Violence dynamics and cycle
- The effects of violence on women
- The effects of violence on children
- Profile of the perpetrator

Table 14: Participants' exposure to violence

Nickname	Physical Violence	Psychological Violence	Sexual Violence	Economic Violence	Violence during pregnancy	Digital Violence	Stalking
Cherry Blossom	X	X		X	X	X	
Clove	X	X		X			
Pink	X	X	X	X	No joint child with the perpetrator		X
Daisy	X	X	X	X	No joint child with the perpetrator		
Rose	X	X	X	X	X		
Peace	X	X	X	X			
Raindrop	X	X	X	X	X		
Gold	X	X		X	X		
New Life	X	X		X	X		
Jasmin	X	X		X			

As can be seen from the table, all of the women interviewed stated that they were exposed to psychological and economic violence as well as physical violence. Five out of 8 women who have joint children with the perpetrator stated that they were also subjected to violence during pregnancy. Although the rate of exposure to sexual violence seems to be lower than other forms of violence, the fact that the participants could not make clear statements on this issue suggests that this rate is higher than stated.

Considering the violence experiences of women, the perception and knowledge of the women interviewed about violence and its forms is quite sufficient. Women use terms such as 'psychological violence', 'economic violence', 'physical violence', 'sexual violence' knowing the meaning of the term and appropriately. The fact that the women in question received support from the Gelincik Centre, ŞÖNİMs or other institutions, organizations and parties involved in combating violence may have contributed to the development of their knowledge and awareness about violence and its forms.

Although women know the forms of violence and even if they are aware that they were victims of violence, it may be difficult for them to make sense of why violence occurred. One participant said several times during the interview that **“I wanted to believe it was a nightmare,** (Cherry Blossom, 28)”.

While some of the women interviewed stated that the violence started with psychological violence and gradually increased, some participants did not mention a gradual increase. The interviews reveals that the forms of violence are intertwined and that “violence breeds violence”. Again, according to the interviews with women, it is possible to say that physical violence is accompanied by 100% psychological violence.

“At first he started yelling at me. He started to use psychological violence, saying, 'Wear this, buy this'. He started to dislike the food I cooked.” (Cherry Blossom, 28)

“My one day: going to the bathroom, face wash, setting a full table for that man, and then he was rushing out to men's coffee house at 8.15. I've never been to the bazaar or market, not even once. I was going to prison visit [for his son in prison] once a week. My son was in a closed prison, I was in an open prison.” (Daisy, 50)

“At first, psychological violence started. He constantly humiliated me, did not value me as a person. I was not allowed in contact with anyone during the marriage. Physical violence started when we had a child. He beat me first. He would say, 'I am not the person to beat you, you make me beat you'. He hit my daughter's legs because she waved to her grandmother from the balcony. My son was able to speak at the age of 5 due to pressure. He also used psychological violence against our son. He was not working and it was the biggest problem. He wouldn't take us to the doctor, he would say 'the doctors use you as a test subject'. We used to try to cure all diseases at home. My children were distrustful of people. We could never go out. He would even be bothered by the sound of the dishes. 'You are a lost case,' he used to say to the children, insulting them. He always justified himself. He would never let me leave the house. He accused me of being dishonest.”
(Rose, 39)

“He was constantly stalking me, including the breath I took. He used to control the light of the bathroom, the house where I lived at night. I thought I was going to die; I told the people around. Even people thought I was going to be killed. He came to my workplace, raided the school,

complained. He was extremely jealous. Because of the threat, I was yielding to his wishes. I attempted suicide.” (Pink, 45)

As can be indicated from the statements above, violence first begins with behavioural patterns such as psychological pressure, establishing control, and not allowing them to meet with family members/other people, followed by physical violence. In some cases, it was stated that physical violence was used from the first years of marriage.

“He used physical violence several times in the first 5 years of marriage. He expressed regret. There was constant psychological pressure in the house. He would interfere with everything. He used to cause trouble because the cord of the vacuum cleaner was too loose. He would say turn on the speaker when talking to my mom. He was a very dominant character. We bought a house together. I was working at the X store at the time. He had my pay check. We were paying home debt. I gave all my jewellery from the wedding to that house.” (Clove, 43)

“ He said, 'Sorry but if you came here, you will die. He was watching me all the time even when I was in the bathroom. I was afraid of even a single breath coming from behind me. He wouldn't let me watch the quiz

shows, he would say 'you know the answer to every question'. I slept like a ball in bed for 1.5 years because of my psychological fear. Fight in the evening, fight in the morning, it was always the same. We were having breakfast one day and he said to me, 'I will have your phone for a few days.’” (Daisy, 50)

In the interviews with the women, it was observed that the violence continued during pregnancy as well. The dimensions of physical violence are such that they cause abortion. It is seen that oppression and restriction also appear in the form of preventing women's access to their health rights.

“I was abused during pregnancy and had 2 miscarriages due to beatings. I couldn't say he beat me; I couldn't tell anyone. When I was 5 months pregnant with my second daughter, the doctor suggested abortion, I had a lot of bleeding due to the beating. I was not beaten when I was pregnant with my third daughter. He was probably expecting a boy.” (Peace, 45)

“My baby died in the womb due to violence and stress, I didn't realize it. My husband asked the doctor 'if I had

killed the baby'. We came home and he said, 'You couldn't take care of a child, you can't be a mother, you can't give birth, you're failing. You stutter!'" (Raindrop, 32)

"My pregnancy process was very stressful; I bled a lot when I was 4.5 months pregnant. 'There is a risk of premature birth, both the baby and the mother should be very careful, sexual intercourse is prohibited until birth,' said the doctor. 'Not bothers me, I'll have it,' my husband said, 'don't cry, we'll make another baby'. I was also beaten a lot when I was pregnant." (Raindrop, 32)

"I was pregnant. I wanted to be got examined by the same doctor. He said, "You can't find a doctor, your intelligence is not enough for that". He started to put pressure on me constantly." (Cherry Blossom, 28)

"When I was 8.5 months pregnant, he [her former husband] was fasting that day, probably because of hunger or something, he pulled me from my arms and started yelling at me. He started coming towards me, pulling my hair out and up the stairs. He beat me a lot, took my cards, took my phone, took my money, locked the door. I fell so bad that I thought my baby died in my womb. I screamed; my neighbour heard but did nothing

because he didn't want to face these people. He was like a monster. I was wondering how to get out. We were on the 2nd floor, there was no place to go, I was stuck like a mouse. I was thinking, oh my god, let this be a nightmare, not real. He was kicking my back and pulling my hair out. I was praying that nothing would happen to my baby." (Cherry Blossom, 28)

Considering the forms and levels of violence, as mentioned before, the forms of violence seem to be intertwined. While physical violence can reach the level of attempting to kill the women and causing disability, psychological violence is more likely to frighten and intimidate women and sometimes people who can support women; to damage the woman's self-perception; to devalue women and make them feel helpless, and to discourage them from taking a step to break this cycle. Economic violence also mainly aims to intimidate women and make them helpless and powerless.

"The debt was endless, I gave everything, even my gold jewellery. But why, I said to myself, I wonder if he is oppressing on me because of his debt. If he get rid of his dept...I don't know, I just hoped. My gold jewellery was gone, and I had nothing left for nothing." (Raindrop, 32)

“They wanted to put all jewellery from the wedding in my mother-in-law's safe. I wanted to put it in our own safe. They said, 'The safe is expensive, there is no need'. They said, 'We'll think about it after the honeymoon'. I tried to persuade, but my former husband glossed over this issue. My father-in-law wanted to talk to me. 'What are you going to do with the gold jewellery, you broke your marriage.' he shouted. They said, 'You are a bad woman, you broke your marriage for gold', they walked up to me, my former husband punched the wall.” (Cherry Blossom, 28)

“He used verbal violence, attacked me with a knife and a belt. Bruising, bleeding, plucked my hair, banged my head against the wall. He was also using violence against the children. He used to get jealous of my son while I was breastfeeding. We were living in a village-like place. I couldn't step out the door. I couldn't go to the market to buy bread. Even when I was taking the child for vaccinations, his mother would accompany me.” (Jasmin, 26)

“No one should have the right to take my life. He spat in my face for 33 days. This hurt me a lot. He squeezed my neck 3 times, once with the quilt, 2 times with

his hand. I've had bad psychology all by myself for months. I was a cheerful and positive person. On the way back, I was feeling in a coffin psychologically.” (Daisy, 50)

Perpetrators can produce various reasons for violence, and victims of violence have difficulty in understanding these reasons. As can be seen from the statements of the participants, anything can be an excuse for violence. Most of the time, although women know that these reasons are nothing more than "excuses", they cannot say "stop" to violence for the reasons to be discussed in the following sections.

“There was no obvious reason for our verbal fights. He said he was making something out of nothing, looking for an excuse to fight. One night, he created trouble because the dinner was cold ... We didn't spend a day without violence, always swearing. I lost my human feeling, soured on my womanhood, completely.” (Raindrop, 32)

“One morning I had a toothache. I was like his servant. I said, 'I don't want to go to the dentist, I'm afraid. He punched my leg twice and said, 'You will go to the dentist, I will cut you off, bury you in the garden, no one can find you'. I called the person

who helped us get married and asked for support. The intermediary said, 'It happens'. (Daisy, 50)

“On the 3rd day (of marriage), I was beaten. My only fault was that I left the door open. I don't even want to remember that violence on the 3rd day. I told my grandmother that I was beaten. So-called honour, my grandmother said 'we can't say anything to anyone, it's the third day of marriage'. Then I subjected to violence because of my dresses. It started with a slap and gradually increased. Kick, slap, psychological pressure. The more scared I got, the more he came at me” (Huzur, 45)

It is seen that perpetrator men especially restrict the channels of access to information in order to put pressure on women. The means of communication, such as social media, neighbours, public spaces, through which the women could obtain information and perhaps stop violence, seemed to be restricted by the perpetrator.

“While I was walking, when someone looked at me, he would beat me, and he would beat me for holding hands in the halay dance. He would interfere with my clothes and make-

up; he would not let anyone into the house. He wouldn't let my neighbour come to our home because she was a conscious individual.” (Huzur, 45)

“If the 'ding' sound came from the phone, he was looking into my eyes. I was afraid that the phone would ring. I changed my phone number so no one can call. He made my Facebook account closed, my Instagram account closed. He didn't even take me to the place 15 minutes away. You know, I got married to eat, drink, travel together. I cried for 33 days.” (Daisy, 50)

In order to reveal the dimensions of violence experienced by women, we present the violence incidents experienced by women in their own words below. These women, who were exposed to cursing, severe insults, beatings, slaps, kicks and similar physical and psychological violence, could not find support from their relatives and families, and unfortunately failed to break the cycle of violence at an early stage.

“The baby had some obligatory follow-ups since it was a premature birth. I would repeatedly try to wake my former husband to take the baby to the hospital. He hit me with the baby in my hand, saying, 'I'm disturbed'. He grabbed my hair and started insulting me again. He grumbled loudly on the bus as well.

He talked about his former wife. He said, 'Let people see a h..... He was always using the curse h.....As we were crossing the street, he hit me in the mouth and kicked me. Blood poured out of my mouth. He grumbled along the way. 'F.....you, f.....woman, fuck your parents too...' he said. My mouth was swollen like a balloon. 'Go to your mother's house' he said. The blood was up to my nose and people were staring at me on the bus.' (Raindrop, 32)

“There was constant humiliation. If the curtain was open, he would say 'who are you looking at'. Maybe he was worried about the age difference between us. That time, I wouldn't even open the thick curtains that didn't show the inside of the house out of fear. We were only seeing other family families. He used to treat me very well in front of others, he would say 'my love, my dear', he would say 'my lady is very good'. That's why people didn't believe what he was doing. Super good outside, trouble at home. The children used to say 'I wish there were always guests'.” (Piece, 45)

“All continued like this when I did not receive support from my family. He would never be at work for various excuses. He mostly used violence against children. People were witnessing it, too, but could not do

anything. He wanted the children to work. Slap, punch, choke...The last time, my daughter saved me when he was squeezing my throat. He threw me out in the winter, in the snow. I stayed outside in my pyjamas for 1 hour. He used to beat my son for wetting the bed. Teachers also wanted to stop that violence, but I couldn't take a step with the fear of making things worse. I was trying to cheer my children high.” (Rose, 39)

“After beating me, he would ask me to apologize on my knees, he would tell me what to say, he would make me say it word to word. He used to say, 'If you die, they will collect your carcass from the garbage'. My daughter knew what was happening. We could take a bath for a maximum of 15 minutes. He would say, 'Are you going to pay for the natural gas or for the water'.” (Rose, 39)

Considering the effects of violence on women violence can have a lifetime of psychological, physical and economic effects on women according to the interviews. One of the women interviewed became physically disabled (Peace), and a woman lost an eye as a result of violence (Pink). The interviewed women mentioned problems such as chronic pain, fainting for no reason, and varicose veins. While some of these problems are directly related to violence (fainting, chronic pain, varicose veins), others result from the deprivation of health services of women as a

part of violence (visual impairment). In fact, one of the women interviewed attempted suicide as a result of the helplessness she experienced in the face of violence.

Unfortunately, one of the most extreme consequences of physical violence is the deprivation of a woman's ability to walk. In the prime of her life, the participant (Peace) was pushed from the roof of her house by the man she was married to and was confined to a wheelchair.

“... went to men's coffee house. He came home around 2 am, knocked on the door 3 times, I didn't hear it. He punched me at the door. My nose is covered in blood. He started beating me with a stove skewer, saying, “Why didn't you open the door, you are being stubborn with me”. Finally, the neighbour came to my mind, hoping that they would help me. I felt that he was going to touch me as I was running away to checkers. I felt he would hit me on the railing. I fell from the 4th floor. I was in intensive care for 12 days. I didn't remember what happened for 3 months. I filed a lawsuit. They said I committed suicide. He said that I jumped from the balcony. When I first went to the hospital, I said ‘he beat me a lot’, I don't remember.” (Peace, 45)

“I wanted to kill myself and get rid of it, I started living waiting

for death because I thought he would kill me and get rid of me.” (Pink, 45)

As emphasized in the relevant literature, violence is also a learned behaviour. The interviewed women shared their observations and experiences that there was violence in the perpetrator's family, that the perpetrator's family did not take action to end the violence, and that the perpetrator received support from his family for using violence.

“My former husband's father was also a very angry and aggressive person. My father-in-law even pulled a knife on my mother-in-law.” (Cherry Blossom, 28)

“He was calling his family after we fight. We were going to them and they were all yelling at me together. It always went on like this. The intensity of violence gradually increased. He punched me in the back because I gave the cherry tomatoes without peeling them.” (Cherry Blossom, 28)

From the point of view of the victims, the family perspectives may even come to the point where they think that being beaten, oppressed, and being silent is a part of being a woman, and may advise other women to remain silent.

“He is a man. A man does it when he gets angry. You should be on the right side of him, I was beaten too many times, this made me a woman.” (Gold, 29)

Interviews with women clearly revealed that violence is not only limited to violence against women, but children in the family are also exposed to psychological, physical and economic violence.

“He used to beat me and my children. He wouldn't let us go to our neighbours so they wouldn't see the bruises. He threatened me with the lives of my children. I got pregnant with my third child after sexual violence. When I told him I was pregnant he said "who is the baby from” (Rose, 39)

“My daughter was a successful student at school. My daughter went to collect hazelnuts, she worked but he confiscated my daughter's money. Again, he didn't keep his word. He was confiscating the allowances; he would confiscate them by beating. He didn't let my daughter go to high school. My daughter reached her grandmother by phone. That's when he said 'I was kidding'. They would fight over an eraser.” (Rose, 39)

“My little son was very affected in this process. When men are in the majority, my son overreacts when I say something and intervenes by saying what they will think, don't do this, don't do that. It is as if my son is exerting psychological pressure, as if I see him in my son.” (Pink, 45)

“The child grew up, but how? He was the middle of violence all the time.” (Raindrop, 32)

“We used to cover my bruises with the foundation that my neighbour gave to my daughter to use as a young girl.” (Rose, 39)

“He didn't even talk to the kids. His friends used to say, "Is your father dead, we always see your mother". The children grew up with the old belongings of my sister's child. There is intense psychological pressure on children. I bought a tablet for the kids so we could video chat, he broke it. He always restrains children. He does not give food to my daughter because she is chubby. He buys chocolate for one child and not for the other one.” (Gold, 29)

Considering the effects of violence on children, the violence that children witness and are exposed to in the family creates psychological and physical effects on

children. The women interviewed reported that their children had problems such as bedwetting at night, inability to speak or speaking late compared to their peers, and stuttering.

Violence can cause women and children to be deprived of even the right to health, which is one of the most basic rights, both to cut off the connection with the outside world and to feel helpless, and to hide this behaviour that is not accepted by the society.

“My daughter has anxiety. The vision rate of my left eye is 1%. My son suffers from epilepsy very often.”
(Rose, 39)

“My child has epilepsy because he received a lot of blows to the head. My vision is low; I need to have surgery (left eye), he wouldn't even let me. He would say, 'You are (talking about nationality), dirty'. He wouldn't pay for the bus ticket. I have varicose veins on my legs because of long walks; he never let me be treated.” (Rose, 39)

“My son can't talk; they don't take him to the doctor. When I told them in court, they took him to the doctor. According to the e-Nabız (government electronic health services), one-year rehabilitation treatment was required for my son for. My child cannot speak out of fear.” (Gold, 29)

“My children want to change their surname. My daughter summed up her life in her petition. She chose a new name for herself.” (Rose, 39)

Interviews with women show that the 'honeymoon phase', which is the third phase of the violence cycle, is also experienced in these cases.

“The relationship is the same at the end as it was at the beginning. The saying that fish rots from the head down is so true. Honeymoon period is like hibernation. There are many excuses for those who look for excuses. I wish I had divorced when I gave birth to my first child.” (Peace, 45)

[After the physical violence] I passed out, I fainted there for the first time... "I love you so much, I'm sorry my love," he said. He apologized every time for beating me. According to him, man beats, it's his right.”
(Raindrop, 32)

“[After I left the house] He bought flowers and came to my father's house. My former husband got on her knees in front of me. I thought that I should give another chance, for our son. We were getting along very well

for 5 days. I started taking audio and video recordings. He wasn't satisfied with the food and the cleaning I made. I would meet all his sexual expectations as a woman, but his approach to me was like a rape.
(Raindrop, 32)

“He was very selfish; he has anger management issues. I suggested going to a family therapist. He was behaving badly and then he would apologize 5 minutes later. I would say, 'If you don't feel sorry for me, have pity on the children'. I would say, 'Maybe I have a problem'. I

would say, 'Maybe I'm crazy, let's go to the psychologist'. He would perceive this (asking for help) as madness.” (Gold, 29)

In the in-depth interviews, the profile of the male perpetrator was tried to be determined, and various questions were asked for this purpose. Although the common aspects of the experiences told by the women at first made us think that there was only one perpetrator, it was very “familiar” to the interviewees since different men used the same patriarchal oppression method. The table below summarizes the perpetrators' information.

Table 15: Profile of perpetrators of violence

Perpetrator	Age	Relationship with the victim	Occupation	Employment Status	Alcohol / Substance Use
Perpetrator 1	29	Spouse	Night Watchman	Employed	No
Perpetrator 2	53	Spouse	Public officer	Employed	No
Perpetrator 3	24	Intimate partner	None	Unemployed	Yes
Perpetrator 4	65	Spouse	Retired	Retired	Yes
Perpetrator 5	46	Spouse	Bow- maker	Unemployed	No
Perpetrator 6	58	Spouse	Public health officer	Unemployed	Yes
Perpetrator 7	42	Spouse	Health care professional	Employed	No
Perpetrator 8	32	Spouse	Worker	Employed	No
Perpetrator 9	30	Spouse	Public officer	Employed	Yes
Perpetrator 10	36	Spouse	Worker	Employed	Yes

According to the findings obtained in the in-depth interviews, 2 perpetrators of violence are unemployed, 8 are employed or retired. The rate of alcohol and substance use among these men aged 29-65 was found half and half. 3 perpetrators have licensed/unlicensed firearms. There was no significant difference among the factors such as perpetrators' unemployment and alcohol/substance. The only common characteristics of perpetrator men is that they are men, and they use violence to show power and control women by relying on gender roles.

4.4.3 Help-seeking behaviours of women

In the in-depth interviews, questions were asked in the following focus areas to analyse the help-seeking behaviours of women victims of violence.

- Support of family and relatives
- Reasons for submitting to violence
- Breaking point
- Awareness of rights

According to the evaluation of the women's help-seeking behaviours, as the literature confirms, besides the hindering factors regarding the help-seeking behaviours of women victims of violence, there are also enabling factors. Economic independence, family and close circle support, the existence of strong legal mechanisms supporting women in every sense, education level, gender roles, having or not having children, and women's self-perception can both

positively and negatively affect women's help-seeking behaviour.

Gender roles and having children, the need to protect the family, which is believed to be sacred in the society, are extremely effective in the decision of women whether to seek help and their rights. Factors such as the thought that violence is only one-time and the desire to raise children in a family environment can cause women to remain silent in the face of violence.

“When you have a child, you stay silent. He also started to abuse my daughter. When we made a noise, he would get up and beat us. We had no living space in the house.” (Gold, 29)

“After the first violence, I wanted to leave, I was pregnant, I wanted to have abortion, but they stopped me. I was abused when I was pregnant. It was a problem if I said let's go out or stay at home. I would remain silent. I always tried to keep on the right side of him. I was always the victim of violence.” (New Life, 30)

“My former husband came again, calling my son dear, sweetheart to me. My mother didn't want me to go. But I went again because I have a son involved. I said dad, I'll go. My father said 'don't go, you are making a

mistake'. But for my son, I gave him one last chance. Again, honeymoon period, we were happy, we were getting along for the first 5 days. Then he just started. But there I came to my senses. I started taking audio and video recordings. Honeymoon months passed. The dose of swearing increased. Our marriage would be almost 5 years, I said, this is not working like this. (Raindrop, 32)

"My former husband said, "I regret it, let's go home, raise our child together, I'm sorry". I already wanted to hear these words and I believed them. I was back home. I used to say to women, 'Doesn't she have a mind, why did she return home', one cannot understand without experiencing these things'. (Cherry Blossom, 28)

Children can be used as a threat to women. In particular, women who grew up in traditional patterns, could not receive family support and could not achieve economic independence may submit to violence for their children.

"He said, "If you go, go, but the child will stay with me." My family accepted me only without my child. The biggest factor is that children are not given to the mother in the eastern region. You have the perception of "Everyone is in the same situation, a

woman gets beaten" in your brain, "it goes away with the child, it changes as the children grow". I continued to have this logic for 22 years. (Peace, 45)

"I was afraid that they would take my children from me. First, when my daughter was 7 months old, he beat me a lot. I went to my father's house. They wanted to give the child to my husband. I got up in the morning and called him saying 'take me home'. The first night I returned home, I was beaten again for disgracing him. I had the thought, 'Even if this man kills me, I will stand for my child'. (Peace, 45)

"I wanted to take the kids and run away. My grandmother gave me 4 gold coins. I forgot the children's health cards. He told my mom and dad that I was running away from my boyfriend. My father also beat me up. There was also an honour pressure on my father. You see the light in the dark well, but there is no exit. I can't reach the light I see. I was looking for somebody to turn to." (Peace, 45)

"My father said, 'Take your son [child] and go'. My son was stunned.

My son left, I fainted, the ambulance came, my father had a heart attack, then he sobbed. I said, 'Let my son go, nothing will happen to you, father. It was like a funeral had come out of the house. My son was gone.' (Raindrop, 32)

“My older daughter told me 'run away' over and over. I would go, but where? If I went, what would everyone talk about me, my children would be devastated. I'd be happy if he didn't come home, despite knowing that he was with another woman. I'd be glad to have that night in peace. I'd be glad he wouldn't abuse me in bed. It would be a feast for us that night. The children would also be happy when the father did not come home. I used to pretend to be asleep when he came from men's coffee house. I still wake up at night by jumping because he would kick me awake.” (Peace, 45)

Another important factor in women's not seeking help or delaying their help seeking behaviour is the low level of awareness of women's rights. In fact, perpetrators may prevent women from obtaining information

about their rights by applying to both official and unofficial channels.

“When the program with a lawyer appeared on TV, he would turn it off immediately, he wouldn't let me watch it. A person I didn't know very well had killed his wife with a shotgun. My former husband said to this, "There must be something, she definitely did something and deserved to die.” (Clove, 43)

“Nobody took me to the hospital. They took me to my mother-in-law's house so that I wouldn't get an assault report, I wasn't in a position to think about the assault report anyway, I didn't know how to get it. They gave my phone because they thought I wouldn't complain. I texted my mom that I decided to divorce. I was not aware of anything, I had very good intentions. I hesitated to tell my friends what had happened, as if it was my own fault.” (Cherry Blossom, 28)

“He wouldn't let me talk to the neighbours so that they wouldn't witness his beatings. I couldn't go because of my fear to get a report of assault. After the last beating, I sent my daughter to the police station to get information, praying "God,

please don't get us caught.” (Rose, 39)

“After 15 years of marriage, I decided to divorce. He was threatening me with murders of women on TV. He said, 'If you want a divorce, this is how you will end up'. 'I'm already dead if you go, then I'll kill you, I don't care about the kids,' he was saying. He thought he was passionately in love, but this is psychological mania. When we argued, he would grab my throat and push me. There was always shouting and fighting in the house. There was no peace. When my daughter was 6 years old, she said 'why didn't you choose another father for us'.” (Clove, 43)

Analysing the statements of the women interviewed, it can be said that the perpetrator's use of violence against children or the negative effects of violence on children can be a breaking point in women's help-seeking behaviour.

“My children said what will we do if my mother dies, this was my breaking point. Violence had become inevitable and normalized behaviour. He would have killed us if we hadn't escaped. We escaped at the last moment. We secretly packed suitcases and run away. For the first time in our lives, we called a taxi and

we called it to run away from home. We sneaked into the bus terminal. We went to XXX province where my mother was living in that time.” (Rose, 39)

“I was tired of beatings and violence. I was in the breaking point when he beat my son. What would I do with a father who didn't care about his son? When I fainted, my son screamed and he stuttered. “This happened because of his mother's blood,” said my mother-in-law, but actually it was because of fear. I was patient with everything, but he wouldn't be able to lay his hand on my son, he wouldn't say 'you made this child from your father', he wouldn't make fun of him because of his stuttering. He would not accuse me because of being K....” (Raindrop, 32)

“I always thought of my children. I endured to offer them a better future, but when it didn't happen, I decided to leave. It was all for children. It wasn't easy. I felt bad as we shared life for 8 years.” (Jasmin, 26)

Another breaking point in the behaviour of seeking help is that the life safety of women is seriously threatened.

“He took the shotgun and said, "I'll shoot myself and I'll shoot you too." Then I called someone and he came

and said such things happen in the house. My daughter called me and I said take me away or you will take my coffin.” (Daisy, 50)

Awareness of women's rights is also a factor that facilitates women's help-seeking behaviour.

“I was working, I'm a union member. I would participate in protests. He was always against that. One day he followed me in the middle of XXX. I was hit, he beat me in the street. I got an assault report. I decided to divorce. I couldn't take it anymore. I went to my friend who works at the women's shelter in the municipality. There they directed me to the Gelincik Centre.” (Clove, 43)

As can be seen in Table 16, family support always facilitates and accelerates the help-seeking behaviour of women, regardless of the level of education, economic independence and presence of children. However, sometimes social pressure, honour pressure, and oppressive attitudes of the perpetrator's family and close circle can cause women to hide the violence and thus delay in seeking help.

“I wanted a divorce when I was married for 1 year. I never told my mom and dad. I told my aunt and I was telling a friend.” (Clove, 43)

“My mother and older sisters would support me. My mother-in-law was a very bad person. She would just listen and never take care of us. When my family came, she would complain about the people who came to the house.” (New Life, 30)

“I never thought of reconciliation. They were about to kill us. His own family flattered him, too. He has an older sister inThey are all the same. Violence is normal in their family. When they got angry, they would kick the doors, the walls, they would fight. My mother-in-law was also a bad person. She would never knock on my door; she would listen upstairs while I was being abused downstairs.” (New Life, 30)

“When I passed out after the beating, my child would cry saying my mother died. Then I couldn't stand it, I went to my father's house for the first time.. 'F...o.. and go to your father's house', he would say to me, and he would get angry when I left. He would call me and ask where I was. 'I didn't do that, you're a liar,' he would say. I wouldn't tell my parents. I don't know what my brother would do to my former husband if I said. When he regretted it, he would call me say 'come home '. He would cry, "It's not your fault, I have psychological problems.” (Raindrop, 32)

Again, as can be seen in the table below, the transformation of violence into a judicial case accelerates the help seeking process. As in the examples of Pink and Peace, although

women can be pressured to hide the violence or to reflect it in a different way, once the violence turns into a judicial case, the possibility of the truth to come to light increases.

Table 16: Help-seeking behaviours of women who are victims of violence and the breaking point

Nickname	The time between the beginning of violence and the application to the official authority	Institution where violence was first reported	Family and close circle support	Reason for not applying to official authorities before	Breaking moment
Cherry Blossom	12 months	Courthouse	Family support	Lack of information	Fear of harming the child
Clove	15 years	Courthouse	Family support	Having little child	Being severely beaten
Pink	7 years	Hospital/forensic case	No support	Social pressure	Forensic case
Daisy	7 months	Courthouse	Family support	Anxiety about social pressure as it is her 2nd marriage	Threatened with a gun
Rose	12 years	Courthouse	No support	Having children	Children's demand
Peace	22 years	Hospital/forensic case and disability rehabilitation centre	No support	Having no support, economic helplessness	Disability after violence
Raindrop	7 years	Police	Family support	Hoping that everything will	When violence

				be alright	against the child begins
Gold	9 years	Police and women's shelter	No support	Family pressure	When kicked out of the house by the former husband
New Life	5 years	Police	Family support	Family pressure	Neighbours' complaints to the police
Jasmin	8 years	Courthouse	Mother support	Having little child	Increasing the dose of violence against children

As can be seen in the table, 2 women survivors have been exposed to violence for less than 12 months, and 8 of them have been exposed to violence for more than 12 months. The first point of contact for victims of violence is the hospital, the police or courthouses to file a lawsuit directly. It is noteworthy that only 1 out of 10 women stayed in a women's shelter. Reasons for not reporting violence earlier and not seeking help include lack of family support, enduring violence for children, and economic weakness. Women's reporting of the breaking point and the violence they experienced is mostly due to severe beating and the incident turning into a judicial case, as well as the starting of violence against children or the children's complaints about their mothers who do not react to violence.

“When you have a child, you stay silent. He also started to abuse my daughter. When we made a noise, he would get up and beat us. We had no living space in the house.” (Gold, 29)

“My children said what will we do if my mother dies, this was my breaking point. Violence had become inevitable and normalized behaviour. He would have killed us if we hadn't escaped. We escaped at the last moment. We secretly packed suitcases and run away. For the first time in our lives, we called a taxi and we called it to run away from home. We sneaked into the bus terminal. We went to XXX province where my mother was living in that time.” (Rose, 39).

“I was afraid that they would take my children from me. First, when my daughter was 7 months old, he beat me a lot. I went to my father's house. They wanted to give the child to my husband. I got up in the morning and called him saying 'take me home'. The first night I returned home, I was beaten again for disgracing him. I had the thought, 'Even if this man kills me, I will stand for my child'.”
(Peace, 45)

“My older daughter told me 'run away' over and over. I would go, but where? If I went, what would everyone talk about me, my children would be devastated. I'd be happy if he didn't come home, despite knowing that he was with another woman. I'd be glad to have that night in peace. I'd be glad he wouldn't abuse me in bed. It would be a feast for us that night. The children would also be happy when the father did not come home. I used to pretend to be asleep when he came from men's coffee house. I still wake up at night by jumping because he would kick me awake.” (Peace, 45)

“There was always shouting and fighting in the house. There was no peace. When my daughter was 6 years old, she said 'why didn't you choose another father for us'.” (Clove, 43)

“I wouldn't be alive if I hadn't reported the violence. No one would take care of my children either. That's why I left home. When my daughter said, 'What will we do if my mother dies', I decided to take action... I called the Ministry of Family. Let's get you home, they said, but I did not accept that out of fear.” (Rose, 39)

As it can be understood from this section, the help-seeking behaviours of women subjected to violence are affected by their knowledge and awareness levels, having family support and their economic status. While women who receive family support report violence to official institutions at an earlier stage, women who do not have any support have to submit to violence for many years. Although women mostly said that they endure violence and continue their marriage for their children, the findings obtained in the in-depth interviews show that women also decided to put an end to violence for their children.

4.4.4 Judicial process experienced by women victims of violence

In the in-depth interviews, questions were asked to obtain information about the judicial process experienced by women who were victims of violence, and the answers given were grouped under the following headings.

Judicial process experiences

- Protection orders
- Duration of the process

- Temporary alimony, alimony and compensation
- Impunity of the perpetrator
- Experiences with the applied institutions

As can be seen in the table below, the judicial processes of 6 of the interviewed women have been concluded, and of 4 women are continuing in the court of appeal. All 10 women interviewed received legal support from the Gelincik Centre, and for this reason, preventive measures have been taken immediately for all of them. In

general, women expressed the long and tiring experience of the judicial process.

The experience of receiving alimony and compensation of women whose divorce case has been concluded is similarly tiring, and they can receive alimony by levying an execution through the support of their lawyers. The vast majority of women are able to get custody of their children, and only one participant stated that she gave custody to the other party voluntarily, because she could not take her children as she had no place to stay.

Table 17: Information on judicial process

Nickname	Judicial Process	Duration	Preventive/Cautious Measure	Custody	Alimony	Compensation
Cherry Blossom	Ongoing divorce case	For 2 years	Yes	Yes	500 TRY temporary alimony	No
Clove	Divorce case concluded		Yes	Yes	Receives alimony through execution	Yes
Pink	Criminal case concluded. He was given probation.	5 years	Yes	-	-	Not requested
Daisy	The divorce case concluded. The other party appealed to the Court of Appeal.		Yes	-	Temporary alimony – 1000 TRY Alimony 400 TRY	Yes
Rose	The divorce case concluded. The other party appealed to the Court of Appeal.		Yes	Yes	300 TRY for each	Material and moral 40.000 TRY in total

Peace	Criminal case concluded. He was sentenced to 19 years. He escaped.		Yes	Over 18 years old		
Raindrop	Divorce case concluded		No	Yes	Receives alimony through execution	Yes, but cannot receive
Gold	Uncontested divorce case concluded		Yes	Given to the other party	Yok	No
New Life	The contested divorce case concluded. The other party appealed to the Court of Appeal.	Concluded in 4 years	Yes	Yes	Receives alimony through execution	Material and moral 25.000 TRY in total
Jasmin	Ongoing contested divorce case	For 4 years	Yes	Living with her children		

Negative experiences also come to the fore related to the experiences with the institutions where the interviewed women reported the violence. The 45-year-old participant with the nickname Pink states that she could not get results for a long time from the law enforcement agencies and judicial processes, where she reported the violence.

“He hurt me but he didn't hurt. He didn't experience anything; he may make other women have the same experience.” (Pink, 45)

“I complained when he slapped me, but nothing happened. I have

complained to the police many times, both my mother-in-law and I complained. I told the police that my life was in danger. It was the hardest for me. I was subjected to sexual and physical violence many times. He kept doing that to me freely. I was blaring [the violence, what I went through] but there was no result. The law, the police, etc. have no deterrent effect. I am afraid to walk on the street. I'm constantly looking at people on the road, I feel like he's coming out of nowhere. He didn't experience a fraction of what I've been through... I escaped from him with a little harm, with the loss of my

body part, otherwise I would die. He was not normal. (Pink, 45)

Another 30-year-old participant stated that although the perpetrator had a gun, she could not prove it. In addition, it was observed that the level of awareness of the women interviewed regarding the judicial processes and their rights was low before applying to the Gelincik Centre.

“He had an unlicensed gun, he had guns. When the police came, he smuggled the guns to the neighbour’s, we couldn’t prove anything.” (New Life, 30)

“I never knew about these issues. I didn’t know about the protection order, the processes or anything. I had no knowledge of the law and my rights. I heard about that on the news but didn’t know how it works. If I had known that the house belonged to me, I would not accept them [former husband and his family] into the house.” (Cherry Blossom, 28)

The participants, stated that they were suffered from the slowness of the judicial processes in general, also emphasized that they had a difficult time in the economic sense, especially during this process.

“I don’t want to bear the last name of my former husband. The process is very slow. There are excuses such as “She doesn’t cook, she doesn’t clean”.

No one except the family is supportive. I scratched his arm with my nails to push him while he was beating me. He took pictures of them, I never thought to take a picture.” (Cherry Blossom, 28)

““You open the case’, he said. My mother had money saved approximately 1000 TRY. There is no money on my card, no bread in the house. I said mom, let’s go to the doctor tomorrow. First, I went to the authorities to file for divorce. Then we went to the doctor. He regularly pays 500 TRY alimony, but this amount is not sufficient. He also receives the child support alimony.” (Cherry Blossom, 28).

The women interviewed met with the Gelincik Centre either through a relative or through a referral from the police station or the courthouse. It has been observed that their experience with the Gelincik Centre has been very positive. Especially the quick process in issuing protection orders constitutes one of the most important support elements of the centre for women victims of violence.

“I called my friend. She is a lawyer. She directed me to the Gelincik Centre. She asked for a protection order. She was very supportive. I met Lawyer Mrs.... I was very satisfied with the service.” (Cherry Blossom, 28)

“The protection order worked so well. I had a protection order, later I learned about my rights and it gave me incredible strength. We renew it every 3 months. The case has been going on for 2 years. Even though I was a university graduate, I had no knowledge in this regard. The Gelincik Centre is very supportive and informative. It's also great that all of this is free. Gelincik Centre saved my life, I hope it reaches more people. People need people to support.” (Cherry Blossom, 28).

“On the bus, I took the photo of Gelincik Centre's phone number. They directed me to a place in the Youth Park, then to their office in Kızılay. They asked for some papers. I was very lucky, she was a very kind lady, a lawyer who listened to me.” (Daisy, 50)

“When they realized that I was being subjected to violence in the courthouse, they said, 'Apply through the Gelincik Centre'. In that week, 3 women were killed. Thanks to the Gelincik Centre, a lawyer was assigned within half an hour. The lawyer arrived within 15-20 minutes. The judicial process has begun. I was informed about the process and the questions that would be asked. The protection order was issued and extended up to 7 months.” (Rose, 39)

As it can be understood from the statement below, the Gelincik Centre is a very important support mechanism, especially for victims of violence with a low level of legal knowledge..

“The Gelincik Centre process was not difficult for me. My lawyer enlightened me a lot, I reached him whenever I wanted. I always called and got advice from my lawyer. She guided me. It is very beneficial for people like us. It is a very good service for a person who does not know anything and does not know where to submit a petition.” (Daisy, 50)

“The Bar Association informed me about the Gelincik Centre, I didn't know about it before. I had evidence of infidelity and a report of assault. However, I did not know my rights, Ankara Bar Association informed me.” (New Life, 30)

“I applied to the courthouse to file a lawsuit. They suggested the Gelincik Centre.” (Jasmin, 26)

The participant with the Golden nickname is the only participant staying in the women's shelter and she describes her experiences as follows. ***“It is not allowed to stay in the shelter for more than 6 months. I stayed for 6 months. It was the best time of my life. It was my material-spiritual process of getting to know***

myself. It was my first time in public. I don't know anywhere in XXX. It was different at first. Experts and psychologists are listening to you, they distract you. The experts on call are with us day and night. They help find a job. I found a job, they researched it whether it was safe or not. I worked at the cafe. They worked for my safety, protected and took care of me. Thanks to them, I worked and recovered financially and became stronger spiritually. Because I was always oppressed, they made me discover myself, I regained my self-confidence. I worked, earned and spent. It was beautiful.” (Gold, 29)

The judicial process definitely can continue as a repetition of the victimization for the woman who is the victim of violence. Especially in divorce cases filed due to violence, women suffer secondary victimization due to the length of the process and the inability to execute alimony. The words of a participant describing how lonely she felt during the trial process point to the importance of family support and other support mechanisms in the face of violence.

“I applied to Gelincik Centre immediately after the operation, while my eye was bandaged. I was thinking and planning that he was continuing his normal life, if no one would do anything, I would do it, I would hit him with a car. I couldn't go out alone, I felt as if he would come

across me at any moment and touch my back... My normal life flow was interrupted. I wish I had hurt him, he hurt me so much psychologically. The result of the court did not relieve my pain. He didn't get the punishment he deserved. Some people don't bring it to justice, they take care of it themselves, I think they are right...I was going to the courts alone, the police were sitting with me at my request. No protective measures were taken. He was very strong; he was there with his family and I was all alone. We were making eye contact. Even the courthouse garden is still very scary to me.” (Pink, 45)

Stating that she was very pleased with the results of the court process, Daisy (50) expressed her satisfaction with the court process, which compensated to some extent for the violence she experienced, in the following words.

“The court process is over. The case is heard now in the high court (meaning the court of appeal). I won 30 thousand TRY compensation, 1000 TRY alimony and a gold bracelet. 1.5 months later, the lawyer called, the judge settled 1000 TRY alimony. I stayed at home for 7 months, but was like 77 years to me.” (Daisy, 50)

“The judge made a very good decision. The final divorce decision was made. He will be able to see the children for

half an hour a month. We had requested 50,000 material and 80,000 TRY moral compensation. 20,000 material and 20,000 material compensation were settled. The child support alimony is also settled for my little son, but he is not paying. Alimony of 300 TRY per person was determined.” (Rose, 39)

Emphasizing that the existing laws are insufficient in preventing and punishing violence against women, the participants shared their experiences in this process as follows.

“As a result of the criminal case, he was fined 3000 TRY, he did not go to jail. My children were very upset that he was not punished. They went through so much that even though I tried to teach them love, they learned hate from him and they want their father to suffer too, because he hurt them a lot. This is no joke. Justice system is not working well.” (Rose, 39)

Stating that she could not complain because of family pressure and fear, Rose (39) shared her views on the impunity of the perpetrator as follows. ***“I couldn't complain because of fear. Other women are afraid, too. There is family pressure. My father-in-law testified against me, I cannot***

prove it. I can't give a voice recording, it is abusing privilege. There are very critical points. If we are defending the woman, the man cannot walk around outside freely. You take the woman under protection in the shelter, but the man is walking around freely, a solution must be found. The man outside is like a powder barrel. It is necessary to find a solution. This is how murders are committed.” (Rose, 39)

The participant, nicknamed Peace, who shared her own experiences about the violation and the functioning of the confidentiality orders in the process, despite the fact that there is a restraining and protection order, points out that the other party can find her easily while staying in the shelter. ***“When I was in the ... unit of the hospital, I started making plans. When I got out of the hospital, I went to my grandmother's. That night the police came and took me. He was threatening me saying 'I will kill you, hang you by the neck, cut you'. I was placed in the ... centre. They started harassing that place. "We can't keep you here," said the manager. After 10 days, they directed me to with a confidentiality decision. They found out where I was from the drugs I took. Even my family didn't know I was there. A lady called me, we started taking records as a proof. I said, 'I'm going to... the city'. They***

made a confidentiality order. I stayed in the...city for 1 year, then in the...city.” (Peace, 45)

In addition, existing institutional mechanisms do not seem to work well enough when disability and victimization of violence are combined. First of all, the participant with the nickname of Peace, who had to stay in the rehabilitation centre for the disabled instead of a shelter, states that she could not receive the disability pension due to the confidentiality of her address. ***“I could not receive disability pension because my address was not visible due to the confidentiality decision. Mrs... [Lawyer assigned by the Gelincik Centre] helped me through the ŞÖNİM. My disability pension was also settled. I didn't realize I needed it financially before... I am not currently receiving disability pension (after divorce). Alimony was settled through execution (391 TRY). I cannot receive disability pension because I receive alimony. No electricity or water discount.”*** (Peace, 45). As can be seen, it is understood that women victims of violence need all kinds of economic support, but they cannot receive the disability pension although it is their right, since there is alimony settled for them according to the system which they cannot/will not receive anyway.

The main reason for these participants to apply to the Gelincik Centre is that they do not have the financial power to hire a lawyer.

“I have no income. My father has a retirement pension. We couldn't get a lawyer, so we applied to the bar association and they assigned a lawyer for us right away. We went there (Gelincik Centre) they assigned a lawyer for us. We talked to her and agreed. We met Mrs. XXX [the lawyer assigned by the Gelincik Centre]. ‘If you go to court, what will you say? You can't put a few words together,’ said my former husband said. Thankfully, my lawyer was very supportive, I couldn't have done it on my own. We won the case with the support of my lawyer. Alimony was settled, we earned material and moral compensation, but my former husband did not pay.” (Rain. Drop, 32)

“I was not working and my financial situation was clear. I applied to the Gelincik Centre. I met the lady [lawyer assigned by the Gelincik Centre].” (New Life, 30)

A divorced (uncontested) participant states that she wanted a uncontested divorce because she was afraid during the process and that she had to give custody of her children to her former husband.

“The shelter directed me to the Gelincik Centre. We got divorced. The children were staying with my husband. I did not receive alimony. I thought that my children would stay with him as I would be in the shelter

for a certain period of time... I made the mistake by uncontested divorce, but I was afraid. I wanted to get rid of the violence addicted person in case he would hurt me. My only regret is leaving my children to that violence addict. He didn't get any punishment at all when we got divorced. I didn't want an uncontested divorce, but I was afraid he would hurt me. Frankly, I wanted to get rid of him as soon as possible. We shouldn't get divorced in 2 weeks just because we got divorced by agreement. The violence was almost never discussed in court. (Gold, 29)

"A restraining order was issued that night. It extended 2-3 years each time. The order was valid for 6 months. He wouldn't stop if there wasn't a restraining order...We receive alimony. He paid through execution, now he has started to pay. Material and moral compensation was decided (10 + 15 thousand TRY), but it was not paid, the file is on appeal." (New Life, 30)

"There is a restraining order, he has not called and does not come for me for 1 year. The restraining order is renewed every 3 months. I also received the assault report." (Jasmin, 26)

When the women interviewed were asked for their opinions on the process and the

effectiveness of the existing legal mechanisms in combating violence in general, it is seen that the majority of women who were interviewed find the existing mechanisms insufficient.

"Everyone is doing their best, but it is not sufficient. People get divorced, separated, the perpetrator is not punished, they are released immediately. We hear on the news every day that a woman is murdered. They don't give any punishment." (Jasmin, 26)

The long duration of the court appeal processes was constantly mentioned by the participants. ***"During the proceedings, temporary alimony was settled. In the third hearing, the judge made the divorce decision. He had hired many lawyers. He threatened to take my daughter. The judge was a very good man. When he did not want to divorce, the judge said to him, 'I divorced you, if you want, get married again'. The judge awarded material compensation. The case for the house is still pending on appeal. My former husband tried to overturn the decision. He came to court and made threats."*** (Clove, 43)

In addition to the negative experiences such as the violation of the protection orders, it is seen that the participants very positive about the legal support they received from the Gelincik Centre. ***"I got restraining order***

for 8-9 times. He violated them. Gelincik Centre gave me my wings of freedom. It got me out of hell. Gelincik was issuing a restraining order very quickly. The children testified. I didn't want to take them to court, but I had to. The missing part of the legal system is that the psychologist from the police station came to my house to take statement. My child shouldn't have had to face his father in the courtroom... I was never afraid of death, but I was afraid of what would happen to my children if I died. I came back to life with the support I received. Gelincik was a lifeblood to me. This is where the pessimism ends. Here they supported me. I wish the best for them.” (Clove, 43)

4.4.5 Empowerment practices of women victims of violence

In the in-depth interviews, besides the experiences of violence, how women victims of violence are empowered with the support they receive and their own commitment were also analysed. For this purpose, empowerment practices in the field of psychological resistance and especially educational and economic empowerment, were examined and their future expectations were asked. In particular, their regrets and suggestions for other women victims of violence were learned.

Considering the empowerment practices of women victims of violence, it is understood

from the experiences of the women interviewed that the empowerment process of women begins when they are informed about their rights and the opportunities provided by legal mechanisms. As one of the interviewed women stated, once women see the light in that 'blind well', they take action for the happiness and well-being of both themselves and their children.

According to the interviews with women, the support they receive from mechanisms such as the Gelincik Centre and ŞÖNİM constitutes the first step towards empowerment. Although economic independence is extremely important today, it seems as important as economic independence for a woman who has been convinced that she is worthless, incompetent and useless for years, first of all to understand their own value, to know that she is not helpless, that her family, state and law are by her side, and even sometimes a precondition for economic independence.

The interviewed women regret that they did not take action before and did not say stop to violence sooner.

“The man stole both my past and my future... If you don't solve minor problems in time, you are buried under the avalanche at the end.” (Daisy, 50)

“The relationship is the same at the end as it was at the beginning. The saying that fish rots from the head down is so true. Honeymoon period is like hibernation. There are many excuses for those who look for excuses. I wish I had divorced when I gave birth to my first child.” (Peace, 45)

“It's not getting better, it is not. It's just being delayed.” (Gold, 29)

After saying stop to violence, women try to recover both psychologically and physically. The longer the time elapses after the violence, the happier and stronger women feel. If the violence has happened in the recent past, women first try to become stronger psychologically.

Although children may cause the victim of violence to delay the behaviour of seeking help before, after saying stop to violence, children become the driving force for women to hold on to life more strongly and to dream about the future. As a matter of fact, most of the women interviewed wanted to show the photos of their children and grandchildren at the end of the interview, and they talked about their children's achievements with pride and with a sparkle in their eyes.

“I got a driver's license, I drive a car now, I changed my job. I started life again. Living without threats and

blackmail is like breathing, reborn, without fear of death.” (Pink, 45)

“I am a woman who can do anything. I stayed at my daughter's house for 1.5 months. Then I bought a house. I also bought my second-hand furniture and set on my way. I'm struggling, but it's better than being killed.” (Daisy, 50)

“I'm trying to repair the damage of my former husband. My son is having an epileptic seizure, his brain is shrinking. He is receiving special education. My little boy still can't sleep at night. He went to kindergarten for 2 years. I am trying to recover for the health of my children. What happened needs to be compensated. Currently, my mother supports me financially. I currently live in a 1+1 rental apartment. I receive 650 TRY alimony. I add money and pay my rent.” (Rose, 39)

“My life is pretty good right now. I'm working. I used to not be able to even go out the door. I feel good psychologically now.” (New Life, 30)

“I am living with my two children. My daughter is in kindergarten and my son is in 2nd grade. We are peaceful and happy. I dedicate myself to them. At first, I worked somewhere. Then, I opened my shop with my mother. Now I have a tailor shop, I'll have the

title to the shop. When I was working in somewhere, my salary was low and I could not spare time for my children. I learned this job from my mother. I want to spend time with the children. We decided this together with my mother. We are very happy. If I was married, he wouldn't let me work, I couldn't even go to the market. My mother has been very supportive in kitchen needs, food, diapers, formula supply both when we were married and now. (Yasemin, 26)

"I am very comfortable now, I feel lighter. I'm free. I'm standing on my feet. It's been 10 years since we got divorced. After my divorce, I did my master's degree. I am currently working. I let my children receive education. I go home and eat in peace." (Clove, 43)

Women are highly satisfied with the support offered by the Gelincik Centre lawyers. The interviewed women stated that the Gelincik Centre lawyers not only inform them about their rights, but also provide them with serious psychological support, that they can easily reach their lawyers whenever they call, and that they are always with them in solving all kinds of problems.

It seems that the lawyers of the Gelincik Centre, contrary to the general rule, do not

blame women for the violence they experience, do not direct them to hide the violence, and give the message that the laws, they and the state are on the side of women, are the first steps to become stronger.

"Mrs.... [the lawyer assigned by the Gelincik Centre] was very supportive morally. I've changed a lot, 'save yourself first,' she said. I applied to finish the high school. I got accepted to the 2-year business administration school at Anadolu University. I started knitting business. I started teaching the neighbours' children. I filed a lawsuit to get custody of my children. I heard about Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ) houses in I saw the governor's tweet during the Disability Week and replied to the governor's tweet. They reached me by phone. I talked to the Governor. I said, 'If you are not giving a house, give a container, set up a tent for us'. They gave me 1+1 apartment in TOKİ houses. I slept in an empty chair for 4-5 days. Neighbours brought a few furniture. I received financial aid. I started to teach mathematics to my neighbour's children for a fee, I had 4 students. Neighbours started to support me. I had the opportunity of having bagel counter offered by the metropolitan municipality for 1 year. I also have my own staff. Every morning I come here from ... by

public transport. I come and go using 3 means of transportation.” (Peace, 45)

The following statement, emphasizing that it is not possible to effectively combat violence without the economic empowerment of women victims of violence, is noteworthy.

“I have no income. We applied for financial aid for many times, but could not receive. The court awarded compensation but he did not pay. Thanks to my lawyer, now I receive it. I applied to many places to work, but they said I should not be married or not have children. I receive alimony from my spouse, and alimony will be terminated if I work. I want to work without insurance, they do not accept.” (Raindrop, 32)

“I am so happy, I feel reborn, reborn after both divorce and marriage. I am very well psychologically thanks to the shelter and my lawyer. My lawyer even bought me underwear and clothes because I was thrown out in my nightgown. My lawyer has always been with me. God bless her. I feel very good right now.” (Gold, 29)

The women advise other women who are exposed to violence not to be silent.

“Do not be afraid, do not hide anything and do not be silent. I have always been blamed. He broke into the house many times while I was away, copied my key, and entered the house while my husband was sleeping. He could kill my husband, if the murder was committed, it would be because of me.” (Pink, 45)

“If I could see myself from the outside, I would pull myself out of there, but I couldn't. I'm sure many women experience this. They should escape from there. Be confident of themselves.”
(Cherry Blossom, 28)

“I used to look at men as they are bogeymen, and I learned that you can be friends with men too. There is nothing I can't handle. We live this life once.” (Pink, 45)

“Life is beautiful, women should not give up on life and their children. Places like Gelincik Centre should be promoted with a public service advertisement. The best side of this Centre is that it is free for people do not have money.” (Cherry Blossom, 28)

SUGGESTIONS

Questions of “Do you think the existing laws and legal mechanisms are sufficient to prevent violence? What are your suggestions?” and “What would you like to say to women who are going through the same things to stop violence?” were asked to women in the interviews. In this context, women have sometimes addressed the state, society and lawmakers, and sometimes directly to women.

Women experience serious economic problems. Economic independence is one of the most basic prerequisites for women to say stop to violence. Women demand opportunities that will provide them with economic independence and practices that will help them continue their current jobs.

“As soon as the divorce case is filed, the state should put women on a salary. Temporary alimony is 500 TRY, very low. Many women cannot get divorced due to economic problems. I had to quit my job in Ankara and move to ...province to my family. When my maternity leave ended, I had to resign. Now I work for low wages. I lost my permanent civil service job. I would like to be appointed, but it did not happen. As a woman victim of violence, I should have been given this right.” (Cherry Blossom, 28)

“Women should have economic freedom. After my divorce, I did my master's degree. I do additional work. I work in the evenings. I'm teaching my daughter myself. A woman can do anything she wants. Women should not let anyone touch even their hair. If you allow violence, it will continue.” (Clove, 43)

Women also draw attention to the fact that the existing legal mechanisms are insufficient.

“Existing legal mechanisms are not sufficient. Associations are very important. I refer people to associations. “A person does not know how to breathe and how to take a step when she is out of the water”. You need a system that will defend your rights. I think that associations provide support at this point. I don't know what I would do without the Gelincik. I was having nervous breakdowns. Associations should work together with several organizations/hospitals. For example, with family life centres. Children should be directed to these centres.” (Rose, 39)

“Legal mechanisms are insufficient and cannot provide protection. He was punished, he could have hurt me more if he hadn't been afraid.”

Financial support is a big problem. We should have support in terms of employment or home-based employment. Financial support and the opportunity of (protected) asylum should be provided. The perpetrator of violence must be stopped, there must be a sanction. (Peace, 45)

“The state can impose rules on uncontested divorce in the courts. If there is violence, even if you are divorced by agreement, some additions can be made for the man to be punished.” (Gold, 29)

“Everyone is doing their best, but it's not enough. People are punished, but the court does not punish for violence, it releases them directly. It is the problem that they are not penalized. We hear it every day, they don't impose penalty.” (Jasmin, 26)

Women especially call out to women and advise them not to be afraid and not to remain silent. Although they themselves have hidden or had to hide the violence they have experienced, they advise other women to report the violence to someone else.

“They should definitely report it to somewhere, get support from a neighbor, family, somewhere. I called the Ministry, they wanted to come and get me, but I did not accept out of fear. It is important to get rid of the violence but they can still die. The

other party should not walk around freely. Women are taken to the shelter, but what does the man do?”
(Rose, 39)

“A woman should take precautions, thinking that she will always be alone. She should improve herself. Secondly, if she says that I will bear this pain, she will suffer the damage herself. First of all, they should trust themselves and ask for help from somewhere.” (Daisy, 50)

Fear, fear of disruption, fear of economic difficulties and fear of exclusion from society can prevent women from taking action. For these reasons, women who are exposed to violence and come out of this process stronger, suggest other women not to be afraid.

“Women generally do not want to disrupt the order they have established. I'll manage, he is only here in the evenings, they say. If I am not healthy, if I do not get joy and peace from life, what good is the food I eat? I was like a maid in a closed prison in my marriage. If I still had the fear of disrupting my order, even if I didn't die, I would have been exposed to much worse.” (Daisy, 50)

“Fear doesn't do any good. Showing a man that you are not afraid is the greatest power. I've already been through hell on earth. I don't give my

blessing to him. I tell women not to be afraid to scream, to leave. Get on your feet first. You can do anything you thought you couldn't before. Now I sleep without fear. I'm not afraid to go somewhere or be home late. There is nothing more satisfying than freedom.” (Peace, 45)

“Women should not be silent. I am neurotic. My son is deprived of everything. Marriage is sacred, but the man should act like a man. He should not say “I am a man, I can beat her”. Women should not be silent about this.” (Raindrop, 32)

“Women are afraid that things will get worse, but if we are not afraid, no one can come at us. I acted very scared. I thought my mother and father would fight each other. He was coming at us as we were afraid, he is no longer trying to harm us. I don't even want to remember the past.” (New Life, 30)

It is necessary for women to take action and not remain silent in the face of violence, and an awareness of gender roles is also required.

“Not every woman can have a happy marriage. They should be sure of the steps they take and make plans. Self-suggestion is not good because you

believe that it's a dream.” (Cherry Blossom, 28)

“I was married to a man who made life difficult. However, a husband should make his wife's life easier. I was feeling like my world darkened as the man entered the house. Why and how did I endure? I have friends who are going through the same things but they don't dare to divorce.” (Clove, 43)

“All the blame is on the mothers. Boys are very spoiled. Having a male organ should not allow them to do whatever they want. Boys are very flattered. Raising a boy is more important. He should not be like his father and show respect and love to his wife.” (Gold, 29)

“They should stand on their own feet and not need their husbands. they should decide what they want to do. I don't want anyone to be subjected to violence.” (Jasmin, 26)

However, the following sentences of the participant with the nickname of Raindrop show how much pressure women feel.

“We are like guests in this house right now. We will leave soon. We are living like a parasite in the house. People are saying you are widowed, deprived, aged, single, you can't buy this, don't go out, etc. There are constant restrictions.” (Raindrop, 32)

“They shouldn't delay to take action hoping that everything will be fixed. They shouldn't wait until they die. Thank God, there is the state by their side. They should go to the women's shelter instead of waiting at home and think more appropriately there. Then they can divorce or if they don't want to divorce, they should still stay there and decide this by themselves in there.

4.5 Findings Obtained from Focus Group Discussions

In order to complement the findings obtained in the in-depth interview and in the quantitative data collection study, a focus group meeting was held with the guiding and volunteer lawyers from the Gelincik Centre. The following questions were asked in the focus group meeting held at the Ankara Bar Association Training Centre on 30 May 2022.

Divorce is not shameful. No one should be silent, do not wait.”
(Gold, 29)

In this section, the empowerment practices of women interviewed in depth were examined and it was revealed once again that women most needed economic and psychosocial support in combatting violence. Unless women are economically empowered and supported in this direction, it is very difficult for them to stay away from violence.



**TRACES OF VIOLENCE PROJECT –
FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPATION
FORM**

Dear Participants,

This study aims to analyse the effectiveness of legal mechanisms in combating violence against women within the scope of the Traces of Violence Project carried out by the Association for Equal Generations and Ankara Bar Association. Your answers to the questions will be used to develop policies and recommendations to improve the Gelincik Centre services and legal support services, and to better support women like you who have experienced violence at some point in their lives. Therefore, it is very

important that you answer all questions sincerely and honestly. The recommendations developed as a result of the research will be shared with the stakeholders involved in the combating violence, particularly the Ankara Bar Association, without using your personal information.

This interview will be held by my friend, Deniz Hemen Aydın, the Project Responsible and I Özlem Boztaş. We will take notes during the interview. Thank you for participating in the interview, answering our questions and agreeing to be a light to all women who think they are condemned to live with violence.

Date and Signature

Focus Group Interview Questions
<p>1. Could you briefly describe the operation of the Gelincik Centre?</p> <p>1.1 Assignment process</p> <p>1.2 Litigation process</p> <p>1.3 What kind of training do you receive at the Centre?</p> <p>1.4 What kind of support does the Gelincik Centre need in supporting women subjected to violence? For example, education, staff and financial support?</p>
<p>2. Inter-institutional cooperation and coordination</p> <p>2.1 Which institutions and organizations does Gelincik Centre cooperate with?</p> <p>2.2 Can you please evaluate the current coordination process?</p>
<p>3. Existing legal mechanisms and law</p> <p>3.1 What do you think are the most effective aspects of existing laws and mechanisms to combat violence?</p> <p>3.2 What do you think are the problem areas?</p> <p>3.3 What are your suggestions for improvement regarding the implementation of the law?</p>
<p>4. Observations in the field</p> <p>4.1 According to your observations in the cases you have assigned so far, what are the main causes of violence against women?</p> <p>4.2 At what stage do you think women apply to you / Gelincik Centre? After which breaking point do they decide to get help and apply to the authorities?</p> <p>4.3 Can you evaluate the level of awareness of the victims applying to you regarding the legal mechanisms and their rights?</p> <p>4.4 Can you give us a profile of the perpetrator of violence based on your field observations?</p>
<p>5. Preventive/cautionary measures</p> <p>5.1 Do you think the current preventive and cautionary measures specified in the law and regulation are sufficient? What kind of problems do you encounter in the implementation process?</p> <p>5.2 Can we get your evaluations on the judicial process? (evidence collection, testimony, protection orders, length of the process, attitudes of judges, criminal proceedings, custody of children, alimony and compensation, etc.)</p> <p>5.3 What are your structural and procedural suggestions for the elimination of the problems experienced by the victims in the judicial process?</p>

6. Observations and suggestions for women's empowerment

6.1 Can you tell us an example of how women became stronger in their struggle by saying stop to violence among the files you examined? Continuing education, finding a job, etc.

6.2 What do you think are the priority areas of support for women's empowerment during and after the judicial process in the cases you have assigned? What do women victims need most?

A focus group meeting was held with 5 female lawyers working at the Gelincik Centre. The lawyers interviewed were first asked questions about the operation of the Gelincik Centre. In addition to this, other issues such as recommendations and opinions related to the implementation process, views on the awareness levels of women victims of violence, and professional satisfaction levels were also discussed at the interviews.

Assignments are made in Ankara Bar Association Training Center and in Sincan. Women victims of violence are directed to the Gelincik Centre by the legal assistance centre, protocol partners and the police station. Appointments are made according to the ranking of points. As soon as he/she is assigned, the lawyer begins to prepare the documents. After the assignment, the lawyer must be at the centre within 30 minutes to 45 minutes. The first interviewer is always a female lawyer and this is a leading decision.

There are more than 200 legal counsellors and 400 volunteer lawyers in the Gelincik Centre. Lawyers receive compulsory training before they start working as a legal counsellor or volunteer lawyer at the Gelincik Centre. In the training,

communication with the victim, Law No. 6284, children's rights, gender equality and the Istanbul Convention are discussed, and the training is given by retired judges and lawyers. For example, forensic medicine training is also provided to legal counsellors on the steps to be taken in a case such as a rape case. The prerequisite for working at the Gelincik Centre is to receive training in the Code of Criminal Procedure and legal assistance. Within this scope, three types of training are provided, namely introductory training, CCP and legal assistance training, and refresher training.

Regarding the male lawyers to be assigned at the Gelincik Centre, the lawyers interviewed said that women had difficulty in explaining sexual violence to a male lawyer. On the other hand, they stated that sometimes women victims may also prefer male lawyers with the idea of "There is a strong male lawyer behind me" and this thought relieves the women victims.

In terms of gender equality and considering that violence against women is a social issue, it is important that male lawyers also work at the Gelincik Centre. However, as emphasized by the interviewed lawyers, it is important to inform the woman well about

the process and to support the establishment of trust between the male lawyer and the woman victim in the process of transferring the case from a female lawyer to a male lawyer.

According to the statements, the interviewed lawyers do their job on a completely voluntary basis, and the professional satisfaction aspect of the job comes to the fore.

“This job is like addiction, it has no monetary value. Reason for holding on to the profession.”

“Legal counsellors really work voluntarily. It is never a monetary satisfaction. There is friendship between lawyers.”

“I live the moments when I say 'I'm glad I'm doing this job' at the Gelincik Centre.”

“Gelincik is a passion. We live by prayers. Spiritual satisfaction is very high. Shocking but empowering at the same time.”

The lawyers interviewed stated that they try to provide psychological and financial support whenever they can, in addition to legal support, but professional psychologists are needed, that they receive demands for clothes, shoes and bags from prisons and shelters, and that they cooperate with clubs to respond to these demands. This situation once again reveals the need for a holistic

approach and a solidarity approach, and shows that legal assistance alone is insufficient to combat violence against women.

In the focus group discussion, it was emphasized that the existing mechanisms are particularly problematic in terms of confidentiality. It is stated that the ankle monitors are insufficient in practice, and even if there is a violation, it is not recorded. It was stated that the restraining and protection orders also partially work, and that more health measures should be taken.

Pointing out the importance of economic conditions in the fight against violence against women, the participants state that there can be no effective fight against violence without social awareness. It is emphasized that the awareness of judges should be increased in this regard.

The participants stated that the level of knowledge and awareness of the women who applied to them was quite low and drew attention to the fact that women without economic power were extremely victimized in this process. *“Very few women come here knowing their rights. The woman doesn't know what to request. The woman wants custody. They don't even demand compensation. Even if the house is allocated to the woman, she is overwhelmed by the natural gas and water bills.”*

“The judge has to act objectively as a third person, he is interested in concrete reality. You definitely need proof. If there is a report of assault, a lawsuit is filed as the health workers have an obligation to report any assault. Even if the woman withdraws the case, a public lawsuit is filed.”

When the lawyers interviewed were asked about the breaking points of the women who applied to them, they generally gave the following answer. *“When their children are able to save themselves, they decide to seek help or, when they witness attempt against life or death, they apply to the Gelincik. The woman does not want to see herself on the news.”*

When the lawyers interviewed were asked to make a general assessment about the women who applied to them and the perpetrators of violence, it was seen that the points they stated were in line with the findings obtained

in the in-depth interviews. It was stated that especially women who receive family support are less victimized, and the reflection of violence on children can be very severe. In addition, it was emphasized that many of the male perpetrators were also using drugs or alcohol. The participants, who stated that the spouses of many applicants had firearms, pointed to the importance of taking the necessary preventive measures by the lawyer of the case regarding the increased risk level.

As a result, it was stated that the volunteer legal counsellors and lawyers working in the field at the Gelincik Centre have received various trainings and are lawyers who are experts in their fields. It was observed that these lawyers, mastered the functioning of legal mechanisms, have a high level of professional satisfaction and that saving a woman's life is the greatest source of power for them.

5 • Recommendations on the effective implementation of Law No. 6284 and legal mechanisms in combating violence

5. Recommendations on the effective implementation of Law No. 6284 and legal mechanisms in combating violence

In the light of the qualitative and quantitative field research findings carried out within the scope of the Traces of Violence Project, recommendations for the effective functioning of legal mechanisms as well as the collection and monitoring of data on gender-based violence are presented below.

Recommendations for the Gelincik Centre

- **Increasing the visibility of Gelincik Centre hotline and services:** The Centre carries out a devoted work with its counsellors and volunteer lawyers. It is recommended to implement an advocacy campaign in order to increase the awareness regarding the centre and to publicise the hotline 444 43 06 and the services of the Centre more widely.
- **Establishing a relationship of trust between the victims and the male lawyers to be assigned:** It is important for women who have experienced violence from one man to be able to trust another man.
- **Distribution of tasks for regular data collection and reporting:** In order to effectively implement legal mechanisms in combatting violence, it is necessary to establish a data collection system. It is noteworthy that in many tables, data cannot be collected in important areas. It is important that the monitoring system, which is such a critical data source in the field of violence against women, collects the largest amount of data on the applicant and the perpetrator.
- **Focusing on training to increase the awareness of guiding and volunteer lawyers on gender equality:** In particular, regular training and seminars are recommended for the level of knowledge and awareness of different gender identities, and the internalisation of gender equality perspective.
- **Establishing institutional cooperation for psychosocial guidance as a first step:** Gelincik Centre is the first point of application for many women who apply to the centre. The

psychological resilience of women who applied is low. The lawyers of the centre make referrals to volunteer psychologists when necessary, with their self-sacrificing work, but it was determined that a standard mechanism and psychosocial support network need to be developed for the determination of this need of the women.

Recommendations for improving legal mechanisms

- Examining the factors prolonging the judicial process
- Increasing penalties and sanctions
- Execution of alimony and compensation
- Ensuring that the perpetrator is punished while protecting the victim
- Requesting relevant preventive measures in high-risk situations such as the presence of a firearm with the risk assessment form
- Informing the judges, who will rule according to the single file in front of them, about the risks in detail

Recommendations for the improvement of mechanisms in combatting violence

- Improvement of shelter conditions
- Shelter for the disabled
- Effective programs and studies for perpetrators
- Support for the economic empowerment of women
- Job opportunities for women who are victims of violence
- Psychosocial support for women and child victims
- More widespread awareness and information tools at local level
- Adoption of gender equality at institutional and social level

As can be seen, efficient and effective cooperation and coordination between all relevant stakeholder institutions in combatting violence against women and gender-based violence is the fundamental need area. The dissemination of good practice examples such as the Gelincik Centre throughout the country will make a significant contribution to efforts in this field. For this reason, it is recommended to standardise and disseminate the new data collection form developed within the scope of the project in order to monitor and regularly report the legal assistance practices implemented in the Centre.

6. **Conclusion**

6. Conclusion

Regarding the violence against women, the first step should undoubtedly be the prevention of violence against women. However, an integrated approach is needed both to prevent and to combat violence against women. Reporting the violence to the necessary authorities is the first step of the process.

Awareness of gender equality in all segments of society is indispensable. It is not enough for the woman herself, her family, lawyers or social service workers to say stop to violence alone. It is important that the perpetrator's own family, employers, close circle and friends adopt a supportive attitude towards the woman. Even if her children will be unhappy, she should not have to act in accordance with the gender roles assigned to her or choose between her own happiness and peace and her marriage at the cost of her life.

As emphasized by the interviewed women and lawyers, it is vitally important to protect and sustain the legal mechanisms for preventing violence against women in Türkiye. However, there are increasing concerns with regards to the implementation of the law due to the decision for withdrawal from Istanbul Convention. Interpreting and applying all kinds of laws and regulations in

favour of women from a gender perspective can help to fill the gaps.

As stated in the literature, women's education, prevention of early marriages, providing gender equality for children from a young age, women's right to work and freedom, women's ability to benefit from health services, women's knowledge of legal rights, women's status as only mothers and wives in society and the existence of an ecosystem supporting women's employment in working life are important components of preventing violence against women. Because, as reported by the interviewed women, it is not enough for a woman to say stop to violence alone. For the following stages, the woman needs to stand on her own feet, to have an economic opportunity to meet the needs of her children, and to be self-sufficient both psychologically and economically.

Violence against women should not be perceived as an issue that only affects a woman or an individual. Considering its effects on children, that violence is a learned behaviour and that these children will be members of the society in the future, violence against women is a social issue based on gender inequalities, thus requires joint efforts of every individual and institution in the society.

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Annex 1: Table of Indicators

Indicator	Indicator Values			
	Baseline Data (2017-2021)		Current Value (2022)	
	TR	Ankara	TR	Ankara
1. Prevalence of forms of violence perpetrated against women applied to Gelincik Centre by their intimate partners				
a. Prevalence of physical violence		92,4%		
b. Prevalence of sexual violence		31,1%		
c. Prevalence of emotional/psychological violence		94,9%		
d. Prevalence of economic violence		66,2%		
e. Prevalence of stalking		5,2%		
f. Rate of applications made to the Centre due to violence against women to include violence against children		21,4%		
g. Number of women staying in women's shelters due to violence		X		
2. Number of women reaching the Gelincik Centre phone line				
3. Number of women victims of violence applied to the Gelincik Centre and sought legal support (by age, marital status, employment status, educational status, district)				
a. Number of women victims of violence who applied for the first time to the Centre		1158		
b. Number of women victims of violence who applied more than once to the Centre		X		
c. Rate of women who were referred to the Gelincik Centre from other institutions (women's shelter, ŞÖNİM, etc.) among the total applicants		35,1%		
d. Rate of women who have their own real estate/jewelry and/or personal income (such as salary) among women victims of violence		6,8%		
e. Rate of women who applied to the Gelincik Centre from outside Ankara		3,9%		
f. Rate of persons with disabilities among applicants		9,7%		
4. Rate of women injured as a result of physical/sexual violence among applicants				
a. Number/rate of forensic reports received as a result of physical violence		724 (28,7%) people 824 (not known)		

5. Monitoring the capacity at the Gelincik Centre				
a. Number of legal counsellors		X		
b. Number of volunteer lawyers		X		
c. Number of regular training sessions involving the gender sensitive approach for the lawyers and volunteer lawyers of the Gelincik Centre (annual)		4		
6. The number of protection orders requested by women victims of violence according to Law No. 6284				
a. Number of protective measures requested according to Law No. 6284		2141 files		
b. Number of preventive cautionary decisions requested according to Law No. 6284		642 files		
c. Number of coercive imprisonment verdicts given		X		
d. Ankle monitors implementation rate among the protective measures taken		0,4%		
7. Rejection rate of protection orders requested according to Law No. 6284 (in terms of protective and preventive measures)		0,6%		
8. The distribution of the duration of the protection measures given according to the Law No. 6284		X		
a. Number/rate of extended protection orders		X		
9. Distribution of the amount of alimony received in the civil lawsuit filed due to violence (child support/poverty alimony)		Min. 150 TRY Max. 1.750 TRY		
10. Average amount of compensation (material/moral) received in a civil lawsuit filed for violence		Min. 1000 TRY Max. 40.000 TRY		
11. Number of perpetrators brought criminal cases for violence		16,8%		



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