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Capacity Building Project for Monitoring Legal Data to Combat Violence Against Women

Traces of Violence II Project CEiD/HP/2024/28

Comparative Analysis Report of Provincial Data on Violence Against Women 2023-2025







CEİDizler Grant Scheme

CEİD/HP/2025/28


*Capacity Building Project for Monitoring Legal
Data to Combat Violence Against Women*

Traces of Violence II Project

**Comparative Analysis Report of Provincial Data
on Violence Against Women**

Ankara, Adana, Diyarbakır, İstanbul

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Comparative Analysis Report of Provincial Data on Violence Against Women

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1. Executive Summary

“Traces of Violence II: Capacity Building Project for Monitoring Legal Data to Combat Violence Against Women” was launched on October 7, 2024, with an implementation period of 10 months in partnership with the Association for Equal Generations and the Ankara Bar Association. The Contracting Authority of the project is the “Association for Monitoring Gender Equality (CEİD)”.

The overall aim of the project, planned for completion on August 7, 2025, is to strengthen the rights-based monitoring capacities of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) for indicator-based monitoring of gender equality, diversify and disseminate monitoring activities, and support the participatory implementation of monitoring processes. The objectives of the project are to increase the monitoring capacity for the effective implementation of Law No. 6284, to enhance the advocacy capacity of stakeholders and to raise awareness of legal support mechanisms in combating violence against women, thereby promoting gender equality monitoring and the effective fight against violence.

Shaped as a rights-based monitoring approach, this project also aims to evaluate applications made by women victims of violence to the bar associations of the four pilot provinces based on specific indicators, to monitor the effectiveness of legal mechanisms in combating violence, and to support the development of evidence-based policies. The direct target group of the project includes counsellors and volunteer lawyers of the Ankara Bar Association Gelincik Centre, Adana Bar Association, Diyarbakir Bar Association and İstanbul Bar Association. The indirect target group of the project is non-governmental organizations working with women victims of violence, other stakeholder institutions, women and children subjected to violence.

This report has been developed to present the methodology and findings of the project activity “Activity 1.3: Preparation of a comparative report on provincial violence data for 2023-2024”. This project, which will include activities focused on data collection and reporting, as well as the implementation of strategies to strengthen the advocacy capacity of stakeholders, is expected to contribute to the formulation of policy recommendations for preventing gender-based violence and establishing effective intervention mechanisms.

Violence against women is a human rights violation and is mainly caused by gender inequalities. Designed with the understanding that data-driven monitoring and evidence-based policymaking are key tools in combating violence, the project aims to develop standardized and monitoring-oriented mechanisms in Ankara, Adana, Diyarbakır, and İstanbul, and to lay a foundation for analysis by collecting data through a pilot study.

In addition to the findings obtained by analysing the data collected from the pilot provinces, this report includes recommendations on the mechanisms and policies for monitoring violence data.

2. The Pilot Provinces Included in the Study

This section provides information about the pilot provinces included in the data collection study. The pilot provinces selected during the project's design phase were Ankara, Adana, Diyarbakır, Sakarya and Van. However, the situation analysis revealed that the Bar Associations in Sakarya and Van lacked file records required for data collection; therefore, İstanbul was included as a replacement for these two provinces. Presented below are the general operations of the provincial bar associations, the activities of the women's rights centres, and the shortcomings identified in data collection by the provincial coordinators assigned by the bar associations and proposed solutions.

2.1. Ankara

The Ankara Bar Association Gelincik Centre, established on April 2, 2011, within the Ankara Bar Association, serves as an exemplary institution in Türkiye, providing free legal support to women, children, the elderly, and LGBTI+ individuals who are victims of violence. Working in collaboration with volunteer and counselling lawyers specialised in their fields, the Gelincik Centre aims to protect and empower victims of violence and to facilitate their access to the legal system.


The Centre receives applications from across Türkiye through its 24/7 helpline (444 43 06) and offers legal information and referral services to applicants, particularly to those in Ankara. Furthermore, the Centre also refers victims of violence to psychological support services upon their request.

The Gelincik Centre is the only model of its kind within bar associations and is distinguished as the only centre providing legal aid-based services in compliance with Law No. 6284. Since its establishment, the centre has been carrying out joint activities in combating violence by developing cooperation with the relevant Ministry, ŞÖNİM (Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centre), municipalities and guest houses, as well as various public institutions, non-governmental organisations and international stakeholders.

Within the scope of the project, a data collection study was conducted in accordance with the indicators determined by examining 150 application files submitted to the Ankara Bar Association Gelincik Centre between 2023 and 2025.

The study carried out as part of the project and the shortcomings identified by the provincial coordinator of the Ankara Bar Association

As part of the project implemented in partnership with the Equal Generations Association, 150 case files from the Ankara Bar Association Gelincik Centre, covering the years 2023 to 2025, were thoroughly analysed, and the corresponding data were uploaded to the online platform. However, during the data analysis process, several shortcomings were identified in both the field implementation and the file tracking system.



The analysis of most files has revealed that the legal proceedings are not monitored regularly or kept up to date. File tracking by volunteer lawyers can be carried out only if the lawyer claims payment. This limitation prevents systematic documentation and evaluation of cases won, particularly in those related to alimony, custody, and compensation.

Due to this lack of data, the concrete impact of economic and social gains such as alimony, custody, and material and moral compensation could not be statistically determined, in addition to the protective and preventive measures taken under Law No. 6284. In particular, positive or negative data regarding temporary alimony could not be presented.

It was observed that the file archives lacked standardization, and that the flow of information and documents was not managed within a systematic framework, which makes it difficult to conduct long-term data-based analysis.

Proposed suggestions for the shortcomings

- The file tracking system at the Gelincik Centre should be restructured, and it should be mandatory for assigned volunteer lawyers to regularly report case results to the centre upon the conclusion of each case.
- File archiving and data entry processes should be standardized, and the digital recording system should be restructured in a way that makes it standard, up-to-date and responsive to needs.
- A system should be developed to ensure the regular reporting of all legal decisions made in favour of victims, particularly those including economic gains such as alimony, compensation, and, in exceptional cases, property entitlements etc.
- Incentive mechanisms for volunteer lawyers should be strengthened to enhance their motivation and ensure continuity in case prosecution.


2.2. Adana

As part of legal aid services provided by the Adana Bar Association, free legal representation is assigned to women victims of violence. In particular, fundamental cases such as divorce, custody, and alimony are initiated alongside protective measures in accordance with Law No. 6284. Within the scope of the project, 100 case files related to violence were reviewed from the legal aid applications submitted to the Adana Bar Association, and the relevant data were recorded.

The study carried out in the project and the shortcomings identified by the provincial coordinator of the Adana Bar Association

The observations and monitoring activities revealed that lawyers assigned to these processes did not provide adequate and regular updates on the progress of the cases.

It was also observed that particularly legal aid files lacked the data that would enable data processors to track the stage of the case, decisions made, hearings held, and subsequent



developments. However, the regular inclusion of these data in the file is important both for the transparent conduct of the legal process and for the centre's case monitoring and data collection efforts. This lack of data prevents the effective functioning of policy-making and data-driven reporting activities.

Effective communication and document-sharing are essential to ensure that women victims of violence are not left alone and are supported by an effective monitoring mechanism throughout the legal aid process.

The analysis of the case files revealed that the duration of the protective measures granted was generally insufficient. Decisions to renew these measures increase the workload, and victims tend to view the decisions to impose new measures with hesitation and think that the renewal decisions are inadequate. It was identified that the protective measures were not renewed despite the presence of relevant risks. Moreover, it was observed that the presence of concrete physical violence was considered a condition to classify legal aid files as violence cases. Although data on economic, psychological, and sexual violence were present in the files, there was no case tracked only on the grounds of psychological or economic violence.


Proposed suggestions for the shortcomings

The shortcomings regarding the fact that the colleague who will interview the woman victim of violence at the courthouse has not received training in this field, is not a member of the Adana Bar Association's Women's Rights Centre (KHM) or has not participated in most of the trainings organised by the Centre, can be addressed.

Although women victims of violence benefit from legal aid, this aid only means receiving support in the field of private law. The files of women victims of violence who apply for legal aid do not contain sufficient data or documents related to the investigation and prosecution files. Additionally, there is no information indicating that the Women's Rights Centre has been notified or referred to for the follow-up of the criminal process. This situation creates a gap in providing support to women victims of violence and prevents the legal process from progressing in parallel with criminal proceedings. The impunity of perpetrators of violence or the lack of support for women during the criminal process may lead women to withdraw their divorce cases or, even worse, allow the perpetrator to continue acts of violence against the victim.

Lawyers handling the cases of women victims of violence should be asked to provide an informative report or similar documentation regarding the current legal status of the case. Lawyers assigned to legal aid cases may be required to submit monthly annotations detailing case developments to the system or the relevant department at each stage of the process.

A standard form or digital notification system can be developed for this informing process. Assigned lawyers can be a part of the process by being explicitly notified of this obligation. In cases receiving help from the legal aid units of bar associations, consultations can be planned with the Ministry of



Justice to ensure that bar associations are informed about the progress and results of court proceedings.

2.3. Diyarbakır

The Diyarbakır Bar Association Women's Rights Centre works with volunteer lawyers who provide free legal support to victims of violence, including children, the elderly, LGBTI+ individuals, and especially women. The Women's Rights Centre (KHM) operates to support and empower victims of violence, protect their rights, facilitate their access to legal aid, and monitor their legal processes. The centre operates nonstop, seven days a week, providing support to all types of victims of violence. Upon the request of victims of violence, the centre takes action by reaching out to them, providing all kinds of legal support, implementing necessary protective and preventive measures within the scope of Law No. 6284, and referring them to shelters.

Since its establishment, the centre has followed up on cases and conducted campaigns across the region. It has collaborated with regional bar associations, provided legal aid training in the region, raised awareness about women's studies, and actively participated in policy development processes. The centre, which serves as a local threshold component, is also a member of the congress of shelters.

Victims are referred through continuous collaboration and communication with ŞÖNİM (Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centre). The centre constantly collaborates with the Diyarbakır Women's Research and Implementation Centre (DİKASUM), the Rosa Women's Association, and women's units of local municipalities to refer applicants and to follow up on cases. In collaboration with the network to combat battery and violence, it develops strategies to raise public awareness and has issued an annual report each November on behalf of the network since 2019. Within the scope of the project, 125 files from the Diyarbakır Bar Association were examined, and the relevant data were entered into the online platform.

The study carried out in the project and the shortcomings identified by the provincial coordinator of the Diyarbakır Bar Association

The analysis of the case files indicated irregular and outdated follow-up of legal proceedings. Volunteer lawyers follow up on cases; however, the transfer of information concerning the legal process is inadequate. This inadequacy hinders the documentation and evaluation of outcomes related to alimony, custody, and compensation, and complicates data collection.

Consequently, the concrete impact of economic and social outcomes related to alimony, custody, and material and moral compensation could not be statistically determined, in addition to the protective and preventive measures taken under Law No. 6284.

Including the option "She works but does not manage her own money" on the form would help more accurately identify the applicant's employment and income status.

Proposed suggestions for the shortcomings

- It should be mandatory for assigned volunteer lawyers to regularly report case results to the centre upon the conclusion of each case.
- File archiving and data entry processes should be digitised and systematically updated in line with procedural developments.
- Incentive mechanisms for volunteer lawyers should be strengthened to enhance their motivation and ensure continuity in case prosecution.

2.4. İstanbul

Since its establishment, the İstanbul Bar Association has not only functioned as a professional organisation but has also advocated for human rights, operating on a rights-based approach. Several centres and commissions within the İstanbul Bar Association have been operating with volunteer lawyers in this regard. The Women's Rights Centre, Children's Rights Centre, and Legal Aid Office have been working in coordination with their lawyers on matters concerning the rights of women and children. The Legal Aid Office and its agents are available every weekday to provide services to individuals who require legal assistance but lack financial means, assigning lawyers to those eligible for legal support. Individuals who visit the offices in person, call by phone, or request information online are informed about application and assistance matters and are referred to the appropriate centre offices or agents for legal aid based on their place of residence. The İstanbul Bar Association encompasses numerous legal aid application points, including the Beyoğlu Centre, Bakırköy, Gaziosmanpaşa, Kartal, Esenyurt İSADEM, the Violence Prevention Office of the Çağlayan Women's Rights Centre, the Yeşilköy Office of the Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centre, and Ümraniye İSADEM. The Legal Aid Office of the İstanbul Bar Association works in coordination with many institutions operating in the field of women's rights.

The association has also been actively working for years with non-governmental organisations serving refugee women and children, and the requests received from these organisations are evaluated. Furthermore, the Legal Aid Office works in coordination with women's support centres of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Beyoğlu Municipality. Additionally, there are Legal Aid Offices affiliated with the İstanbul Bar Association under the umbrella of Ümraniye İSADEM and Büyükçekmece İSADEM, where lawyers are on duty to evaluate applications.

Apart from the written protocols with institutions and organisations working in the field of women's rights, the İstanbul Bar Association has been in connection and collaboration with many institutions and non-governmental organisations for many years. In addition to handling women's legal aid requests, the Beyoğlu Legal Aid Centre Office also works in coordination with institutions that can provide support in other areas, such as social assistance foundations. After applications are submitted to Legal Aid Offices and other coordinated centres via an application form, lawyers are assigned to cases. Files containing both applications and subsequent legal proceedings are maintained in physical form and on the system.



The study carried out in the project and the shortcomings identified by the provincial coordinator of the İstanbul Bar Association

Within the scope of the project, data were collected from violence case files submitted to the bar association. A total of 150 files were analysed, and the relevant data were entered into the system. As a result, it was identified that most of the files lacked information about the perpetrator, although the application form included many questions about the applicant woman.

The data collection process also revealed that documents and reports related to the legal process and the results of the application files were incomplete, which created challenges in data collection.

Therefore, the Legal Aid Application Form may be updated to address this lack of data. In addition, the sensitivity and diligence of the lawyers handling the cases of women subjected to violence are crucial, and their coordinated work with legal aid offices, regular reporting on the progress of the cases, and mandatory notification of case results could help address this issue.

Although the İstanbul Bar Association provides training on Women's Rights and Gender Equality within the scope of its Legal Aid Training, both the lawyers receiving the applications and those assigned to the cases must be selected from among individuals who are aware of rights-based approaches and are willing to contribute voluntarily.

3. Data and Analysis on Violence Against Women in Pilot Provinces for the Period 2023-2025

3.1. Purpose and Methodology of the Study

Purpose

The main purpose of this project is to strengthen the institutional capacities of non-governmental organisations operating in the field of rights-based gender equality to achieve gender equality and participatory democracy in Türkiye. In this context, the project aims to enhance monitoring capacity regarding the effective implementation of Law No. 6284 in combating violence against women, to improve the advocacy competencies of relevant stakeholders, and to increase public awareness of legal support mechanisms. One of the key expected outcomes of the project is the development of a comprehensive data collection and reporting approach that ensures the data on violence against women collected by bar associations across the country are presented in a standardised, clear, comprehensible, and internationally comparable format.

Methodology

In this descriptive study, the data were retrospectively obtained from case files involving “violence against women” submitted to the bar associations in Ankara, İstanbul, Adana, Diyarbakır, and Van during the years 2023, 2024, and 2025. Before the data collection process, a *Cooperation and Data Privacy Protocol* was signed with the bar associations involved to ensure that the files would not be shared with any third parties. Only information aligned with the selected indicators was uploaded to the database using an online data collection form. Each provincial bar association appointed a provincial coordinator who was responsible for the data collection process.

For a consistent, comprehensive and standardised data collection, a two-day face-to-face training was held in Ankara on January 10-11, 2025, for the provincial coordinators and lawyers involved. The training covered topics such as “What is data?”, “What are data sources?”, and “Data errors and data collection methods”. Based on the feedback received from the bar representatives during the training, the data collection form was finalised and uploaded to an online platform (Jotform). Each bar representative accessed the form via the link provided and completed the data entry. The data entry process was completed within approximately three months. Throughout this period, regular weekly meetings and mentorship/supervision by the team leader ensured that data entries were accurate.

Through the standardised form, data were collected on the applicant, the perpetrator, the form and specifics of the violence, and the related legal processes. **A total of 532 case files were reviewed, comprising 150 from Ankara, 149 from İstanbul, 100 from Adana, 125 from Diyarbakır, and 8 from Van.** However, due to the insufficient number of cases from Van, this province was excluded from the analysis, and evaluations were based on **524 files**.

Statistical analysis of the data was performed using SPSS v30.0 software. Descriptive data were presented in numbers (percentages), and correlations between variables were analysed using the Chi-square test. The level of significance was set at $p < 0.05$.

3.2. Findings

The distribution of case files across bar associations by year reflects data entries for a total of 532 violence-related files from the 2023–2025 period (Table 1, Figure 3). Since the bar associations other than the Ankara Bar Association Gelincik Centre receive their files through the Legal Aid Office, it will not be possible to give a total number of files.

The overall evaluation indicates that the number of files is unevenly distributed across years and bar associations, and some bar associations experienced high concentrations in certain years, whereas others had no records at all. Particularly, the high number of records made by the Diyarbakır Bar Association in 2025 is noteworthy. The Van Bar Association was excluded from the analysis due to the very low number of recorded cases.

The unequal distribution of applications across years and bar associations highlights the need for standardising service delivery and data recording systems within the scope of combating violence in Türkiye. In particular, differences in how bar associations receive and register applications restrict data comparability. Therefore, it is recommended that future studies focus on developing common registration standards and minimising implementation discrepancies among bar associations at the national level.

Table 1. The Number of Files Bar Associations Have by Year

Bar Association	2023 Number	%*	2024 Number	%*	2025 Number	%*	TOTAL Number	%**
Ankara	64	42.7	86	57.3	0	0.0	150	28.2
İstanbul	50	33.6	70	47.0	29	19.4	149	28.0
Adana	34	34.0	54	54.0	12	12.0	100	19.7
Diyarbakır	0	0.0	3	2.4	122	97.6	125	22.6
Van	5	62.5	3	37.5	0	0.0	8	1.5
TOTAL	153	28.8	216	40.6	163	30.6	532	100.0

* Row percentage; **Column percentage

The distribution of interview-related data obtained from the case files by bar association is presented in **Table 2**. Of the total applications, 417 (79.6%) were made by the applicants in person, while 107 (20.4%) were submitted through referrals from other institutions. For 339 applicants (64.9%), it was their first application to the bar association, whereas for 121 applicants (23.2%), this information was not specified. Before applying to the bar association, 185 applicants (35.7%) had applied to the police, 87 (16.8%) to ŞÖNİM, 69 (13.3%) to a hospital or healthcare institution, 66 (12.7%) to an NGO or women’s shelter, 39 (7.5%) to the prosecution office, 17 (3.3%) to the gendarmerie, 11 (2.1%) to KADES (Women’s Emergency Support Application), 8 (1.5%) to the Women’s Solidarity Centre of municipalities, and 5 (1.0%) to the governor’s office. For 31 applicants (6.0%), no relevant information was provided.

Considering the distribution of institutions referring to the bar associations, 80 applicants (15.5%) were referred by ŞÖNİM, 39 (7.4%) by the bar association, 11 (2.1%) by an NGO or women's shelter, 5 (1.0%) by the police, 5 (1.0%) by the Ministry of Family and Social Services, and 31 applicants (5.0%) were not referred by any institution. 347 cases (66.2%) lacked the relevant information. Of the applicants, 427 (81.5%) attended the interview on their own, 57 (10.9%) requested transportation support, 7 (1.3%) were accompanied by a family member, and 6 (1.1%) arrived with a neighbour, a lawyer, or a representative from ŞÖNİM or a shelter. This information was not specified in 27 cases (5.2%). The data on the interviews includes the type of application, whether it is the applicant's first application to the bar association, whether another institution has been notified before, and how the applicant attended the interview.

Table 2. Distribution of Interview-Related Data Obtained from the Case Files by Bar Association (N=524)

Bar Association	Ankara (n=150)		İstanbul (n=149)		Adana (n=100)		Diyarbakır (n=125)	
Interview-Related Data	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*
Type of Application								
Applicant in person (n=417)	106	25.4	117	28.1	92	22.1	102	24.4
Referral from another institution (n=107)	44	41.1	32	29.9	8	7.5	23	21.5
First Application to the Bar Association?								
Not specified (n=121)	1	0.8	1	0.8	6	5.0	113	93.4
Yes (n=339)	125	36.9	118	34.8	90	26.5	6	1.8
No (n=62)	24	38.7	30	48.3	4	6.5	4	6.5
Notification to Another Institution Before Application to the Bar Association (more than one option may apply)								
Police (n=185)	47	25.4	38	20.5	80	43.3	20	10.8
ŞÖNİM (n=87)	72	82.9	7	8.0	7	8.0	1	1.1
Hospital/Healthcare Institution (n=69)	10	14.5	29	42.0	14	20.3	16	23.2
NGO/Shelter (n=66)	44	66.6	18	27.3	0	0.0	4	6.1
Prosecution Office (n=39)	3	7.7	24	61.5	4	10.3	8	20.5
Gendarmerie (n=17)	4	23.5	0	0.0	4	23.5	9	53.0
KADES (n=11)	8	72.7	2	18.2	1	9.1	0	0.0
Women's Solidarity Centre of Municipalities (n=8)	0	0.0	6	75.0	1	12.5	1	12.5
Governor's Office (n=5)	0	0.0	1	20.0	4	80.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=31)	2	6.4	1	3.2	6	19.4	22	71.0


Referring Institution								
ŞÖNİM (n=80)	60	75.0	5	6.3	9	11.2	6	7.5
Bar Association (n=39)	1	2.6	8	20.5	3	7.7	27	69.2
NGO/Shelter (n=11)	0	0.0	10	90.9	1	9.1	0	0.0
Security Forces (n=5)	0	0.0	5	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ministry of Family and Social Services (n=5)	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	100.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=347)	62	17.9	118	34.0	80	23.0	87	25.1
None (n=31)	27	87.0	0	0.0	2	6.5	2	6.5
Other (n=6)	0	0.0	3	50.0	0	0.0	3	50.0
How the Applicant Attended the Interview								
On their own (n=427)	85	19.9	145	34.0	92	21.5	105	24.6
Request for transportation (n=57)	57	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
With a family member (n=7)	6	85.7	1	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other (n=6) **	2	33.3	2	33.3	1	16.7	1	16.7
Not specified (n=27)	0	0.0	1	3.7	7	51.9	19	44.4

* Row percentage

** ŞÖNİM, guesthouse, shelter, neighbour, lawyer

According to Table 2, 79.6% of the applications were made in person. A total of 417 applicants applied directly by themselves. 28.1% of these applications were made to İstanbul, 25.4% to Ankara, 24.4% to Diyarbakır and 22.1% to Adana bar associations. The fact that approximately 80.0% of all applications were made in person to the bar associations not only indicates a certain level of awareness among victims of violence regarding access to legal mechanism **but also suggests that social support mechanisms may be inadequate or that victims lack trust in these services**. This finding indicates that protective and preventive policies should not be limited to legal information alone, and that holistic approaches are needed to strengthen economic, psychosocial, and housing support services.

Among the 107 institution-referred applications, the highest proportion was recorded by the Ankara Bar Association (41.1%), followed by İstanbul (29.9%), Diyarbakır (21.5%), and Adana (7.5%). The high number of referrals to the Ankara Bar Association may be attributed to its collaboration with the Gelincik Centre, which continues to operate under the Bar Association and provides free legal assistance to women applicants through volunteer lawyers. On the other hand, it may be because public institutions, university hospitals, legal support systems, and social service units are more common and work more effectively in Ankara as it is the capital city. The high level of



integration between institutions facilitates the direct referral of victims to the bar association following incidents of violence.

64.7% (n=339) of the applications submitted to the bar associations were first-time applications by the individuals. 36.9% of these applications were submitted to the Ankara Bar Association, 34.8% to İstanbul, 26.5% to Adana, and only 1.8% to Diyarbakır. Another notable finding in Diyarbakır is the high rate (93.4%) of cases marked as “not specified” for application history. This suggests that case files from the Diyarbakır Bar Association lack essential background information on prior applications and reflect problems in recording quality. The lack of standardisation of registration forms and the lack of corporate supervision in data entries may lead to this kind of data losses.

Analysis of prior institutions contacted by women revealed variations across provinces, with the police, ŞÖNİM, hospital/healthcare institutions, and NGOs/shelters being the most commonly reported (Table 2). The findings indicate that the use of support mechanisms is shaped not only by institutional infrastructure but also by regional perceptions of trust, ease of access to services, and level of sociocultural awareness. For example, the high proportion of applications made to ŞÖNİM, NGOs/shelters, and the KADES mobile application in Ankara is considered noteworthy. **This suggests a higher level of trust in social service-based institutions and effective coordination with these institutions in Ankara.** A considerable part of the applications referred to the bar association by ŞÖNİM in Ankara supports the effectiveness of this structure. The most frequent applications to hospital/healthcare institutions, the prosecution office and Women’s Solidarity Centres of municipalities are in İstanbul. **This diversity shows that both official (legal) and civil support mechanisms are widely used in İstanbul, and individuals have more access to these structures.** The most frequent applications to the police and the governor’s office are in Adana. **This may indicate that applicants in Adana have more confidence in the security forces and official authorities, or that these institutions are more decisive in the application process.** The most frequent application to the gendarmerie is in Diyarbakır. This reflects the role and accessibility of law enforcement in rural areas. On the other hand, the proportion of not specified applications in Diyarbakır is quite high (71%), which restricts accurate interpretation based on the available data.

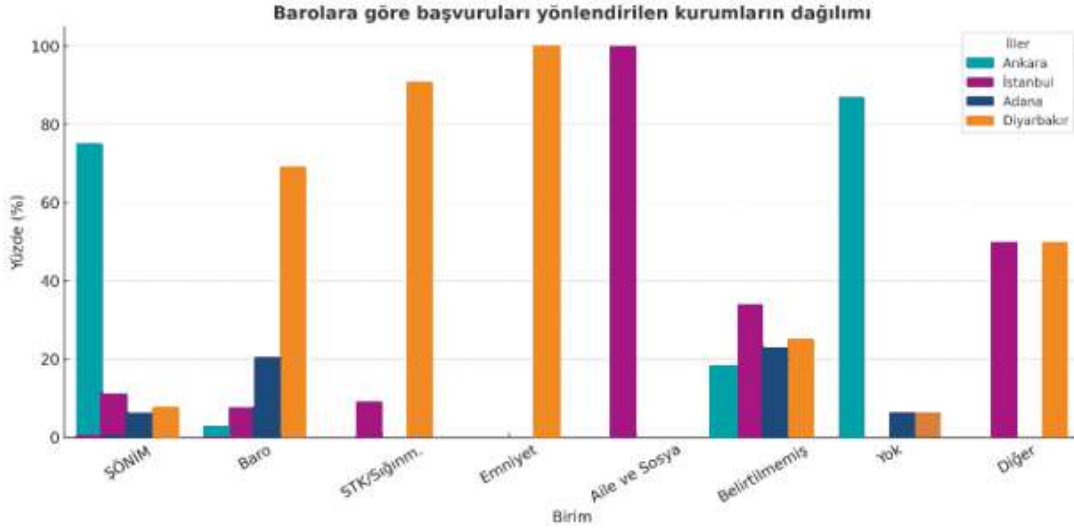


Figure 4. Distribution of Referring Institutions by Bar Association

Some of the applications were made to bar associations through the referral of different institutions (Table 2, Figure 4). The lack of unspecified data in most files (n=347) limits interpretation. The analysis of the data obtained shows that ŞÖNİM is the most active institution in referring to bar associations, and that 75% of a total of 80 referrals are from Ankara. This finding presents that ŞÖNİM is strongly coordinated with bar associations, and that the social service-based referral system operates effectively in Ankara. In other major cities such as İstanbul, Adana, and Diyarbakır, the referral rates from ŞÖNİM are considerably low (6.3%, 11.2%, and 7.5% respectively), suggesting ineffective use of ŞÖNİM or weak coordination of institutions in these cities. Considering the referrals made directly by **the bar associations**, it is observed that 69.2% of the total 39 referrals are from Diyarbakır. This may indicate that the bar association actively identifies and refers cases in the field, reflecting a proactive stance at the local level. The highest referral rate to the bar association by **NGOs/shelters** is observed in İstanbul (90.9%). This rate indicates that NGOs are actively involved in women's support mechanisms in İstanbul and that the bar association prioritises active communication with these organisations. On the other hand, the largest proportion of 347 applications with an **"unspecified referral source"** is in İstanbul (34.0%). This may point to issues of transparency and documentation in the registration systems. Similar problems are observed at considerable rates in other provinces as well (Diyarbakır - 25.1%, Adana - 23.0%, and Ankara - 17.9%).

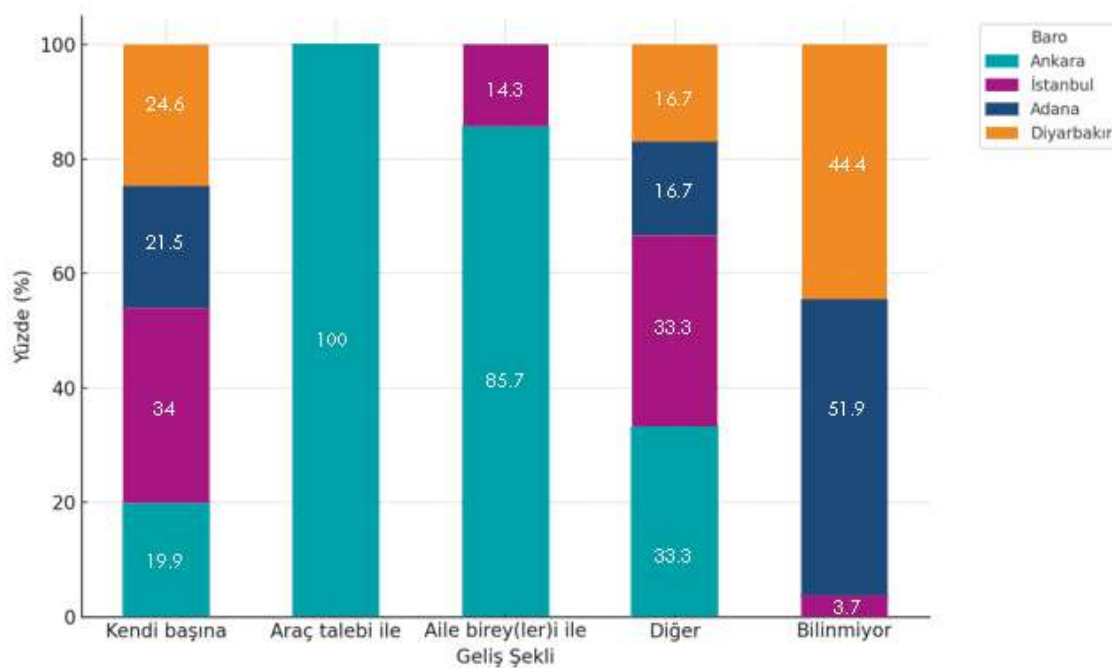



Figure 5. How the Applicants Attended Interviews

According to Table 2 and Figure 5, the vast majority of the applicants reached the bar association on their own ($n=427$). The highest proportion was recorded in İstanbul (34.0%), followed by Diyarbakır (24.6%), Adana (21.5%), and Ankara (19.9%). All transportation requests were recorded exclusively in the Ankara Bar Association ($n=57$, 100%), which is believed to reflect a specific local practice.

Arriving at the bar association with a family member was observed only in the Ankara (85.7%) and İstanbul (14.3%) bar associations; there were no relevant records in Adana or Diyarbakır. While this finding may initially appear to reflect a regional difference, it should be noted that the underlying reasons can be multifaceted. The most important reason may be that this question was never asked or that kind of information was not recorded starting from the first application. Another possible reason could be that applicants prefer not to be accompanied, or that violence often occurs within social environments dependent on the perpetrator, especially in cities like Diyarbakır and Adana. Victims may prefer being alone due to concerns that the person accompanying them might be directly or indirectly related to the perpetrator, which suggests that violence is not only individual but also involves family and household dynamics. Another possibility is that women lack social support networks in the application process. In particular, due to more restrictive gender norms in cities such as Adana and Diyarbakır, victims may struggle to receive support from their surroundings and have to manage the process alone. A large proportion of files with unspecified modes of arrival belong to the Diyarbakır Bar Association (44.4%), which can be interpreted as another warning regarding record quality. These kinds of deficiencies have adverse effects not only on the reliability of quantitative analyses but also on the traceability of services provided to victims. Factors



contributing to this situation may include incomplete forms, lack of staff, communication problems in data collection, or applicants' reluctance to provide information due to security concerns.

In short, the data obtained from Table 2 reveal that application processes vary across bar associations, that there is no national standard for recording information, and that there are notable regional differences, particularly in referral mechanisms and preliminary notifications. Some bar associations, particularly those in Ankara and İstanbul, receive a higher number of referrals through institutions such as ŞÖNİM, NGOs, and law enforcement units, whereas in other bar associations, applicants largely initiate their own applications. The high rate of missing data in the Diyarbakır Bar Association highlights a critical issue that requires review in the data collection process.

Table 3 presents the characteristics of applicants, **including age group, educational background, disability status, employment status, marital status, social security coverage, number of children, property ownership, and economic independence**, according to the bar associations of Ankara, İstanbul, Adana, and Diyarbakır. Among all applicants, 59 (11.3%) were **aged between** 18–24, 210 (40.1%) were 25–34, 173 (33.0%) were 35–44, 70 (13.4%) were 45–54, and 8 (1.5%) were 55–64 years old, and the age group was unspecified for 4 (0.8%). Regarding **educational status**, 30 (5.8%) were illiterate, 62 (11.9%) were literate, 87 (16.7%) had completed primary school, 81 (15.5%) secondary school, 113 (21.7%) high school, 16 (3.1%) had an associate degree, 27 (5.2%) held a bachelor's degree, and 3 (0.6%) had a master's degree. Educational background was not specified in 102 (19.6%) of the files.

Only 5 (1.0%) of the women were recorded as having a **disability**, 217 (42.1%) did not have a disability, and this information was not specified in 294 (57.0%) of the files.

Regarding the **employment status** of the applicants, 343 (65.8%) were unemployed, 45 (8.6%) were employed in the private sector, 10 (1.9%) were students, 17 (3.3%) were temporary or seasonal workers, 5 (1.0%) were employed in the public sector, 5 (1.0%) were self-employed or freelancers, and 85 (16.3%) were unpaid family workers. The relevant information was missing in 11 (2.1%) of the files.

Regarding the **marital status** of the applicants at the time of application, 318 (60.7%) were married, 151 (28.8%) were married but separate, 21 (4.0%) had never been married, 23 (4.4%) were divorced, 7 (1.3%) were unmarried but cohabiting, and 2 (0.4%) were widowed. The relevant information was not available in 2 (0.4%) of the files.

Among the applicants, 339 (68.3%) had no **social security coverage**. While 87 (17.5%) were covered by the Social Security Institution (SGK), and 8 (1.6%) held a Green Card. The social security status was not specified in 62 (12.5%) of the files. Regarding the number of children, 63 (12.0%) of the applicants had no children; 132 (25.2%) had one child; 155 (29.6%) had two; 101 (19.3%) had three; and 63 (12.0%) had four or more children. This information was missing in 10 (1.9%) of the files.

As for **children over the age of 18**, 401 (76.5%) of the applicants reported having none; 47 (9.0%) had one; 32 (6.1%) had two; 16 (3.1%) had three; and 7 (1.3%) had four or more. This information was not available in 21 (4.0%) of the files.

Regarding property ownership, 34 (6.5%) of the applicants **owned real estate**, 32 (6.2%) **owned jewellery**, and 189 (36.4%) had a **personal bank account**.

Table 3. Distribution of the Applicant Characteristics by Bar Association (N=524)

Characteristics of the Applicant	Ankara (n=150)		İstanbul (n=149)		Adana (n=100)		Diyarbakır (n=125)	
	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*	Number	%*
Age Group								
18 – 24 (n=59)	26	44.1	17	28.7	8	13.6	8	13.6
25 – 34 (n=210)	64	30.4	48	22.9	46	21.9	52	24.8
35 – 44 (n=173)	39	22.5	59	34.1	33	19.1	42	24.3
45 – 54 (n=70)	18	25.7	22	31.4	10	14.3	20	28.6
55 – 64 (n=8)	2	25.0	3	37.5	3	37.5	0	0.0
Not specified (n=4)	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	66.7
Educational Background								
Illiterate (n=30)	7	23.3	8	26.7	3	10.0	12	40.0
Literate (n=62)	37	59.7	7	11.3	3	4.8	15	24.2
Primary school (n=87)	0	0.0	29	33.4	27	31.0	31	35.6
Secondary school (n=81)	1	1.2	35	43.2	27	33.4	18	22.2
High school (n=113)	4	3.5	48	42.5	28	24.8	33	29.2
Associate degree (n=16)	1	6.3	11	68.7	4	25.0	0	0.0
Bachelor's degree (n=27)	4	14.8	7	25.8	6	22.2	10	37.0
Master's degree (n=3)	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0.0	2	66.7
Not specified (n=102)	96	94.1	3	2.9	2	2.0	1	1.0
Disability Status								
None (n=217)	122	56.2	9	4.1	70	32.3	16	7.4
Existing (n=5)	2	40.0	2	40.0	0	0.0	1	20.0
Not specified (n=294)	23	7.8	138	46.9	28	9.6	105	35.7


Employment Status								
Unemployed (n=343)	91	26.5	63	18.4	80	23.3	109	31.8
Private sector (n=45)	10	22.2	31	68.9	3	6.7	1	2.2
Student (n=10)	4	40.0	6	60.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Temporary/seasonal worker (n=17)	2	11.8	4	23.5	0	0.0	11	64.7
Public sector (n=5)	3	60.0	0	0.0	2	40.0	0	0.0
Self-employed/freelancer (n=5)	3	60.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	0	0.0
Unpaid family worker (n=85)	29	34.1	43	50.6	13	15.3	0	0.0
Not specified (n=11)	8	72.7	1	9.1	1	9.1	1	9.1
Marital Status								
Married (n=318)	125	39.3	30	9.4	75	23.6	88	27.7
Married but separate (n=151)	3	2.0	99	65.5	25	16.6	24	15.9
Have never been married (n=21)	6	28.6	9	42.8	0	0.0	6	28.6
Divorced (n=23)	10	43.5	10	43.5	0	0.0	3	13.0
Not married but cohabiting (n=7)	4	57.1	1	14.3	0	0.0	2	28.6
Widowed (n=2)	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=2)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	100.0
Social Security Coverage								
None (n=339)	96	28.3	120	35.4	86	25.4	37	10.9
SGK (n=87)	46	52.9	29	33.4	11	12.6	1	1.1
Green Card (n=8)	6	75.0	0	0.0	2	25.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=62)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	62	100.0
Number of Children								
None (n=63)	22	34.9	22	34.9	13	20.7	6	9.5
1 (n=132)	46	34.8	34	25.8	22	16.7	30	22.7
2 (n=155)	44	28.4	55	35.5	32	20.6	24	15.5
3 (n=101)	23	22.7	24	23.8	20	19.8	34	33.7
4 and more (n=63)	12	19.0	14	22.2	12	19.0	25	39.8
Not specified (n=10)	3	30.0	0	0.0	1	10.0	6	60.0

Number of Children over the Age of 18								
None (n=401)	124	30.9	115	28.7	80	20.0	82	20.4
1 (n=47)	9	19.1	21	44.8	8	17.0	9	19.1
2 (n=32)	10	31.3	8	25.0	3	9.4	11	34.3
3 (n=16)	4	25.0	3	18.8	3	18.8	6	37.4
4 and more (n=7)	3	42.9	1	14.2	0	0.0	3	42.9
Not specified (n=21)	0	0.0	1	4.7	6	28.6	14	66.7
Ownership of Real Estate								
Yes (n=34)	23	67.7	3	8.8	2	5.9	6	17.6
No (n=445)	126	28.3	144	32.4	97	21.8	78	17.5
Not specified (n=41)	0	0.0	2	4.9	1	2.4	38	92.7
Ownership of Jewellery								
Yes (n=32)	19	59.4	7	21.9	1	3.1	5	15.6
No (n=370)	130	35.1	141	38.1	98	26.5	1	0.3
Not specified (n=117)	0	0.0	1	0.9	0	0.0	116	99.1
Personal Bank Account								
Yes (n=189)	92	48.7	78	41.3	15	7.9	4	2.1
No (n=210)	58	27.6	68	32.4	84	40.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=120)	0	0.0	3	2.5	0	0.0	117	97.5

* Row percentage

The distribution of applicants by age group shows that the highest application rates are in the 25–34 and 35–44 age groups, with the 18–24 age group also being notably represented, particularly in the Ankara Bar Association (Table 3). These age groups reflect important phases in women’s lives in Türkiye, including working life, becoming a mother, and going through marriage or divorce. Therefore, the structural inequalities and gender-based power relations faced during these periods make women more vulnerable to violence. In addition, this group has a higher rate of seeking support since their access to communication channels, digital resources, and local service networks is relatively easier. The high number of applications by the 18–24 age group to the Ankara Bar Association may not be explained by the fact that young women are exposed to violence and seek support at an earlier age. It may also point to the institutional capacity, visibility, and accessibility of the Ankara Bar Association. Key factors directly affecting application rates in metropolitan bar associations include well-organised operation of women’s rights centres, more effective outreach to young people through social media and digital channels, and awareness-raising activities targeting university students.

The limited number of applications by women over the age of 55 may be because they consider violence as a “private matter” and remain silent within traditional norms. In addition, many women in this age group may lack social security, have low levels of education, and be economically




dependent. These conditions may pose significant barriers in terms of both physical access and psychological willingness to seek support. Moreover, psychological factors limiting the number of applications may include growing hopelessness with age, internalised helplessness, and reduced expectations for change.

The analysis of the data on applicants' **educational backgrounds** reveals both significant diversity among applicant women and data deficiencies in some bar associations. Especially in the Ankara Bar Association, the level of education is not specified in 94.1% of the applications, which suggests a potential issue with the data collection system in this bar association. On the contrary, applications to other bar associations are mostly made by women who completed primary, secondary, or high school education. This indicates that women with low to moderate levels of education are more frequently exposed to the risk of violence and have a greater need to seek support. According to the findings, individuals with intermediate and higher education levels are more active in accessing support systems in İstanbul, whereas individuals with low or no formal education are more visible within the application system in Ankara. Moreover, in Diyarbakır, both groups with low and high education levels are integrated into the application system simultaneously. However, these rates should be interpreted carefully due to the very low number of women with associate, bachelor's, and master's degrees.

The analysis of the data on the **disability status** of applicants revealed that only five individuals were reported as having a disability, while this information was not specified in the vast majority of applications. It does not necessarily imply that individuals with disabilities are not subjected to violence. On the contrary, it should be noted that individuals with disabilities may be more vulnerable to violence, yet their likelihood of seeking support is significantly lower due to both physical accessibility barriers and social stigma. It is especially noteworthy that the rate of "not specified" responses is particularly high in the bar associations of İstanbul (46.9%) and Diyarbakır (35.7%). It indicates that there is a systematic deficiency in data recording and that the experiences of individuals with disabilities are invisible.

When the data on **employment status** in Table 3 is examined, it is observed that the majority of women victims of violence (64.5%) are unemployed. The highest rate of "unemployment" is observed in applications to the Diyarbakır Bar Association (31.8%), followed by Adana (23.3%), Ankara (26.5%), and İstanbul (18.4%). This finding indicates that a significant number of women victims of violence is economically dependent and have low rates of employment. Employment in the private sector stands out prominently among working women, particularly with 68.9% of the applicants to the İstanbul Bar Association being employed in the private sector. This suggests that applicants mostly have an urban profile and that private sector employment is more common in İstanbul. The number of women working in the public sector is quite limited (only 5 in total), which may suggest that female public employees either apply less frequently or tend to prefer alternative support channels, even when they are subjected to violence.

Applications from individuals with a student profile were received only in Ankara and İstanbul, which may be because these cities are major university hubs. On the other hand, the proportion of women working in temporary or seasonal jobs is remarkably high (64.7%) in Diyarbakır. This



indicates the effect of the regional employment structure and the prevalence of seasonal agricultural labour. In addition, the lack of job security among women in this group makes them more vulnerable to violence and places them in a more fragile position in accessing support mechanisms.

The data on **marital status** reveals that the vast majority of applicants are married, suggesting a strong link between incidents of violence and marriage. However, there is a notable concentration in the category of “married but separate”, specifically in Istanbul. This indicates that, although victims of violence have begun to live in separate houses, they may not yet have completed the divorce process and are seeking legal support during this period. The proportion of individuals who have never married or are divorced is relatively low. The low representation of the “divorced” or “cohabiting” categories can be explained by factors such as social stigma, non-recognition of informal unions in official systems, or limitations in data collection processes.


The data shows that the proportion of applicants without **social security coverage** is notably high. This finding highlights how women’s poverty and lack of access to social protection mechanisms serve as a significant risk factor in exposure to violence. Those without social security are particularly found in the İstanbul and Ankara bar associations, while those covered by the Social Security Institution (SGK) are mostly in Ankara. On the other hand, the number of applications in which social security status is not specified is relatively high in Diyarbakır.

Considering the number of children applicants have, one or two children constitute the majority. However, the relatively high proportion of individuals with three or more children in Diyarbakır may be related to regional population policies, level of education, and societal expectations placed on women. Diyarbakır also stands out in terms of the number of children over the age of 18, which reflects regional differences.

The data on **property ownership** shows that the majority of applicants do not own real estate. Most of those who reported owning real estate or jewellery applied to the Ankara Bar Association. This may suggest that the applicants in Ankara have a relatively better access to economic resources and therefore feel more empowered to seek legal support. Additionally, the higher number may be attributed to the fact that the Gelincik Centre in Ankara records this information in its initial application form, unlike other bar associations. The applications in Diyarbakır mostly lacked the relevant information.

Another variable that can be considered an indicator of economic independence is the presence of a bank account. A similar distribution is observed for this parameter as well. Most of the applicants who reported having a bank account applied to the Ankara and İstanbul bar associations. The number of applicants with a bank account is low in Adana, and in Diyarbakır, a large number of applicants either do not have a bank account or did not provide this information.

All these data indicate that the great majority of applicants are individuals with low income, a low level of education, and limited social security coverage. Regional differences are evident; in particular, applications to the Diyarbakır Bar Association lack a high rate of missing data, and it is



noteworthy that most of the applicants are unemployed, lack social security, and have large families.

The data collected on the form, frequency, and duration of violence, as well as information about the perpetrator, the presence of forensic medical reports, and the physical harm experienced by women, are presented in the table below.

Regarding the **form of violence**, 485 applicants (92.6%) were subjected to psychological/emotional violence, 439 (83.8%) to physical violence, 293 (55.9%) to economic violence, 105 (20.0%) to sexual abuse, and 85 (16.2%) to stalking. In 104 cases (19.8%), violence was directed at the applicant's child. The data on the **perpetrators** indicates that 465 applicants (86.4%) were exposed to violence by their husband, 19 (3.5%) by their ex-husband, 16 (3.0%) by their own relative, 23 (4.3%) by their partner's or husband's relative, 7 (1.3%) by their ex-boyfriend, 4 (0.7%) by their current boyfriend, and 4 (0.7%) by unknown individuals. The data on **the age distribution of the perpetrators** shows that 6 (1.1%) were between 18–24 years old, 50 (9.5%) between 25–34, 62 (11.8%) between 35–44, 30 (5.7%) between 45–54, 4 (0.8%) between 55–64, and 2 (0.4%) between 65–74. In 370 cases (70.6%), however, this information was not provided. **The perpetrator's occupation** was specified in 130 case files (24.8%) and not specified in 394 files (75.2%). As for **their employment status**, 62 (11.8%) were self-employed, 61 (11.6%) were employed in the private sector, 27 (5.2%) were employed in the public sector, 6 (1.1%) were temporary or seasonal workers, 3 (0.6%) were in prison, 2 (0.4%) were retired, 1 (0.2%) was a student, and 49 (9.4%) were unemployed. The relevant information was not specified for 313 perpetrators (59.7%).

The analysis of **the educational background of the perpetrators** shows that 5 (1.0%) were illiterate, 12 (2.3%) were literate but had not completed formal education, 28 (5.3%) had completed primary school, 22 (4.2%) secondary school, 26 (5.0%) high school, 14 (2.7%) held a bachelor's degree, and 3 (0.6%) had an associate degree. In 414 cases (79.0%), the relevant information was not specified.

According to the data on **the form or method of violence used by the perpetrator**, 422 (42.7%) involved verbal abuse including insults, humiliation, intimidation, threats, or restrictions; 386 (73.7%) involved physical violence such as beating, punching, slapping, or kicking; 224 (42.7%) involved economic violence including confiscation of money or belongings, forced labour, or withholding financial support; 84 (16.0%) involved sexual harassment, rape, or assault; 84 (16.0%) involved stalking; 34 (6.5%) involved the use of sharp objects; and 14 (2.7%) involved firearms.

When **the frequency of violence** was examined, it was found that 195 applicants (37.2%) experienced violence daily, 13 (2.5%) once a week, 4 (0.8%) once a month, and 7 (1.3%) for the first time. In 305 cases (58.2%), no relevant information was provided. Regarding **the duration of the violence**, 87 applicants (16.6%) had experienced it for the past 12 months, while 345 (65.8%) had endured it for longer than 12 months.

It was observed in the data on **the physical harm experienced** that 236 applicants (45.0%) required minor medical intervention, 234 (22.7%) had no physical injuries or did not require medical

intervention, and 22 (4.2%) had a history of severe injury. No relevant information was available in 32 cases (6.1%).

It was also discovered that 109 applicants (21.3%) had **forensic medical reports** related to the violence, while 203 cases (39.7%) lacked information about such reports.

Another finding is that 128 applicants (24.4%) experienced **violence directed at their children**. Among the perpetrators, 58 (11.1%) were substance-dependent, 57 (10.9%) had alcohol addiction, 33 (6.3%) had psychological issues, 21 (4.0%) had problem gambling, 33 (6.3%) were unemployed, and 3 (0.6%) were disabled. Moreover, the presence of a weapon was noted in 40 cases (7.6%), while it was not specified in 469 cases (89.5%).

The “Data on Violence” collected through the data collection form includes details on the forms of violence reported in the application, who the perpetrator is, the perpetrator’s age group, employment status, occupation, education level, personal characteristics, method of violence, frequency of violence, physical harms experienced, presence of a forensic medical report, duration of violence, whether children were also subjected to violence, and whether the perpetrator possessed a firearm. The collected data are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Distribution of Data on Violence by Bar Association (N=524)

Data on Violence	Ankara (n=150)		İstanbul (n=149)		Adana (n=120)		Diyarbakır (n=105)	
	Num ber	%*	Num ber	%*	Num ber	%*	Num ber	%*
Form of Violence Stated in the Application								
Psychological/emotional (n=485)	143	29.5	146	30.1	92	19.0	104	21.4
Physical (n=439)	140	31.9	126	28.7	93	21.2	80	18.2
Economic (n=293)	94	32.2	83	28.3	35	11.9	81	27.6
Sexual	58	55.3	18	17.1	11	10.5	18	17.1
Violence against children (n=104)	34	32.7	32	30.8	17	16.3	21	20.2
Stalking (n=85)	17	20.0	51	60.0	2	2.4	15	17.6
Perpetrator of Violence								
Husband (n=465)	130	28.0	129	27.7	98	21.1	108	23.2
Ex-husband (n=19)	7	36.8	10	52.7	0	0.0	2	10.5
Victim’s relative (n=16)	15	93.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.3
Partner’s relative (n=23)	6	26.1	3	13.0	3	13.0	11	47.8
Ex-boyfriend (n=7)	1	14.3	5	71.4	0	0.0	1	14.3
Boyfriend (n=4)	2	50.0	2	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other (Unknown person) (n=4)	0	0.0	3	75.0	0	0.0	1	25.0

Perpetrator's Age Group								
18 – 24 (n=6)	1	16.7	2	33.3	0	0.0	3	50.0
25 – 34 (n=50)	9	18.0	0	0.0	12	24.0	29	58.0
35 – 44 (n=62)	5	8.1	0	0.0	28	45.2	29	46.8
45 – 54 (n=30)	2	6.7	0	0.0	9	30.0	19	63.3
55 – 64 (n=4)	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	75.0	1	25.0
65 – 74 (n=2)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	100.0
75 and older (n=0)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=370)	133	35.9	147	39.7	48	13.0	42	11.4
Perpetrator's Occupation								
Specified (n=130)	44	33.9	6	4.6	3	2.3	77	59.2
Not specified (n=394)	106	26.9	143	36.3	97	24.6	48	12.2
Perpetrator's Work/Employment Status								
Self-employed/freelancer (n=62)	13	21.7	5	8.3	1	1.7	43	68.3
Private sector (n=61)	15	24.6	8	13.1	14	23.0	24	39.3
Unemployed (n=49)	4	6.3	16	33.3	11	22.9	18	37.5
Public sector (n=27)	11	40.7	2	7.4	0	0.0	14	51.9
Temporary/seasonal (n=6)	6	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
In prison (n=3)	0	0.0	2	66.7	0	0.0	1	33.3
Retired (n=2)	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Student (n=1)	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=313)	99	31.6	115	36.7	74	23.6	25	8.0
Perpetrator's Level of Education								
Illiterate (n=5)	1	20.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	80.0
Literate (n=12)	9	75.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	25.0
Primary school (n=28)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	28	100.0
Secondary school (n=22)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	22	100.0
High school (n=26)	0	0.0	1	3.8	0	0.0	25	96.2
Bachelor's degree (n=14)	1	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	13	92.9
Associate degree (n=3)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	100.0
Not specified (n=414)	139	33.6	148	35.7	100	24.2	27	6.5
Form and Method of Violence (More than one answer may apply)								
Verbal assault, insults, humiliation, intimidation, threats, restriction (n=422)	141	33.4	146	34.6	87	20.6	48	11.4
Battery, punching, slapping, kicking (n=386)	135	35.0	126	32.6	89	23.1	36	9.3
Economic violence (confiscation of money/belongings, forced	64	28.6	84	37.5	33	14.7	43	19.2

labour, withholding financial support) (n=224)								
Sexual harassment, rape, assault (n=85)	48	56.4	18	21.2	9	10.6	10	11.8
Stalking (physical or via telephone or social media) (n=84)	17	20.2	50	59.5	2	2.4	15	17.9
Sharp objects (n=34)	15	44.1	9	26.5	10	29.4	0	0.0
Firearm (n=14)	8	57.1	2	14.3	4	28.6	0	0.0
Frequency of Violence								
Daily (n=195)	47	24.1	140	71.8	8	4.1	0	0.0
Once a week (n=13)	6	46.2	1	7.8	6	46.2	0	0.0
Once a month (n=4)	3	75.0	0	0.0	1	25.1	0	0.0
For the first time (n=7)	2	25.6	3	42.8	1	14.3	1	14.3
Not specified (n=305)	92	30.2	5	1.6	84	27.5	123	40.7
Physical Harm Experienced								
Simple medical intervention (n=236)	89	37.7	61	25.9	77	32.6	9	3.8
No medical intervention required / no physical damage (n=234)	56	23.9	79	33.8	10	4.3	89	38.0
Severe injury (n=22)	5	22.7	9	40.9	7	31.8	1	4.6
Not specified (n=32)	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	18.7	26	81.3
Forensic Medical Report								
Yes (n=109)	16	14.7	2	1.8	61	56.0	30	27.5
No (n=199)	95	47.7	14	7.0	13	6.5	77	38.7
Not specified (n=203)	39	19.2	133	65.5	19	9.4	12	5.9
Duration of Violence								
Longer than 12 months (n=345)	127	36.8	128	37.1	42	12.2	48	13.9
Last 12 months (n=87)	23	26.4	21	24.1	42	48.4	1	1.1
Not specified (n=92)	0	0.0	0	0.0	36	39.1	56	60.9
Violence Against Children								
Yes (n=128)	50	39.1	34	26.5	18	14.1	26	20.3
No (n=309)	80	25.9	94	30.4	53	17.2	82	26.5
No children (n=55)	19	34.5	21	38.2	9	16.4	6	10.9
Not specified (n=32)	1	3.1	0	0.0	22	62.5	11	34.4
Perpetrator's Conditions								
Substance dependence (n=58)	22	37.9	20	34.5	15	25.9	1	1.7

Alcohol addiction (n=57)	30	52.6	14	24.6	13	22.8	0	0.0
Unemployed (n=33)	6	18.2	15	45.4	12	36.4	0	0.0
Psychological disorder (n=33)	23	69.6	6	18.2	2	6.1	2	6.1
Problem gambling (n=21)	7	33.3	8	38.0	2	9.5	4	19.0
Disability (n=3)	2	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3
Possession of A Firearm								
Yes (n=40)	14	35.0	9	22.5	11	27.5	6	15.0
No (n=15)	9	60.0	0	0.0	6	40.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=469)	127	27.1	140	29.9	83	17.7	119	25.3

* Row percentage


The distribution of violence by bar associations in Table 4 reveals the multidimensional nature of violence and women's exposure to multiple types of violence simultaneously. In particular, psychological and physical violence are among the most commonly reported types of violence across all bar associations, indicating that the more visible forms of violence against women are still predominant. **Psychological/emotional violence** was mentioned in approximately one-third of all applications and was most frequently reported to the İstanbul (30.1%) and Ankara (29.5%) bar associations.

It can be inferred from these rates that awareness of psychological violence is higher, and victims are more able to identify and report this form of violence in metropolitan areas. However, the overall analysis of the data on violence shows that women are most able to identify physical violence, while they often lack sufficient knowledge about other forms of violence. Therefore, when gathering information from women about the violence they have experienced, the different types of violence should be explained to them with examples, and an accurate account should be obtained.

Physical violence is again one of the most reported types of violence, and it is common in cities such as Ankara (31.9%) and İstanbul (28.7%). As physical violence is more visible and it is easier for victims to prove it, it is more frequently reported in applications. The high rates in Ankara and İstanbul can be attributed to sociocultural, economic and regional structures.

Economic violence encompasses incidents such as restricting women's access to income and resources, financial pressure, and preventing women from working. It is seen that this type of violence is reported at the highest rate in Ankara (32.2%). The rate of economic violence in Diyarbakır (27.6%) is also quite striking. This data shows that women's economic freedoms are under pressure, especially in city centres, which can be defined as violence. The rate in Adana is quite low (11.9%), which may suggest that women have difficulty defining economic violence or that this type of violence is less visible.

Sexual violence is a type of violence reported less frequently compared to the general application rates. Women do not report sexual violence due to various reasons such as pressure from family, relatives, etc., fear of social stigma, economic dependency, and sociocultural norms. The highest




rate of reporting is in Ankara (55.3%). Although at first glance it may seem that such cases are more common in Ankara, this difference may stem from the systematic nature of the data recording. The fact that the Ankara Bar Association has more detailed filing and data entry practices compared to other bar associations makes a difference in documenting sensitive incidences such as sexual violence. In addition, deep dive into sexual violence during the interview with the applicant can reveal the existence of sexual violence. Sexual violence may not be marked in the application forms of other bar associations. Female lawyers conduct the first interview at the Gelincik Center, but for example, while lawyers are on duty in the Adana Bar Association for legal aid, applicants who apply due to violence can also have interview with male lawyers. Although rates are similar in other provinces, the lack of sufficiently detailed data in the files may have reduced the visibility of such cases, which shows that the differences in data collection standards between bar associations constitute a serious limitation in understanding the real prevalence of sexual violence. Applicants' familiarity with the definition of the types of violence also plays a role. Instead of asking "Are you subject to sexual violence?", the first interview with the applicants should focus on signs of sexual violence or ask for examples of descriptive behaviour to determine whether the applicant has experienced this type of violence.

The vast majority of **stalking cases** were reported from İstanbul (60.0%). Stalking is on the rise, especially in urban areas and in environments where digital tools are widely used. Awareness and complaints about digital harassment, physical stalking and threatening behaviours may be high in İstanbul, which requires to design policies to combat cyber violence.

As a result, the distribution of types of violence by bar associations demonstrates how geographical and cultural differences can affect the reporting of types of violence. For example, while the diversity of applications is higher in metropolitan cities (İstanbul, Ankara), it has been observed that violence is limited to domestic violence in some provinces, which indicates that local sociocultural structures can have an impact on the visibility and reporting of violence.

The study has revealed that **88.7% of the perpetrators of violence are current spouses** (n=465). It has been reported that cases in which the spouse is the perpetrator are at similar rates in Ankara (28.0%), İstanbul (27.7%), Adana (21.1%) and Diyarbakır (23.2%) provinces. This reveals that one of the most common types of domestic violence is violence perpetrated by the spouse and that unequal power relations lie at the heart of this structure. **At the same time, it indicates that this inequality in domestic relations is structural and systematic, not something specific to an individual, and therefore should be addressed not only through individual interventions but also through structural policies.**

While İstanbul stands out among other types of perpetrators such as ex-spouses, ex-lovers, relatives of the victim or partner and people they do not know; violence perpetrated by the victim's own relatives was reported almost exclusively in Ankara. It should be noted that there might be unrecorded files in other provinces. A full analysis is not possible due to incomplete data.




Some of the victims stated that the perpetrators of violence were their own family or close relatives. The most frequently reported perpetrators are family members such as “parents”, “fathers”, “spouses”, “brothers”, “mothers”, “sons”, “siblings” and “nephews”. In some cases, victims have identified more than one family member as the perpetrator. This finding indicates that violence is not limited to one person within the family; on the contrary, it can be systematically perpetrated by more than one person, and that the family structure provides a ground that fosters violence. The presence of multiple perpetrators makes it more difficult for victims to reach a safe area, pointing at the need to design complex strategies to combat collective violence.

On the other hand, some of the victims also reported that they were subjected to violence by their spouse or partner's family. The most frequently reported perpetrators were "mother-in-law" and "father-in-law"; in some cases, these individuals were defined as joint perpetrators of violence (n=8). In addition, other relatives such as "sister-in-law" and "ex-wife of the spouse" were occasionally reported as perpetrators of violence. In some cases, more than one spouse-relative was perpetrator of violence (for instance, "mother-in-law, sister-in-law, father-in-law, aunt-in-law"). This finding indicates that violence can be directed to the victim not only from the spouse but also from the spouse's family and that patriarchal structures can create a regime of pressure where not only men act as perpetrator. It is known that power conflicts between women can also result in violence, especially in the context of the daughter-in-law/mother-in-law relationship after marriage.

The findings show that violence can be directed to women not only by the spouse, but also by the victim's own family and the spouse's family. In cases of violence directed by one's own family, especially extended family members and traditional authority figures (father, spouse) come to the fore. In cases of violence directed by spouse's family, powerful roles within the household (mother-in-law, father-in-law) come to the fore. This situation reveals that domestic violence has a multidimensional issue and that intervention strategies should target not only the spouse but also the extended family structure. **Awareness-raising activities, support mechanisms and legal protection processes should be organized to take into account these multifaceted sources of violence.**

The dataset provides important clues about the socioeconomic and personal characteristics of the perpetrators (Table 3). Variables such as the age, occupation, employment, educational background, health status, and addiction history of the perpetrator create a multidimensional discussion ground in terms of the causes of violence and risk factors. Among the perpetrators whose age group was reported, most of the perpetrators were in the age group 25-54. Diyarbakır Bar Association stands out among those providing information about the age of the perpetrator. For example, 58% of the perpetrators in the 25–34 age group were reported by Diyarbakır. The fact that the age of the perpetrator was not specified in the vast majority of the files prevents a comparative analysis. **Since information about the perpetrator is generally not kept in the filing system of the bar associations, more data needs to be collected to create a perpetrator profile.**




The **work/employment status** of the perpetrator is an important indicator that can shed light on the structural causes of violence. It is striking that the profession of the perpetrator is largely “not specified” in the files, which suggests that both the victims cannot clearly state the profession of the perpetrator and that this information may have been systematically missed out during the data collection processes. The fact that the profession of the perpetrator is generally not recorded also creates a gap in the social investigation processes and limits risk assessment. However, the fact that the profession of the perpetrator is recorded at a higher rate in Diyarbakır (59.2%) indicates that the data recording in Diyarbakır is carried out more meticulously.

Data on education level also varies significantly. The fact that the education level of the perpetrator is mostly “not specified” suggests that this information is ignored both in social service practices and in judicial processes. However, even limited data shows that violence is not limited to individuals with low education. Particularly in Diyarbakır, the fact that perpetrators with bachelor’s and associate degrees were reported in addition to primary school, secondary school and high school graduates reveals that **educated individuals can also use violence and that the level of education alone is not a protective factor.**

When the **types of violence** perpetrated by the perpetrators are examined, verbal, physical and economic violence are common in every province. However, it is noteworthy that sexual violence is most commonly reported in Ankara (56.4%) and stalking is most commonly experienced in İstanbul (59.5%). It is likely that women in Ankara are better equipped to access information about sexual violence, describe what they have experienced and seek legal support. On the other hand, referral through ŞÖNİM is quite high in Ankara. ŞÖNİMs are institutions specialized in defining sexual violence, empowering and guiding the victim. The effective operation of ŞÖNİMs may have enabled women to express the sexual violence they have experienced more openly during the application. The fact that types of digital violence are more commonly reported in metropolitan cities such as İstanbul suggests that urban women have higher awareness of this type of violence.

When data on the **frequency and duration of violence** are examined, it is seen that violence has continued for more than 12 months in 65.8% of all files examined and violence has occurred “every day” in 37.2%. Compared to other provinces, the rate of violence experienced every day is quite high in İstanbul (71.8%). This rate reveals that women in İstanbul are in chronic relationships of violence and are subjected to long-term abuse. Similarly, the rate of cases where violence has lasted longer than 12 months is high in Ankara with 36.8%. It can be inferred that in such cases of continuous violence, women wait a long time before applying or there are delays in their access to social support systems.

The most common situation in terms of **physical harm** is cases requiring medical intervention. While reports of violence requiring simple medical intervention are more common in Ankara and Adana, cases of serious injuries are few in number and are mostly reported in İstanbul. However, Adana stands out when it comes to getting **forensic medical reports** (56%), which suggests that the judicial process is more active in this province or that victims may be more directed to document physical violence. No data entry was made for such information by İstanbul Bar Association.



It was revealed that in 24.4% of the cases, **violence was directed at children**. The highest number of incidences was reported in Ankara (39.1%), which shows that children can also get trapped in a cycle of violence and that violence against children, not just women, can be made visible in women's applications. This reveals the importance of collaboration between child protection systems and other mechanisms to combat violence against women. In Adana and Diyarbakır, violence against children was mostly not stated.

An examination of the data reveals that only a small number of perpetrators of violence have alcohol or substance abuse. Alcohol or substance abuse or psychological problems were identified in only 10% of reported cases.

Firearms were reported in 7.6% of the cases. The highest number of perpetrators possessing firearms was in Ankara (35.0%), followed by Adana and İstanbul. This finding may stem from the fact that Ankara keeps more detailed data. Data on this issue is largely insufficient in Diyarbakır. The use of cutting tools and firearms stands out in Ankara; no firearms cases were reported in Diyarbakır. Lawyers reviewing the cases noted that although the applicants experienced violence involving a firearm, they were unable to disclose it out of fear. Cultural fears, social pressure and threats, fear of harming children, etc. may be significant factors.

When the **applicants' expectations** are considered, 358 (68.3%) of them demanded a restraining/protective order, 448 (85.5%) of them demanded divorce, 385 (73.5%) of them demanded alimony, 302 (57.6%) of them demanded compensation, 328 (62.6%) of them demanded custody of the child, and 40 (7.6%) of them demanded the follow-up of the case filed by the other party.

When the **status of the case** was evaluated, 228 cases (39.8%) were ongoing, in 98 of the cases (17.1%), the applicant withdrew her claim, in 98 (17.1%) of the cases, the cases were concluded, 8 cases (1.4%) were recorded as not initiated, and 141 (24.6%) were not specified. Criminal investigation was launched against the perpetrator in 110 (21.0%) files, and 69 files (13.2%) contained no information. **Criminal cases were opened against the perpetrator** in 61 (11.6%) files, and no information was provided in 87 (16.6%) files. When the distribution of **results of the legal process** was evaluated; 56 (10.7%) of the applicants withdrew their claims, 88 (16.8%) of the divorce cases were concluded, 57 (10.9%) of them received alimony, 54 (10.3%) of them got custody of their child(ren), and 16 (3.1%) of them received compensation. The case is still ongoing in 226 (43.1%) of them, and this information was not available in 71 (13.5%) files.

Table 5 presents an assessment of victims of violence's expectations/demands from the legal process, the status of their cases, the status of criminal investigations and lawsuits against the perpetrator, and the outcome of the process, based on the data of four bar associations (Ankara, İstanbul, Adana, Diyarbakır). The data strikingly illustrates the diversity of victims' legal demands and regional differences in the functioning of the process. This table presents information on the effectiveness of legal mechanisms in combating violence against women, the rights applicants seek, and the success of the processes.

Table 5. Distribution of Characteristics of Violence Related Legal Processes by Bar Associations (N=524)

Legal Process	Ankara (n=150)		İstanbul (n=149)		Adana (n=120)		Diyarbakır (n=105)	
	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*
Legal Expectation/Demand of the Applicant								
Restraining/protective order (n=358)	148	41.3	147	41.1	52	14.5	11	3.1
Divorce (n=448)	117	26.1	128	28.6	98	21.9	105	23.4
Alimony (n=385)	112	29.1	103	26.8	87	22.6	83	21.5
Compensation (n=302)	102	33.8	65	21.5	79	26.2	56	18.5
Custody of the child (n=328)	94	28.7	92	28.0	70	21.3	72	22.0
The follow-up of the lawsuit filed by the other party (n=40)	7	17.5	8	20.0	7	17.5	18	45.0
Other (n=49) **	1	2.0	36	73.5	2	4.1	10	20.4
Status of the case								
Ongoing (n=228)	81	35.5	64	28.1	71	31.1	12	5.3
Applicant withdrew her claim (n=98)	30	30.6	58	59.2	9	9.2	1	1.0
Concluded (n=98)	31	63.2	9	18.4	9	18.4	0	0.0
Not initiated (n=8)	0	0.0	8	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=141)	8	5.7	10	7.0	11	7.8	112	79.4
Criminal proceedings against the perpetrator								
Yes (n=110)	8	7.3	22	20.0	59	53.6	21	19.1
No (n=345)	141	40.9	116	33.6	19	5.5	69	20.0
Not specified (n=69)	1	1.4	11	15.9	22	31.9	35	50.7
Criminal case against the perpetrator								
Yes (n=61)	6	9.8	24	39.3	12	19.7	19	31.2
No (n=375)	143	38.1	118	31.5	32	8.5	82	21.9
Due to another crime (n=1)	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=87)	0	0.0	7	8.0	56	64.4	24	27.6
Outcomes of the Legal Process								
Applicant withdrew her claim (n=56)	31	55.4	13	23.2	12	21.4	0	0.0
Divorce case was concluded (n=88)	24	27.3	45	51.1	16	18.2	3	3.4
Alimony was settled (n=57)	17	29.8	31	54.4	8	14.0	1	1.8
Got the custody of child/children (n=54)	16	29,6	28	51.9	8	14.8	2	3.7

Received compensation (n=16)	6	37.5	7	43.7	3	18.8	0	0.0
Case is ongoing (n=226)	82	36.3	64	28.3	66	29.2	14	6.2
Not specified (n=71)	8	11.3	0	0.0	6	8.5	57	80.2

* Row percentage

** Petition; return of household goods, dowry and personal belongings; increase in alimony, request for confidentiality; request for a complaint to the prosecutor's office

First, when the **legal expectations** of applicants are considered, the most common demands are restraining/protective orders, divorce, alimony, and custody of the child. Restraining/protective order demands were most frequently made in the Ankara (41.3%) and İstanbul (41.1%) bar associations. In contrast, the relatively low rate in Diyarbakır (3.1%) suggests that victims in this province are not sufficiently aware of their rights under Law No. 6284 and that protective measures are not adequately introduced or implemented. Similarly, it seems that women in Ankara and İstanbul are able to express their legal demands in a more comprehensive manner and with institutional support. Demands for divorce, alimony, compensation, and custody are quite common in all four bar associations, with a slightly higher prominence in applications from İstanbul and Ankara. On the other hand, the high number of demands in İstanbul (73.5%) for the "other (petitions; return of household goods, dowry, and personal belongings; alimony increase, request for confidentiality; request for a complaint to the prosecutor's office)" category indicates that applicants in this city come up with more specific legal needs. The high rate of "following up on the lawsuit filed by the other party" in Diyarbakır (45%) indicates a higher number of cases in which victims are forced to take a defensive position.

When the **status of the cases** is examined, it is striking that the rate of ongoing cases is high in Ankara (35.5%), while in İstanbul, cases where the victim withdrew her claim (59.2%) are prominent. The majority of such cases are in the İstanbul Bar Association (59.2%), while the majority of concluded cases are in the Ankara Bar Association (63.2%). This is also related to the years the bar associations started to enter data. In Diyarbakır, the status of the cases is mostly "unspecified" (79.4%), suggesting either weak systematic data recording or limited counselling services.

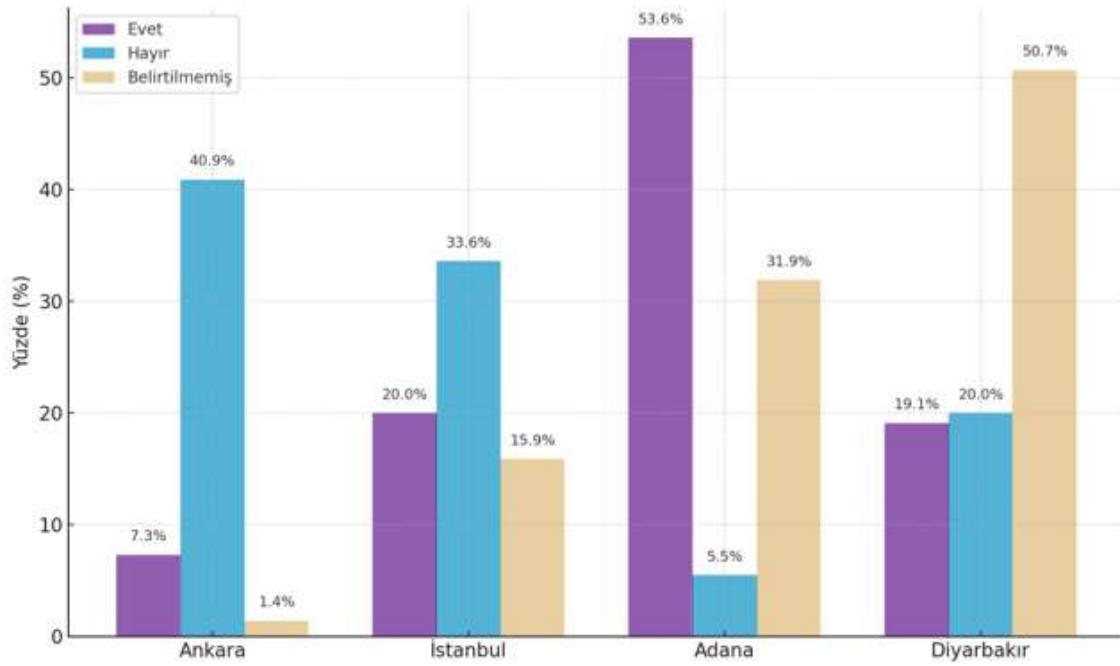


Figure 6. Distribution by Bar Associations of the Status of Filing of Criminal Proceedings against the Perpetrator

İstanbul stands out in terms of the **rate of criminal proceedings filed** (39.3%). While this indicates that İstanbul's legal support networks are relatively more functional, it can also be a warning regarding the frequency and intensity of the incidents of violence. Nevertheless, the very low rate of criminal proceedings filed against perpetrators (11.6% of the 524 files examined) supports the assumption that perpetrators of violence are unpunished. Furthermore, due to factors such as barriers to accessing justice and the length of legal proceedings, it suggests that women victims of violence often rely solely on "divorce" and hope that violence will halt.

When **the outcomes of legal proceedings** are considered, the highest number of divorce (51.1%), alimony (54.4%), and custody (51.9%) rulings are made in İstanbul. This suggests that legal processes are faster and more efficient in İstanbul, and that victims receive more support in seeking their rights. Conversely, a striking finding in Ankara is the high rate of victims withdrawing their claims (55.4%). This suggests that cases are abandoned, meaning that the assigned free lawyer is being abandoned. More data and resources are needed to examine the reasons behind such decision. In most of the proceedings in Diyarbakır, no information is provided about the outcomes (80.2%).

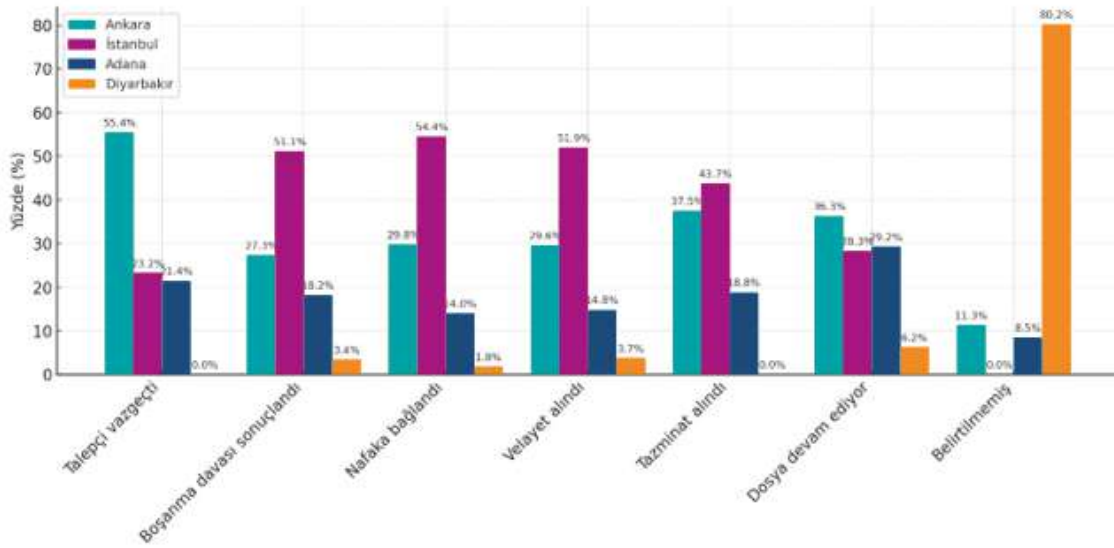


Figure 7. Distribution by Bar Associations of the Outcomes of the Legal Process

When all case files were examined, it was seen that 149 (28.4%) of them received no alimony as a result of the case, 21 (54.0%) received only child support, 19 (3.6%) received both child support and poverty allowance, and 29 (5.5%) received only poverty allowance. No information was provided in 306 (58.4%) files. It was determined that no compensation was granted in 171 cases (32.6%), both material and moral compensation were granted in 11 cases (2.1%), and only material compensation was granted in 4 cases (0.8%), and the case was ongoing in 49 cases (9.4%). **As can be seen, the gains of women victims of violence in terms of legal outcomes are quite low.** In 4 (0.8%) of the cases, the applicant withdrew her claim, in 8 (1.3%) the process was not initiated, and in 277 (52.9%) no information was entered. In 46 cases (8.8%), temporary alimony was granted.

As for the **preventive measures taken under Law No. 6284**, 104 (19.8%) cases do not a preventive measure, while 137 (26.1%) cases have a 1-month or less, 95 (18.1%) cases have a 2-month, 64 (12.2%) cases have a 3-month, 6 (1.1%) cases have a 4-month, and 34 (6.5%) cases have a 6-month preventive measure. It is not specified in 84 (16.0%) cases.

Regarding the distribution of **protective measures** taken under Law No. 6284, following rulings were made: 49 (9.4%) to change/conceal their identity and other relevant information and documents; 3 (0.6%) to put an annotation on their family residence; 6 (1.1%) to take health measures; 4 (0.8%) to determine a separate settlement from the joint settlement in case of marriage; 8 (1.5%) to use ankle monitors, and 2 (0.4%) to change their workplace.

In summary, the data obtained from Table 5 demonstrates that the majority of applications related to legal proceedings are submitted through the Ankara and İstanbul bar associations, and that a more systematic legal process is implemented in these provinces. It should be noted that more criminal proceedings are initiated in Adana, while in Diyarbakır, data is missing in the files for a significant portion of the processes. In terms of demands and outcomes, demands for divorce,

alimony, protective measures, and custody are common. However, cases where progress is not made during the litigation and investigation processes or where cases are not concluded are also significant.

This section evaluates data on alimony and compensation obtained by victims of violence during litigation as well as preventive and protective measures taken under Law No. 6284, based on the data of Ankara, İstanbul, Adana, and Diyarbakır bar associations (Table 6).

Table 6. Outcomes of the Legal Process by Bar Associations (N=524)

	Ankara (n=150)		İstanbul (n=149)		Adana (n=120)		Diyarbakır (n=105)	
Legal Process	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*
Alimony settled as an outcome of the legal process (amount) (Min-Max)	TRY 2000-5000		TRY 1000-8000		TRY 2500-9000		TRY 0-0	
Alimony								
No alimony (n=149)	100	67.1	0	0.0	17	11.4	32	21.5
Only child support (n=21)	4	19.0	13	61.9	4	19.0	0	0.0
Both child support and poverty allowance (n=19)	9	47.4	6	31.6	4	21.1	0	0.0
Only poverty allowance (n=29)	23	79.3	3	10.3	3	10.3	0	0.0
Not specified (n=306)	14	4.6	127	41.5	72	23.5	93	30.4
Form of compensation (amount) (Min-Max)	Material: TRY 15000– 150000 Moral: TRY 15000– 100000		Material: TRY 25000–250000 Moral: TRY 25000-250000		Material: TRY 8500-50000 Moral: TRY 8500-50000		Material: TRY 0-0 Moral: TRY 0-0	
Compensation (amount)								
No (n=171)	105	61.5	11	6.4	17	9.9	38	22.2
Both material and moral compensation (n=11)	5	45.5	4	36.4	2	18.2	0	0.0
Only material compensation (n=4)	0	0.0	3	75.0	1	25.0	0	0.0
Only moral compensation (n=0)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Case is ongoing (n=49)	39	79.6	0	0.0	9	18.4	1	2.0
Applicant withdrew her claim (n=4)	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	100.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=277)	0	0.0	131	47.3	67	24.2	79	28.5
N/A (n=1)	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Process is not initiated (n=7)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	100.0
Preventive measure taken/demanded under the Law No. 6284								
a (n=337)	125	37.1	139	41.2	73	21.7	0	0.0
b (n=118)	48	40.7	23	19.5	47	39.8	0	0.0
c (n=301)	117	38.9	119	38.5	65	21.6	0	0.0

ç (n=20)	14	70.0	2	10.0	4	20.0	0	0.0
d (n=136)	66	48.5	49	36.0	21	15.4	0	0.0
e (n=106)	82	77.4	20	18.9	4	3.8	0	0.0
f (n=166)	86	51.8	75	45.2	5	3.0	0	0.0
g (n=62)	47	75.8	7	11.3	8	12.9	0	0.0
ğ (n=10)	8	80.0	0	0.0	2	20.0	0	0.0
h (n=39)	23	59.0	5	12.8	11	28.2	0	0.0
ı (n=9)	9	66.7	1	11.1	2	22.2	0	0.0
No/Not known (n=110)	13	11.8	6	5.5	20	18.2	71	64.5
Temporary alimony								
Yes (n=46)	15	32.6	23	50.0	8	17.4	0	0.0
No (n=353)	132	37.4	126	35.7	52	14.7	43	12.2
Not specified (n=125)	3	2.4	0	0.0	40	32.0	82	65.6
Duration of preventive measure								
No measure (n=104)	13	12.5	6	5.8	15	14.4	70	67.3
1 month and less (n=137)	15	10.9	64	46.7	58	42.4	0	0.0
2 months (n=95)	35	36.8	51	53.7	9	9.5	0	0.0
3 months (n=64)	40	62.5	19	29.7	5	7.8	0	0.0
4 months (n=6)	5	83.3	1	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
5 months (n=0)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
6 months (n=34)	29	85.3	2	5.9	3	8.8	0	0.0
Not specified (n=84)	13	15.5	6	7.1	30	35.7	35	41.7
Protective measure taken under the Law No. 6284								
To change/conceal their identity and other relevant information and documents (n=49)	32	65.3	15	30.6	2	4.1	0	0.0
To put an annotation on their family residence (n=3)	1	33.3	0	0.0	1	33.3	1	33.3
Health measure (n=6)	5	83.3	0	0.0	1	16.7	0	0.0
To determine a separate settlement from the joint settlement in case of marriage (n=4)	2	50.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	1	25.0
Ankle monitor (n=8)	4	50.0	2	25.0	2	25.0	0	0.0
To change workplace (n=2)	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

* Row percentage

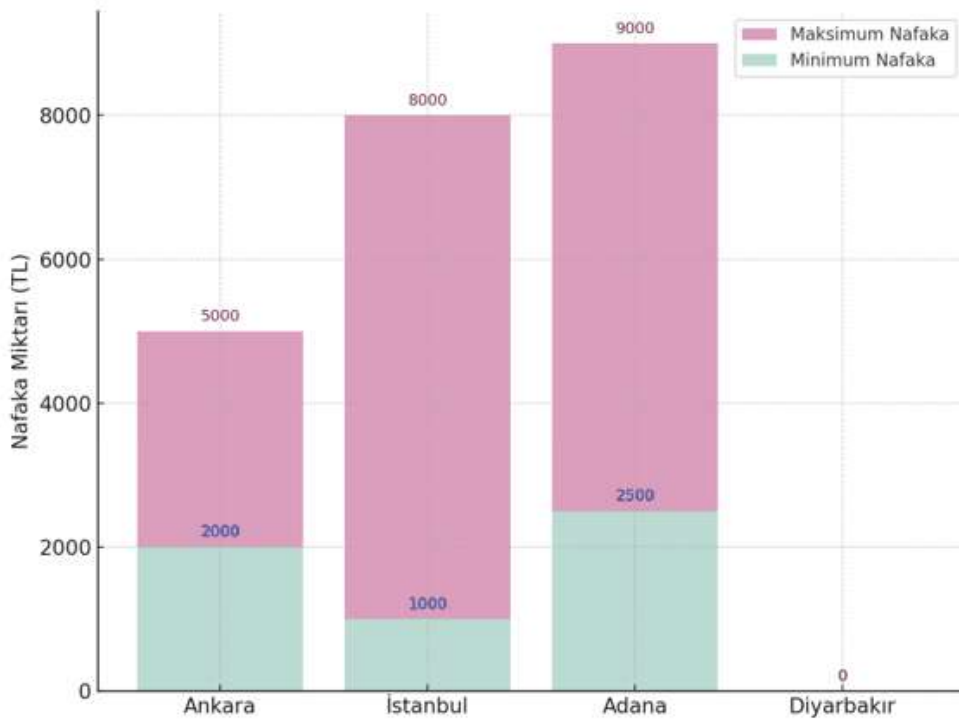


Figure 8. Alimony Amounts Received as an Outcome of the Case According to Bar Associations

Significant differences are observed between provinces regarding the settlement of **alimony** as a result of a case. In Ankara, no alimony was settled in 67.1% of cases. In İstanbul, however, there were no cases where alimony was not settled. In Adana and Diyarbakır, the rates of not receiving alimony were 11.4% and 21.5%, respectively. As for the distribution by type of alimony, it is seen that "only alimony" (79.3%) was the most common in Ankara, while in İstanbul, "only child support" (61.9%) was the most frequent. However, the "not specified" option in this question was so frequently selected, not allowing to make a more accurate analysis. Furthermore, alimony amounts ranged from TRY 2,000–5,000 in Ankara, TRY 1,000–8,000 in İstanbul, and TRY 2,500–9,000 in Adana (Figure 8). These differences may result from the judge's discretionary decision, which is based on regional economic conditions, the perpetrator's financial situation, and the applicant's expenses.

The findings regarding **temporary alimony** indicate differences in both practice and approach across provinces. The fact that 50% of temporary alimony is granted in İstanbul indicates a more widespread and systematic use of this protective measure. The rate in Ankara (32.6%) is also noteworthy, but lags behind İstanbul. The fact that the rate decreases to 17.4% in Adana and that no temporary alimony is granted at all in Diyarbakır (0%) reveals significant regional disparities. The high rate of missing data in Diyarbakır (65.6%) points to structural problems not only in practice but also in the registration system. This suggests that either temporary alimony is not actually being ordered or that the rulings are not being systematically recorded. Temporary alimony is granted by

the judge to prevent the applicant from facing financial hardship during the trial. Since temporary alimony is ordered based on demand, this data should be considered in light of this information.

While no compensation rulings have been made in Diyarbakır, Ankara and İstanbul are also leading in terms of **compensation cases**. In Ankara, compensation claims were rejected in 61.5% of the cases. In İstanbul, while the number of material and moral compensation settled is low, the amounts are quite high (TRY 25,000–250,000 for pecuniary damages and TRY 25,000–250,000 for moral damages). Cases where litigation is ongoing or those where the victims have withdrawn their compensation claims are also quite high. In Adana, the victims have withdrawn their compensation claims in four cases.

The most frequently implemented **preventive measures** under Law No. 6284 are the provision of shelter (article a), removal of the perpetrator from the residence (article c), prevention of threats and insults (article d), and prevention of harassment through communication (article f). These rulings have been particularly common in the Ankara Bar Association. Conversely, the absence of any preventive measures in the Diyarbakır Bar Association is striking. As a result, significant differences are observed between provinces in the implementation of Law No. 6284, and implementation capacity at the local level needs to be strengthened.

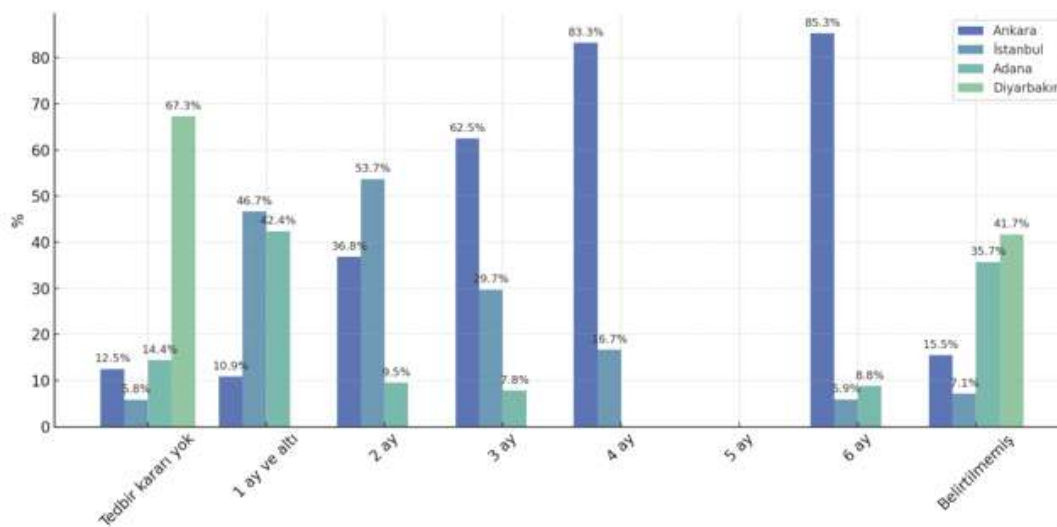


Figure 9. Duration of Preventive Measures by Bar Associations

Findings regarding the **duration of preventive measures** reveal significant variation across bar associations in both implementation and registration processes. Among the cases recorded with the statement "no preventive measure," Diyarbakır had the highest rate at 67.3%. This rate is striking when compared to Ankara (12.5%), İstanbul (5.8%), and Adana (14.4%). This suggests that in Diyarbakır, either preventive measures are rarely implemented, or they are not recorded in the files. It also raises questions about the adequacy, accessibility, and functioning of the judicial and support mechanisms in the region. Preventive measures with a duration of one month or less are

particularly common in İstanbul (46.7%) and Adana (42.4%). In Ankara, three- and six-month measures are prominent, while no data is available for this category in Diyarbakır. **Of the 524 cases examined, the vast majority of preventive measures (26%) have a duration of one month or longer.** This supports observations that in recent years, preventive measures have shorter periods. There are almost no long-term preventive measures in İstanbul and Adana, while data is not available in Diyarbakır. This suggests systematic differences between provinces regarding the demand for and the issuance of preventive measures by judges. Finally, the unspecified category is quite high in Diyarbakır (41.7%), indicating a lack of registration systems or access to information in the region. This rate is 35.7% in Adana, 15.5% in Ankara, and 7.1% in İstanbul. The high proportion of "unspecified" data limits the reliability of analyses, rendering it difficult to monitor the effectiveness of preventive measures.

The **types of protective measures** ordered under Law No. 6284 vary significantly across provinces. **Concealing the victim's identity** (article g), in particular, was the most frequently implemented measure in Ankara, with a rate of 65.3%. This rate was lower in İstanbul (30.6%) and only 4.1% in Adana. In *Adana*, the range of protective measures is quite limited. Aside from concealing identity, health measures, ankle monitors, and rulings to determine a separate settlement in case of marriage were made in a few cases. Furthermore, high-tech measures such as **ankle monitors** were implemented at a very low level in all provinces (8 cases in total). One of the key protections offered by Law No. 6284, "placing an annotation on the family residence," was implemented in only **3 cases** examined in the study. This low rate suggests that the measure was either not known or was not preferred due to ownership issues and bureaucratic obstacles.

Cross-sectional analyses conducted in the study examined how the reported forms of violence were distributed according to the educational status of the applicant and perpetrator. The data were divided into five main categories: physical, sexual, economic, emotional/psychological violence, and stalking (Table 7). An examination of the table reveals that violence is experienced in different intensities and forms across all age groups.

Table 7. Distribution of Forms of Violence Specified in the Application by Age Group of the Applicant and the Perpetrator

Age group	Form of Violence Specified in the Application									
	Physical (n=439)		Sexual (n=105)		Economic (n=293)		Emotional/ psychological (n=485)		Stalking (n=85)	
	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*
Applicant										
18 – 24 (n=59)	46	78.0	18	30.5	37	62.7	55	93.2	8	13.6
25 – 34 (n=210)	179	85.2	45	21.4	121	57.6	199	94.8	32	15.2

35 – 44 (n=173)	147	85.0	27	15.6	89	51.4	159	91.9	29	16.8
45 – 54 (n=70)	57	81.4	14	20.0	41	58.6	64	91.4	14	20.0
55 – 64 (n=8)	8	100.0	1	12.5	4	50.0	7	87.5	2	25.0
Not specified (n=4)	2	50.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	1	25.0	0	0.0
Perpetrator										
18 – 24 (n=6)	5	83.3	2	33.3	2	33.3	6	100.0	1	16.7
25 – 34 (n=50)	41	82.0	10	20.0	33	66.0	48	96.0	5	10.0
35 – 44 (n=62)	55	88.7	7	11.3	33	53.2	59	95.2	6	9.7
45 – 54 (n=30)	27	90.0	6	20.0	20	66.7	30	100.0	4	13.3
55 – 64 (n=4)	4	100.0	1	25.0	2	50.0	4	100.0	0	0.0
65 – 74 (n=2)	2	100.0	0	0.0	2	100.0	2	100.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=370)	305	82.4	79	21.4	201	54.3	303	81.9	69	18.6

* Row percentage

As seen in Table 7 and Figure 10, the most common forms of violence among applicants is **psychological/emotional violence** across all age groups (range, 87.5–94.8%). This rate peaked at 94.8% in the 25–34 age group. This suggests that young adult women are the group most exposed to emotional violence and are more likely to recognize and report this form of violence. **Sexual violence** is reported at a higher rate among younger age groups (30.5% for those aged 18–24). The rate decreases significantly with age.

Economic violence is quite common across all age groups, with the highest rates observed in the 25–34 age group (57.6%) and 45–54 age group (58.6%). **Stalking** was reported at relatively lower rates but reached a significant level of 20% in the 45–54 age group.

An analysis of the forms of violence by age group of the applicant reveals that there was no statistically significant difference in terms of physical violence ($\chi^2= 7.17$; $p= 0.712$), sexual violence ($\chi^2= 7.70$; $p= 0.598$), economic violence ($\chi^2= 4.62$; $p= 0.464$) and stalking ($\chi^2= 2.46$; $p= 0.783$). It was found out that there was a difference in terms of emotional/psychological violence ($\chi^2= 28.55$; $p= 0.000028$) and that the 25-34 age group was most frequently subjected to this form of violence.

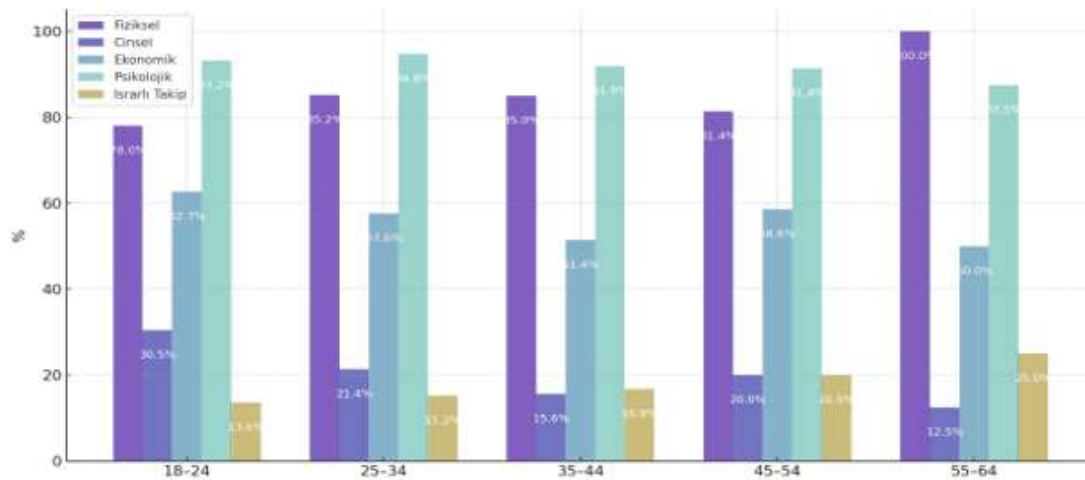



Figure 10. Distribution of Age Groups of Applicants by Forms of Violence

Data regarding the distribution of forms of violence perpetrated by perpetrators across age groups suggests that age may play a determining role in the form of violence. An examination of the rates in the tables reveals that the most common form of violence perpetrated by perpetrators in the 18–24 age group is psychological violence, which is perpetrated by 100% of all perpetrators in this group. The rate of physical violence is also quite high among perpetrators in this group (83.3%). However, the fact that only six individuals were in this age group requires caution when it comes to interpreting this data.

This finding suggests that young perpetrators may be prone to intense emotional manipulation and physical coercion in their partner relationships. Similarly, very high rates of psychological violence are observed among perpetrators in the 25–34 and 35–44 age groups (96.0% and 95.2%). Physical violence rates are also quite high in these age groups (82.0% and 88.7%, respectively). This suggests that middle-aged individuals tend to perpetrate violence through both physical and psychological means, and that this violence is persistent. Particularly in the 45–54 age group, both psychological and physical violence are represented at rates close to 100%. This demonstrates the tendency for violence to become permanent and systematic in longer-term marriages or relations. While the rates of psychological and physical violence perpetrated by perpetrators over the age of 55 appear as high as 100%, these rates are based on small samples of only four and two people. This undermines statistical reliability and makes it difficult to generalize.

Rates of sexual violence are relatively low across all age groups (ranging from 11–33%). **This might be associated with the difficulty of identifying or reporting this form of violence for victims rather than its low prevalence.** Economic violence, however, is particularly prevalent among those aged 25–44 (53–66%). This age range can be considered a time when individuals experience greater tension regarding the distribution of economic power, division of domestic roles, and dependency relationships.



It is noteworthy that stalking rates are relatively low across all age groups (0–20%). This may be due to both the low visibility of the behaviour and the victim's hesitation to classify it as violence. The high rates in the category of “not specified” (e.g., 81.9% for psychological violence; 82.4% for physical violence) suggest that deficiencies in recording systems might have an adverse impact on the reliability of data analysis.

An analysis by age group of perpetrator reveals no statistically significant differences for physical violence ($\chi^2 = 3.74$; $p = 0.208$), sexual violence ($\chi^2 = 4.58$; $p = 0.174$), economic violence ($\chi^2 = 6.91$; $p = 0.330$), and stalking ($\chi^2 = 6.63$; $p = 0.387$). The emotional/psychological violence data contained numerous zero values, leaving no room for analysis.

As a result, the prevalence of violence across age groups for both the applicants and perpetrators follows a similar pattern. **While physical and psychological violence were reported at high rates in almost every age group, sexual violence was reported more frequently by younger individuals.** Stalking, on the other hand, was observed at limited rates among both young and middle-aged perpetrators. These findings demonstrate that violence is a systematic problem regardless of age, but that some forms may vary depending on age. **Age should be taken into account in combating violence, and age-specific prevention and intervention strategies should be formulated.**

Table 8 shows striking trends in the distribution of violence forms reported in applications based on the educational background of applicants and perpetrators. The data were analysed for five main forms of violence: physical, sexual, economic, psychological (emotional) violence, and stalking. An examination of the forms of violence reported in applications by the educational background of the applicant and perpetrator reveals that while the prevalence of some forms of violence varies as the level of education increases in both groups, it is generally prevalent at all levels.

Table 8. Distribution of Forms of Violence Specified in the Application by the Education Level of the Applicant and the Perpetrator

Education Level	Forms of Violence Specified in the Application									
	Physical (n=439)		Sexual (n=105)		Economic (n=293)		Emotional/Psychological (n=485)		Stalking (n=85)	
	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*	Nr.	%*
Applicant										
Illiterate (n=30)	23	76.7	7	23.3	22	73.3	24	80.0	7	23.3
Literate (n=62)	55	88.7	21	33.9	43	69.4	58	93.5	5	8.1
Primary school (n=87)	71	81.6	6	6.9	40	46.0	83	65.4	12	13.8
Secondary school (n=81)	71	87.7	10	12.3	42	51.9	76	93.8	16	19.8
High school (n=113)	92	81.4	22	19.5	64	56.6	103	91.2	18	15.9
Associate degree (n=16)	14	87.5	1	6.3	11	68.8	15	93.8	2	12.5
Bachelor's degree (n=27)	18	66,7	2	7,4	15	55,6	26	96,3	7	25,9
Master's degree (n=3)	2	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	100.0	0	0.0
Not specified (n=102)	93	91.2	36	35.3	56	54.9	97	95.1	18	17.6
Perpetrator										
Illiterate (n=5)	4	80.0	0	0.0	3	60.0	4	80.0	2	40.0
Literate (n=12)	12	100.0	5	41.7	11	91.7	12	100.0	0	0.0
Primary school (n=28)	24	85.7	2	7.1	21	75.0	27	96.4	3	10.7
Secondary school (n=22)	16	72.7	4	18.2	13	59.1	21	95.5	2	9.1
High school (n=26)	20	76.9	8	30.8	18	69.2	25	96.2	6	23.1


Associate degree (n=3)	1	33.3	0	0.0	33.3	7.1	3	100.0	0	0.0
Bachelor's degree (n=14)	8	57.1	3	21.4	11	78.6	14	100.0	3	21.4
Not specified (n=414)	312	75.4	76	18.4	199	48.1	338	81.6	68	16.4

* Row percentage

When the data is examined from the perspective of the applicant, physical violence was reported at high rates (66.7–88.7%) in almost every education group. **This suggests that physical violence is widespread regardless of education level.** However, sexual violence is reported more frequently in low-educated groups (especially in the "literate" and "illiterate" groups). For example, while the rate of reporting sexual violence is 23.3% among illiterate individuals, this rate is 7.4–0% among those with bachelor's degree or higher level of education. This difference can be interpreted in terms of both exposure and the capacity to recognize/report sexual violence. Economic violence is particularly reported among literate individuals (69.4%) and individuals with associate degree (68.8%). A lack of awareness of economic violence may be a significant factor. Women may be unaware that they have been subjected to economic violence. This rate is 55.6% among those with a bachelor's degree. Psychological violence is prevalent across all education levels. In particular, all applicants with master's degree reported this form of violence (100%), while the rate is generally above 90% in other groups. The rate of stalking is highest among those with bachelor's degree (25.9%), followed by literate individuals and other groups. The number of cases examined and low numbers in categories requires a cautious interpretation of the analysis.

Analyses revealed no statistically significant differences in physical violence ($\chi^2=14.89$; $p=0.061$), emotional/psychological violence ($\chi^2=9.99$; $p=0.266$), and stalking ($\chi^2=8.01$; $p=0.433$) by the educational background of applicants. The illiterate and literate groups ($\chi^2=39.98$; $p<0.001$) were most frequently subjected to sexual violence while exposure to economic violence was more common among the illiterate and literate groups ($\chi^2=17.21$; $p=0.028$).

An examination of the distribution of perpetrators by educational background reveals that physical violence was common across all groups. All literate perpetrators (100%) perpetrated physical violence. This rate was 85.7% among primary school graduates, 72.7% among secondary school graduates, and 76.9% among high school graduates. The rate of physical violence among those with bachelor's is relatively low at 57.1%. The rate of sexual violence is highest among perpetrators with a high school degree, at 30.8%. 21.4% of perpetrators with a bachelor's degree also perpetrated sexual violence. Regarding economic violence, perpetrators who are literate (91.7%), have a bachelor's degree (78.6%), and graduates of primary school (75.0%) perpetrated economic violence at high rates. Psychological violence is above 95% at almost all education levels; in particular, all perpetrators with a bachelor's degree, associate degree and are literate perpetrated this form of



violence. Stalking was most common among illiterate perpetrators (40.0%) and graduates of high school (23.1%). These rates are lower in other education groups.

Violence rates are also quite high among applicants and perpetrators whose educational background is not specified. Of the 102 applicants whose educational background was not specified, 91.2% reported experiencing physical violence, 35.3% sexual violence, 54.9% economic violence, and 95.1% psychological violence. In the 414 cases where the perpetrators' educational background was unknown, the rate of physical violence was 75.4% and the rate of psychological violence was 81.6%.

An analysis of the education level of perpetrators revealed no statistically significant differences in physical violence ($\chi^2=11.15$; $p=0.132$), sexual violence ($\chi^2=11.06$; $p=0.136$), and stalking ($\chi^2=7.68$; $p=0.361$). Economic violence was statistically significantly higher in the primary school, literate and groups and groups with bachelor's degree ($\chi^2=26.20$; $p=0.00046$). The study found that emotional/psychological violence was less prevalent among those whose educational level was not specified compared to other groups ($\chi^2=15.91$; $p=0.0026$).

Generally speaking, it appears that rates of violence do not decrease with better educational attainment among both victims and perpetrators; on the contrary, some forms are observed at significant rates even among highly educated individuals. The prevalence of psychological violence at all levels can be interpreted as indicating a greater visibility and impact of this form. While increasing education levels indicates a limited decrease in rates of sexual and physical violence, particularly in sexual violence, the prevalence of economic and psychological violence continues. These findings demonstrate that not only education but also holistic approaches that combat gender inequality, power relations, and patriarchal structures play a significant role in preventing violence.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations


4.1 Conclusion

The overall results obtained by reviewing 524 files from four provinces as part of the project indicate that violence against women is a **widespread and systematic** problem in all four provinces. Lack of knowledge about support mechanisms and barriers to accessing justice for women victims of violence are issues to be specifically addressed. In general, violence occurs across all ages and education levels. Women victims of violence who apply to bar associations are mostly unemployed, have low incomes, lack social security, and have a low education level. The perpetrators of violence are often current spouses. While psychological and physical violence are the most prevalent forms of violence, sexual and economic violence are reported at lower rates. This may indicate difficulties associated with defining and recognizing these forms of violence, and that women do not report it, in particular sexual violence, due to reasons such as shame and stigma.

A review of all files reveals that violence has been occurring for more than 12 months and is occurring almost daily. Many files indicate that violence is perpetrated not only against women but also the children of victims. The lack of any data regarding LGBTI+ individuals in the reviewed files is also concerning. It is obvious that further research is needed to examine applications submitted to other, more specialized centres of bar associations and to examine the effectiveness of violence and legal mechanisms combating violence against LGBTI+ individuals. An examination of legal processes unfortunately reveals serious difficulties in accessing justice. The existing protection and prevention mechanisms clearly outlined in Law No. 6284 are not being implemented adequately. The underlying reasons behind this deserves an in-depth analysis. The rate of preventive and protective measures issued under the law is low. It is noteworthy that the ankle monitor, which is implemented using advanced technology and considered highly effective in terms of prevention in international practices, is implemented at very low rates in Türkiye. Furthermore, although violations of preventive measures were not examined under the scope of this project due to insufficient data, consultations with representatives of project partner bar associations and NGOs indicated that even if measures exist, they are often violated by the perpetrator. Therefore, the mere imposition of a measure by a judge is not sufficient to protect women from violence. Effective action by law enforcement officers is also essential to protect women from violence and to prevent it.

In light of the data obtained from the reviewed files, it appears that the legal outcomes women have achieved are very limited. In particular, considering the settlement of alimony and its amounts, as well as the settlement and amounts of compensation, contrary to some claims, women have very limited access to these economic rights.

Finally, it is obvious that the standardized and regular data collection in combating violence against women and gender-based violence is highly important. Without indicator-based data monitoring, the practical and policy gaps in women's struggle against violence will continue to grow. Our greatest desire and the most important goal of our struggle is for all 81 provincial bar associations



to take significant steps in combating violence by using data forms prepared based on standards and indicators.

4.2 Recommendations

In light of the data analysis conducted within the scope of the Traces of Violence II Project, recommendations for the collection and monitoring of data on gender-based violence as well as the effective functioning of legal mechanisms are listed below.

Recommendations for Bar Associations and Women's Rights Centres/Gelincik Centres within the Bar Associations

Increasing the visibility of the centres' hotlines and services. The Centre carries out 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 broaden the reach of the hotline and services of the centre.

Establishing a relationship of trust between the victims and the male lawyers to be assigned is crucial for women who have experienced violence from a man so that they can trust another man.


Distribution of roles for regular data collection and reporting. Establishing a data collection system is essential for the effective implementation of legal mechanisms in combating violence. It should be noted that data regarding key areas is not collected in many tables. It is crucial that the monitoring system collects the most comprehensive data on the applicant and the perpetrator as they are such important sources of data in the field of violence against women.

Focusing on training to increase the awareness of counsellors and volunteer lawyers on gender equality. Regular training and seminars are recommended, particularly to increase knowledge and awareness of different sexual identities and to internalize the perspective of gender equality.

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. However, it was determined that a standard mechanism and psychosocial support network need to be developed for the determination of this need of the women.

Suggestions to improve 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

Suggestions to improve mechanisms in combatting violence

- Improvement of shelter conditions
- Shelter for people with disabilities
- Effective programs and studies for perpetrators
- Support for the economic empowerment of women
- Job opportunities for women 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, effective and efficient cooperation and coordination among all relevant stakeholder institutions is the most fundamental need in combating violence against women and gender-based violence. Disseminating good data collection practices nationwide will significantly contribute to the fight in this area. It is recommended that this report be considered a recommendation for joint efforts with the Union of Turkish Bar Associations and provincial bar associations. It is also recommended that the data collection form developed within the scope of the project be standardized and integrated into the software of all bar associations to establish sustainable monitoring mechanisms. It is hoped that the data obtained from this report will serve as the basis for monitoring efforts to be undertaken in the coming year. The monitoring study for Ankara province, based on the baseline data obtained as part of the Traces of Violence I Project, is included in Annex 1.

Our most urgent recommendations include reiterating the importance of a violence-free family for a healthy individual and society and undertaking much more effective efforts for the "family," where violence is most prevalent, and establishing multi-institutional coordination.

Annex 1: Indicator Table

Indicator	Indicator value			
	Baseline data (2017-2021)		Current value (2022)	
	TR	Ankara	TR	Ankara
1. The prevalence of forms of violence against women applying to the Gelincik Centre by their male intimate partner				
a. Prevalence of physical violence		92.4%		93.3%
b. Prevalence of sexual violence		31.1%		38.7%
c. Prevalence of emotional/psychological violence		94.9%		95.3%
d. Prevalence of economic violence		66.2%		62.7%
e. Prevalence of stalking		5.2%		11.3%
f. Rate of violence against children among the applications made to the centre due to violence against women		21.4%		22.7%
g. Number of women staying in shelters due to violence		X		
2. Number of women reaching the hotline of Gelincik Centre				
3. Number of women victims of violence applied to the Gelincik Centre in person and sought legal support (by age, marital status, employment status, education level and district)				
a. Number of women victims of violence who applied for the first time		45%		23%
b. Number of women victims of violence who applied more than once		X		
c. Percentage of women referred to the Gelincik Centre by other institutions (shelter, ŞÖNİM, etc.) among the total number of applicants		35.1%		29.3%
d. Percentage of women victims of violence who have their own real estate/jewellery and/or personal income (such as a salary)		6.8%		12.7%
e. Percentage of women who came to the Gelincik Centre from outside Ankara		3.9%		N/A
f. Percentage of individuals with disabilities among applicants		9.7%		1.3%
4. Among applicants, percentage of women injured as a result of physical/sexual violence				
a. Number/rate of forensic medical reports received as a result of physical violence		28.7%		10.7%
5. Capacity of the Gelincik Centre				
a. Number of legal counsellor		X		128
b. Number of volunteer lawyers		X		191
c. Number of regular training sessions involving the gender sensitive approach for the lawyers and volunteer lawyers of the Gelincik Centre (annual)		4		4

Indicator	Indicator value			
	Baseline data (2017-2021)		Current value (2022)	
	TR	Ankara	TR	Ankara
6. Number of protective measures demanded by women victims of violence under Law No. 6284				
a. Number of <u>protective measures</u> demanded under Law No. 6284		2141 files (n=2520)		46 files (n=150)
b. Number of <u>preventive measures</u> demanded under Law No. 6284		642 files (n=2520)		137 files (n=150)
c. Number of coercive detention orders issued		X		
d. Percentage of ankle monitors used among protective measures taken		0.4%		2.7%
7. Rejection rate of protective measures requested under Law No. 6284 (disaggregated as protective and preventive measures)		0.6%		
8. Distribution of the duration of protective measures issued under Law No. 6284		X		
a. Number/percentage of extended measures		X		
9. Distribution of alimony amounts received in civil lawsuits filed for violence (child support/poverty)		Min. TRY 150 Max. TRY 1.750		Min. TRY 200 Max. TRY 5,000
10. Average amount of compensation received in civil lawsuits filed for violence (material/moral)		Min. TRY 1000 Max. TRY 40,000		Min. TRY 15,000 Max. TRY 150,000
11. Number of perpetrators against whom criminal cases were launched		16.8%		4.7%

This image shows a full page of white paper with horizontal dashed lines, typical of primary-ruled notebook paper. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the entire width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings present.



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