

KONDA

Barometer

THEMES

**Violence against Women
and Perception of the State**
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KONDA
ARAŐTIRMA VE DANIŐMANLIK





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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The survey which forms the basis of this report was conducted on March 7-8, 2015 by face-to-face interviews with 2611 individuals in 154 neighborhoods and villages of 108 districts including the central districts of 31 provinces.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND PERCEPTION OF THE STATE

Especially after the brutal murder of Özgecan in Mersin, in this month's Barometer report we decided to handle violence against women and the perception of the state in the face of violence. We examined the subject of violence against women in 4 different aspects and reached the following major findings:

- ✓ A large majority of the society suggest that women who are subject to violence apply to the state, the police and the prosecutors. However, the rate of those who suggest solving the problem within the family is one fourth of the society. As the educational level decreases and the religiousness level increases, the tendency for solving the problem within the family increases.
- ✓ According to our survey, 80 percent of the public state that basically women do not file complaints about violence because they fear their families. They believe that women fear judiciary bodies such as the police or the prosecutors much less.
- ✓ The most common opinion about the participation of women in the workforce is that they are fragile and not fit for certain jobs. Even 60 percent of women agree with this opinion.
- ✓ Our question regarding the definition of abuse in the workplace reveals that there is a cluster of 25 percent that do not consider watching a video with sexual content at the workplace as abuse. Addressing a young female worker in the workplace as "my daughter" is considered as abuse by only 33 percent.
- ✓ When we tried to determine as to how and to what degree one can protect oneself from a situation of abuse, the highest recommended method turned out to be avoiding walking in desolate areas. The lowest recommended method is avoiding men and women sitting side by side in buses. A deeper analysis of the answers to this question reveals that preventing abuse of women is considered as women's responsibility.

Analyzing all question groups together, we observe a single structure in the society about the view on violence against women. Even the most determinative parameters such as education, lifestyle or religiousness do not bring about a significant differentiation in this regard.



2. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND PERCEPTION OF THE STATE

In Turkey, ‘violence against women’ always makes its presence felt. It sometimes goes from bad to worse; however, it always can be characterized as a social issue. In Turkey, it is not possible to refer to violence against women (either by partners, families or people who are not acquaintances) as ‘individual incidents’. This phenomenon continues to exist as a social problem, but draws attention only when individual and brutal incidents hit the news. Official authorities and non-governmental organizations make various efforts to eradicate violence against women. However, these efforts are not sufficient to limit this problem to rare individual incidents, rather than a widespread social issue.

Violence against women is a multidimensional issue in terms of both its identification and resolution. For this purpose, it is required that legal revisions, employment of women, education of security forces, interventions on the social status of women, migration studies and resolutions on the family structure work hand in hand. In addition, it is also necessary to measure and to accurately evaluate the public perception on the role and status of women in society.

‘The murder of Özgecan Aslan’ was what once again reignited the heated debates on violence against women. Özgecan Aslan, who was murdered by the driver of the minibus she boarded on her way home from school, after she resisted his attempt to rape her, caused masses to rise in protest to the violence against women once again.

In this context, in the March’15 Barometer, we deemed it appropriate to address the issue of violence against women in detail. The report prepared by the team of academics who provided guidance to set the theme's framework is available at the end of this section.

With this research, we addressed 4 of the many aspects of violence against women.

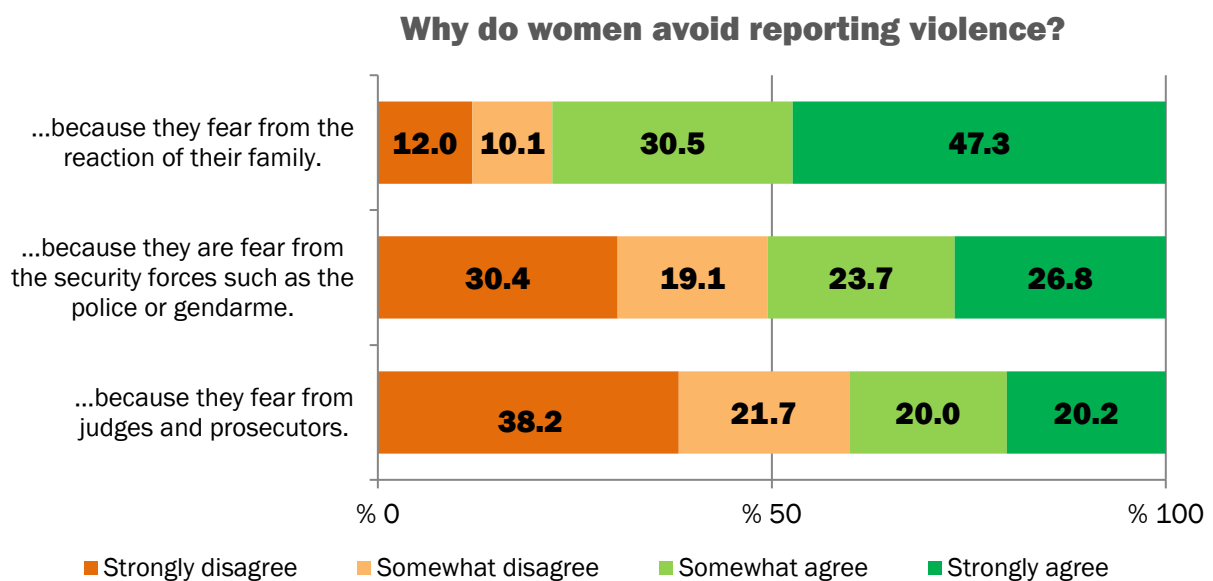
1. Violence against women and perception of the state
2. Gender equality/inequality in business life
3. Perception of individual responsibilities against sexual harassment
4. Perceptions on sexual harassment in the workplace

Before delving into these four aspects, we would like to put emphasis on several points that will be highlighted at the end of the report. In general, public opinion on the social status of women and what women should do when they are abused do not diverge significantly. In other words, the distribution of responses do not differ among different demographic and lifestyle clusters. Furthermore, it is not possible to observe major differences between the opinions of women and men. Degree of piety and conventionalism are the primary factors that affect opinions on women.



2.1. Perception of the State: Why Do Women Avoid Reporting Violence?

It is commonly known that women tend to keep any incidents of violence within their families and do not generally carry these incidents to the legal and judicial platform. Despite the measures taken and public trainings, this continues to prevail as a social issue. We directed three questions about the reasons behind this situation, and the responses revealed that families are the main reason behind why women avoid reporting abuse.



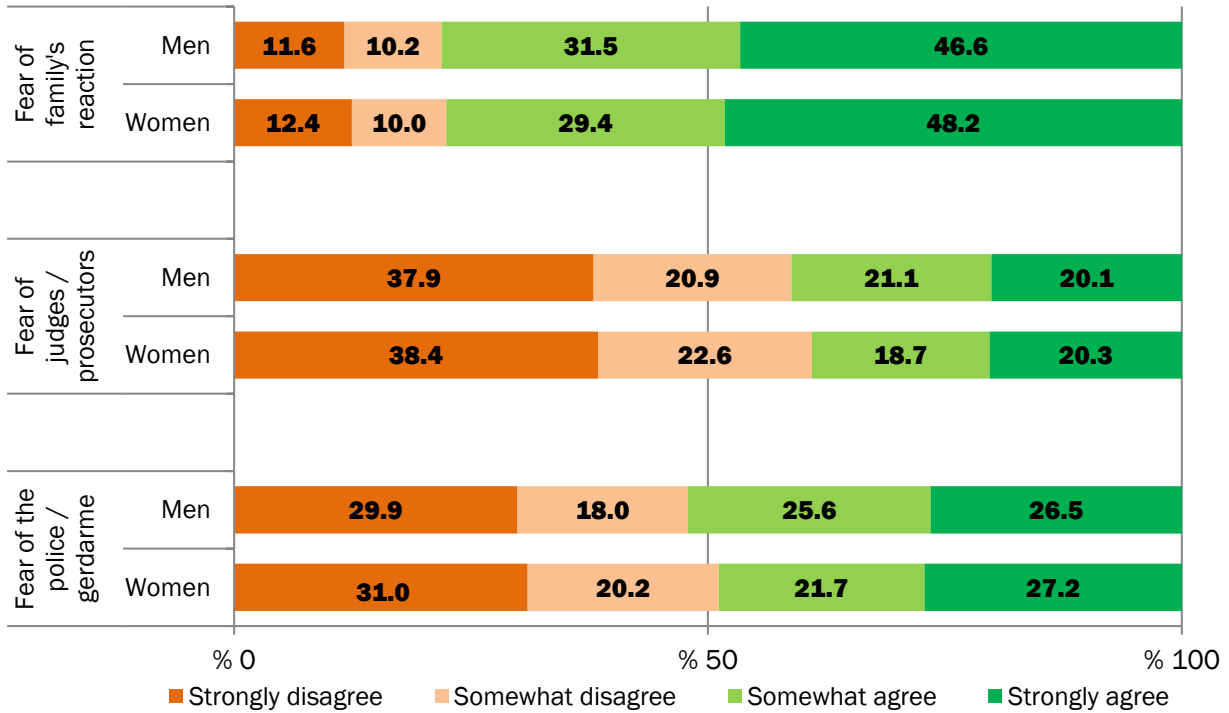
According to the findings of the research, 80 percent of society thinks that women do not report violence because they fear from their families. Almost half of society states that women avoid reporting because they fear from the law enforcement forces, and 40 percent of the respondents indicate that fear from the judicial authorities is what keeps women from reporting violence.

General opinion: Families are the main reason women avoid reporting violence

The majority of society thinks that, when women are abused, they fear their closest circle the most and the furthest groups the least. The analysis of the responses by gender leads us to a remarkable finding.

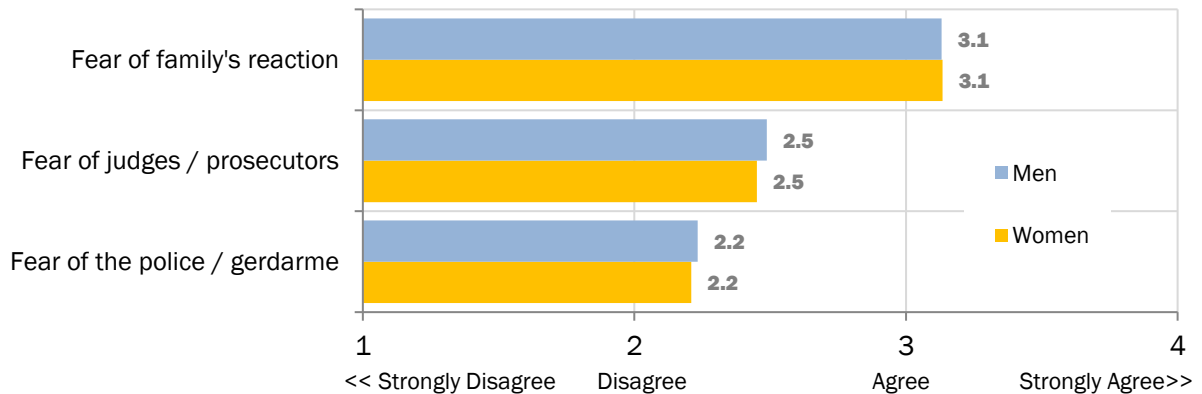


Why do women avoid reporting violence?



As shown in the graph above, both women and men share the same opinion on what prevents women from reporting violence.

Why do women avoid reporting violence?



The average scores in response to this question, which we formulated on a Likert scale, are more illustrative. In average, in response to the statement which indicates that women do not report violence because they fear their families, both women and men indicated that they 'agree' with this statement.

It is also not possible to observe any difference in the distribution of the responses provided to these three statements by educational attainment level, monthly household income, marital status, degree of piety and lifestyle clusters.

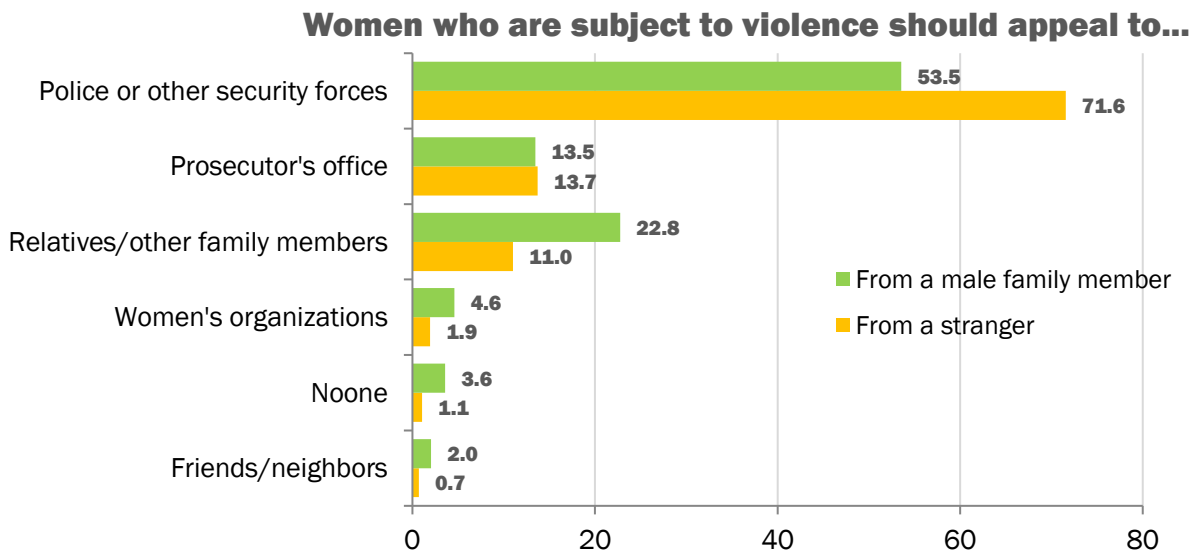


PEARSON CORRELATION	Marital status	Lifestyle cluster	Piety	Education attainment level	Monthly household income
...because they fear security forces such as the police or gendarme...	-0.025	-0.036	-0.053	0.018	0.003
...because they fear the reaction of their families...	-0.049	-0.039	-0.065	0.092	0.044
...because they fear judges and prosecutors...	0.022	-0.010	-0.056	-0.006	-0.062

In the table which presents the correlation values, if a correlation between any two of the questions exists, the value in the corresponding cell should approach to 1 or -1. However, it can be observed in the table that the correlation values between the responses and the demographic characteristics are not higher than 0.1 in any case.

2.2. Perception of the State: What Should Women Do When They Are Subject to Violence?

We tried to observe the public opinion on what women should do when they are subjected to violence by asking 3 different questions. First of all, we asked the question based on two difference scenarios (if the perpetrator is a family member and if the perpetrator is a stranger) and provided the same response options.



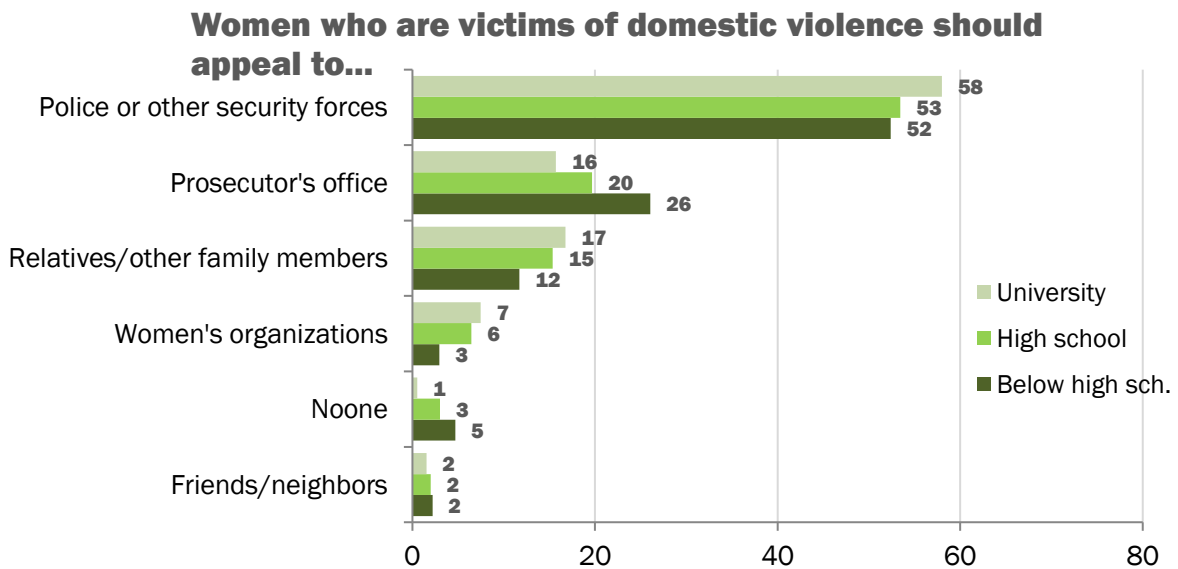
As seen in the graph above, the majority of the respondents think that women should appeal to the law enforcement forces even when the perpetrator is a family member. If we combine the respondents who think that women should appeal to the police or prosecutor's office, 70 percent of the respondents think that women who are subject to violence should step out of the family and appeal to public authorities for resolution. If the perpetrator is a family member, the rate of the respondents who



think that women should appeal to the police or the prosecutor's office reaches 85 percent.

Yet, 22 percent of the respondents think that the incidents of violence against women should be resolved within the family. Moreover, it is remarkable that 11 percent of the respondents think that incidents of violence committed by an unfamiliar man should remain within family.

It is apparent in the graph that the outlook is not in favor of the women's organizations. The rate of respondents who think that women should appeal to women's organizations in case of domestic violence does not exceed 5 percent. As shown in the graph below, this rate does not exceed 7 percent even among the respondents who hold a university degree.

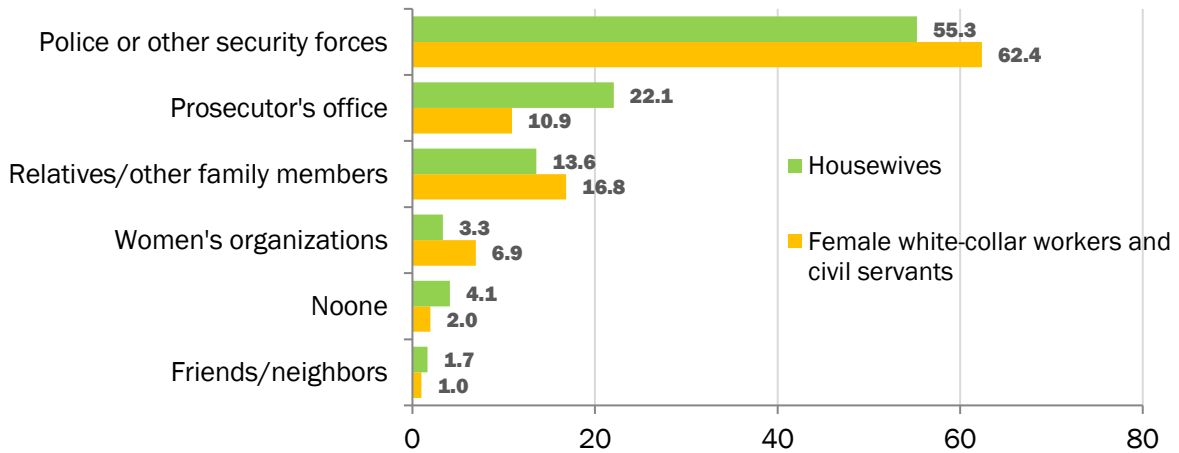


Higher level of educational attainment leads to an increase in the rate of respondents who think that the solution should be sought at public authorities instead of the family. Such a shift in opinions based on educational attainment is expected. However, it is remarkable that 16 percent of the university graduates, who make up 13 percent of the adult population in Turkey, think that women who are victims of domestic violence should seek help from other family members. After all, this rate corresponds to more than 1 million individuals. We will reiterate this finding many times in the remainder of the report; however, we would like to highlight that, among the more educated, the respondents who do not identify violence against women as a crime and think that such incidents should remain within family may be at lower rates, but do not perish.

The graph below provides a comparison between the housewives and working women. Only women who are employed in the private sector and who are civil servants were included in the analysis. Before we elaborate of on the findings, it would be helpful to remind that housewives make up 65 percent and working women make up 10 percent of the women.



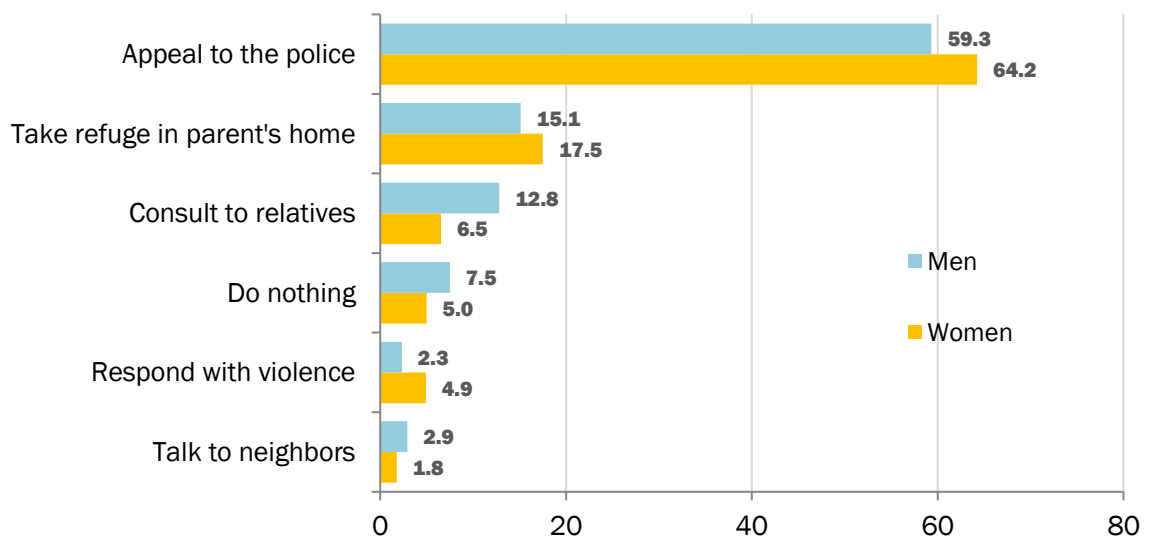
Women who are victims of domestic violence should appeal to...



As shown in the graph, 68 percent of housewives think that women should appeal to public authorities, while 80 percent of working women think so. In addition, the rate of working women who think that incidents of abuse should be reported to women's organizations reaches 7 percent.

We inquired about the opinions of the respondents' on what they think women who are abused by their husbands should do, by offering the response options listed in the graph below. The question explicitly asked about what 'women who are beaten by their husbands' should do. The distribution of the responses among men and women is presented in the graph below.

Women who are beaten by their husbands should...





When inquired explicitly, the majority of the respondents state that women should appeal to the law enforcement forces. 65 percent of women and 59 percent of men think that women who are beaten by their husbands should appeal to the police.

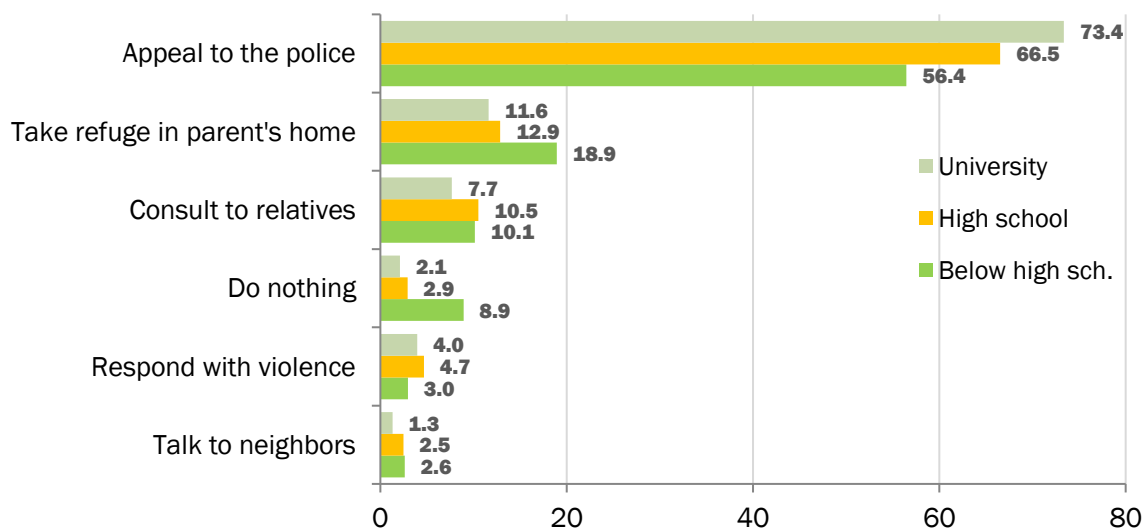
One fourth of men and women think that the issue should be resolved within the family by taking shelter in their parent's home or by consulting to relatives. Consulting to relatives is a more popular response option among men.

The most striking finding in the table above is the existence of 5 percent of women and 8 percent of men who think that battered women should 'do nothing.' Although the rates in percentage may seem low, they correspond to 1 million adult women and 1.5 million adult men.

The rate of respondents who support responding to violence with violence is quite low. However, it is noteworthy that this response option is more popular among women.

When we analyze the responses by educational attainment level, we obtain a distribution similar to that of the previous question. Increased educational attainment level leads to a higher rate of respondents who think that solution should be sought at public authorities instead of keeping the issue within the family.

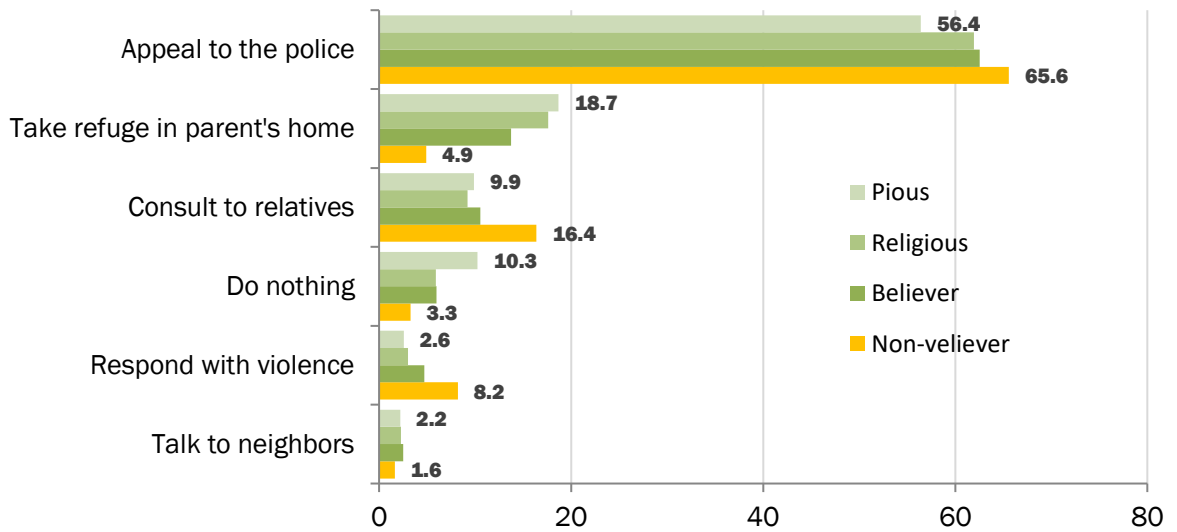
Women who are beaten by their husbands should...



It is necessary to further analyze this foreseeable result, in further detail and from various perspectives. Earlier in this section, we have mentioned that degree of piety is influential. The graph below presents the distribution of responses by degree of piety.

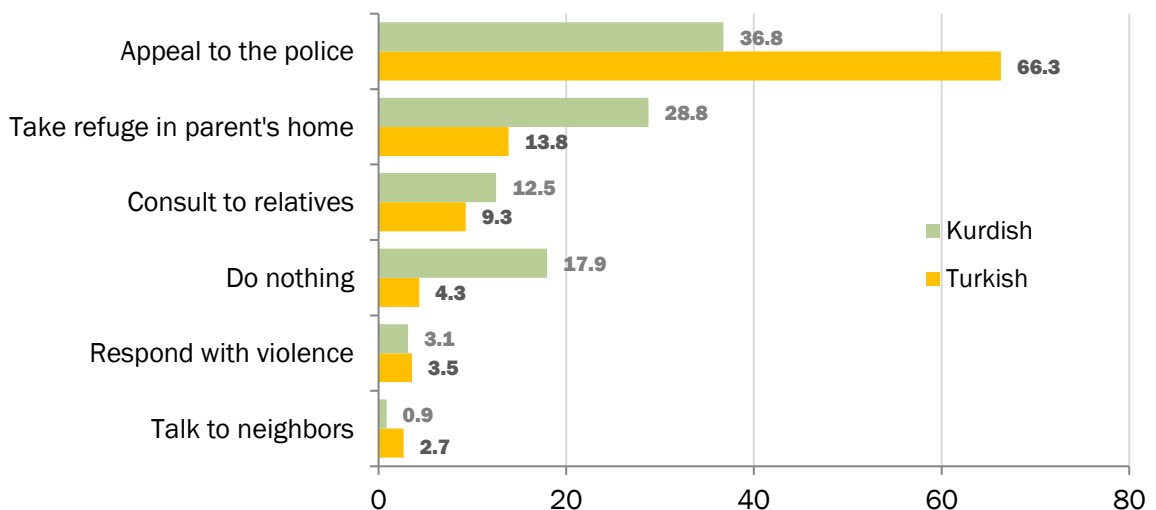


Women who are beaten by their husbands should...



With lower degree of piety, the rate of respondents who think that women should appeal to the police decreases significantly and the rate of the respondents who think that the issue should be resolved within the family increases. However, it is necessary to point out that the overall outlook does not differ to a great extent. In other words, there is difference between the rate of non-believers and the rate of pious who think that women should appeal to the police. However, the difference is only about 10 percent. More than half (56 percent) of the respondents who state that they completely fulfill the requirements of the religion (pious) think that battered women should appeal to the police. Although degree of piety may appear to be a determinant parameter, no significant shifts in the general public opinion can be observed.

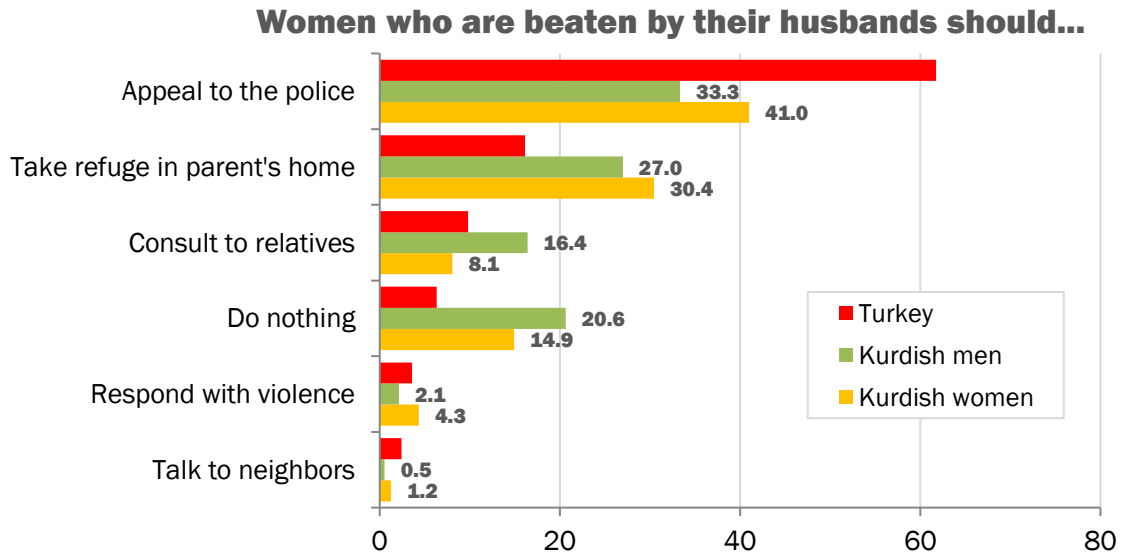
Women who are beaten by their husbands should...



The most considerable shift in opinions is observed when responses are analyzed by ethnic identity. 40 percent of the respondents who identify themselves as Kurdish think that



battered women should take refuge in their parent's home or consult to their relatives, while 18 percent think that nothing should be done. Opinions of the Kurdish on what women should do against violence significantly diverges from the other groups.



When we further analyze whether there is such a difference of opinions between Kurdish women and Kurdish men, it is possible to verify that there is divergence of opinion to a certain extent. In any case, the Kurdish, whether women or men, hold opinions that are different than the average opinion in Turkey. Only one third of Kurdish men think that women who are beaten by their husbands should go to the police.

Ethnic identity influences the opinions on how women should react against violence

It is quite difficult to identify or claim that this is a behavior pattern particular to ethnic identity. Factors such as local dynamics and traditions, which cannot be measured are also influential. Especially, the popularity of the response option, 'battered women should do nothing', among the Kurdish can be associated with traditions. In addition, the low preference rate of the option that suggests that battered women should appeal to the police, in other words to the 'state,' for solution, may be related to the distrust in the state among the Kurdish.

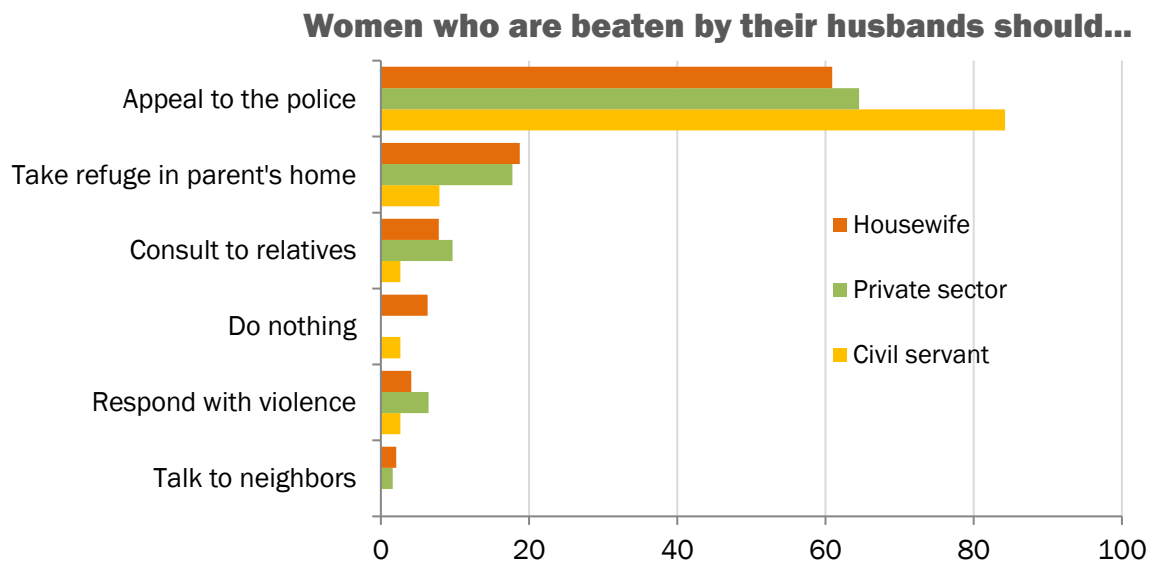
Kurdish women stay distant from their relatives

The graph above also reveals a remarkable finding which may be taken as a detail at first sight. The difference between the rate of Kurdish women and Kurdish men who think that battered women should 'consult to their relatives' is striking. The rate of Kurdish women who state that they would consult to their relatives in case of domestic violence is even lower than the average rate in Turkey. Given the traditions and the frequency of consanguineous marriages in the regions highly populated by the Kurdish, it is necessary to acknowledge that Kurdish women avoid their relatives, who are also her husband's relatives.



Female civil servants think that women should appeal to 'public authorities'

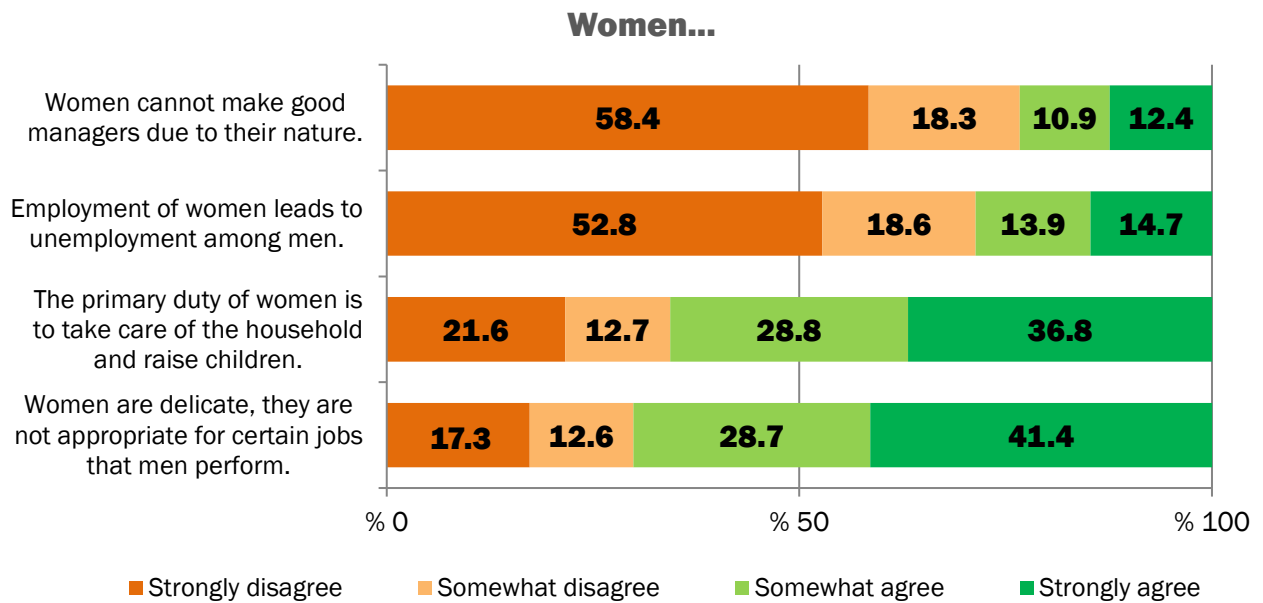
Employment status is another factor that leads to difference of opinions on how women should react to violence. The graph below presents the attitudes of three different groups of women: Women who are employed in the private sector, women who are civil servants and housewives. There is not a significant divergence between the opinions of female private-sector employees, most of whom are university graduates, and housewives. However, the distribution of responses vary significantly among female civil servants. 85 percent of female civil servants think that battered women should appeal to the police (state).





2.3. Roles, Duties, Authority or Career of Women

We believe that it is impossible to discuss violence against women without analyzing the role of women in society. Two thirds of the women in Turkey are ‘housewives.’ Only one third of men are unemployed, student or retired. Therefore, the role of women in economics, and thus in business life, is critical. Within this context, we attempted to understand the public opinion on the role of women in business life by asking 4 questions.

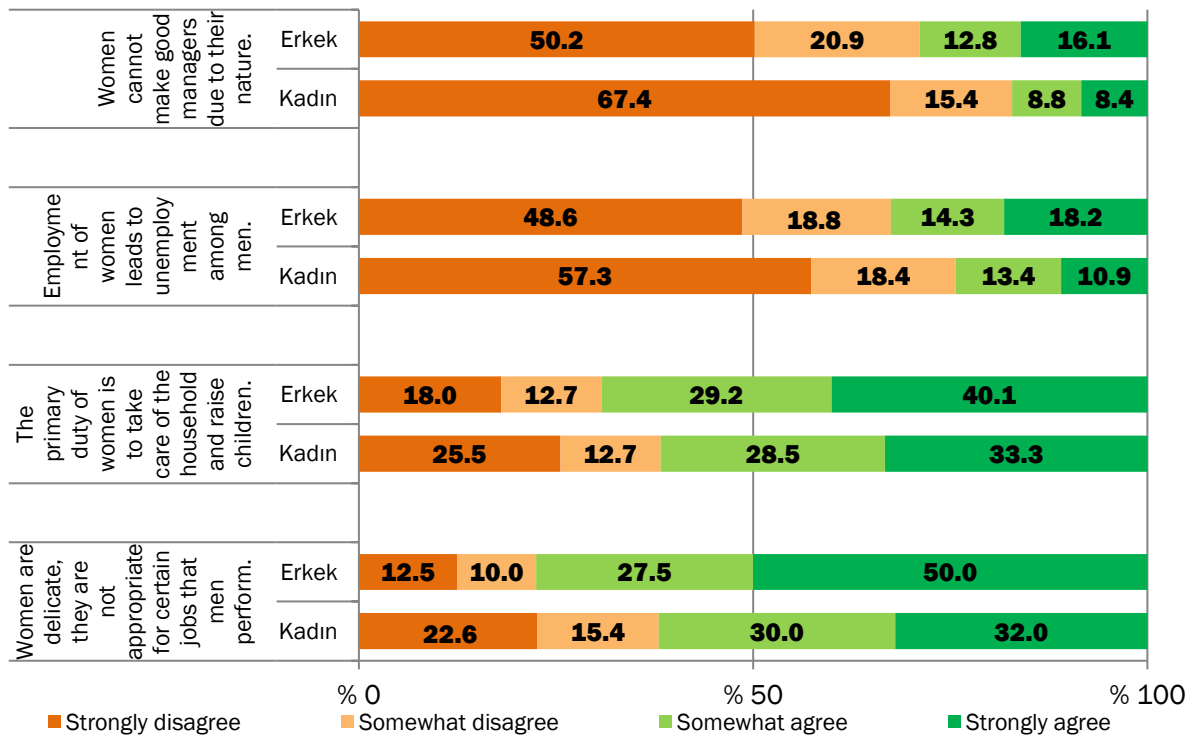


Statements on four topics related to the role of women in business life and in the household were read to the respondents, and they were asked to specify to what extent they agreed with each statement on a 4 -point Likert scale. In general, the majority of the respondents agree that women are delicate to work in certain jobs. However, 30 percent of the respondents disagree with this statement. On the other hand, one fourth of the respondents think that women cannot make good managers due to their nature. Almost 60 percent of the respondents ‘strongly disagree’ with this statement. The rate of the respondents who think that women cannot make good managers is as low as 17 percent among female respondents.

Women and men diverge from each other the most in their responses to the statement, women are ‘delicate for certain jobs which should be performed by men’. While only 22 percent of men express their disagreement with this statement, the rate of women who disagree reaches 38 percent.



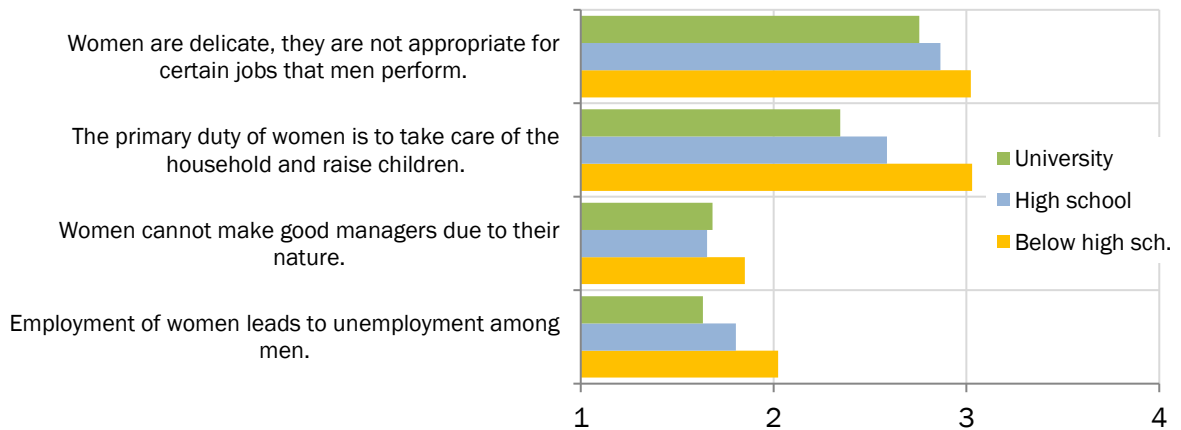
Women...



On the other hand, women and men think alike when it comes to the statement, ‘the primary duty of women is to raise children’. Two thirds of adult women agree that the primary duty of women is to take care of the household and raise children.

The rate of respondents who agree with this statement, which suggests that women should keep away from business life, decreases with increased educational attainment level. However, the rates do not become reversed based on any of the parameters. In addition, respondents in different socio-economic groups or different lifestyle clusters do not express clashing opinions.

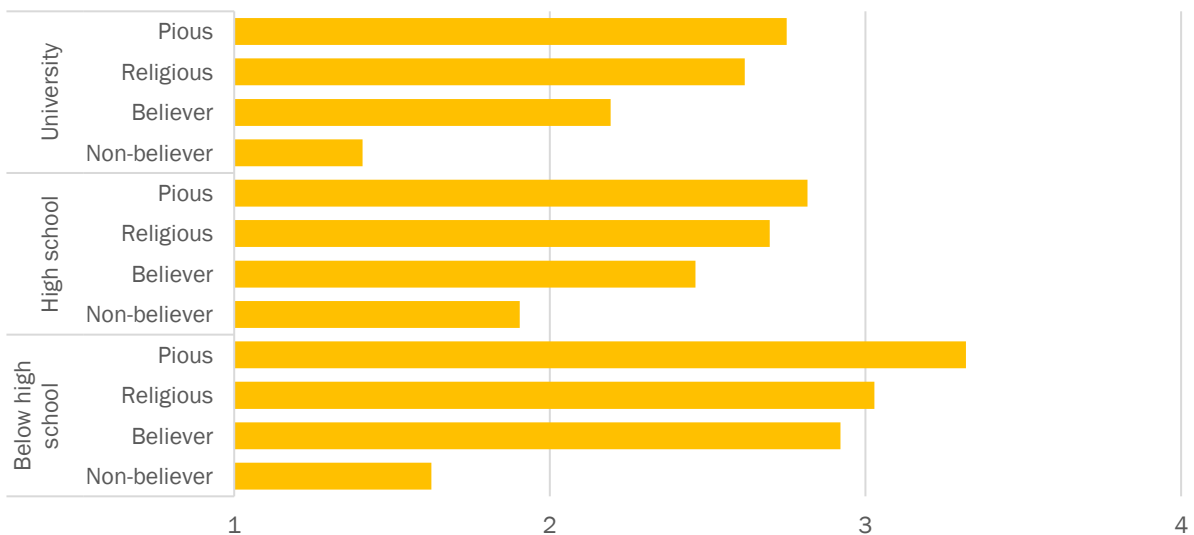
Women...





As we mentioned several times in this section, degree of piety is once again a highly influential parameter. Increased degree of piety leads to an increase in the rate of respondents who agree with the four statements above. It is possible to think that this arises from the relation between educational attainment level and degree of piety. However, degree of piety stands out as an influential factor even when we analyze the responses by educational attainment level. For example, the graph below presents the distribution of the responses provided to the statement ‘the primary duty of women is to take care of the household and raise children’ by educational attainment level and degree of piety. Regardless of educational attainment level, the rate of the respondents who agree with this statement rises with increased degree of piety.

The primary duty of women is to take care of the household and raise children.

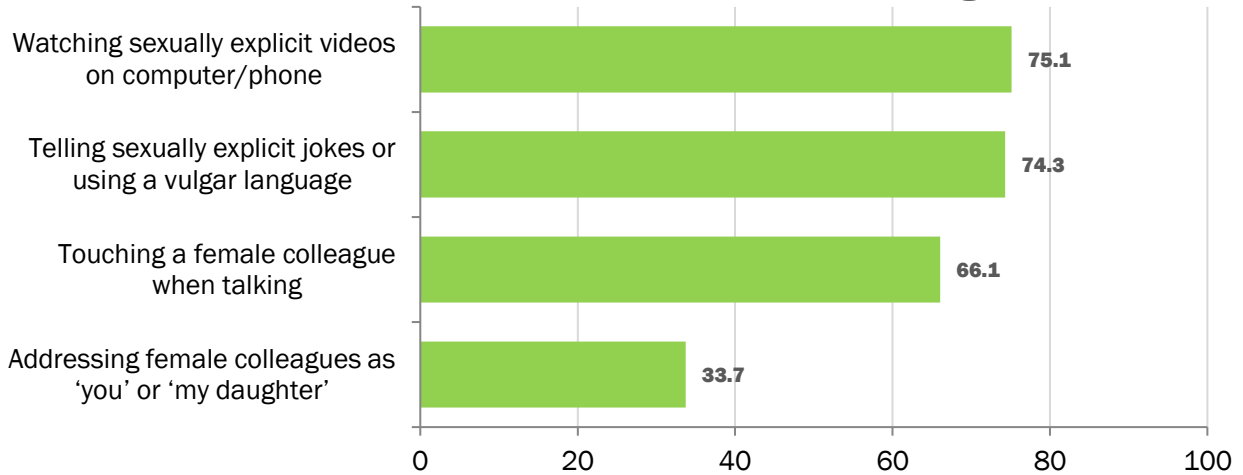


2.4. Definition of Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

What is sexual harassment? What kind of behavior should be regarded as sexual harassment? It is difficult to argue that there is a consensus in society on the answers of these questions. On the other hand, we can claim that the groups which encourage the adoption of universal norms in this country have a quite limited power. After all, it is extremely critical to define what kind of behavior should be regarded as sexual harassment. For the time being, we found it appropriate to search for a description of this phenomenon in a certain sphere, i.e. in the ‘workplace.’ We listed the behaviors that can be regarded as sexual harassment in the workplace in the response options of a single question.



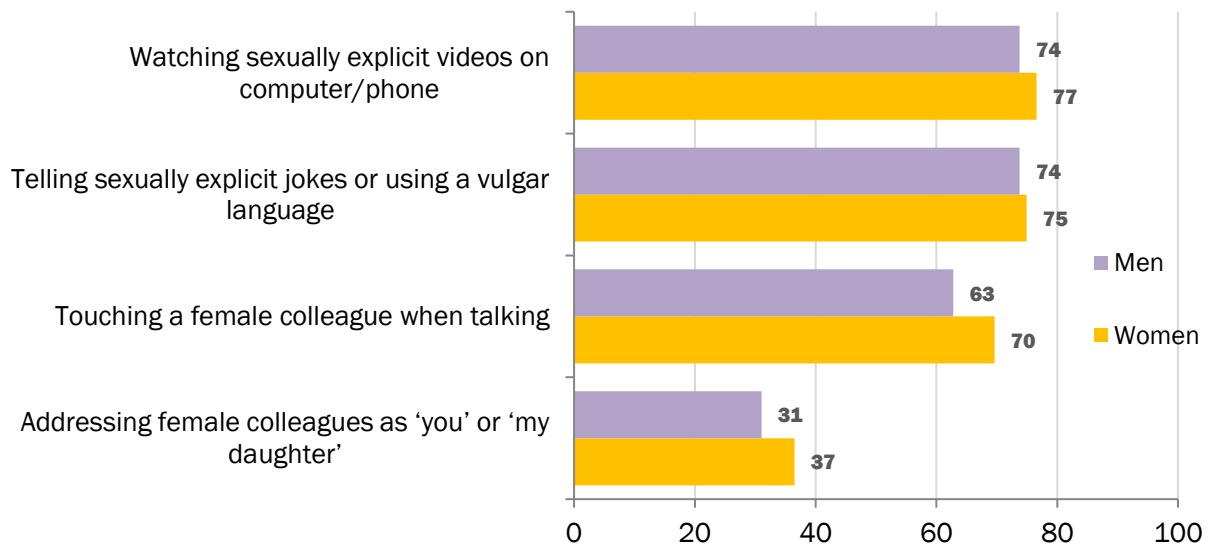
Which behavior of a male colleague should be regarded as sexual harassment and disturbing?



According to the graph, 75 percent of the respondents think that watching sexually explicit videos should be regarded as sexual harassment, and 74 percent of the respondents think that telling sexually explicit jokes and using vulgar language is sexual harassment. 'Addressing female colleagues as *you* or *my daughter*' is the behavior that the respondents identify as sexual harassment at the lowest rate.

According to the research, one third of the respondents do not think that addressing female colleagues as 'my daughter' is sexual harassment. It can be anticipated that women and men might have different perceptions and opinions on this statement. However, the graph below proves otherwise.

Sexual harassment in the workplace...

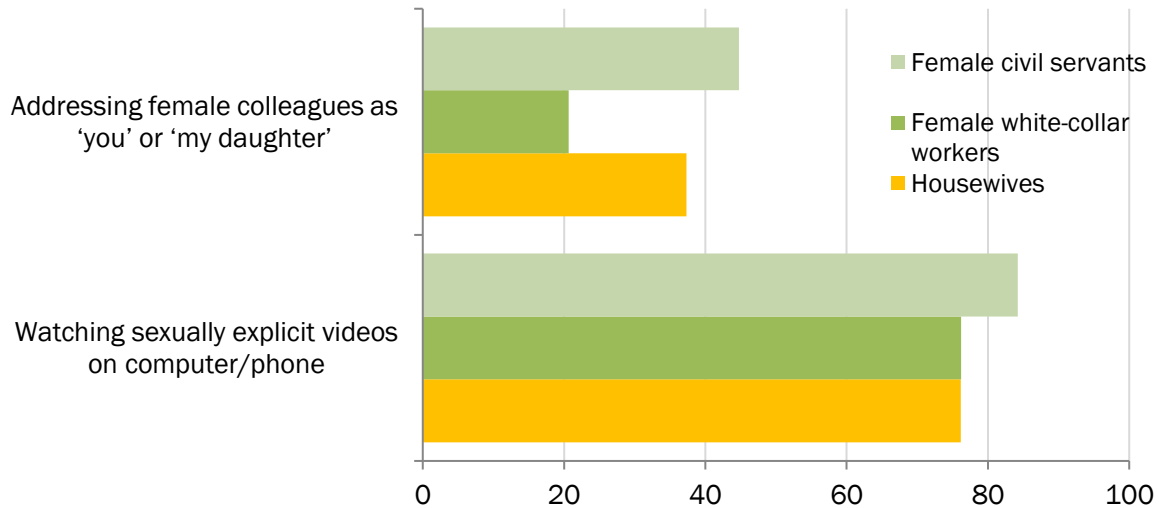


Gender by itself does not lead to any differences in how the respondents identify sexual harassment.



However, the graph below demonstrates a remarkable finding. The employment status of female respondents does not make any significant difference in how women define sexual harassment. This is a quite remarkable finding. Indeed, the definition of sexual harassment is determined by women, rather than the members of the business world.

What is sexual harassment / Employment status of female respondents



Other than those highlighted above, it is not possible to observe other factors that are influential on the opinions on sexual harassment of women in the workplace.

Women take the public opinion on sexual harassment as the reference instead of their own status

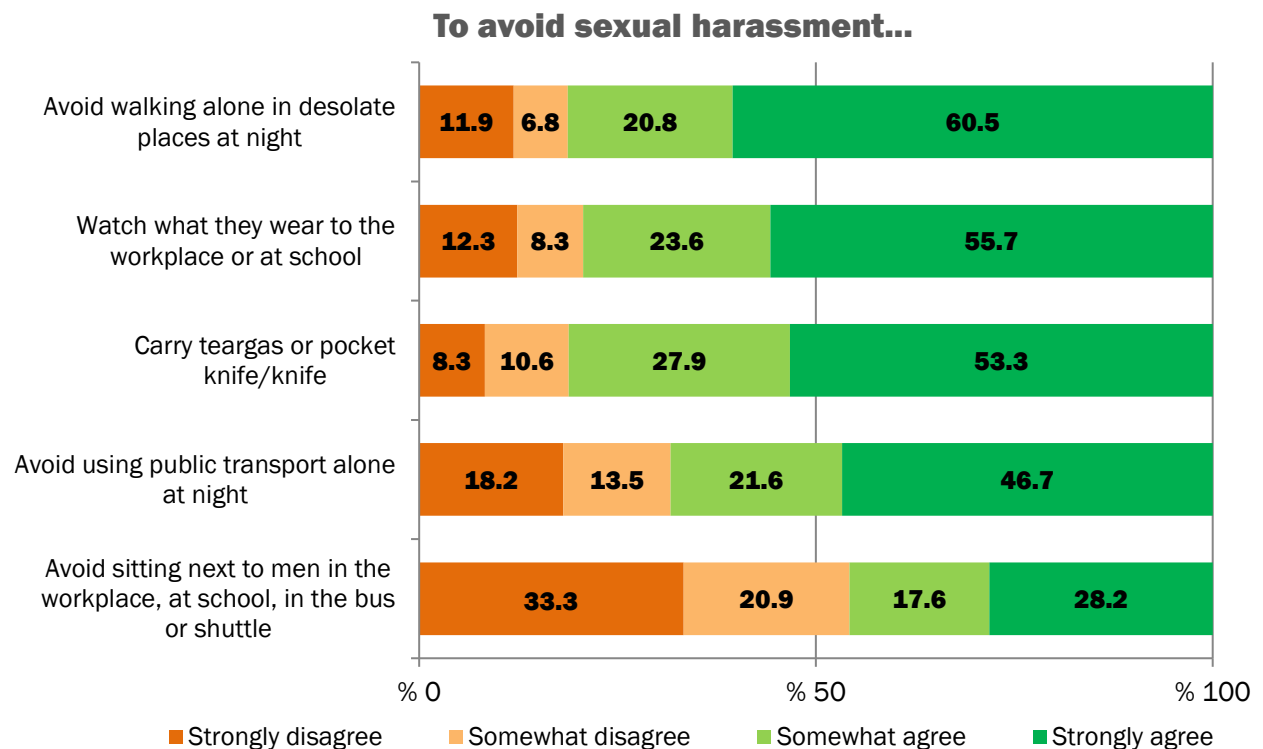
As presented above, it is remarkable that different segments of society suggest similar definitions to sexual harassment. Given the fact that two thirds of women in Turkey are housewives isolated from business life, it is quite expected that women's definition of sexual harassment is similar to that of men. However, it is important that this perception does not change based on women's employment status. No matter what their status are, when defining sexual harassment, women take the public opinion as the reference instead of the workplace.



2.5. To Avoid Sexual Harassment...

Whether women are subject to violence from family members or strangers, society in Turkey still questions whether women do their share to avoid violence. Certain NGOs or political actors who question this attitude strive to change this perception. However, society in Turkey still tends to define the responsibilities of the victim. Therefore, in this research, we inquired about the measures women can take to avoid sexual harassment and asked the respondents to provide their responses on the basis of a 4-point Likert scale.

As shown in the graph below, the majority of society puts the major burden on women. Avoiding to sit next to men on public transport received the lowest preference rate. Even so, 46 percent of the respondents think that women should not sit next to men as a precaution. More than 80 percent of the respondents think that women should avoid walking in desolate places at night.

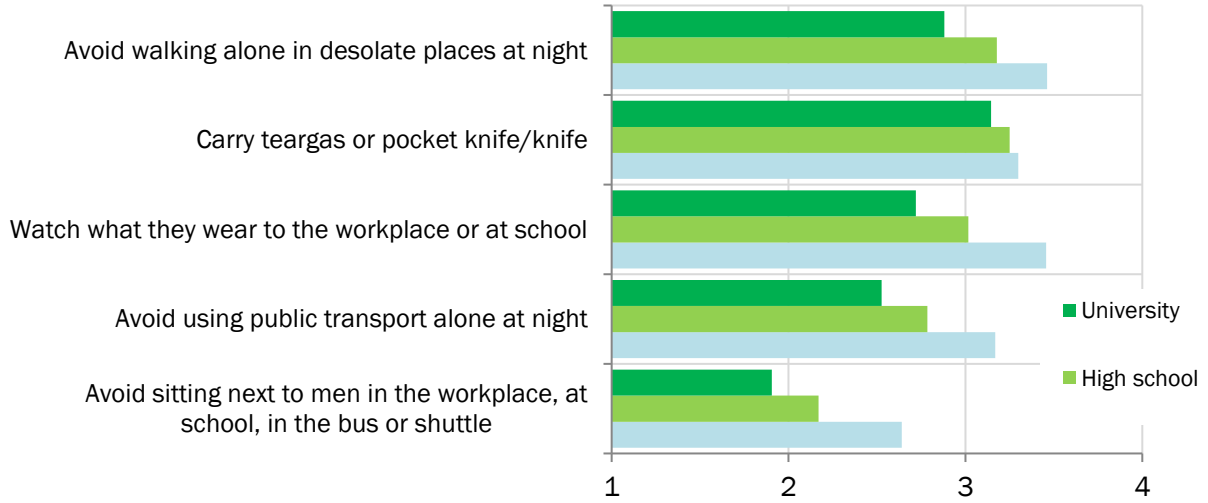


Preventing sexual harassment is women's responsibility

When analyzing the responses, it is necessary to observe the extent of responsibility put on women's shoulders in avoiding sexual harassment rather than looking at the preference rates of individual precautions. In average, one third of society assigns duties to women and recommends women to be careful about what they wear, to avoid walking in desolate places at night or to refrain from using public transportation.



Opinions on how to avoid sexual harassment by educational attainment level



When we analyze the responses, provided on a 4-point Likert scale, by educational attainment level, it is possible to observe the expected outcome. However, even an average university graduate in Turkey thinks that women (and young women) should not walk in desolate places at night in order to avoid sexual harassment.

Opinions on how to avoid sexual harassment by degree of piety



A similar outlook can be observed when the responses are analyzed by degree of piety. Degree of piety, particularly being a non-believer, significantly changes what respondents think women should do to avoid sexual harassment.

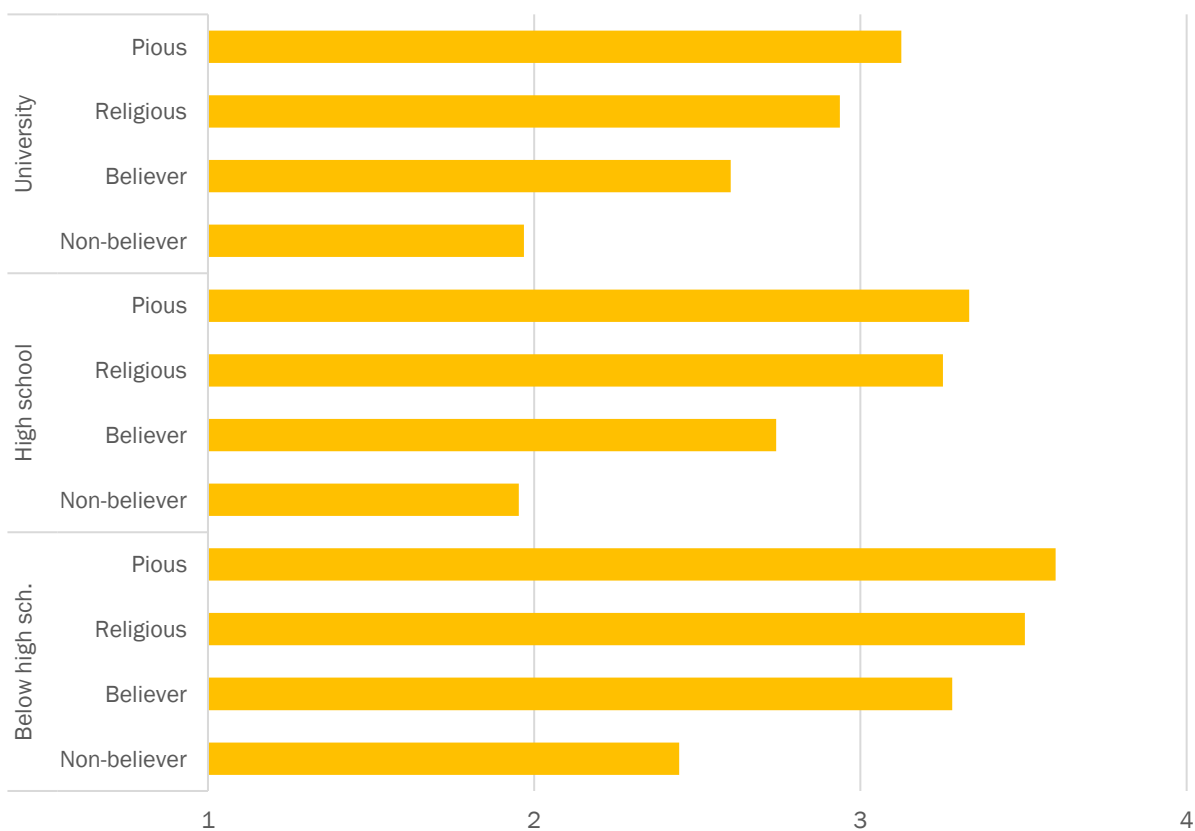
At this point, we can highlight an intuitive finding despite the fact that we cannot prove it with our data: The average scores of each statement increases or decreases at the same rate. After all, what is critical is not the individual preference rate of each statement, but whether respondents think that women should take precautions to



avoid sexual harassment. Educational attainment level and degree of piety are influential factors that increase the rate of the respondents who 'agree' with each of the statements. The responses provided to these statements do not indicate the effectiveness of the precautions, but they demonstrate whether respondents think that women are responsible for taking precautions.

The graph below presents the opinions of the respondents by educational attainment level and degree of piety. Once again, degree of piety stands out as a factor independent from educational attainment level.

Watching what they wear in the workplace or at school



The change in the preference rate of the statement, 'women should watch what they wear' is remarkable. The rate of the respondents who agree with this statement increases with higher degree of piety regardless of the educational attainment level. The preference rates of the other statements do not reflect significant changes.

In conclusion, we can argue that which particular precaution should be taken does not matter, since all of the precautions are preferred at similar rates, and that the rate of respondents who believe that women should take precautions is what matters. Thus, we can claim that the respondents who are more religious do not necessarily believe that the precautions taken will be useful, but they believe that it is necessary for women to take precautions against sexual harassment.



Naturally, it is not possible to analyze all dimensions of violence against women only with the 20 questions we asked in this research. In this research, however, we endeavored to understand the public attitude towards violence against women rather than identifying where it originates from.

When we analyze all of the responses provided to the four dimensions we addressed in this research (respectively, violence against women and perception of the state, gender equality/inequality in business life, perception of individual responsibilities against sexual harassment and sexual harassment in the workplace), one finding is remarkable. The majority of society thinks alike both on what women who are abused should do and what they should do to avoid sexual harassment. Educational attainment level and degree of piety may increase the preference rate of certain statements. However, no matter how different they are, none of the demographic groups express completely contrasting opinions. Men and women also share the same opinions on many of the statements. Moreover, the opinions of working women, educated women, female white-collar workers and housewives do not diverge from each other dramatically. Such a monolithic structure indicates that resolving the issue will be more challenging. On the other hand, responses provided to some of the statements such as women who are abused should appeal to the state for the resolution of the problem, give hope that the issue of violence against women can be evaluated on a more civil platform. However, the majority of society still attributes a different status to women and puts the burden on the shoulders of women in preventing sexual harassment.



2.6. Violence Against Women and Perceptions on Social Gender Roles

Nazife Kosukođlu, Bođaziçi University
Osman Őahin, Koç University

Violence against women is a social problem that has been in the public agenda in Turkey in the past thirty years. This problem determines the dynamics of daily life in various ways such as femicide and sexual abuse at the workplace has an undulating visibility in public debates. However, many sources such as NGO reports or official statistics reveal that violence against women is a consistent social problem that factually affects various social clusters.

There are indeed inner and outer dynamics indicating that the significance of violence against women in the public agenda of Turkey may increase gradually in the coming years, such as the efforts women's organizations make for keeping this social problem in the agenda of public discussions and the fact that violence against women is now being considered in the framework of democratization, equal citizenship and human rights by various clusters of the society. Again, it is likely that in the coming years, many issues with regard to violence against women such as social gender roles and the ways women use their entitlement to their own bodies will be a focus of political discussions in this context.

Currently, there are various reasons behind the increase in the visibility of this social problem, one of which is that the state's ineffectiveness in taking steps for eradicating violence that helps impose sexual inequality or applied due to gender has now been assessed in the scope of violation of prohibition of discrimination in terms of the European Convention on Human Rights. Other reasons may be the participation of Turkey in the The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) and the manifestation of social gender equality and violence against women among the democratization criteria in the reports prepared as a part of the process of accession to EU.

Considering the factual prevalence and decisiveness of violence against women and the place it takes in the discussions in the public domain, it is obvious that a public survey regarding perception on violence against women and social gender roles in Turkey is very significant. The survey was conducted by KONDA throughout Turkey with 2620 participants and the questions were determined according to 4 basic aspects.



1. Violence against women and the perception on the state
2. Gender (in)equality in working life and perceptions on social gender roles
3. Personal responsibility perception regarding sexual abuse and the decisiveness of the potential existence of sexual abuse in daily life
4. Perceptions on sexual abuse at the workplace

Assessment of the survey data is indicated below under the same titles.

2.6.1. Violence against women and perception on the state

The fact that domestic violence against women is perceived and defined as a private matter that occurs in private space makes it difficult to handle it as a social problem. Despite reforms made in the criminal law within the context of the process of accession to EU, it is still possible to find regulations in Turkish legislation that handle domestic violence in the scope of privacy one of the examples being the prosecution of marital rape on complaint. Our study points to the fact that positioning of domestic violence within the framework of privacy is an ongoing social tendency despite some attenuation in the recent years.

Table 1.

Which of the following persons or institutions should a woman suffering from violence from A MALE FAMILY MEMBER appeal to?	Number	Percentage
Relatives / other family members	596	22.9
Police or other security forces	1389	53.4
Prosecution office	350	13.5
Women's organizations	119	4.6
Friends / neighbors	53	2.0
Nobody	93	3.6
Total	2600	100.0

Table 2.

Which of the following persons or institutions should a woman suffering from violence from AN UNKNOWN MALE appeal to?	Number	Percentage
Relatives / other family members	285	11.0
Police or other security forces	1846	71.4
Prosecution office	357	13.8
Women's organizations	50	1.9
Friends / neighbors	19	.7
Nobody	27	1.0
Total	2584	100.0

The differences between the data summarized in the tables above are significant. 53.4% of the participants stated that women who suffer from violence from a male family member can appeal to the police whereas in the case of violence from an unknown male, this rate climbs up to 71.4%. Similarly, the rate of those who find it suitable for a woman to appeal to relatives/family members in case of violence differs according



to whether the inflictor of violence is a family member or not. The rate of those who indicate that women who suffer from violence from a male family member should appeal to relatives/other family members is 22.9% whereas when the offender is an unknown man, this rate decreases to 11%. In this regard, the results of the survey indicate that the view on violence as a matter that should be brought to the attention of the state varies depending on the offender. In a sense, domestic violence is still considered as a matter outside of the public domain by a significant part of the society.

Table 3.

What is the most suitable thing to do for a woman beaten by her husband?	Number	Percentage
Nothing	161	6.3
Apply to neighbors	61	2.4
Reciprocate with violence	91	3.6
Appeal to the police	1579	61.7
Appeal to relatives	252	9.8
Return back to family home	417	16.3
Total	2561	100.0

Nevertheless, majority of the participants (61.7%) believe that a woman beaten by her husband should appeal to the police. It may be assumed that the reason for the higher rate of participants in Table 3 compared to Table 1 regarding appealing to the police may be due to the different terminology used in the questions as violence is a vaguer term whereas beating is considered as a matter with graver consequences. Another explanation to this differentiation may be that in the latter the offender is defined as the husband whereas in the former the offender is defined as a male family member.

Table 4.

Women may refrain from filing complaints about violence because they are afraid of security forces such as the police or the military police.	Number	Percentage
I absolutely disagree	787	30.4
I do not agree much	494	19.1
I agree a little	614	23.7
I absolutely agree	693	26.8
Total	2588	100.0

Another matter investigated in this survey was as to what extent the state security forces are perceived as reliable actors when women suffer violence. As seen in the answers of our participants, 50.5% of the population in Turkey think that women may be afraid of security forces and therefore may refrain from appealing to the state security forces in case of violence. Although this rate decreases to 48.8% in the answers given by women, it is nevertheless clear that almost half of the population in Turkey do not consider security forces as reliable or problem solving actors in the context of violence against women.



Again, in the context of this discussion, it is possible to state that a significant part of Turkey in general think that women may be afraid of the judicial system as well as judges and prosecutors as the main actors of this system.

Table 5.

Women may refrain from filing complaints about violence because they are afraid of judges and prosecutors.	Number	Percentage
I absolutely disagree	985	38.2
I do not agree much	559	21.7
I agree a little	515	20.0
I absolutely agree	521	20.2
Total	2580	100.0

About 40.2% of our sampling believe that fear from judges and prosecutors may lead women to refrain from appealing to these actors. The answers of the female participants show that only with a minor decrease, a serious fraction, i.e. 38.8% think similarly.

The results of the survey in this regard show that the actors in the field of law and law-enforcement are seen as objects of fear by a significant part of the participants. These results signify a serious problem as to the state-citizen relations and show that building trust in women towards judiciary personnel and law-enforcement or to the state in general is as important as taking precautions such as improving the legislation on the struggle for violence against women and reinforcing women's shelters qualitatively and quantitatively.

2.6.2. Gender (in)equality in working life and perceptions on social gender roles

Turkey is a patriarchal society. Social, economic and cultural life in its entirety has been built on masculine codings. Further, these masculine codes have been internalized and somewhat normalized by both men and women. For instance, it was clearly shown in this survey that motherhood and good wifeness discourses sanctified by the state and other authorities since the foundation of the republic in Turkey is accepted by a dominating part of the society in Turkey.



Table 6.

The primary duty of women is to undertake the responsibility of the household and raise children.	Number	Percentage
I absolutely disagree	561	21.6
I do not agree much	331	12.8
I agree a little	747	28.8
I absolutely agree	955	36.8
Total	2594	100.0

As seen above, 55.6% of the society think that motherhood and wifehood come first for women before all other roles. This rate drops slightly in consideration of the answers given by the female participants but still it is quite high at a rate of 51.7%. Thus, a similar question although not exactly in the same context, showed that the same social tendency was determinative.

Table 7.

Women are fragile, they are not fit for certain jobs that men do.	Number	Percentage
I absolutely disagree	449	17.3
I do not agree much	326	12.6
I agree a little	744	28.7
I absolutely agree	1073	41.4
Total	2592	100.0

As shown by the answers to this question, 70.1% of the society do not believe that women have the necessary physical or psychological capabilities for every kind of jobs. When the same question is posed to women only, a visible decrease is observed yet 61.9% of the female participants also think that women cannot do all kinds of jobs because they are fragile. These rates show that in our society, there are sharp judgments with regard to male-female roles. Females are considered as weak, belonging to home and responsible for childcare whereas males are positioned as powerful, potent, money earners and belonging to the outside world.

2.6.3. Personal responsibility perception regarding sexual abuse and the decisiveness of the potential existence of sexual abuse in daily life

Another aspect of the survey was the personal responsibility perception regarding sexual abuse and the decisiveness of the potential existence of sexual abuse in daily life. The answers given to the basic question “Should women and young girls do the following against the risk of abuse and violence?” revealed that the participants think that women’s daily life should be based on avoiding violence.



Table 8.

Carrying items such as pepper spray or pocket knife	Number	Percentage
I absolutely disagree	218	8.4
I do not agree much	276	10.7
I agree a little	719	27.8
I absolutely agree	1377	53.2
Total	2590	100.0

Table 9.

Paying attention to their clothing at the workplace or school	Number	Percentage
I absolutely disagree	322	12.4
I do not agree much	216	8.3
I agree a little	612	23.6
I absolutely agree	1447	55.7
Total	2597	100.0

Table 10.

Not walking alone in desolate places after dark	Number	Percentage
I absolutely disagree	309	11.9
I do not agree much	177	6.8
I agree a little	540	20.8
I absolutely agree	1571	60.5
Total	2597	100.0

Table 11.

Not using public transportation at night alone	Number	Percentage
I absolutely disagree	471	18.2
I do not agree much	350	13.5
I agree a little	560	21.6
I absolutely agree	1211	46.7
Total	2592	100.0

According to the survey results, the main responsibility in avoiding or protecting against abuse is left to women. Actions that men can easily conduct without thinking over such as clothing, walking in desolate places or using public transportation alone at night are considered by both men and women as actions that women should not do or should think twice if they really have to. Such approach can be interpreted as a presupposition that women taking these actions may be subject to abuse or rape and moreover that they will have responsibility to some extent in what happens to them. Thus, in societies where there is an awareness that in actions of abuse and rape the sole responsibility is the man's, answers to these questions tend to be directed to the contrary.



In the survey, the participants were asked as to whether they approve women carrying items such as pepper spray or pocket knives as protection from abuse (Table 8). In total, the rate of those who consider this positively is 81.2% whereas the rate of those who think that women should pay attention to their clothing at the workplace and school is 79.3% in total. We may assume that the participants are pushed towards such approval due to low trust in jurisdiction and police in Turkey as well as the weak punishing practices of the state in such criminal actions. However, it is necessary to conduct a more extensive research in this regard in order to arrive at any definite judgment.

2.6.4. Perceptions on sexual abuse at the workplace

The fourth aspect of the survey regarding perception on social gender and violence against women was aimed at measuring whether behavior that fall into the category of abuse in the working life is perceived as so. The results show that it is more common to consider watching videos or telling jokes of sexual content or cursing as abuse than touching. On the other hand, in terms of the gender of the participants, it is observed that there is a significant difference between the approach of men and women about the consideration of touching during talking as abuse. 70.7% of the female participants consider it as abuse whereas the rate drops to 63.7% in men.

Table 12.

Which of the following behavior of male workers towards female workers are considered as abuse or disturb the peace at the workplace?	Number	Percentage
Telling jokes of sexual content or cursing	1952	74.4
Touching a woman when talking to her	1734	66.1
Informal ways of addressing to female workers	886	33.8
Watching videos of sexual content on the computer or mobile phones	1973	75.2
Total	2624	100.0

It is observed that informal ways of addressing to female workers are not considered as abuse or disturbing behavior by the majority of the participants. The fact that most of the participants find this form of abuse as normal behavior may be considered as an indicator of normalization of discourses that reinforce social gender roles within the framework of patriarchal morals. Moreover, a significant part of our participants either ignore or are unaware of the fact that at workplaces where relationships are typically conducted at a more formal level, using expressions such as “my daughter” re-create the existing male rule and hierarchy.



2.6.5. Conclusion

The dynamics that emerged in the society upon the slaughter of Özgecan Aslan cannot be interpreted as a reaction against a single event. In the social hierarchy, man is built as the potent subject whereas woman is positioned as an individual of secondary importance who should exist under the domination of men. Therefore in Turkey, women are social actors whose subjectification has been inhibited.

Therefore, violence against women cannot be simply interpreted as the beating, maltreatment or raping of the weak by the powerful. All such actions of men are ways of regeneration of their potency and hence signal to a social problem. The solution against this social problem cannot be found in vehement condemnation of violence against women by neighborhood and family notables or some politicians and their call for ending this violence. The political, cultural and economic mechanisms and instruments that regenerate this potency and hinder the positioning of women as equal social actors as men should be reconsidered and the struggle against this social problem should begin from this point onwards.



3. RESEARCH ID

3.1. Overall Description of the Survey

The survey that this report is based on was conducted by KONDA Research and Consultancy Limited (KONDA Araştırma ve Danışmanlık Ltd. Şti.).

The field survey was conducted on 7-8 March 2015. This report presents the political trends, preferences and profiles of the adult population above the age of 18 in Turkey, within the dates of the field survey.

The survey is designed and conducted with the purpose to determine and to monitor trends and changes in the preferences of respondents who represent the adult population above the age of 18 in Turkey.

The margin of error of the survey is +/- 2 at 95 percent confidence level and +/- 2.6 at 99 percent confidence level.

3.2. The Sample

The sample was selected through stratification of the data on population and educational attainment level of neighborhoods and villages based on the Address Based Population Registration System (ADNKS), and the results of the 2011 General Elections in neighborhoods and villages.

First, the administrative units were grouped as rural/urban/metropolitan, and then the sample was created based on the 12 regions.

Within the scope of the survey, 2611 respondents were interviewed face-to-face in 154 neighborhoods and villages of 108 districts - including central districts - of 31 provinces.

Provinces visited	31
Districts visited	108
Neighborhoods/villages visited	154
Number of respondents	2611

Among the 18 surveys conducted in each neighborhood, quotas on age and gender were enforced.

Age group	Female	Male
Between 18-28	3 respondents	3 respondents
Between 29-44	3 respondents	3 respondents
44 and above	3 respondents	3 respondents



	Level 1 (12 regions)	Provinces visited
1	İstanbul	İstanbul
2	Western Marmara	Balıkesir, Çanakkale, Edirne
3	Aegean	İzmir, Denizli, Manisa
4	Eastern Marmara	Bursa, Eskişehir, Sakarya
5	Western Anatolia	Ankara, Konya
6	Mediterranean	Adana, Antalya, Hatay, Mersin
7	Central Anatolia	Kayseri, Nevşehir, Sivas
8	Western Black Sea	Samsun, Tokat, Zonguldak
9	Eastern Black Sea	Giresun, Trabzon
10	Northeastern Anatolia	Erzurum
11	Middle Eastern Anatolia	Malatya, Van
12	Southeastern Anatolia	Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Mardin

The distribution of respondents according to the regions and place of residence is shown in the table below.

	Survey location	Rural	Urban	Metropolitan	Total
1	İstanbul			18.0	18.0
2	Western Marmara	2.1	3.4		5.5
3	Aegean	4.1	5.1	5.4	14.6
4	Eastern Marmara	1.4	2.7	5.6	9.7
5	Western Anatolia	0.7		10.4	11.1
6	Mediterranean	3.4	2.6	6.2	12.3
7	Central Anatolia	1.4	2.1	1.4	4.8
8	Western Black Sea	2.8	3.4		6.2
9	Eastern Black Sea	1.4	1.9		3.3
10	Northeastern Anatolia	1.4			1.4
11	Middle Eastern Anatolia	1.5	2.1		3.5
12	Southeastern Anatolia	2.1	3.4	4.1	9.7
	Total	22.2	26.9	50.9	100.0



4. FREQUENCY TABLES

4.1. Profile of the Respondents

Gender	Percentage
Female	47.6
Male	52.4
Total	100.0

Age	Percentage
Between 18-28	27.4
Between 29-43	33.6
44+	39.0
Total	100.0

Educational attainment level	Percentage
Illiterate	5.3
Literate without degree	1.8
Primary school degree	34.6
Secondary school degree	16.4
High school degree	26.9
University degree	13.8
Masters/PhD	1.3
Total	100.0



Birthplace (region)	Percentage
İstanbul	7.5
Western Marmara	5.3
Aegean	13.1
Eastern Marmara	7.9
Western Anatolia	8.0
Mediterranean	11.3
Central Anatolia	7.8
Western Black Sea	9.4
Eastern Black Sea	6.0
Northeastern Anatolia	4.3
Middle Eastern Anatolia	5.9
Southeastern Anatolia	12.0
Abroad	1.6
Total	100.0

Employment status	Percentage
Public officer	5.2
Private sector	6.5
Worker	7.0
Small retailer	7.1
Merchant/businessman	0.8
Self-employed	2.2
Farmer, agriculturist, stock breeder	4.5
Employed, other	5.4
Retired	13.7
Housewife	30.8
Student	10.4
Unemployed	5.5
Disabled	1.1
Total	100.0



Marital status	Percentage
Single	24.1
Engaged	1.4
Married	68.9
Widow	4.6
Divorced	1.0
Total	100.0

How did you get married?	Percentage
By consensus	42.0
By matchmaking	51.2
By the decision of my elders	6.8
Total	100.0

Lifestyle cluster	Percentage
Modern	28.2
Traditional conservative	46.1
Religious conservative	25.7
Total	100.0

Head cover	Percentage
No head cover	29.8
Headscarf	48.9
Turban	6.3
Chador	0.5
Single male	14.4
Total	100.0

Ethnicity	Percentage
Turkish	80.9
Kurdish	13.7
Zaza	1.2
Arab	1.3
Other	2.9
Total	100.0



Religion / Sect	Percentage
Sunni Muslim	90.6
Alevi Muslim	6.3
Other	3.1
Total	100.0

Piety	Percentage
Non-believer	2.5
Believer	28.3
Religious	58.7
Pious	10.5
Total	100.0

Household size	Percentage
1-2 person(s)	19.1
3-5 people	65.8
6-8 people	12.7
9 people or more	2.5
Total	100.0



TV channel preferred to watch the news	Percentage
Does not watch	4.0
ATV	12.1
CNNTürk	2.4
Fox TV	17.1
Habertürk	2.4
Halk TV	4.7
Kanal 7	2.6
Kanal D	12.7
Kanaltürk	1.1
NTV	2.4
Roj/Nuçe/Sterk	1.2
Samanyolu	3.3
Show TV	5.0
Star	5.6
TRT	10.7
Ulusal	.9
Local channels	1.4
Other channels	10.4
Total	100.0

Monthly household income (new grouping)	Percentage
TRY 700 or less	6.7
TRY701 - 1200	29.6
TRY1201 - 2000	34.0
TRY2001 - 3000	16.6
TRY3001 - 5000	10.4
TRY 5001 or more	2.7
Total	100.0



Economic class	Percentage
Lower	19.9
Lower middle class	34.2
New middle class	26.2
Upper	19.6
Total	100.0

Type of housing	Percentage
Squatter/ apartment without external plastering	6.9
Single family, traditional house	35.1
Apartment	51.6
Housing complex	6.0
Very luxurious apartment, villa	0.4
Total	100.0



4.2. Violence Against Women and Perception of the State

Women avoid reporting incidents of violence because they are afraid of security forces such as the police and gendarme.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	30.4
Somewhat disagree	19.1
Somewhat agree	23.7
Strongly agree	26.8
Total	100.0

If they want, women who are subject to domestic violence should stay in women's shelter.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	7.0
Somewhat disagree	7.7
Somewhat agree	22.5
Strongly agree	62.8
Total	100.0

Women avoid reporting incidents of violence because they are afraid of the reaction of their families.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	12.0
Somewhat disagree	10.1
Somewhat agree	30.5
Strongly agree	47.3
Total	100.0

Women avoid reporting incidents of violence because they are afraid of judges and prosecutors.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	38.2
Somewhat disagree	21.7
Somewhat agree	20.0
Strongly agree	20.2
Total	100.0



Which of the below do you think is the most appropriate option for a woman who is beaten by her husband?	Percentage
Doing nothing	6.3
Talking to her neighbors	2.4
Responding to violence with violence	3.6
Appealing to the police	61.7
Consulting to her relatives	9.8
Taking refuge in her parents' home	16.3
Total	100.0

Which of the persons/authorities below do you think a woman who is abused by a MALE MEMBER OF HER FAMILY should appeal to?	Percentage
Relatives/other family members	22.8
Police or other security forces	53.5
Prosecutor's office	13.5
Women's organizations	4.6
Friends/neighbors	2.0
Nobody	3.6
Total	100.0

Which of the persons/authorities below do you think a woman who is abused by a MALE STRANGER should appeal to?	Percentage
Relatives/other family members	11.0
Police or other security forces	71.6
Prosecutor's office	13.7
Women's organizations	1.9
Friends/neighbors	0.7
Nobody	1.1
Total	100.0



Employment of women leads to unemployment among men.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	52.7
Somewhat disagree	18.6
Somewhat agree	13.9
Strongly agree	14.8
Total	100.0

Women cannot make good managers due to their nature.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	58.4
Somewhat disagree	18.3
Somewhat agree	10.9
Strongly agree	12.4
Total	100.0

The primary duty of women is to take care of the household and raise children.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	21.6
Somewhat disagree	12.8
Somewhat agree	28.8
Strongly agree	36.8
Total	100.0

Women are delicate, they are not appropriate for certain jobs that men perform.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	17.3
Somewhat disagree	12.6
Somewhat agree	28.7
Strongly agree	41.4
Total	100.0



Avoid walking alone in desolate places at night (<i>Do you think women and young women should do any of the following to avoid the danger of sexual harassment and violence?</i>)	Percentage
Strongly disagree	11.9
Somewhat disagree	6.8
Somewhat agree	20.8
Strongly agree	60.5
Total	100.0

Avoid using public transport alone at night (<i>Do you think women and young women should do any of the following to avoid the danger of sexual harassment and violence?</i>)	Percentage
Strongly disagree	18.2
Somewhat disagree	13.5
Somewhat agree	21.6
Strongly agree	46.7
Total	100.0

Carry teargas or pocket knife/knife (<i>Do you think women and young women should do any of the following to avoid the danger of sexual harassment and violence?</i>)	Percentage
Strongly disagree	8.3
Somewhat disagree	10.6
Somewhat agree	27.9
Strongly agree	53.3
Total	100.0

Watch what they wear to the workplace or at school (<i>Do you think women and young women should do any of the following to avoid the danger of sexual harassment and violence?</i>)	Percentage
Strongly disagree	12.3
Somewhat disagree	8.3
Somewhat agree	23.6
Strongly agree	55.7
Total	100.0



Avoid sitting next to men in the workplace, at school, in the bus or shuttle <i>(Do you think women and young women should do any of the following to avoid the danger of sexual harassment and violence?)</i>	Percentage
Strongly disagree	33.3
Somewhat disagree	20.9
Somewhat agree	17.6
Strongly agree	28.2
Total	100.0

Which behavior of a male colleague in the WORKPLACE should be regarded as sexual harassment and disturbing?	Percentage
Telling sexually explicit jokes or using a vulgar language	74.3
Touching a female colleague when talking	66.1
Addressing female colleagues as 'you' or 'my daughter'	33.7
Watching sexually explicit videos on computer/phone	75.1



5. GLOSSARY of TERMS

All findings in Barometer reports are based on answers to the questions directed to respondents who were interviewed face-to-face in field surveys. Some questions and response options are then used in the rest of the report in short or simplified form. For example, the respondents who respond to the question on how religious they see themselves as “a person who is a believer, but does not fulfill religious requirements” are shortly identified as “believers” in the report. This glossary is prepared for both the readers who receive the report for the first time and the readers who need further clarification on the terms. The first table provides a list of the terms and their explanations, and the following tables list the questions and response options which establish the basis for these terms.

Term	Explanation
Alevi Muslim:	A person who identifies his/her religion/sect as Alevi Muslim
Lower middle class:	Households with an income per capita in the 60 percent segment but which do not own a car
Lower class:	Households whose income per capita is in the lowest 20 percent segment
Arab:	A person who identifies his/her ethnic origin as Arab
Headscarf:	A woman who wears a headscarf or a man whose spouse wears a headscarf
Chador:	A woman who wears chador or a man whose spouse wears a chador
Religious:	A person who tries to fulfill the requirements of the religion
Religious conservative:	A person who identifies his/her lifestyle as religious conservative
Traditional conservative:	A person who identifies his/her lifestyle as traditional conservative
Ideological:	A person who states a party as the closest to his/her political view
Believer:	A person who believes in the requirements of the religion, but does not fulfill them completely
Non-believer:	A person who does not believe in the requirements of the religion
Urban area:	Settlements with a population of more than 4000 (differs from the official definition)
Rural area:	Settlements with a population of less than 4000 (differs from the official definition)
Kurdish:	A person who identifies his/her ethnic origin as Kurdish
Leader follower:	A person who states that he/she trusts in or favors the leader of a certain party



Metropolitan:	Settlements which are located within the integrated boundaries of the most crowded 15 cities (differs from the official definition)
Modern:	A person who identifies his/her lifestyle as modern
No cover:	A woman who does not cover her head or a man whose spouse does not cover her head
Non-partisan:	A person who states that none of the parties represent him/her
Pious:	A person who fulfills the requirements of the religion completely
Late decider:	A person who states that he/she makes a decision based on the election campaigns
Sunni Muslim:	A person who identifies his/her religion/sect as Sunni Muslim
Partisan:	A person who states that he/she/they always vote for that party
Turban:	A woman who wears a turban or a man whose spouse wears a turban
Turkish:	A person who identifies his/her ethnic origin as Turkish
Upper class:	Households whose income per capita is in the highest 20 percent segment
New middle class:	Households whose income per capita is in the 60 percent segment and which own a car
Zaza:	A person who identifies his/her ethnic origin as Zaza

Questions and response options which establish the basis for the terms:

Which of the three lifestyle clusters below do you feel you belong to?
Modern
Traditional conservative
Religious conservative
Do you cover your head or does your spouse cover her head when going out of your home? How do you cover your head?
No head cover
Headscarf
Turban
Chador
Bachelor male



We are all citizens of the Turkish Republic, but we may have different ethnic origins; which identity do you know/feel that you belong to?

Turkish

Kurdish

Zaza

Arab

Other

Which religion or sect do you feel you belong to?

Sunni Muslim

Alevi Muslim

Other

Which of the below describes you in terms of piety?

A person who does not believe in the requirements of the religion

A person who believes in the requirements of the religion, but does not fulfill them completely

A person who tries to fulfill the requirements of the religion

A person who fulfills the requirements of the religion completely

Which of the reasons below influence/determine your political preferences?

I/we always vote for that party.

It is the party closest to my political view.

I trust/favor its leader.

None of these parties represent me.

I make a decision based on the election campaigns.

Total

Settlement Code (Data obtained from the sample)

Rural

Urban

Metropolitan



Economic classes (determined by using household size, household income and car ownership)

Lower class

Lower middle class

New middle class

Upper class