**“Violence and its impact on the right to health”**

Contribution of Health Right Association (Sağlık Hakkı Derneği), Turkey

# Background

Within the framework of Human Rights Council resolution 42/16, the Special Rapporteur on the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health has identified sexuality, gender-based violence and femicide as one of her priorities during her tenure (See [A/HRC/47/28](https://undocs.org/A/HRC/47/28) paras 50-64). In compliance with her mandate and in line with this priority she has decided to devote her next thematic report to the 50th session of the Human Rights Council in June 2022 to the theme of “Violence and its impact on the right to health.”

# Objectives of the report

The Special Rapporteur intends to shed light on who is seen as victims of violence, and who is affected by what type of violence, with emphasis on the violence experienced by women, children, LGBTI persons and conflict related gender-based violence. She will also explore the role of men as perpetrators and their experience as victims of violence. Her analysis will look into the responses that survivors of violence receive with a focus on good practices, as well as the obligations, responsibilities, and protections that arise under the right to health framework and other relevant human rights in this connection. She will also report on emerging trends related to the impact of COVID-19 on all forms of violence and related responses.

In her report, the Special Rapporteur will address, inter alia, issues related to gender-based violence, (including inter-personal and intimate violence), as well as structural violence. She will also assess the impact of the criminalization of sex work, same sex relations, transgender persons, abortion, drug use etc. on the enjoyment of the right to health. The Special Rapporteur would like to identify good practices and examples of comprehensive health responses to survivors of violence, and to identify lessons learned at the community, national, regional and international levels.

# 1. Please describe, share data and information on the characteristics, number of cases, and the profile of victims and perpetrators in your country/ies or region(s) regarding:

## 1.1. Gender-based violence against women

Violence against women is also a frequent occurrence in Turkey. According to the researches, 52% to 66% of women are subjected to verbal violence, 15% to 65% to physical violence, 24% to 55% to psychological violence, 13.5% to 19.3% to economic violence, 6% to physical violence. Between 3 and 15% are exposed to sexual violence.[[1]](#footnote-1) Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies reveals that 4 out of 10 women in Turkey have been exposed to violence at some point in their lives. According to this, while those who marry at a young age are exposed to all kinds of violence, including sexual, physical and emotional, the rate of those who were sexually abused in their childhood reaches 9 percent. 75 percent of divorced or separated women are victims of physical violence.[[2]](#footnote-2)

## 1.2. Gender-based violence and other forms of violence against children

Violence against children can occur in alternative care institutions, environments where children are deprived of their freedom, in and within the family, school and education environment, child labour and working life. Violence against children (like sexual exploitation or, in some cases, early, forced marriages to reduce household expenses) can occur as a direct or indirect response or strategy for coping with poverty in Turkey. As the stress experienced by adults and adolescents increases, physical violence or emotional deprivation occurs more frequently.[[3]](#footnote-3) 73.41 percent of children experience violence at least once at home; 67.9 percent experience emotional violence at home; 37 percent face physical violence at home; The most common physical violence children face is pulling their ears. 25.7 percent of children are neglected at home; 20.5 percent witness domestic violence, 13.4% are exposed to domestic violence by other children.[[4]](#footnote-4)

## 1.3. Gender-based violence against LGBTI or other persons based on real or imputed sexual orientation, sex characteristics, and gender identity

There have been murders of LGBT people (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) in Turkey for decades. Also, homophobia is very common in Turkey. Exclusion from public spheres and the inability to access the most fundamental constitutional rights such as work, housing, health, and education are common. In the research conducted by Kaos GL, 56 out of 150 cases of violence against LGBTIs in 2019 were actual attacks against individuals, including attempted murder, physical violence, gunshot wounds, rape, or other sexual assaults. Out of a total of 56 cases involving these crimes, only 20 were reported to the police, and only 6 were taken to court. According to the victims' statements, out of 20 cases reported to the police, the police acted indifferent in 11 cases and belittled in six cases.[[5]](#footnote-5)

## 1.4. Violence against persons with disabilities, including gbv.

According to the Confederation of the Disabled, 34 percent of women with disabilities are exposed to violence by their spouses, 16 percent by their fathers, 13 percent by their mothers, and 11 percent by their children. 80% of violence against women with disabilities takes place in the home. 27.3 percent of disabled women admit that any of their rights have been violated. 80.8 percent of those in this situation say that they cannot use legal remedies.[[6]](#footnote-6) According to the research conducted by the Society for Social Rights and Research (TOHAD) between 2012 and 2017, sexual-physical violence, abuse and ill-treatment against the disabled are increasing day by day. In the last 5 years, 391 incidents of violence against the disabled were reflected in the newspapers. Half of it consists of sexual assault. The perpetrators of the attacks, on the other hand, consist of acquaintances such as family, neighbors and relatives, or public officials from whom they receive services.[[7]](#footnote-7)

## 1.5. Gender-based violence against men

Violence against men is violence against men. Sexual violence against men is treated differently from that against women in most societies and is largely unrecognized by law in Turkey. Studies in this area mostly consider male circumcision, including infants, to be performed without consent as violence.[[8]](#footnote-8)

## 1.6. Conflict gender-based violence, including sexual violence

According to the results of the 'WAVE: Women's Network Against Violence' project (2016) 36% of ever-married women in Turkey have been subjected to violence by a spouse/partner since the age of 15. 3% of women have been subjected to sexual violence by a partner since the age of 15. 44% of ever-married women have experienced some form of psychological violence. 27% have experienced any form of harassment and 30% have experienced any form of economic violence.[[9]](#footnote-9)

## 1.7. Please share analysis and available evidence on the impact of COVID on the above

Violence against women has increased during the COVID-19 pandemic in Turkey. In March 2020, the Turkish Women's Associations Federation announced that physical violence increased by 80%, psychological violence increased by 93%, and the demand for shelters increased by 78% compared to the previous year.[[10]](#footnote-10) In terms of gender-based violence, women have a lower labor market participation rate and share among business owners than men compared to the period before the COVID-19 crisis. The crisis has deepened these inequalities. The number of women who lost their jobs during this period is higher. Women have taken more responsibility in terms of domestic roles, as they did in the pre-COVID period. Compared to men, women have had more difficulties in accessing personal protective products like masks and gloves.[[11]](#footnote-11)

# 2. Please describe whether the legal framework prohibits and sanctions these forms of violence and the definitions and forms of violence included in the legal system. Please explain redress options for survivors of violence, (the pathway they go through if they decide to file a complaint), levels of impunity and if access to comprehensive physical and mental care for GBV-survivors is recognized as a form of reparation.

The mechanisms in terms of violence and effects within the scope of the right to health; it is seen that there are various institutions for women's access to healthcare services. Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centers (ŞÖNİM) were established within the scope of the Implementation Regulation on Law No. 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence Against Women, and support services are provided to women who have been subjected to all forms of violence. In terms of gender-based violence against women; changes have been made in the Turkish Civil Code and the Turkish Penal Code to prevent types of violence against women in Turkey. Law No. 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence against Women entered into force after being published in the Official Gazette. These laws include measures and practices for the prevention of violence, and also "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)". However, Turkey left the Istanbul Convention. This situation brings with it important concerns about the risk of increasing the problem of violence against women. There is no legal regulation in Turkey that specifically addresses violence against women within the scope of the right to health. However, various service delivery systems are needed for the prevention of violence against women and the provision of healthcare services for the protection of women who are victims of violence. For example, it is necessary to provide healthcare services in institutions such as rape crisis centers or violence crisis centers so that women who are victims of violence can receive healthcare services and prevent traumatization.

Considering the structures within the scope of violence and the right to health for children, all children in Turkey have the right to receive free healthcare services until they reach the age of 18. Children exposed to sexual violence can receive healthcare services from Child Monitoring Centers and can exercise their right to health, taking into account their psychosocial development. At the same time, health precautions can be taken for children exposed to or at risk of exposure to various types of violence. The health measure is one of the protective and supportive measures. Medical care of children who are victims of neglect and/or abuse, especially in terms of mental health, is carried out within the scope of health measures. In line with the court decision; the family is asked to apply to the child and adolescent psychiatry clinic at least once every three months. The follow-up of the arrival and departure of the families to the hospital is carried out by the medical social service unit of the hospitals. In terms of gender-based violence and other forms of violence against children; within the circle of “Law on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence Against Women”, the aims of preventing violence against children have been established in Turkey. However, there is no legal regulation in Turkey that specifically addresses children who are victims of violence within the scope of their right to health. There are institutions called Child Monitoring Center, where sexual abuse cases against children are handled and first aid is given. These institutions aim to carry out examinations of children who are victims of sexual abuse and to initiate judicial processes without traumatizing the child.

The right to health is within the scope of the basic rights and freedoms of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender citizens as well as all citizens; dependent on their personalities, intangible, inalienable, indispensable. This constitutional guarantee has been determined within the framework of Articles 2, 5, 10, 56, and 60 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey. In this framework, the international law to which Turkey is a party has obligated the States to guarantee the health rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. In terms of gender-based violence against LGBT or other persons based on real or imputed sexual orientation, sex characteristics, and gender identity; there is currently no direct legal regulation regarding the protection of LGBT's rights in Turkey. In the first part of the "Anti-discriminative and Equality Draft Law", the draft of which was shared on its website by the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Turkey at the beginning of 2011, the phrase "sexual orientation" was included among the areas that will not be discriminated against. However, this phrase was later removed from the draft bill. At the same time, Turkey's departure from the Istanbul Convention has brought along significant risks in protecting the rights of LGBTs. In this respect, there is no legal regulation in Turkey that specifically addresses LGBTs within the scope of the right to health.

In legal regulations, disabled individuals have the opportunity to seek rights or claim compensation when they are exposed to violence. Articles of the Constitution such as equality before the law, equal treatment, and non-discrimination are regulated to prevent violations of the right to health of individuals with disabilities. Article 16 of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, to which Turkey is a member, regulates the prevention of all kinds of exploitation, violence, and abuse of persons with disabilities inside and outside the home. In this context, disabled people can use the mechanisms to claim rights regarding violence and health violations. In terms of violence against persons with disabilities; there are regulations regarding violations of physical violence, sexual violence, ill-treatment, and abuse against the disabled in Turkey. However, there is no comprehensive regulation regarding the violation of the right to health of the disabled. Within the scope of the existing regulations, there is Law No. 5378 on the Disabled, Social Services Law No. 2828, Turkish Civil Law No. 4721, Law No. 4787 on the Establishment, Duties, and Proceedings of Family Courts, Civil Procedure Law No. 6100, and Turkish Penal Code No. 5237.

Turkey has adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which aims to reduce gender-based violence and its impact on areas like health, by the provisions herein. The most primary and most important of these rights is the “right to life.” Article 12 of the CEDAW Convention includes regulations on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women in benefiting from healthcare services. However, Turkey has departed from this law. Law No. 6284 provides opportunities for protection and stopping violence, seeking rights, and starting the legal process in emergencies where there is a risk of violence. The victim of violence can apply to the family court within the scope of Law No. 6284, and the application does not require any payment. If the perpetrator does not act by the protection order, criminal proceedings and forced imprisonment are in question. This law, if implemented effectively and effectively, provides preventive protections like the removal of the attacker. In cases of psychological violence, too, people may take preventive measures, hiding or changing identity and address information, temporary protection and shelter, such as persistent stalking, threats of violence, insults, humiliation, etc. have the right to demand measures such as ensuring The person can apply to the Governor's Office, District Governor's Office, Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centers called ŞÖNİM or Provincial Directorates of Family and Social Policies to provide psychological, vocational, legal and social guidance and counseling, temporary financial assistance, protection of children and temporary nursery services if any. The possibility of compensation is in question if the person files a lawsuit for the material and moral damages he has suffered and demands compensation. However, according to the research of the Association for Combating Sexual Violence, the services provided, the number of centers, and personnel training are insufficient, and people who have been subjected to violence may face an accusation and discrimination.[[12]](#footnote-12) In terms of conflict gender-based violence, including sexual violence; “Law on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence Against Women”, namely Law No. 6284, is a regulation that can be thought of as on gender inequality and violence. The scope of law emphasizes the concepts of 'violence against women and protecting the family' and does not include specific definitions or regulations regarding violence suffered by people of different sexual orientations. Sexual violence crimes are also within the scope of Law No. 6284. Early and/or forced marriages are handled within the scope of the Civil Code. There is no legal regulation in Turkey that specifically addresses violence arising from gender inequality within the scope of the right to health.

# 3. Please share examples of the types of structural and institutional violence with origins within the State, (perpetrated or condoned by the State) or perpetrated by those not representing or affiliated to the state in your country/ies of region, and who is affected. In particular, describe structural/institutional violence in medical settings against women and girls, LGBTI persons and persons with disabilities or any other individuals or groups relevant in your country/ies or regions.

In Turkey, people who fall outside the heteronormative definitions, in particular, are subjected to psychological, physical, social, and economic violence, have difficulties in accessing healthcare services, encounter unwanted pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, and violence and hate speech.

Violence perpetrated by men deprives women of their right to life, and the physical and mental health of women clinging to life deteriorates. State interventions in the fight against violence are of great importance. However, the acceptance of the concrete evidence requirement for arrest in crimes like sexual abuse and deliberate killing in the Turkish Grand National Assembly protects the perpetrators. In the first 10 months of 2021, men harassed 396 women, abused 160 children, raped 87 women, forced at least 586 women to sex work, inflicted violence on at least 670 women, and killed at least 27 children. The deaths of 183 women were reflected in the press as suspicious. When these data are compared with the first 10 months of 2020, an increase in the number of women killed by men can be observed.[[13]](#footnote-13)

Gender-based violence and violence against children are pervasive and destructive. Although female genital mutilation, child marriage, and homophobic and transphobic violence are common in many parts of the world, it continues to increase day by day although there is a law based on protecting the family, women, and children in Turkey. All kinds of violence that both girls and boys are exposed to is violence created by social perception. Children are exposed to sexual violence, socioeconomic violence, physical violence, emotional and psychological violence, and domestic violence. While all forms of violence create a future that will deprive children of all their rights in every field, many forms of violence have led to the violation of their right to health. An example is a new titled “Sexual Abuse and Torture for a 38-Day Baby in Van, Turkey.”[[14]](#footnote-14)

In Turkey, where women's sexual life is associated with marriage, one of the examples of psychological pressure and violence experienced by single women is the virginity examination, which has become a means of controlling women's sexuality. This practice abolishes the woman's right to have a say over her own body and leads to physical and mental problems, suicides, and honor killings in women. In fact, without a judge or prosecutor's decision, genital examination of the reproductive organs and the areas where they are located or practices known as "virginity control" in the public constitutes a crime by law. Despite this, hymenoplasty application is still in high demand in Turkey, and it has almost become health tourism.

Another example of gender-based violence is the 18% “luxury consumption” tax on menstrual products, which are a basic need for menstruating people each month. In the economic crisis and pandemic environment, where women's poverty deepened, access to these products was restricted and tax policies implemented without considering gender inequality had a serious negative impact on the health and well-being of menstruating people.

During the pandemic period, asylum seekers, disabled, prisoners, and all women faced many rights violations, especially violations of the right to health.

# 4. Please also share information on the impact of criminalization of sex work, same sex relations, transgender persons, abortion, drug abuse, harmful practices in obstetric care, female genital mutilation on the violence experienced by the affected individuals and their enjoyment of the right to health.

Being transgender in Turkey is not a crime under any law; however, trans people are constantly criminalized as a result of many different practices. Likewise, being a sex worker or doing sex work is not defined as a crime under any law. However, the legislation applied to sex workers causes all kinds of steps taken to do sex work to be criminalized in practice. Although sex work is not a crime in theory. To put it briefly, sex worker trans women are targeted by various laws through both being trans and being a sex worker, and they are once again pushed into the violent environment they live in bylaws and practices.

The data on issues such as sex work among disabled people, the relationship between violence and the right to health of homosexuals and trans people, abortion, and female genital mutilation could not be reached. However, there are a few news stories about people with disabilities and drugs that are reflected in the print media. There are “The person who is bedridden and 98% disabled was caught by the police while selling drugs via mobile phone”[[15]](#footnote-15); “A young woman living in Adana was exposed to violence for 4 years by her drug addict older sister.”[[16]](#footnote-16)

Although some legal regulations allow voluntary abortion in Turkey, there are problems with its implementation. Prejudiced attitudes especially faced by young and unmarried women and obstacles in hospitals prevent the law from being implemented.[[17]](#footnote-17) According to the report "Abortion Services in State Hospitals" published by Kadir Has University in 2016, 53 of the 81 provinces do not have hospitals that provide optional abortion services. This situation causes women to prefer places that perform illegal abortions.[[18]](#footnote-18)

Frequent replacement of sanitary pads during menstruation is of great importance in terms of reproductive health. The research conducted by the Derin Yoksulluk Ağı and Açık Alan Derneği (2021) reveals that 82% of women do not have access to sanitary pads. The limited access to sanitary pads puts women in a risky situation in terms of reproductive health.[[19]](#footnote-19)

The health risks faced by trans people who turn to sex work increase as job opportunities are blocked in society. LGBT people who cannot access routine healthcare services are exposed to serious health risks. According to the "Refugee LGBTQ+ Right to Health and Discrimination Report", the health and discrimination problems experienced. They encounter many obstacles in accessing the right to health in the cities where they reside, and they are adversely affected by the implementation of legal regulations, language barriers, and discriminatory attitudes of health workers. Psychological problems, as a method of coping with violence, can lead to alcohol and substance addiction, which are called social diseases.[[20]](#footnote-20) Victims of human trafficking can be tested for sexually transmitted infections after being informed within the scope of the victim support program. However, they are deprived of their rights like providing necessary counseling and obtaining their approval in the process before their inclusion in the support program.15

# 5. Please share information on the health and other type of responses provided by the State and/or other actors in your country/ies or regions in focus to survivors of each/some of the aforementioned forms of violence. Please assess what works well and not so well, and whether COVID-19 impacted the response and how.

The fact that the state does not apply the legal regulations in force against violations of rights and violence and does not intervene causes these situations to become widespread and legitimized. Practical activities are unfortunately very insufficient. In this area, the state should assume responsibility for the implementation of laws. [[21]](#footnote-21)

Receiving incoming calls about the disabled with the “Alo 183” social services hotline. Calls are evaluated and guidance and consultancy services are provided. As a result, notifications are received for the prevention of neglect, abuse and violence, forwarded to emergency response units and cases are prevented. [[22]](#footnote-22) However, there are also examples of victims not being protected by the state, not taking measures to prevent the incident from happening again, and not fulfilling the requirements in penal processes.[[23]](#footnote-23)

The Istanbul Convention, in which the definitions of "gender" and "gender-based violence against women" were defined in an international convention for the first time in Turkey, which entered into force in 2014 and of which Turkey was the first signatory, was terminated in 2021.

The annulment of the contract was based on the thoughts that "it is against the Turkish family structure and opens the door to homosexual unions". It has been claimed that the 3rd and 4th articles regulating gender equality provide legal guarantees for homosexual unions, damage the social structure, and the suspension decision given for the perpetrator of violence based on the woman's statement does not harm the concept of family.

Another change is the requirement of concrete evidence for arrest in crimes such as sexual abuse and deliberate killing. On the other hand, NGOs and the opposition party emphasized the importance of the principle of "based on the statement of the person", especially in sexual abuse crimes against children, and stated that sometimes abuse crimes can occur after a while.

# 6. Please specify the budget allocated in your country/ies in focus, to health related response to survivors of all/some forms of violence mentioned above. Please indicate the percentage of the national budget devoted to this; the percentage of the international aid provided or received for this. Please explain the impact of Covid 19 to the funding of responses to all/some forms of violence in your State/institution.

The budget allocated to the survivors of all/some types of violence in Turkey, in the focus of health-related intervention, has not been shared with the public in terms of various disadvantaged groups such as women, children, the disabled and LGBTI.

However, in the total budget of the Ministry of Family and Social Services 2019-2023 strategic plan, a budget of 166,500,000 Turkish Liras has been allocated within the scope of the goal of "Providing preventive and protective services in the fight against violence against women". The ratio of this budget to the total budget of the ministry is 3.48%. Due to problems such as increasing violence and the inability to access healthcare services during the pandemic period, the budget allocated to the area needs to be increased.10

# 7. Please describe the needs of survivors of the abovementioned forms of violence as identified by your State/institution. Please share survivor-self identified needs and those of their families, with a focus on health emergency and long-term needs.

One of the most important needs of victims and their families is that the rights protected by legal regulations gain meaning in practice. Likewise, filling under the flexible areas that legal regulations cannot cover is another issue that needs to be secured with legal regulations and practices. In general, the victims and their families demand that the incident not be left unpunished and that it should be prevented by developing permanent solutions so that it does not happen again.

Acknowledging the existence of the problem of violence created by gender inequality and imposed roles, implementation of international and national legislation, a continuation of campaigns that draw attention to gender-based violence with results, facilitating the application process of people after the violence, and most importantly, taking deterrent measures against perpetrators are the most important needs.

Effective provision and continuity of protection-treatment-remediation services, facilitating access to healthcare services and respect for patient confidentiality are also the points that victims need in the recovery process. In the long term, access to health and hygiene products must be free of charge through the state and local governments to ensure gender equality, and comprehensive sexuality and gender equality training are provided from an early age.

In addition, the victim and her/his family need psychological support, a safe space, not to be excluded, and not to be exposed to a discriminatory attitude after experiencing the incident.

Women need to be able to decide on their bodies, to access personal cleaning and care products, to reach economic support and psychosocial support. Especially in a situation that directly affects health such as abortion, it needs the right to make choices without being stigmatized by both the state and society.

HPV Vaccine, which is the most effective way of protection against cervical cancer, is not included in the National Vaccination Program in Turkey. Although the vaccination program is recommended by experts in Turkey and there is a serious demand from the public and non-governmental organizations on this issue, there is no information about its place in policy planning. Nine vaccines with higher protection are not available. The efficacy of the available quadruple vaccine is less. However, the price of this vaccine is at a level that low and middle income groups cannot reach (2040 TL for 3 doses).

Children who have been exposed to sexual violence need lifelong psychological support to live their next life more healthily and to continue their lives.

# 8. Please share examples of good practices and examples of comprehensive health responses to survivors of violence and indicate efficient multi-sectorial efforts at the community, national, regional and international levels by State or non-State actors.

In recent years, non-governmental organizations have started to work more actively on violence and violations against the disabled in Turkey. An example is the Healthcare services Union, which is an NGO that intervenes or takes part in health interventions for victims. He implements the aforementioned studies in the Commission for the Disabled. In this regard, the public is working on establishing a mechanism to establish adequate preventive mechanisms to protect persons with disabilities from possible risks and to ensure effective inspection of cases. NGOs continue their efforts to increase their monitoring, inspection and reporting activities and to realize the violation of disability rights and accompanying health interventions.

Many institutions such as women's shelters affiliated to district governorships, women's rights centers of bar associations, ŞÖNİM (Violence Prevention and Monitoring Center) offer protection measures and carry out studies for women.

Women whose economic situation is not sufficient can apply to the legal aid office of the Bar Association in the city where they live and request the appointment of a free lawyer if they have a justifiable reason (such as a request for protective and preventive measures). Also within the scope of violence against women, there are institutions and organizations that victims can benefit from. NGOs provide free sanitary pads, awareness activities, and free psychological and legal support.

# 9. Please describe State and other actors initiatives and measures to prevent these forms of violence, specific budget allocated to prevention, and good practices in this regard.

Despite the struggle of LGBT associations for years, there is no regulation in the national legislation regarding the right not to be discriminated against based on sexual orientation or gender identity. At the same time, some regulations in criminal law and civil law are used discriminatory by members of the judiciary. Politicians and government officials, in addition to rejecting such equality demands, made homophobic statements that would increase discrimination against LGBT people.

In Turkey, awareness raising efforts have started to increase to prevent violations of rights of persons with disabilities by actors other than the state. In particular, NGOs are actively working to eliminate the rights and violations of the disabled by raising awareness with their actions. Trying to expand the representation of the disabled is interpreted as a big step towards violations of rights.

Public support such as asylum, psycho-social support, health, and economic support is provided, but the lack of an integrated law on the field, and the insufficient level of knowledge of people about what support they will receive reduces the effectiveness of services. To increase efficiency and productivity, it is important to make public cooperation with NGOs.

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