

NGO SHADOW REPORT

FOR THE REVIEW OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT UNDER THE UN INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

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Introduction

Roj Women's Association is a London-based organization that campaigns for far-reaching legal and political reforms in Turkey with the ultimate aim of improving the lives of Kurdish and non-Kurdish women. In Turkey Kurdish women are subject to double discrimination as a result of their gender and of their ethnicity. Our aim is to improve the lives and expand the opportunities available to women living in Kurdish regions. For this purpose Roj Women raises awareness on the political factors that shape these women's struggle and lobbies and campaigns for the necessary changes to challenge them.

This shadow report pertains to the rights of women and to the achievement of gender equality in the spheres covered by the ESCR Covenant in Turkey.

Article 3

Paragraph 10 of list of issues

Please, inform the Committee of any evaluations conducted on the impact of the legal and policy developments addressing traditional gender stereotypes.

1. Legal developments achieved in the early 2000s and subsequent amendments, circulars and plans are enumerated as proof of advances in gender equality, yet Turkey fails to show evidence of effective mechanisms for implementation. For instance, there is no detailed information about the ‘awareness-raising activities in the fields such as combating violence against women and representation of women in decision-making mechanisms’ claimed to have been conducted in paragraph 42 of the State report. Evidence is not provided either on ‘the training programs to provide active and equal participation of women in all spheres of social life’ by the General Directorate on the Status of Women as claimed in paragraph 47. What awareness-raising activities have been carried out? What is their scope and targets? How long did the activities last for? What was their impact?

2. Similarly, claims that the Commission on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men and the General Directorate on Status of Women monitor developments and the results of the activities concerning the pursuance of gender equality (paragraphs 45 and 46 of the document ‘Replies by the Government of Turkey to the list of issues’, E/C.12/TUR/Q/1) are unproved. On the contrary, evidence seems to point that policies aiming at eliminating negative gender stereotypes are not being implemented. The EU complains that school textbooks still contain stereotypes about women’s role and status’. Additionally, according to publicly available records of ‘monitoring meetings’ goals 2.3 and 2.4 of the National Action Plan to Combat Violence Against Women, which require the removal of negative gender roles and the incorporation of gender equality into the curriculum of formal and non-formal education programs, have not been acted upon.

3. According to the research of a professor from Ondokuz Mayıs University, media reports about women's murders in Turkey either romanticize the motives of their attackers or render women invisible in the story, thus perpetuating the cycle of violence. "Women appear in the news as participants in adultery, infidelity, abduction, love affairs and domestic violence, as good or bad mothers, or as visual material in criminal cases committed by their male partners," the professor argues. Stories about women are generally deemed newsworthy due to their perceived adherence to or violation of cultural norms, according to the academic, who said this patriarchal approach puts women at a disadvantage compared to men when it comes to media coverage of violent crimes.ⁱⁱ While some workshops have been targeting journalists as part of a government's plan to educate them in gender issues, efforts to single out and penalize media that reinforce disempowering and misogynistic views of women must be stepped up.

4. The Turkish State's failure on this matter occurs not just as inaction. Traditional gender roles that deem domestic work and children rearing women's tasks only are reinforced through government programmes. For example, according to the '*Child Education Programme (ACEP)*' mothers are '*deemed the core of the family*', and thus they are the only ones targeted to '*activate the educational potential*' of families in Turkey. Mothers are also the only ones targeted to '*improve their characters so that they become more sensitive concerning their children's needs and develop relations between them*' (paragraphs 317-319 of initial State report).

5. Article 41 of the Turkish Constitution ensures the principle of equality between spouses as a basis for the family and according to the new Turkish Civil Code No. 4721, which entered into force on 1 January 2002, the spouses are to care jointly for the proper maintenance of the family. Moreover, the Gender Equality National Action Plan spells that '*States Parties are thus entrusted with the task of developing egalitarian attitudes and behaviours by eliminating conventional stereotyped opinions that reproduce inequality.*' Thus, the objectives of the ACEP programme could be in breach of these given that it

assigns the bulk of children upbringing to women, thus limiting their own professional development and perpetuating barriers to their access to public positions.

Article 10

Paragraph 21

Please, inform the Committee if the Turkish State has achieved any progress in the fight against gender violence, including domestic and honor based violence.

Pervasiveness of violence against women in Turkey and regional differences between West and East

6. In South East Turkey 1 out of 2 women are victims of violence against women. The national average is 39%ⁱⁱⁱ. In a context of social and economic development neglect, pervasive patriarchal attitudes and militarization all contribute to high rates of violence against women in the region. According to the last European Report Progress on Turkey, honour killings, early and forced marriages and domestic violence against women remain serious problems^{iv}. Kamer, an organisation with 23 branches across South East Turkey that supports women victims of violence, has assisted 10,000 women throughout the last 12 years^v; since research^{vi} shows that just 1% of VAW victims come forward to seek help from women's NGO, the actual number of women who have endured VAW in the region during this period could be as high as 1,000,000.

7. Additionally, violence by security forces (police, gendarmes and village guards) against politically active women targets those whose activism is related to taboo issues such as Kurdish self-determination. 1,400 applications of women victims of sexual abuse while in custody have been made within the last 10 years^{vii}: nearly 90% cited political or war related reason as causes for

their arrest.^{viii}. The Foundation for Social and Legal Research estimates that between 100 and 150 women report yearly on violence, including sexual violence, perpetrated by State actors. In 80% of cases, victims of custodial rape were Kurdish women, and in 90% of cases women cited political or war related reason as causes for their arrest.

8. A female member of a Kurdish political party in Turkey pointed out in June 2010 that during the previous year many women members of the party had been exposed to verbal abuse, threatened and followed in public spaces by policemen and gendarmes. She also stated that “the attacks especially accelerated during the time when the Women’s Assembly of the party launched the year-long campaign ‘*Let’s struggle for freedom, let’s overcome the rape culture*’”, which attempted to expose how security forces “in order to break the pride of the society they attack the pride of women”.^{ix}

9. While, overall, the legal and policy framework guaranteeing women’s rights and gender equality is broadly in place in Turkey, poor implementation of the and lack of effective enforcement mechanisms render them intentional documents. Yet, none of these laws and policies are set to address the reasons behind regional differences in levels and nature of the violence perpetrated against women.

Ineffective implementation of the National Action Plan to combat Violence against Women

10. The National Action Plan to combat violence against women (NAP hereafter) is the most important policy to tackle this widespread abuse. The 3€ million budget allocated by the European Union produced the NAP as well as the National Research on VAW conducted in 2008. Yet, the responsibility to allocate funds for the implementation of the plan lies with the Turkish Government. Implementation of the NAP on gender equality and violence against women lacks sufficient human and financial resources^x. According to the General Directorate on the Status of Women budget has not been allocated to implement the NAP and enforcing parties are expected to put aside a part of their budgets to fulfill their responsibilities under it. The next NAP 2011-2015 has not been allocated a budget either^{xi}.

11. In addition to insufficient resources for implementation, the NAP also lacks a comprehensive mechanism for monitoring and evaluation with detailed benchmarks, targets and deadlines^{xii}. Relying on each enforcing party's self-assessment does not guarantee appropriate and accountable follow-up. This is so not only because enforcing parties are unable to map out and measure progress, and to learn from good (and bad) practice given the lack of benchmarks, targets and deadlines, it is also because civil society is unable to fulfill its role as ombudsman of the Turkish State's performance.

12. Moreover, the General Directorate on Women's Status (GDWS hereafter) does not plan to conduct an independent evaluation or to evaluate performance against a blueprint with benchmarks, targets and deadlines of each enforcing party in the near future^{xiii}. Monitoring and evaluation responsibilities lie with the Monitoring Committee. It is unclear how this committee operates though. While the GDWS claims that enforcing parties of the NAP meet every six months to self-monitor their own effectiveness no information is disclosed on:

- Who attends these meetings,
- When do they take place,
- What matters are discussed,
- What decisions are taken.

13. Lack of accountability of this Monitoring Committee becomes evident in the difficulties of civil society organizations to access records of 'monitoring meetings'. Roj Women Association's research shows that whereas some work has been undertaken to address a few objectives of the plan (with unknown effectiveness given the lack of a monitoring systems) many of them are not acted upon.

14. Publicly available records (accessible in this website) amount to a repetition of the objectives and corresponding activities spelled in the Action Plan. These reports describe activities without analyzing their impact, achievements or concluding next steps. Additionally, numerous activities carried out can hardly satisfy the objective they are expected to fulfill. The reports notably focus on certain sub-objectives – those around which certain action has been taking -

ignoring to report on many other sub-objectives. Lastly, these records cover activities up to 2008 and thus render the enforcing parties unaccountable for the last 2 years.

15. For example, despite NAP's **goal 4.4**, that seeks the inauguration of women's guesthouses by the municipalities and provision of support by local administrations to existing and new independent shelters, as of October 2010 the number of these shelters was 62, 11 of which were opened in 2010. The 2005 Law on Municipalities provides, however, for establishment of shelters for women in municipalities with a population of 50,000 or more. This is a much lower figure than provided for by the law or required by the actual needs, both in terms of number of shelters and overall bed capacity. The availability and accessibility of intermediate protection and prevention services needs to be strengthened to meet the demand. Moreover, there is no effective government oversight of shelters and of the work of municipalities. When asked what penalties a qualifying municipality would suffer if it did not build women's shelter pursuant to the Law, the Head of Department of Directorate General for Regional Authorities, stated that a warning was the only penalty in place^{xiv}.

16. A second instance regards NAP's **goal 2.7** that aims to incorporate gender equality and domestic violence against women in the undergraduate programs of the faculties of education, law, medicine, communication and others. To fulfill this objective, a number of workshops were delivered in different universities and colleges. Roj Women questions the effectiveness of a one-off workshop attended by a few students of particular year to mainstream gender in the numerous disciplines at universities. Additionally, records of the action do not show how many students were reached or what proportion of total they represented.

17. NAP's **Goal 6.2 is also overlooked**. The local coordination boards envisaged under this goal have not been established yet. A few examples are illustrative of this. In 2010 Gendarme Specialist Sergeant K.T. tried to make Yosma Altunbey withdraw a complaint against her violent husband and then assaulted her when she refused. Sidika Platin was handed back to her violent husband due lack of shelters: that day he cut her ear off and caused her to

enter a coma^{xv}. These two cases happened in 2010 but similar ones occur too often. Roj Women wonders whether these negligences would have occurred should have local coordination boards been in place.

18. Similarly, **NAP's goal 4.6**, that envisions the establishment of a mechanism of cooperation among institutions, is not met. The EU Progress Report 2010 states that '*inter-institutional cooperation needs to be stepped up*' and that '*In general, there is a lack of an effective dialogue of the civil society organisations with the government on gender-related issues*'^{xvi}. Women's organisations report deterioration in their dialogue and their cooperation with relevant public institutions, at both central and local levels, which is not only in contradiction with goal 4.6, but also with **goal 3.1** which states that the government will support women's NGO's.

19. In the NAP Turkey commits in **goal 2.8** to inform the public opinion on gender equality related legal amendments; yet the EU Progress Report 2010 states that further training and awareness-raising on women's rights and gender equality are needed. The Kurdish Human Rights Project, commenting on the State-sponsored 'Stop Violence against Women Campaign', claims that while it may increase general awareness on the issue of domestic violence in Turkish society, it is not clear how such measures increase women's knowledge of the legal avenues available to them when they are faced with domestic violence^{xvii}. The Women's Human Rights Education Programme (KIHEP), which aims at informing women and giving them consciousness on women's rights and problems, seems to have reached an average of 600 women per year^{xviii}. While welcome, these services are clearly insufficient in a country where approximately 14 million women are victims of violence. This is all the more the case in South East Turkey where violence against women rates are higher yet, once more, the Turkish State avoids answering questions about specific measures implemented to educate Kurdish victims of domestic violence about their legal rights and avenues of redress, as requested in the list of issues (E/C.12/TUR/Q/1).

20. **NAP's Goals 2.3 and 2.4** require the removal of negative gender roles and the incorporation of gender equality into the curriculum of formal and non-

formal education programs is ignored. Once more, the EU complains that school textbooks still contain stereotypes about women's role and status^{xix}.

21. Despite the United Nations Committee for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women requests to produce sex-disaggregated statistics and data relating to Kurdish women and other groups of women subject to multiple forms of discrimination and their access to health, employment and education, as well as various forms of violence committed against them, and despite the fact that Turkey set itself to create indicators that shall enable national-level monitoring of domestic violence against women in **goal 6.5**, it is unclear whether the Government is producing such data (and it is not available in TÜİK, the Turkish Statistical Institute).

22. **Goal 2.1** (preparation and distribution of visual and printed materials and campaigns targeting policy makers, service providers and the public in order to ensure the reflection of gender equality principles on policy and programs), **goal 2.2** (preparation of visual and printed materials and training programs to raise awareness and transform attitudes amongst men on gender equality and violence against women), and **goal 2.6** (preparation and broadcasting of awareness-raising programs related to gender equality and violence against women) are complied with to a larger, while not satisfactory, extent. Banners and posters were displayed on train stations and 50,000 leaflets distributed to passengers in 2008. 15,000 additional brochures were sent to provincial health centers, schools, community centers and adult education centers. The White Ribbon Campaign was launched in 2008 and followed by a conference.

23. Severe shortcomings in effective implementation of policies is in fact acknowledged by Turkey in its State Report (paragraph 106): '*The persistence of violence can be attributed to many factors, including difficulties in the implementation of laws (...), the lack of awareness and of knowledge on existing regulations and mechanisms, the lack of effective measures to deal with the underlying causes of the problem.*'^{xx}

24. One of the direst effects ineffective implementation of the NAP concerns the training that judges, public prosecutors, law enforcement officers and security forces officers are supposed to undertake regarding how to deal with

cases of violence against women. According to the NAP, the training program comprises areas such as “violence against women, gender equality, ways of approach to victims of violence, and the effective enforcement of Law No: 4320 on the Protection of the Family, and other relevant legislation”. Despite claims that training programmes are in place, recurrent cases evidence that these trainings are either not happening or are ineffective. Police officers decline to investigate allegations of domestic violence, prosecutors decline to prosecute and protective orders against abusive men are not adequately enforced.

Case studies

25. Arzu Yildirim was shot eight times by her husband in 2009. She had written a complaint to the prosecutor and was referred to the police, but by the time they intervened she was murdered. She was killed by her husband in the middle of the road in Umraniye District in Istanbul. After her making an application for a complaint to the police in December 2010, she was continuously threatened by her husband to withdraw the complaint. The police did not take any special measures and it did not research this further^{xxi}.

26. Ayse Pasali went to a court in Ankara seeking divorce in 2006 but her relatives persuaded her to not go ahead. Later, in a relative’s wedding Ayse danced with her cousin. Her husband, jealous, beat her up and raped her. In the court he alleged "I love my wife and I want to be her" and he was freed. Although Ayse asked for protection in June 2010 after she got very badly beaten up and raped several times by her husband, police rejected her application because at that time the divorce procedure had progressed and thus there was not a "family union" any longer. Her lawyer explained that police said to the victim "What do you want us to do with someone who is not your husband and not living in your house anymore?. Do not make trouble!". Ayse’s ex-husband killed her on 7th December 2010^{xxii}.

27. Fatma Balatli, 35 years old, was shot dead by her husband in the middle of the street in Diyarbakir in 2008. Fatma Balatli was beaten up and treated in an abusive way by her husband during their marriage. She couldn't handle this

anymore and moved out with her seven children. Fatma had filed for divorce but she was threatened by her husband to withdraw it. Fatma then went to City Women Assembly in Diyarbakir and asked for help. The coordinator explained after that Fatma didn't have money to continue with the divorce proceedings and so they provided her with a lawyer. Fatma wrote a complaint to the prosecutor and was referred to the police. The Family Court made a decision to protect her. However, the injunction order was not respected by her husband, who broke often in her house in the middle of a night. The injunction order was not enforced by police either, despite Fatma's continuous complaints. He was arrested several times and then freed. The last time he was released he shot Fatma first and then himself^{xxiii}.

28. Dilek Dastanoglu filed for divorce alleging "strong incompatibility" in her marriage. She was separated from her husband and contacted police in numerous occasions to file complaints due to her husband's threats. Regardless of these, police did not take any action to prevent him from shooting her dead on 21st July 2009.

29. In Feb 2008 Wan Beyaz Alkan was murdered by her husband. Beyaz, mother of 5, had been to the gendarmerie many times to complain about violence and abuse from her husband but she was on every occasion convinced and reconciled to go back home to him by the gendarmes.

30. Mother of 4, Zubeyde Kilic, was divorced and had written a complaint to the prosecutor as well as been to the police station several times saying "My husband is going to kill me", in Istanbul. Yet, police never put any measures to address this urgent matter. In 9th August 2010 her ex-husband stabbed and killed her at her work place.

31. Nural Ozkan was brutally beaten by her husband numerous times and had written a complaint to the prosecutor and been to police lots of times. Nural also filed for divorce but she didn't get any protection from the police. On 13th February 2009 she was shot by her husband in front of their daughter, who also died when trying to defend her mother.

32. Nejla yildiz was an Editorial Office Manager in the Executive Civil Court in Ankara. She was stabbed and killed by her daughter's ex boyfriend at a bus station, despite previous attempts by Nejla's daughter to obtain protection for her from police^{xxiv}.

33. The severity of the situation is exacerbated for Kurdish women who do not speak Turkish. Their inability to communicate with law enforcement officials deters many Kurdish women from bringing domestic violence allegations to the attention of the police and, additionally, through their fear of being subjected to violence at the hands of the officials^{xxv}.

34. There are cases too that exemplify how those conservative and patriarchal attitudes Ondokuz Mayıs University's professor Alat found common in media coverage of violence against women are shared by many judges and prosecutors. N.C., who is now seeking redress from the European Court of Justice, is one of those cases. 13 years old N.C was raped by 26 men, civil servants, soldiers, village guards, and village leaders among them, in 2002. The trial against perpetrators was held at Mardin High Criminal Court. Seven years later the sentence was announced. It alleged that "N.C gave her permit for it", that "she was aware of everything and she was not kept down by force", that "there was no coercion on her" and that "if she wanted, she would have resisted it". Yet, one of the criminals, Ridvan Bayraktar, has confessed that the girl was threatened and forced to have sex or else her family would be alerted.

35. The punishment of at least 10 years imprisonment for those having sexual relationships with children under 15 years old by using threatening and fraudulent means normally expected to be applied was considered not to be applicable to this case since "the two woman who sold the victim were known to N.C. and she had sex with the 26 man with her consent". The court understood that even though she could have resisted morally she wished to contact T. and E. (who were selling her).

The sentences of the perpetrators are as follows:

- 11 are sentences to 4 years and 2 months of imprisonment,
- 11 are sentences to 4 years and 10 months of imprisonment,
- 1, for 3 years and 2 months of imprisonment,
- 1, for 1 years and 4 months of imprisonment,
- 4 of the suspects were released.

36. The only two women among the prosecuted were given the highest sentences allegedly due to "negative attitude of them in court hearing". The court also had "taken into account that they dragged her into their lewd life"; thus, the court did not apply any penalty reduction in their cases.

Ineffective implementation of the Gender Equality Plan of Action (2008-2013)

37. One of the commitments in the Gender Equality Plan of Action is the compilation of statistics. It is stated that in order to measure progress data will be collected and updated in the TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute) website every two years. However, data available in TÜİK's website does not live up to this commitment. Each set of data, for instance those regarding the share of women in decision making positions, level of education, or access to health facilities, differ widely in the regularity of their collection and some have not been updated in several years. These are some examples:

- Population statistics (sex ratios): last time updated in 2008 (updated every 5 years approximately),
- Women in politics: last time updated in 2008 (previous compilation times were 1999, 2007 and 2008),
- Employment by occupation (sex ratio): last time updated in 2008 (compiled yearly up to then),
- Unemployment rate (sex ratio): last time updated in 2008 (collected yearly up to then),
- Gender pay gap according to level of education: only time compiled in 2006,

- Literacy levels (sex ratio): last time updated in 2008 (previous times 2007, 2000),
- Ratio between official and religious weddings: only time compiled in 2006,
- Violence against women: only time compiled in 2008.

38. In addition to the lack of consistency in compiling statistics, some of the surveys used for it are of questionable use in measuring progress towards gender equality. For instance, the categories used in a State Family Structure Family survey in 2006 on people's attitudes towards women joining the labour force are inherently discriminatory against women. The options given to respondents to measure their attitudes were the following:

- Do you think the main job of women is the housework?
- Do you think women joining the labour force breaches our traditions?
- Do you think work environments are not safe for women?
- Do you think the children of working women suffer?
- Do you think a paid job exhaust women?

Article 12

Provision 2. 4. The creation of conditions which would assure to all medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness.

39. In order to improve health in South East Turkey, the language barriers facing Kurdish women needing to access health services must be overcome. Lack of information in languages other than Turkish and the lower standard of education among Kurdish women result in women in Southeastern Turkey having more difficulties to access reproductive health services. This access barrier is all the more reprehensible in a region with higher infant and maternal mortality rates than the national average and where the fertility rate is almost double of that of Turkey's^{xxvi}.

40. Language is not only a barrier due to increased difficulties in the communication but also due to discriminatory attitudes held by civil servants.

Nazife Göl's case illustrates this. In February 2010 Nazife Göl filed a complaint against Doctor Ozcan. Nazife Gol went to hospital with her sister in law Gullisah Gol. Ms Gol could not speak other language than Kurdish therefore, Güllisah Göl was there to translate. In her statement Gullisah said: "Dr Ozcan asked Nazife what was wrong with her, I started to explain the problem but the Dr interrupted me to ask why was I talking on her behalf". Gullisah said to the Dr that Nazife could not speak Turkish. The doctor's response was "you are living in Turkey and any one who lives in Turkey has to speak Turkish". Gullisah replied Nazife had not had the chance to attend. The doctor continued complaining about the fact that Nazife lived in Turkey, yet she was unable to speak Turkish, despite Güllisah's explanations that she was there to interpret. Before filing a complaint with the Human Rights Association, a complaint was filed to the hospital's, but the manager refused to take any action and sent them back to see Doctor Ozcan, refusing to let them see a different doctor.^{xxvii}

41. Another specific need of women in Southeastern turkey is enhanced access to mental health services due to political instability, an on-going armed struggle and lower education levels in the region. Experiences of multiple discrimination, violence, war and displacement are common experiences for Kurdish women. A thorough research on the mental health situation of Kurdish women living in different countries found out that^{xxviii}:

- Illiterate respondents reported more health problems than literate ones,
- Respondents who finished school reported less health problems than those who did not or never started in the first place,
- Higher educated reported less health problems than others did, especially depression.
- Widowed women reported the greatest number of mental health problems.
- Most health problems were reported by respondents currently living in Turkey Diyarbakir, followed by people living in Turkey Van; respondents living in other countries did not differ significantly in the health symptoms reported.

- At least 80% or more in the sample stated that their mental health issues related mainly to displacement, racism due to being a Kurd, discrimination due to political opinion, disruption of family due to war or migration, State / police oppression and sexism.

42. Through these findings we can hence establish a link between mental health and levels of education as well as between mental health and contexts of political instability, armed-struggle and psychological warfare. Unfortunately, the differentiated needs of Kurdish women in South East Turkey with regards to access to mental health services due to language barriers, lower education standards and an environment of armed struggle are not acknowledged by the Turkish State and thus no measures exist to address these differentiated needs.

Recommendations

Roj Women Association calls for the Turkish government:

1. To assign a budget to the National Action Plan to combat violence against women (NAP), instead of relying on the enforcing parties to set aside a portion of their own budgets to pursue their responsibilities under the NAP,
2. To develop a comprehensive monitoring system with specific benchmarks, targets and deadlines in consultation with civil society,
3. To compile relevant statistics with appropriate and non-discriminatory methodologies so as to measure progress in the implementation of the National Action Plan to combat violence against women and of the Gender Equality Plan of Action,
4. To acknowledge the specific needs and barriers women encounter to fight violence, to access health services and in general to progress towards gender equality according to the region where they live, and to include measures in the next National Action Plan to combat violence against women and Gender Equality Plan of Action to address these differentiated needs and barriers.

ⁱ European Commission, 2010. Turkey 2010 Progress Report. (pages)
http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2010/package/tr_rapport_2010_en.pdf

ⁱⁱ Hurriyet Daily, 2011. Taking on the testosterone in Turkish media.
<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=media-responsible-for-spreading-patriarchal-culture-in-turkey-expert-says-2011-03-07>

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^{iv} European Commission, 2010. Turkey 2010 Progress Report.
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^{vi} Hacettepe University, 2009. National Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey. (pages?) http://www.ksgm.gov.tr/tdvaw/doc/Main_report.pdf

^{vii} DIHA, 2010. Police investigation dismisses prisoners' accusations of rape as sexual fantasies. <http://rojwomen.com/2010/11/22/police-investigation-dismisses-prisoners-accusations-of-rape-as-sexual-fantasies/> (Last accessed 2nd March 2011)

^{viii} Kurdish Human Rights Project, 2003. Trial Observation Report. Turkey's Shame: Sexual violence without redress – The plight of Kurdish women.

^{ix} Roj Women Assembly, 2010. NGO Shadow Report. For the review of the Turkish Government under the UN International Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.
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^x European Commission, 2010. Turkey 2010 Progress Report.
http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2010/package/tr_rapport_2010_en.pdf

^{xi} Leyla Coskum, 2010. Personal communication, General Directorate on the Status of Women.

^{xii} Tibor Varadi, 2010. Personal communication, Delegation of the European Union to Turkey.

^{xiii} Leyla Coskum, 2010. Personal communication, General Directorate on the Status of Women.

^{xiv} Kurdish Human Rights Project, 2010. Submission and list of issues to be taken up in connection with the consideration of Turkey's initial report concerning the rights covered by articles 1-15 of the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights.
http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cescr/docs/ngos/KurdishHRP_Turkey_44.pdf

^{xv} Several sources:

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^{xvi} European Commission, 2010. Turkey 2010 Progress Report. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2010/package/tr_rapport_2010_en.pdf

^{xvii} Kurdish Human Rights Project, 2010. Submission and list of issues to be taken up in connection with the consideration of Turkey's initial report concerning the rights covered by articles 1-15 of the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights.

http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cescr/docs/ngos/KurdishHRP_Turkey_44.pdf

^{xviii} Turkey's Initial Report on the Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (E/C.12/TUR/1). Paragraph 322.

^{xix} European Commission, 2010. Turkey 2010 Progress Report. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2010/package/tr_rapport_2010_en.pdf

^{xx} Turkey's Initial Report on the Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (E/C.12/TUR/1). Paragraph 106.

^{xxi} Radikal, 2011. Cinayet göz göre göre geldi. <http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalDetayV3&ArticleID=1039493&Date=11.02.2011&CategoryID=77> (last accessed 10th February 2011)

^{xxii} Son Haberler, 2011. Koruma verilmeyen kadın öldürüldü <http://www.sonhaberler.gen.tr/yasam/koruma-verilmeyen-kadin-olduruldu.htm> (last accessed 24th February 2011)

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