

PUBLIC POLICY ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN TURKEY: A PROCESS MODEL ANALYSIS*

TÜRKİYE'DE KADINA YÖNELİK ŞİDDETLE MÜCADELEDE KAMU POLİKASI: SÜREÇ MODEL ANALİZİ

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Abstract:

Public policy is an area where the relationship between the state and society can be seen concretely. Governments propose solutions to solve problems arising in every field. Public policy is also an activity in the face of any problem carried out by governments by doing nothing and staying silent as well as such activities. In the face of this problem, governments form public policies with legal regulations, decisions and actions. In this context, violence against women is a social problem that has been keeping up to date in Turkish public opinion. In this study, Turkey's policy of combating violence against women is investigated and policy analysis is performed from the stage of coming to the fore to the evaluation stage according to the process model, which is one of the policy analysis methods. The policy of combating violence against women is discussed under the headings of the definition of the problem and putting it on the agenda, formulation, enactment, implementation and evaluation and it is analyzed in this context.

Keywords: Public Policy, Violence Against Women, Process Analysis, Government.

Öz:

Kamu politikası devlet ile toplum arasındaki ilişkinin somut olarak görülebildiği bir alandır. Hükümetler, toplumsal sorunlar karşısında mevcut olan sorunları çözebilmek için çözüm önerileri geliştirirler. Kamu politikası, herhangi bir sorun karşısında hükümetin gerçekleştirdiği bu tür faaliyetlerin yanı sıra hiçbir şey yapmayı sessiz kalarak da gerçekleştirdiği faaliyettir. Bu sorun karşısında hükümetler yasalar, yönetmelikler, kararlar ve eylemlerle kamu politikası oluştururlar. Kadına yönelik şiddet son zamanlarda kamuoyunda güncelliğini koruyan toplumsal bir sorundur. Bu çalışmada Türkiye'nin izlediği kadına yönelik şiddetle mücadele politikası, politika analiz yöntemlerinden biri olan süreç modeline göre, gündeme geliş aşamasından değerlendirilme aşamasına kadar incelenmekte ve politika çözümlemesi yapılmaktadır. Kadına yönelik şiddetle mücadele politikası; sorunun tanımlanması ve gündeme geliş, formüle edilmiş, kanunlaştırma, uygulama ve değerlendirme başlıkları altında ele alınmakta ve bu kapsamda analize tabi tutulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kamu Politikası, Kadına Yönelik Şiddet, Süreç Analizi, Hükümet.

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INTRODUCTION

Violence is a fact that coexists with the history of humanity and continues its existence in both individual and social spheres. Violence can also be defined as behavior that causes both mental and physical pain. Violence against women (VAW), on the other hand, is the physical, sexual, economic and psychological actions of men to put pressure on women (Bachman, 1994; Krantz and Moreno, 2005; Moreno, 2005; Johnson et al, 2007; Altınay and Arat, 2007). Decisions are made by international organizations and conventions and conferences are held to solve the problem of VAW. While these activities are trying to raise international awareness on VAW, the existing problem is tried to be eliminated or minimized with public policies at the national level. VAW has increased in Turkey in recent years, the governments consider the problems brought about by this increase as a problem that needs to be taken precautions in social life and are creating public policy.

Perceiving VAW as a problem to be solved in the field of public policy started in 1990s in Turkey. There are legal regulations, practices, action plans and projects in Turkey within the scope of public policy regarding the problem of violence faced by women. The aim of this study is to analyse the public policies implemented in Turkey about combating VAW, which has been increasing and becoming a problem recently, within the scope of Process Model, one of the public policy analysis models. The population of the study consists of the studies and documents carried out within the scope of the VAW policy in Turkey.

The questions of the study are as follows:

- What policies are available for combating VAW in Turkey?
- Which actors have been effective in bringing the issue of combating VAW to the agenda in Turkey?
- What are the strongest factors that shape the process of creating a policy on combating VAW in Turkey?
- Which actor or actors are involved in the policy making process in combating VAW in Turkey?
- Was it influenced by the policies implemented in the world when creating a policy for combating VAW in Turkey? If influenced, are there any concrete outputs as a result of this?
- What are the outputs of the policies implemented within the scope of the policy about combating VAW in Turkey?

The study subjects analyzed within the framework of the process model in Turkey; anti-drug, domestic violence, foreign postgraduate scholarships Of Ministry Of Education and Higher Education Board, temporary village guards, deconstruction of the development agencies, internal security, health transformation program, public personnel policies, public personnel policies, farmlands policy, contracted teaching practice and youth policy (Akgül and Kaptı, 2010; Çalı, 2012; Kulaç and Çalhan, 2013; Arap and Erat, 2015; Tahtalıoğlu

and Özgür, 2016; Çolak, 2017; Memişoğlu,2018; Acar and Akman, 2019; Albayrak, 2019; Gürcüoğlu, 2019; Yaman, 2021). The issue of violence against women is one of the important problems in Turkey and has not been evaluated within the framework of this model. In this respect, it makes a theoretical contribution and its results are thought to be a guide to see the current situation and to produce new targets and policies.

1. PUBLIC POLICY

To understand what the concept of public policy means, first of all, it is necessary to know what the word ‘policy’ means. Policy is expressed as the decision taken by any institution, government, company or person or persons in charge of the family or the goal to be achieved (Akman, 2019: 5). Public policy consists of a series of decisions and actions for mobilizing, managing or directing the necessary resources by the state, governments and public bodies (Gül et al., 2018: 676). Even though the first thing that comes to mind, when it comes to public policy, is perceived as the goals or actions that governments plan to implement, the actions that the governments plan not to do can also be described in public policy (Dye, 2013: 3), although it refers to the plans, programs and strategies targeted and put into practice by all public institutions (Çalı, 2012: 4). The fact that the activities that governments choose not to do is also defined as a policy means that nothing else will be applied other than the existing methods that are currently being used to solve any problem (Keser and Özbek, 2018: 108).

The demands of both governments and citizens are met through public policy. While public policy ensures that governments reach a compromise by finding common ground between request and demand that sometimes conflict with each other at different points, it also fulfills the wishes and expectations of the citizens (Bulut et al, 2017: 25). Regarding meeting the requests and demands of the society, it is stated that many political actors are involved in the process of following which actors are involved in the solution of a problem that the government wants to solve, who chooses among the alternatives, who the choices affect and whether the choice has achieved the goal (Akıncı, 2018: 2133).

Some of the actors may be involved in the process only at the point of creating the policy, while others are involved in policy implementation or influencing due to their status. About actors of public policy in the literature, generally a dual distinction is made as national and international actors. The policies implemented at the national level can be determined by the national actors and the policies implemented at the international level by the international actors. The actors that determine public policy at the national level are formal and informal organizations. Based on this definition, especially the legislative, executive and judicial powers and autonomous public institutions and people working in these institutions, elected or appointed, can be considered as official actors (Eren, 2012: 273-274). Many participants such as informal actors, political parties, citizens, media, pressure groups, think tanks, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) can be added to official policy makers in the policy making process (Cahn, 1995: 203). Although it is stated that many actors play an active role in the policy making process in theory, the process does not work this way in non-democratic countries.

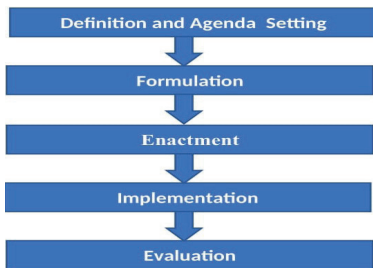
Due to their membership in international organizations or the global effects of these organizations, countries feel the need to take them into account when determining public policies and make the policies they determine in accordance with the expectations of these organizations. Especially for member states, policies should be established in accordance with the decisions and recommendations (Demirhan, 2016: 60). The European Union (EU), OECD and the United Nations (UN) are classic examples of this.

2. PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS AND PROCESS MODEL

Public policy analysis includes the analysis of all processes such as putting the designed policy into writing, its evaluation and revision, decision making and participation in decisions (Çalı, 2012: 4). Many researchers find the analysis process of public policy complicated due to the existence of many aspects, the dynamic factors affecting the process, and the complexity of the process. To make this complexity understandable, theoretical/conceptual models were put forward for simplifying and understanding the analysis of public policy with an emphasis on the necessity of a systematic approach (Usta, 2013: 85). These models include the institutional model, rational model, additive model, political group model, elitist model, public choice model, game theory model, system model, governance model, network governance model and process model. None of these models were derived specifically for studying public policy, but each offers a distinct way of thinking about policy and even suggests general causes and consequences of public policy (Dye, 2013: 15-16, Anderson, 2003: 109).

In this study, the functioning of the process model, which is one of these models, will be discussed. The idea of modeling public policy making in terms of stages was first introduced by Lasswell. Lasswell (1956) built the policy process as a model consisting of seven stages: information, introduction, formulation, initiation, implementation, termination, and evaluation. Since the policy making process is examined step by step, it is also defined as a stagist model. By including the actors in the review process, either policy is made or the existing policy is trying to be resolved (Babaoğlu, 2017: 526). The process model aims to understand what the characteristics of public policies as a public action or inaction are, and to examine why, where, when, by whom and how they were created and implemented at the time of, before, or after the implementation of public policy (Gül, 2015: 8).

Figure 1: Policy Process Model



Source: Adapted from Sabertier, 2007.

Although there are those who analyze the process model in the form of six or seven stages in the literature, the five-stage model was used in this study deemed suitable by James E. Anderson and Thomas R. Dye, who can be considered as the pioneers of public policy work. These stages can be expressed as defining the problem that leads to the implementation of any policy and creating an agenda (attracting the attention of policy makers), creating the necessary formulations for determining and selecting policy options after the problem is raised, enacting the created formulations, implementing the enacted policy, and evaluating the effectiveness of the policy at the last stage (Sabatier, 1999: 7; Dye, 2013: 17).

2.1. Defining and Bringing Public Policy to the agenda

In defining and bringing public policy problem to the agenda, which is the first stage of the process model, answers are sought to the questions such as ‘what is the policy problem, how does it come to the government agenda, are there really demands for the government to act?’ Social problem can be defined as the situation that causes social unrest or discontent. Although there are many social problems, the problems that put heavy pressure or demand on governments can be defined as public problems (Çevik and Demirci, 2008: 62- 63).

The problem defined as a public problem must be correctly defined. Because misidentification not only closes the communication doors with those affected by the policy, but also causes them to lack support. If a public problem turns into a public policy problem, it becomes a goal to be resolved by the relevant actors. However, defining a problem and putting it on the agenda to solve it depends on the policy makers’ approach to the issue (Eren, 2018: 271).

Governments and public institutions that are effective in policy making in each country generally raise issues that are of their interest (Kulaç and Çalhan, 2013: 211). No matter how public policy comes up, it definitely starts with a specific event that is considered problematic. This specific event should get out of one’s own private sphere and gain a social feature. For this, this event must have the potential to not only affect the person exposed to the event but also threaten a large part of the society (Demir, 2018: 22). After this possibility, they make various demands from the political system regarding issues or problems that are likely to be brought to the agenda by social groups that make up different segments of society. These demands can come from national actors as well as from international actors. If the political system does not ignore these demands, the social problem comes onto the political agenda (Newton and Deth, 2014: 319).

2.2. The Shaping of Public Policy (Formulation)

Once a problem is accepted as part of the agenda in the public policy-making process, the question to be asked is about what to do. The answer to the question of what the formulation of the policy in the process model is starts at this stage (Peters, 2019: 70). Policy formulation involves the development of appropriate and acceptable recommended action styles (often called as alternatives, proposals, or options) to deal with public issues. The answers are

sought to the questions such as what are the goals of the policy, who is involved in policy shaping, why and how was the policy adopted, is the proposal legally acceptable, can it gain the necessary support from legislatures or other public officials, and if the proposal becomes a law, is it acceptable to the public (Sabertier, 2005: 103-104)?

Once a problem is raised, official and unofficial actors are responsible for developing different options and solutions to solve the problem dealt with public policy. Planning legislative and regulatory studies for each alternative, calculating who each alternative will affect and how it will affect, and predicting when the effects will be seen are important elements of this process (Demir, 2018: 39-40).

2.3. Enactment of Policy

The unwritten processes, problems or needs that are raised and formulated in the previous two stages are put into writing at the enactment process (Çalı, 2012: 19). Public policy formulation is often based on formal regulation, but enactment process in all public policies may not be an emerging stage. To reach the enactment stage, one of the policy options must first enter the policy agenda of the government and the legislature. The agendas of the government and legislature are often predetermined. Laws, which are the main tool that governments will use in realizing their policies, are usually predicted in a number of documents. The issues on which the government will enact a law can be predicted thanks to government programs, international commitments, council decisions, development plans, election declarations of political parties, policy documents, stabilization programs (Biçer and Yılmaz, 2009: 56).

The enactment stage should not only be considered as a law-making mechanism, but also includes decisions, circulars, regulations, and principle decision of any authority for implementation (Akgül and Kaptı, 2010: 82). A number of factors are involved in this process, including judicial and executive powers, public institutions and other relevant groups (Erat and Özkaya, 2017: 268).

2.4. Implementation of Policy

The implementation stage plays a key role for policies that want to achieve certain goals. An understanding of how and why public policy is applied can be conceptualized under the heading of theory of practice, which is a scientifically starting point for the work of Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) (Schofield and Charlotte, 2004: 235). At this stage, answers are sought to the questions such as how and by which institutions public policy should be carried out and what the choices are in implementing public policy (Jann and Wegrich, 2007: 51-52). When looking at the answers to these questions, it is decided which one will provide the most public benefit through the alternative solution proposals for the problems passed by the relevant decision-making bodies of the government. In this decision process, the positive and negative sides of the policy should be analyzed carefully and a decision should be made as a result of this analysis (Akıncı, 2018: 2134).

Until today, while explaining the implementation stage of public policy studies, it has been viewed from different perspectives and theoretical perspectives on this process have been introduced. These perspectives, which reveal the changes in the implementation of policy goals within the public policy process, emerged as top-down implementation model that attaches great importance to the ability of decision makers to produce definite policy goals and to control the implementation phase in the 1980s, and as bottom-up implementation model which sees local bureaucrats as key actors in policy distribution and perceives implementation as negotiation processes in implementers networks; and with subsequent developments, as a hybrid theory model that tries to overcome the distinction between the other two approaches by combining elements of top-down, bottom-up models. The basis of the hybrid theory model is to consider the implementation stage from a holistic perspective. The policy process is expressed as not only focusing on the upper or lower segment, but also evaluating according to each actor's importance (Kaptı and Alaç, 2015: 230). In the table below, the working structures of the implementation models, Top-Down Implementation Model and Bottom-Up Implementation Model, and the democratic means of implementation stages are compared.

Table 1: Comparison of Top-Down and Bottom-Up implementation Models

	Top-Down implementation Model	Bottom-Up implementation Model
Research Method	Top Down; from political decisions to administrative implementation	From Bottom to Top; from individual bureaucrats to management network
Purpose of Investigation	Prediction/Policy suggestion	Definition / Description
Policy process Model	Incremental	Unifying
Nature of the Implementation Process	Hierarchical Guidance	Decentralized Problem Solving
Democracy Model	Elitist	Participatory

Source: Püzl and Treib, 2007: 94

2.5. Evaluation of the Policy

The evaluation stage following the implementation stage is also expressed as one of the important stages (Genç, 2018: 75). In the evaluation stage, the answers are sought to the questions such as how, when, where and by whom the applied public policy is implemented, to what extent it solves the relevant question, how much it achieves its goals, how much it reaches the target audience it wants to serve and how many problems of the target audience it has solved (Heywood, 2019: 531; Gül, 2015: 17).

The evaluation of policies provides a feedback loop and allows decision makers to learn from the experiences of actors, in other words (Newton and Deth, 2014: 324). After evaluating the progress, interventions are made to the troubled points, if any, and the objectives determined at the beginning are tried to be achieved. However, in case the desired success cannot be achieved despite the corrections made in the current policy, the current

policy can be abandoned and the process can be returned to the very beginning and a new policy can be determined (Akıncı, 2018: 2134).

3. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The concept of VAW was first defined in the UN Declaration on the Elimination of VAW in 1993. The declaration defines “VAW” as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life” (United Nations, 2020).

Even though VAW mostly includes physical violence, VAW is multifaceted. Therefore, it is not correct and enough to explain violence only with physical harm (Karal and Aydemir, 2012: 21). In this context, addressing VAW in sub-categories as physical, economic, psychological and sexual violence will help to understand the dimensions of the problem.

Physical violence is the use of a man’s physical strength or superiority as a means of violence to control, humiliate or punish women (Kadının İnsan Hakları Yeni Çözümler Derneği, 2020). Physical violence is carried out in a wide range including physical acts that cause injuries, disabilities or even death in women (Altıparmak, 2019: 61). On the other hand, economic violence is the regular use of financial resources, especially money, as a threat and control tool to deprive women of their economic freedom (Şenol and Yıldız, 2013: 11). Economic violence attracts attention as a type of violence involving two opposite behaviors. While forcing women to work in a job that they do not want and taking away the money they earn is expressed as a subheading of economic violence, restricting the economic freedom of women who can work or not allowing them to work constitute another important subheading of economic violence (Polat, 2017: 33).

Psychological violence is the use of emotional power or needs to control, humiliate and punish a woman (Keskin, 2012: 92). Psychological violence is often regarded as less important in daily life, since it does not involve an overt abuse on body like physical violence and sexual violence. However, it is an issue that should be considered with its destructive effects on women’s psychological health, its prevalence in the society and its facilitating effect on other forms of violence (Boyacıoğlu, 2015: 246). Sexual violence, on the other hand, is to force women to have sexual intercourse in any place and time or in any way that they do not want, to engage in sexual acts without the consent of the individual, to use sexuality as a means of threat, intimidation and control (Aile, Çalışma ve Sosyal Hizmetler Bakanlığı [AÇSHB], 2020). Before the 1970s, sexual violence was not considered as a crime, but as an insignificant issue. It was considered that women were to blame for sexual violence. Starting from the mid-1970s, these actions were ceased to be seen as the crime of women, contrary to the traditional view, and these actions started to be perceived as a crime against women (Gilroy and Carrol, 2009: 374).

Walby states that there are three basic theoretical approaches in the analysis of men's VAW: Liberalism, class analysis and radical feminism. Liberalism explains VAW as the psychological imbalance of the abnormal man, separating it from the social context. Class analysis theory is that men, who are seen as disadvantaged among the classes in society, inflict violence on women as a result of the effects of the conditions (such as unemployment and housing occur) they live in. Radical feminism theory explains VAW in terms of male power in patriarchal society. It considers violence as a tool used by men to suppress and control women (Walby, 1990: 130-134).

4. PROCESS MODEL ANALYSIS ON COMBATING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN TURKEY

If we have a look at the latest data of Turkey Statistical Institute (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, 2020) about violence about women in Turkey, the rate of urban women who are exposed to physical or sexual violence by their husbands is 40.3% and this rate is 13.5% in the last twelve months. This rate is 46.6% in rural areas and 14.1% in the last 12 months. Considering regional differences, the percentage of women subjected to violence in any period of their life is 35.2% in Western provinces, 44% in Southern provinces, 47.2% in Central Anatolian provinces, 43% in Northern provinces and 52.2% in Eastern provinces. The rate of women who have been subjected to psychological violence by their husbands in any period of their life is 43.9%, and the rate of women who are dismissed or prevented from working as a form of economic violence is 23.4%. In addition, in the report published in 2020 by the We Will Stop Femicide Platform, 471 women were killed in 2020, 474 women were killed in 2019. This number is 440 in 2018, 409 in 2017, 328 in 2016 and 303 in 2015 (Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız, 2020).

The perception of VAW in Turkey as a public policy is divided into two different periods. The first is the period in which VAW is thought to be an event within the family and combating violence within the family; the second period is the period when the concept of VAW and domestic violence began to diverge and included domestic violence (Yıldız and Yıldız, 2018: 27). At this stage of the study, Turkey's policy on combating VAW will be examined and its policy analysis will be done from the agenda stage to the evaluation stage according to process model which is one of the policy analysis methods.

4.1. Defining and Bringing Violence Against Women Problem to the agenda

To solve a problem related to society and to make it a goal, that problem must turn into a public policy problem. This first step, which is expressed as defining the problem and bringing it to the agenda, is important because it is the step that initiates public policy (Göçoğlu and Aydın, 2018: 219). When the issue of VAW is considered as a public policy issue, the reasons that will constitute a public policy problem are specified in the first article of the Istanbul Convention (IC). In the convention, "VAW is understood as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women, and this term refers to all acts

of gender-based violence that result in physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”

In addition to this text that reflects the general problem, when having a look at 6284 Law to Protect Family and Prevent VAW, the same issue is emphasized in terms of content and VAW is defined in law as “The gender-based discrimination directed against a woman just because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately and any attitude and behavior violating the human rights of women and defined as violence in this Law.”

The atmosphere that emerged at the end of the Second World War and the women’s movements in the last quarter of the twentieth century were effective in bringing the issue of VAW to the international agenda in the context of human rights (Şen, 2018: 144). EU harmonization process and women’s movements have played an active role in bringing VAW to the agenda of the government in Turkey. First, The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which was signed by the Turkish government on 11.06.1985 and started in 1979 under the leadership of the European Women’s Movement, can be expressed. This convention is like the constitution of women’s rights and it has been officially accepted that violence is not only a family problem, it must be stopped and the perpetrators must be punished. The states that signed this convention had to combat all kinds of discrimination against women and create opportunities for women to have the rights that men have (Gül et. al, 2018: 677). This situation has occurred as the reflection of the international policy on the national policy.

In Turkey in 1987, the divorce case of a woman who was subjected to physical violence by her husband was rejected by a judge in Çankırı province and the lawsuit for mental anguish initiated by women against the judge who dismissed the case has been the driving force of today’s movements to prevent VAW (Altınay and Arat, 2007: 17). The fact that women took to the streets and condemned the violence in protest against a judicial decision initiated by feminist organizations and legitimizing beating women started with ‘No Beating’ campaign. Following this process, women’s movements went on with campaigns “Our Body Is Ours-No to sexual harassment” and “Purple Needle Campaign” launched by Purple Roof Women’s Shelter Foundation to remove taboos around VAW and to make it perceived as a social and public problem (Gül et. al, 2018: 677).

The 1980s was a period when women’s movements campaigned, took to the streets and tried to make their voices heard. In the 1990s, women’s movements began to be institutionalized and VAW was constantly expressed and kept on the agenda throughout the 1990s. As a result of the deep analysis of the issue of violence by a special reporter appointed to the Human Rights Commission by the UN in 1995 in international field and the Beijing Declaration published at the conference held in Beijing in 1995, the issue of violence was stated to be a problem that governments should solve and should be included in the development plans of countries. These developments affected the internal

dynamics, and women's organizations searched for funds from abroad to combat violence and found the necessary funds. While women's organizations struggled against the state and its institutions during the 1980s, they started to cooperate with state institutions in the 1990s. The prominent women's organizations in this period were Purple Roof in Istanbul, Women's Solidarity Foundation in Ankara and a Women's Center in Diyarbakır. In addition to publicizing the concept of VAW, these institutions also drew attention to the issue of women's shelters (Arıkoğlu, 2016: 9).

The campaigns and institutions have three important goals. The first is to emphasize that this problem is not only a problem of women or women's organizations, and to remind the state, NGOs, media and individuals of their responsibilities by raising their awareness on this issue. The second is to put pressure on governments to take the issue of VAW seriously, and the third is to contribute to the perception of VAW as a problem that needs to be solved by the public and the state (Altınay and Arat, 2007: 31).

Since the early 1990s, NGOs defending women's rights have not been able to find a legal and political response, despite their efforts to create an agenda about VAW in the public opinion. In 1997, many questions were asked by members of the Committee about the lack of any legal arrangements in Turkey at the UN meeting and, after the questions and given instructions, the problem was brought to the public agenda (Karal and Aydemir, 2012: 92).

In this context, VAW, as a public policy, was brought to the agenda by the third Yılmaz Government (30.06.1997-11.01.1999) formed by Motherland, Democratic Left and Democrat Turkey Parties within the context of domestic violence. In the following periods, the fact that VAW is no longer an event within the family, but a social problem that concerns all women in the society, took place in the 58th Government Program. Arrangements will be made in the government program to implement the principles introduced by CEDAW. There are specific provisions such as prevention of violence, sexual and economic abuse against women and support and protection of women in need will be among our priority policies (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, 2020). As the quotation shows, the prevention of violence and sexual abuse against women was mentioned as one of the main priorities of the government in the 58th government program and a public policy agenda was created through the government program.

4.2. Formulation

Combating VAW is expressed as a technical issue that requires many institutions such as law enforcement, justice system, social services and hospitals to work together (Çelebi et al. 2014: 120). In the Peace section of Third World Conference on Women, Forward-Looking Strategies held in Nairobi on 15.07.1985, VAW was discussed, and it was requested to organize at national level to form country-level policies on women and to put these policies into practice. In this context, General Directorate of Women's Status (GDWS) was established as a branch of the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services (MFLSS) on 20.04.1990 in Turkey to enable women to benefit equally from all the rights

and opportunities in the economic, social, political and cultural fields and to get the status they deserve (Kamuda Stratejik Yönetim, 2020).

Until the 2000's, as well as the efforts of women's movement and organizations in shaping public policy (Women for Women's Human Rights-New Ways, Purple Roof, Women's Solidarity Foundation), in line with Turkey's objective to become a member of the EU, the EU's critical report on Turkey was also effective (Ündücü, 2016: 14). The fact that there were no special provisions regarding VAW within the marriage, but the implementation of general provisions in the reports and Turkey's CEDAW approval in 1985, the legislation that has not been harmonized with this convention and the existence of incompatible provisions regarding marriage rights and duties in civil law has been criticized (Avrupa Birliği, 2020). Until the 2000s, since women were considered together with the concept of family, not as a separate individual, the issue of VAW was also seen as a phenomenon that exists only within the family, therefore, public policies were formulated to end violence that women are exposed in the family.

On 28.12.2005, a research commission was established in Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT) to investigate the causes of custom and honor killings and VAW and children and to determine the measures to be taken. In this commission, problems in the services provided to women victims of violence were identified and recommendations for prevention and intervention were presented in the report prepared as a result. On 4.07.2006, the Prime Ministry Circular (No. 2006/17) on "Measures to be Taken to Prevent Custom and Honor Killings and Violence against Children and Women" was published. With the circular, recommendations on measures to be taken regarding VAW and custom and honor killings and those responsible for the implementation of these recommendations were determined (Tatlıoğlu, 2014: 118). In the context of the EU harmonization process in combating VAW, the opening of shelters as a part of local governments has been encouraged since 2005 to ensure that local public authorities take more responsibility and strengthen their intervention (Gül et al. 2015: 698).

On 24.03.2009, Women-Men Equal Opportunities Commission at the GNAT began to work quickly following the establishment and within the commission, sub-commissions were established for the "Examination of Practices for Preventing VAW." These commissions prepared their reports and sent them to the relevant persons and units. These reports played an important role in the implementation of equality of women and men and in creating solutions to violence. This clearly shows that the state is taking this problem seriously (Tatlıoğlu, 2014: 118). Thus, under the leadership of GDWS operating within the context of MFLSS, Women-Men Equal Opportunities Commission at the GNAT and Platform to End VAW consisting of 237 womens organizations were formed and included in the remodeling process of the public policy issue. In this process, public policy was formulated by taking the suggestions of women's problems application and research Center, scientific circles and feminist lawyers (Öztürk, 2017: 5).

Its formulation may sometimes be in the form of a draft law, or sometimes it manifests itself as a new formation and the need for a new structuring. The issue of VAW on the other hand, gained a legal basis with the adoption of The Law No. 6284 on 8.03.2012.

4.3. Enactment

The last stage of the policies before implementation is the enactment stage. The basis of the policy of combating VAW was The Family Protection Law No. 4320 enacted on 17.01.1998. This law came into force in Austria in 1997 and in Germany in 2002 with the same name (Moroglu, 2016: 368). Although it was mainly designed to protect women from violence, it was enacted as the “Family Protection Law.” Despite the amendments made in 2007 to Law No. 4320, which has been voiced by women’s organizations for years, that protects only officially married women and exclude women who are not married or who have only had religious marriage, the current problem could not be solved, and it was started to act with zero tolerance against violence with the enactment of Law No. 6284 (Çelebi et al. 2014: 119).

The Law No. 6284 is based on the IC to a great extent. The law, approved by the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers on 7.04.2011 in Strasbourg, was opened for signature in Istanbul on 11.05.2011 under the name “Convention on preventing and combating VAW and domestic violence.” Turkey was the first country to sign this convention. The Convention was adopted on 24.11.2011 by Turkey and came into force on 8.03.2012. Since it was signed in Istanbul, it has been called the IC (Canikoğlu, 2015: 365).

The Convention sees VAW as a human rights violation and gender inequality problem on the international platform and highlights policies to empower women. The convention provides for the regulation and punishment of cases such as circumcision of women, forced marriage, harassment, forced abortion, forced labor, forced sterilization as a crime. This brings the obligation of states to include these serious crimes in the legal system for the first time, and the implementation of holistic policies against prevention, protection, trial and VAW is demanded at the state level (Şen, 2018: 142-143). Turkey ceased to be a party to the Istanbul Convention with the Presidential Decree in 2021.

The Law No. 6284, enacted within the scope of the IC, essentially includes the protection measures regulated in Law No. 4320. However, the new law has been regulated more comprehensively in terms of both the scope of victims of violence and prevention of violence, giving protection orders and ensuring coordination between institutions (Moroglu, 2016: 375). Unlike Law No. 4320, it does not seek marriage-based partnership in preventing violence, but protects women because they are women. In addition, when violence was used, it enabled the necessary measures to be taken immediately without seeking evidence and documents; if the perpetrator violated the cautionary decision, a forced imprisonment was imposed immediately, thus preventing years of criminal trials. The concept of stalking has also been included in the law (Sevil et al. 2015: 613). To prevent VAW and to ensure inter-institutional coordination and establish institutional structures in combating violence,

opening of Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centers (VPMC) is included in the law as a legal obligation and, with this, inter-institutional coordination and training is envisaged. It is foreseen to include training-oriented courses on women's human rights and gender equality in the curriculum of primary and secondary education (Şen, 2018: 143).

When it comes to action plans that direct the implementation of policies as well as laws, the issue of VAW was brought to the agenda in 2007 in the national action plans published by the GDWS. Domestic VAW National Action Plan issued after this date covers the dates 2007 and 2010, and handles the issue of violence as a discursive topic of discussion. Following this, the action plan covering the period of 2012-2015 was issued as the National Action Plan on Combating VAW. The concept of family mentioned in the name of the previous action plan has been removed from the name of this action plan, and the issue of violence has been abandoned as a problem specific to the family. The primary purpose of this action plan is to eliminate all kinds of VAW and to ensure that all relevant parties work in harmony (Yıldız and Yıldız, 2016: 27).

The Action Plan on Combating VAW (2016-2020) prepared by considering social needs and developments, was approved and came into force on 23.12.2016. As a part of the effective implementation of the action plan, the coordination and monitoring process is carried out by the GDWS. In addition, Provincial Action Plans on Combating VAW were prepared to implement the 3rd National Action Plan more effectively in 81 provinces. It is aimed to "make improvements in five main areas: Legislative regulations, raising awareness and mentality transformation, protective and preventive service provision and empowerment of victims of violence, regulation and implementation of health services, cooperation between institutions and policy development" (AÇSHB, 2020). World women's conferences, international conventions such as the CEDAW and the IC also have an impact on the action plans prepared.

In the Presidential Annual Program prepared in 2020, it was stated that the studies on equal opportunities and strengthening the social position of women, expanding the economic, social and cultural activity areas, ensuring their participation in the development process, business life and decision-making mechanisms and preventing VAW are continuing (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2020).

4.4. Implementation

Many ministries given responsibility for the implementation of policies in combating VAW in Turkey have started to work actively. MFLSS, the Ministry of Justice (MJ), the Ministry of Interior (MI), the Ministry of Health (MH) and the Directorate of Religious Affairs (DRA) play a role at the implementation point.

As the MFLSS, first Reception Units, VPMC was established within the scope of the Law No. 6284 and action plans, and within the scope of policies implemented by the ministry and women's shelters were opened for victims of violence and their children. First reception

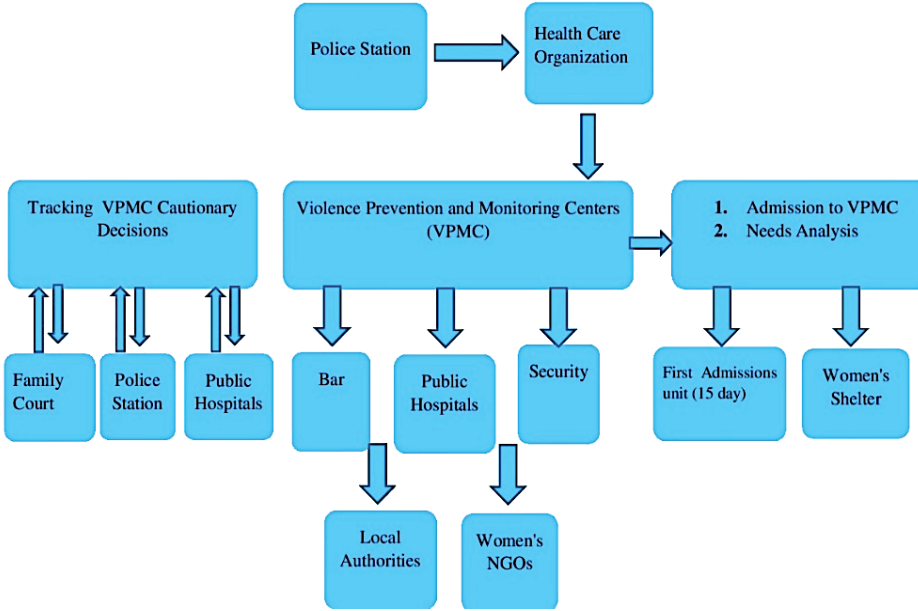
units are units where women victims of violence in need of shelter stay for up to two weeks. During this period, observations are made about their psycho-social and economic status (Resmî Gazete, 2020).

It can be thought that the VPMC has a function like intermediate stations where women who need to leave the environment of violence urgently and find shelter can stay and receive help before being placed in a shelter. In the VPMC, a data bank is created by collecting data on protective and preventive cautionary decisions and imprisonment of coercion. The center also has the function of issuing an identity card to a woman who does not have an identity card or who has not been able to take her identity card with her because she has to escape from the violence environment urgently (Çelebi et al, 2014: 122). VPMC provides services in all provinces of Turkey as of January 2020.

Women's guesthouses provide support for protecting women subjected to violence, strengthening their economic situation, and solving their economic and psychological problems. During this period, the accommodation and other needs of the woman and her child, if any, are met. In women's shelters, there is collaboration with bar for legal support services as well as psychosocial and social support services; and with Public Education Centers affiliated to National Education Directorates and Provincial Directorate of Labour and Employment Agency for job and vocational support (AÇSHB, 2020).

In addition to these, the MFLSS provides information about the rights and application mechanisms for individuals who have been involved in cases related to abuse of women and who have been subjected to violence or are in danger of being subjected to violence through ALO 183 social support line for Family, Women, Children and Disable, 7 days 24 hours. In this context, both legal support and financial and psychological assistance are provided to the victims to return their lives to their normal course (Kamu Denetçiliği Kurumu, 2020).

Many projects are carried out by the GDWS. Combating Violence Project, Empowering Women Subjected to Violence, Project of Women's Shelters for Combating Violence, Women's Shelters Technical Support Projects for Combating Violence can be listed among these projects (AÇSHB, 2020). When a woman subjected to violence within the scope of Law No. 6284 applies to police forces, the Public Prosecutor is informed for a judicial investigation. Afterwards, a woman who has been subjected to violence consults a doctor to understand the type of violence and the degree of violence and if she has been subjected to sexual violence, VPMC is called. The victim of violence is informed that the VPMC will provide legal, economic and psychological support. Then, within the police organization, the registration form regarding VAW is filled in and the risk level of the woman is determined, and the results of this form are sent to both the courthouse and the relevant VPMC, and protective and preventive measures are taken after the risk level is determined.

Figure 2: Application Process and Follow-up of Women Victims of Violence

Source: Gül et al., 2018: 692.

Local authorities can decide on the issues such as providing a suitable accommodation for women, temporary financial assistance, social, legal and professional support, a suitable accommodation and kindergarten opportunity for the child, and the cautionary decision if there is a dangerous situation regarding life safety. Victims of violence can also apply to governorates and district governorships where they are present and request protective cautionary decisions. The role of law enforcement officers in preventing violence and taking the necessary measures is very important. Police or gendarmerie are among the first institutions that women subjected to violence apply to (Türkiye Sağlık Enstitüleri Başkanlığı [TÜSEB], 2020).

To improve the services carried out by the police regarding VAW and to ensure coordination among institutions, the “Bureau of Combating VAW and Domestic Violence” was established under General Directorate of Security, Public Security Branch Office in 81 provinces on 11.11.2015 (AÇSHB, 2020). Women and Children Sections were established in 2019 in 81 Provincial Gendarmerie Commands within the scope of Law No. 6284 and 14,500 personnel received training on the problems and on how to implement best practice (Yıldız and Yıldız, 2016: 56).

Within the scope of Electronic Support System for the Protection of Victims of Violence, Panic Button or Woman Support application has been launched on smartphones. Women who are exposed to violence or who are likely to be exposed to violence can access the Women Emergency Assistance Notification System with the application they download to their phone. While the application is set up, by entering the citizenship identification number, Police Emergency Call Center can be reached with a single button entering the

application with the activation code from the servers of the General Directorate of Security, turning on the device location information in case of emergency, and the incident can be intervened as soon as possible by dispatching the nearest police team to the scene where the call for help is made (İçişleri Bakanlığı, 2020).

Women subjected to violence are directed to the judicial institutions affiliated with the MJ to benefit from their legal rights. Among the judicial institutions, especially the Office of the Chief Public Prosecutor, Family Courts and Forensic Medicine Institution are mentioned as institutions that work effectively in combating violence (Altunok et al. 2012: 30). Under Law No. 6284, a woman who has been subjected to violence can directly apply to the Public Prosecutor. In addition, “Domestic Violence Crimes Investigation Offices” have started to be established within the prosecution offices, especially in metropolitan cities. The duties of these offices include following up and finalizing the investigations of crimes against violence, carrying out work and transactions within the scope of Law No. 6284 and monitoring the effective implementation of protective-preventive cautionary decisions (Yıldız and Yıldız, 2016: 54).

In law, electronic handcuffs application was initiated to prevent the perpetrator from approaching the victim of violence in line with the decision of the courts within the scope of “Pilot Implementation Cooperation Protocol for Using Surveillance Technologies in Combating VAW” signed by MFLSS, MJ and MI, the first on 08.03.2015 and the second on 19.04.2016, to put into action surveillance technologies. The application, which started as a pilot study in Ankara and Izmir in 2013, is currently being implemented in fifteen provinces, including “Ankara, Antalya, Bursa, Istanbul, Izmir, Gaziantep, Adana, Aydın, Eskişehir, Denizli, Malatya, Mersin, Samsun, Sakarya and Trabzon” (Adalet Bakanlığı, 2020).

Apart from family law, there are training activities for both public prosecutors and family court judges, or for those who take care of this issue as a family court. For two or three weeks, judge candidates, judges or prosecutors receive training on violence through in-service training courses (Yıldız and Yıldız, 2016: 48). Within the context of Matra Project¹ titled “Protection of Women from Violence” conducted by MJ General Directorate of the EU and Turkey Justice Academy and accepted by Netherlands, study visits are organized to various EU member countries and various workshops and regional seminars are held in Turkey (Altunok et al, 2012: 33).

Within the scope of the 2016-2020 action plan of the MH, services are provided in relation to VAW in the central organization of the MH to ensure the regulation and implementation of health services for women and their children who have been subjected to violence, and for perpetrators of violence or potential perpetrators of violence. During the

¹ Matra Project is actively implemented in Turkey since 2000. Its general purpose is to support social change, especially in EU candidate countries, potential candidate countries to the EU, and countries where the EU applies a neighborhood policy. In this direction, the program focuses on project-based activities that will ensure the development of a pluralistic and democratic society and the results of the implementation of EU legislation.

period when victims of violence come to hospitals, especially victims of sexual violence are supported by experts in health centers, anger management and recovery programs are also implemented against those who perpetrate violence (TÜSEB, 2020).

Some of the activities carried out by the DRA are considered within the scope of preventive studies. It is aimed to raise awareness about violence by the society within the scope of ensuring the mentality transformation, which is one of the main objectives in the action plans. In this context, the DRA organizes seminars and meetings under the titles of ‘Control of Anger and Violence, History of Women’s Rights in the Islamic Tradition, Gender Equality and CEDAW Convention within the scope of the Project to Stop Discrimination and VAW for ensuring the mentality transformation (Yıldız and Yıldız, 2016: 58). Although the act of violence is generally considered as an unconscious behavior in the seminars and meetings given by the Presidency of Religious Affairs, the existence of conscious acts should not be ignored. Actions must be taken to eliminate conscious actions.

4.5. Evaluation

The last stage of the Public Policy process model is the evaluation of the implemented policy. Over the years, efforts have been made to make updates to the VAW policy and to make it in line with the desired goals. When the policies about VAW are evaluated, it is seen that ministries and policy makers generally carry out their activities in accordance with the laws and action plans.

In order for a policy to be implemented in line with the determined goals, it must be supported by the top management. The fact that the government and policy makers attach importance to combating VAW and see it as an important problem to be solved plays a positive role in the implementation of the policy in line with the goals and objectives. The increase in the number of participants in the training on combating VAW given by the ministries, the increase in the number of people reached by the institutions in awareness-raising trainings, the increase in the number of VPMC and women’s shelters and the quality of their services can be shown as evidence for this.

In Law No. 6284, it is stated that the support and services to be provided will be shaped within the scope of national and international legislation, and that it will be effective and fast in support and services especially for victims. Inter-institutional coordination and training are envisaged in a multi-actor solution. In addition, it is aimed to include protective and preventive decisions in law, to provide temporary financial aid, to include lessons on women’s human rights and gender equality in primary and secondary education curriculum, and to establish VPMC (Çalı, 2012: 20). It is seen that these goals are generally fulfilled. The fact that those who are subjected to all kinds of violence in VPMC and women’s shelters, initially opened by the MFLSS as a pilot application in 14 provinces and later expanded to 81 provinces, and victims of physical, sexual and psychological violence stay in the same place creates a problem in the effectiveness of the presentation of service and prevents the provision of services suitable for specific needs (Gül et al, 2015: 701; Yıkıcı and Salman, 2022).

When considered within the scope of preventive and protective policies, it is seen that there are more general expressions in preventive policies, while concrete data can be reached in quantitative terms. According to the data announced by the MFLSS within the scope of Law No. 6284, the number of women who were given protective measures between 2012 and 2016 was 100.69.953, while it was 70.453 between 2016 and 2020. While protection orders were issued for 31.038 women in 2012, the number of women who took protection orders in one year in 2018 was 83.987 (AÇSHB, 2020). It was emphasized that as a result of the identity change with the court decision, women who had a new identity could not be found again by the person who used violence. This is an indication that women who want to be protected from violence have to get the highest level of protection (Şen, 2018: 149).

In the implementation of the policy of combating VAW, booklets and brochures are prepared to raise public awareness, the media are actively used and the level of knowledge and interest of the public is tried to be increased through public spots. In the booklets and brochures, information is given about which behaviors will be considered as violence, and it is clearly stated what to do when there is a risk of such behavior and what to do when exposed.

It is important to take the necessary measures in the Law No. 6284 and in the IC applied in the field of law to prevent violence, but it is not sufficient alone. In addition to these, the institutional structures established to take effective steps in combating VAW do not provide services alone; and ensuring coordination between institutions, acting within the framework of institutional cooperation and increasing the projects and applications related to this will contribute to the solution of the problem, so it is thought that such activities should be increased. Electronic handcuffs, which is one of such practices, tries to prevent the use of violence by maintaining the distance between the perpetrator and woman. It was stated that 8 thousand women were rescued from a possible danger with the Women Support Application, which started to be implemented on 24.03.2018.

Public Policy On Violence Against Women Process Model Analysis	
Definition and Agenda Setting	The problem of VAW in Turkey; the gender-based discrimination directed against a woman just because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately and any attitude and behavior violating the human rights of women and defined as violence. The EU harmonization process and women's movements played an active role in bringing the policy of combating VAW to the agenda.
Formulation	Politics of combating VAW in Turkey, women's movement and organizations (Women for Women's Human Rights-New Ways, Purple Roof, Women's Solidarity Foundation), MFLSS, EU, women's research and application centers, scientific circles and feminist lawyers and by political parties.
Enactment	The policy of combating VAW in Turkey is in the form of laws enacted by the GNAT (Law No. 4320 on 17.01.1998 and Law No. 6284 dated 08.03.2012, which entered into force after this law was repealed) and National Action Plans.
Implementation	The policy of combating VAW in Turkey is implemented through institutions such as the MFLSS, MJ, MI, MH and DRA.
Evaluation	When the policies to combat VAW are evaluated, it is seen that ministries and policy makers generally carry out their activities in accordance with the laws and action plans. However, despite these political efforts in Turkey, the problem of VAW does not end.

CONCLUSION

In this study, the policy of combating VAW in Turkey was resolved through process analysis model which is one of the models for policy analysis. Although the process model analysis was divided and analyzed into six or seven stages in the past, in this study, it is analyzed in five stages, including the definition of the problem and its coming onto the agenda, its formulation, the enactment of the formulated policy, the implementation of the enacted policy, and finally the evaluation of the implemented policy.

The policy of combating VAW in Turkey has come to the fore due to various reasons and needs. It is thought that the role of the EU, one of the international actors, is very important in bringing it to the policy agenda, despite the serious efforts of NGOs defending women's rights to bring it to the agenda.

After moving to the policy agenda, especially the legislature, the executive body, NGOs and feminist lawyers have been effective in formulating the policy. In the formulation phase of the policy of combating VAW, studies have been carried out to end VAW within the family until the 2000s, and policies have been formulated to see and reduce and prevent violence as a family problem. After the 2000s, the problem of VAW has been removed from being a problem within the family and accepted as VAW by any individual, and efforts have been made to eliminate it. Although the concept of woman has been considered separately from the concept of family since the 2000s, the institution that still plays an active role in the issue of women is the Ministry of Family and Social Services, which mainly operates in family-related issues.

The third stage of the process model analysis is the enactment stage. The formulated public policy is enacted by the legislature. The basis of the policy of combating VAW was Law No. 4320 enacted on 17.01.1998. Although this law, which was prepared only to protect married women from violence, was changed in 2007, it was deemed incomplete in solving the current problem and the Law No. 6284 was adopted on 8.03.2012. This law is largely based on the IC. Although the Law No. 6284 is not exactly the same with the IC in terms of taking preventive and protective measures to prevent VAW, it bears similarities. However, there is no regulation regarding the relation of violence with gender inequality. In addition to laws, action plans that direct public policy have been made.

The fourth stage of the process model analysis is the implementation stage. The issue of combating VAW, on the other hand, was evaluated according to the hybrid implementation model, and the activities of the relevant ministries and institutions were mentioned.

The last stage of the process model analysis is the evaluation stage. The limited studies on the analysis of combating violence policies against women in Turkey, the lack of a specific standard in studies measuring the issue of VAW and the fact that these studies are not repeated regularly make it difficult to determine to what extent the the implemented policy achieves the goals. In addition, it is another problem that the policies implemented are in the form of projects covering several years rather than long-term strategies to overcome

the problem, and generally the policies are aimed at protecting women who are exposed to violence, and they are limited in discouraging the perpetrator from this action.

When the policy of combating VAW is evaluated, it is necessary to increase the projects for cooperation between institutions, to create social awareness and to transform the mentality, to include the citizens as well as the personnel in institutions in this mentality transformation, to increase the applications with electronic support system and, it is thought that providing rehabilitation and support services will be beneficial to prevent VAW in the family.

When the policy of combating VAW is evaluated, it is necessary to increase the projects for cooperation between institutions. Local government units in the city can also be included in these institutions. It is important that the cities where women actively carry out their vital activities are reliable. To increase the number of visitors living in cities, Germany's Wiesbaden Municipality Women's Office was established. The Women's Department has made significant progress in preventing violence, thanks to its interdisciplinary studies and cooperation with the police department (Şenol, 2008). It is also important to increase electronically supported applications in cooperation between institutions. In this context, with the joint initiatives of the metropolitan municipality, the transportation unit and the police in London, England, the Know What You're Getting Into? campaign was launched. Women were made aware of the potential risks and dangers of using unauthorized/illegal minibuses and taxis. Thanks to the awareness created, the number of women who want to get on the said vehicles is approximately 80%; the number of physical and sexual violence incidents occurring in these vehicles decreased by 50%. (Safer Travel, 2009). It is thought that it would be beneficial to have similar policies for inter-institutional cooperation in 81 cities in Turkey. In addition to the policies for inter-institutional cooperation, it is thought that it will be beneficial to create social awareness and transform the mentality, and this mentality transformation includes the citizens as well as their own personnel in the process. In addition, it is thought that it would be beneficial to provide rehabilitation and support services to prevent violence against women in family health centers.

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