





# Implementation of Law No. 6284 in Combating Violence Against Women: A Monitoring Report



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# **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

Executive Summary	5
1. Introduction	6
1.1 Purpose and Scope of the Report	7
1.2 The Significance of Law No. 6284 in the Context of Gender Equality	7
2. Theoretical and Legal Framework	9
2.1. United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)	
2.2. The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention)	12
2.3 The Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye	13
2.4 The Turkish Penal Code	14
2.5 Law No. 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence Agains Women	
3. Monitoring Methodology and Data Sources	16
3.1 Monitoring Tools and Criteria	17
3.2 Gender-Sensitive Approach	17
4. Monitoring Findings on Decisions Issued Under Law No. 6284	18
4.1 Duration and Nature of Protection Orders	24
4.2 Violations of Protection Orders	27
4.3 Interim (Temporary) Financial Support Orders and Allocation of Housing	28
4.4 Confidentiality	28
4.5 Electronic Ankle Bracelets and Technical Monitoring	29
4.6 Temporary Protection	30
4.7 Request for Workplace Change	31
5. Access to Protection Orders and Challenges in Implementation	32
5.1 Law Enforcement Practices	33
5.2 Judicial Mechanisms	34
5.3 Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centers (ŞÖNİM)	36
5.4 Shelters, Financial Assistance, and Legal Support Services	37
6. Conclusion and Recommendations	
7. Appendices	42
8 References	50

### **Executive Summary**

Since 1993, the **Foundation for Women's Solidarity** (Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı) has been working to combat violence against women and the gender inequality that underlies it. At our women's counseling center, we provide free social, psychological, and legal support to women subjected to violence, while building feminist solidarity. We organise awareness-raising workshops and trainings for different groups and professionals, monitor the implementation of national mechanisms and international conventions, and publish reports. By making women's experiences visible, we advocate for strong and effective policies to combat violence.

This report was prepared under the project "Law No. 6284 and Gender Equality: Establishing Monitoring Mechanisms", supported by the Association for Monitoring Gender Equality. The project aims to strengthen monitoring capacity for the effective implementation of Law No. 6284 in preventing violence against women. To this end, we first developed monitoring indicators and designed a questionnaire. Starting in February 2025, we collected data through three channels: case files of women who applied to our women's counseling center, case files followed by our volunteer lawyers, and case files of lawyers reached in Ankara through the snowball sampling. In total, we examined 203 case files—190 from Ankara and the rest from other provinces. The information was recorded in questionnaire forms with the consent of the individuals concerned and in full compliance with confidentiality principles.

The report analyses this data, examines responses to our information requests, and includes findings drawn from women's experiences at our counseling center. Our aim is not only to present statistics but also to highlight the barriers to implementing Law No. 6284 and to offer feminist policy recommendations.

The 203 files reviewed reveal significant gaps in the enforcement of Law No. 6284. Protection orders are often not implemented promptly or fully, with violations particularly common in relation to restraining orders and bans on communication. In some cases, women were discouraged from applying, the process was unnecessarily prolonged, or requests were rejected without justification. Technological measures such as electronic ankle bracelets were used only in a limited number of cases and often without effective monitoring.

Our findings also show that women face difficulties in accessing accurate information, communicating with law enforcement, and reaching legal support mechanisms. The inadequacy of monitoring and follow-up mechanisms after applications is one of the key factors putting women's safety at risk. For Law No. 6284 to be effectively implemented, coordination between law enforcement, the judiciary, and support services must be strengthened; obstructive or judgmental attitudes towards women seeking protection must be eliminated; and swift, deterrent sanctions must be applied when protection orders are violated.

5 Executive Summary



## Introduction

## 1.1 Purpose and Scope of the Report

This report aims to monitor the implementation and impact of Law No. 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence Against Women (Law No. 6284) from a gender equality perspective. Violence against women is not only an individual problem but also a structural and social phenomenon. Accordingly, legal measures to prevent violence must go beyond individual support mechanisms for women and reflect the state's broader responsibility to ensure gender equality.

The main objective of this report is to analyse how the Law functions in practice; to what extent protective and preventive orders are effective; and how systemic shortcomings in implementation affect women's access to justice. It also seeks to develop alternative policy recommendations, drawing on feminist legal theory and gender-sensitive approaches to public policy.

# 1.2 The Significance of Law No. 6284 in the Context of Gender Equality

**Law No. 6284** is one of Türkiye's most comprehensive legal tools for addressing gender-based violence. Its strength lies in framing violence not simply as an individual offence or private matter, but as a systemic violation of women's human rights that sustains gender inequality. This perspective makes the Law more than a collection of protective measures—it positions it as a tool for structural change grounded in gender equality.

The Law protects fundamental rights such as life, bodily and mental integrity, and decision-making autonomy. It does so with a holistic approach that empowers women, rather than treating them in isolation. It also establishes the responsibility of the state—through all its institutions—to provide effective, accessible, and restorative services for women subjected to violence.

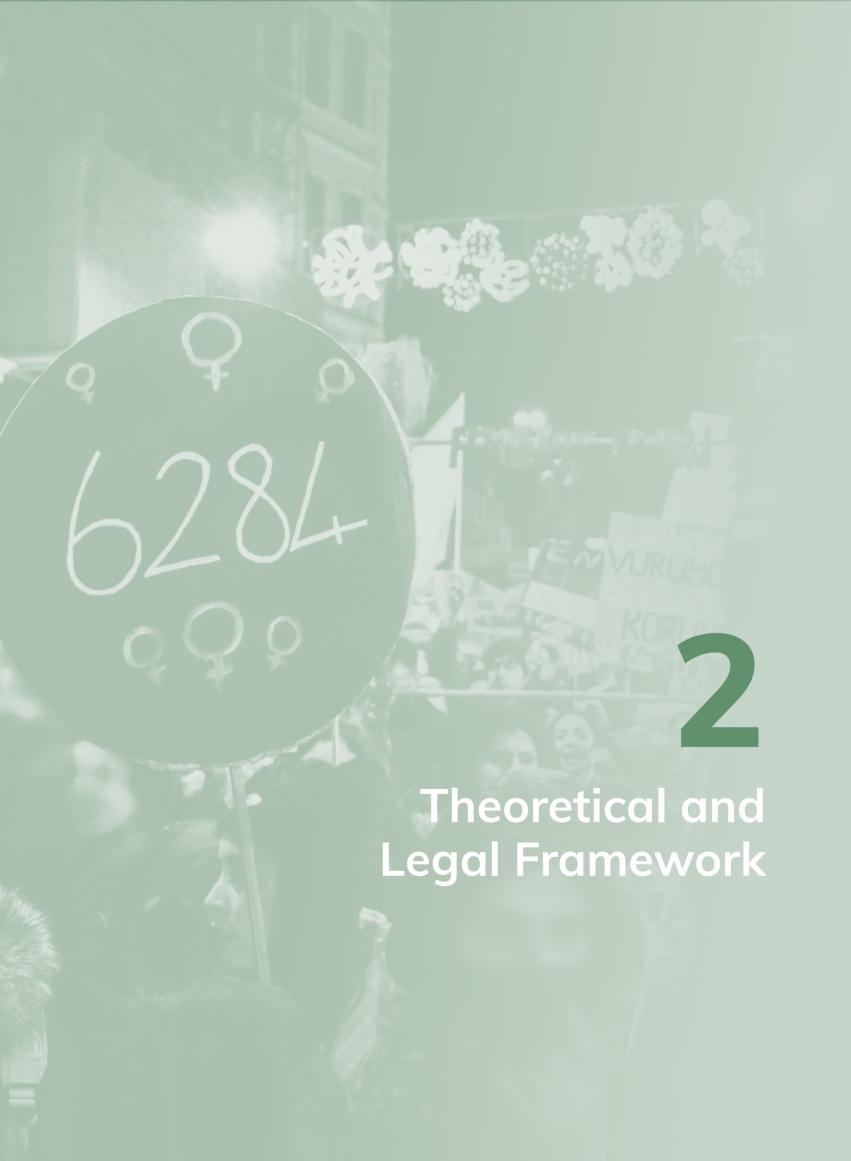
The Law clearly set out the state's positive obligations. These extend beyond punitive measures to include preventing violence, reducing risks, and ensuring women's access to social, economic, and legal support services. Read together with Articles 10 and 90 of the Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, these obligations gain binding force under international human rights law. Instruments such as CEDAW and the Istanbul Convention make clear that the state is expected not only to provide protection through the judiciary but also to mobilise social policy tools from a gender equality perspective.

However, practice shows that these obligations are not always applied with an egalitarian approach. Women's access to justice is often obstructed by systemic barriers, including insufficient service capacity, gender-blind attitudes among public officials, and the complexity of application procedures. Family court practices in particular demonstrate that judges may issue decisions overlooking the persistence of violence, fail to adequately consider women's demands, or issue preventive orders as routine measures without proper risk assessment.

Likewise, Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centers (Şiddet Önleme ve İzleme Merkezi - ŞÖNİM), shelters, financial aid, and legal support mechanisms are not always organised with an equality perspective, making it difficult for women to exercise their rights in practice. Problems such as varying levels of expertise among ŞÖNİM staff, superficial risk analyses, and inconsistent record-keeping limit the effectiveness of these institutions, undermining the spirit of the Law. Limited shelter capacity can result in violations of the right to housing, particularly for women with children; while financial aid and social support, often managed with inadequate budgets, are insufficient to enable women to build independent lives.

These shortcomings show that it is not only the existence of Law No. 6284 but also its implementation that determines progress towards gender equality. The way in which the Law is enforced is therefore a key indicator of whether public policies align with the principle of gender equality. Essential steps include ensuring regular, mandatory gender equality training for public officials, making implementation data publicly available in a transparent manner, designing services that respond to women's diverse needs, and guaranteeing women's organisations a role in policy-making processes.

In conclusion, Law No. 6284 is not simply a protection mechanism but also a human rights instrument requiring the institutionalisation of public policies on gender equality. Any delay, arbitrariness, or gender blindness in its implementation not only creates individual grievances but also risks turning justice mechanisms into structures that reproduce inequality. Effective, inclusive, and equality-based implementation requires reinforcing Law No. 6284 in practice, ensuring women's access to justice on a rights-based foundation, and restructuring support services through policies that prioritise gender equality.



## Theoretical and Legal Framework

Gender-based violence occurs when a person is subjected to violence solely because of their sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity. It can affect anyone who does not conform to socially imposed roles and norms. Violence against women—encompassing physical, psychological, economic, and sexual forms of violence to which women are systematically subjected because of their gender—is rooted in gender inequality. Sustained by institutions that reproduce patriarchal norms, it violates women's right to life, liberty, and dignity (Butler, 1990; Yılmaz, 2020). Legal frameworks should not only provide normative protection against such inequality, but also generate effective, accessible, and sustainable forms of intervention in practice. From this perspective, Law No. 6284 should be regarded not only as a "crisis intervention" tool but also as an equality policy that seeks social transformation.

Gender equality means that all individuals enjoy the same rights and opportunities regardless of sex. While Law No. 6284 seeks to guarantee this equality, it also envisages a set of protective and preventive orders to support women subjected to violence. This section will examine the legal foundations of the Law, its place in domestic legislation, and its relationship with international conventions (such as CEDAW and the Istanbul Convention) to which Türkiye is a party.

Although the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, adopted in 1948, established the principle that everyone, without distinction of sex, is entitled to fundamental rights and freedoms, in practice this equality was not effectively achieved. The persistence of gender-based discrimination made it necessary to adopt specific instruments addressing violence against women. Over time, the women's movement gained momentum, resulting in political and legal developments and concrete regulations targeting violence against women.

The recognition of gender-based violence in international instruments accelerated with the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, which enshrined human rights as universal and emphasised fundamental principles such as the right to life and the prohibition of discrimination. The first milestone was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, which proclaimed the equal rights of all people regardless of sex and paved the way for legal debates on discrimination against women. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 reinforced this recognition, identifying gender-based violence as a human rights violation through provisions on the right to life, security, freedom from torture, and the ban on discrimination.

At the Council of Europe level, the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) constitutes an important foundation for combating gender-based violence. Article 14 of the Convention explicitly prohibits sex-based discrimination and allows the denial of state protection on the grounds of gender discrimination to be considered a violation. In addition, Protocol No. 12 broadens the prohibition of discrimination beyond the rights guaranteed under the Convention, extending it to any right or freedom, thereby encompassing gender-based discrimination. These documents enabled gender-based violence to be recognised not only as an individual crime but also as a human rights issue engaging states' positive obligations, and they have inspired national legislation in this area.

The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, held in Copenhagen in 1980, brought to light the inequalities in women's access to education, employment, and health services, as well as the violence and discrimination underpinning these inequalities. The Conference called on states to ensure de facto equality in these areas.

One of the most important milestones was the **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)**. Adopted by the United Nations in 1979, CEDAW defines women's rights as an integral part of human rights and obliges states parties to eliminate discrimination against women in all spheres. CEDAW is a pioneering document in that it goes beyond legal equality to require the achievement of substantive equality. It identifies violence against women as a form of discrimination violating women's rights to equality, freedom, and security, thereby making the struggle against violence an inseparable part of the Convention.

Türkiye became a party to CEDAW in 1985. Since then, various legal and institutional reforms have made the state's responsibility for preventing violence against women more explicit. Türkiye also submits regular reports to the CEDAW Committee, the monitoring body of the Convention, and is reviewed at the international level through this mechanism. CEDAW and the Committee's recommendations have provided the foundation for significant legal steps, including the adoption of Law No. 6284. In this sense, CEDAW stands as one of the clearest examples of how international norms are reflected in domestic law.

The World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in 1993 marked the first explicit recognition of violence against women as a human rights violation. The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action emphasised the universality and indivisibility of women's human rights. That same year, the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women clearly defined such violence, recognised that it occurs in both public and private spheres, and imposed positive obligations on states. These instruments made clear that violence against women could no longer be justified on cultural or private grounds.

The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, adopted at the Third World Conference on Women in 1985, recognised violence against women as a global issue and established a direct link between women's empowerment and the elimination of gender-based violence. The Strategies called on states to undertake legal reforms, increase women's participation, and develop specific policies to combat violence.

The Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, and its outcome document, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, further strengthened the international framework by explicitly defining violence against women as a human rights violation. The Platform identified violence against women as one of twelve critical areas of concern, obliging states to prevent, punish, and eliminate it, and developed comprehensive policy recommendations.

Building on this global awareness, today the UN continues to advance the struggle against gender-based violence through bodies such as the CEDAW Committee, UN Women, and the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), which issue new policy documents, general recommendations, and monitoring mechanisms. A recent example is the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 190, adopted in 2019. This is the first binding international instrument to define violence and harassment in the world of work, explicitly including gender-based violence, and extending protection to all workers. It obliges states to take legal, policy, and social measures to prevent workplace violence and harassment, protect survivors, and punish perpetrators. Although Türkiye has not yet ratified this Convention, women's and labour organisations continue to advocate strongly for its adoption.

In this context, the institutionalisation of the struggle against violence against women through international instruments has ensured the recognition of women's rights as human rights. General human rights treaties alone have proven insufficient in addressing gender-based violence, highlighting the need for more comprehensive conventions centered on gender. In Türkiye's domestic legal framework, CEDAW is considered not only a key international basis for combating violence against women, but also the primary international reference point in this field.

# 2.1. United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is one of the core human rights treaties adopted within the framework of the United Nations. Drafted in recognition of women's subordinate status in society, CEDAW is often referred to as the "women's human rights convention," distinguishing it from the broader provisions of other human rights instruments. With 189 states parties, including Türkiye, it is a widely ratified international treaty. Under Article 90 of the Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, CEDAW

takes precedence over domestic law. Indeed, in cases concerning violence against women, Turkish courts refer to CEDAW provisions, and national legislation—including Law No. 6284—has been prepared in line with its principles.

CEDAW's objective is to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women, to guarantee that women enjoy equal rights with men in political, social, economic, and cultural life, and to place responsibility on states to ensure this equality in practice. Articles 1–5 and 24 address discrimination against women across all spheres and the measures required to prevent it, while Articles 6–14 cover issues such as the prohibition of trafficking in women, women's political and social rights, and specific provisions on the rights of rural women.

Article 1 of the Convention defines discrimination against women as follows:

"For the purposes of the present Convention, the term 'discrimination against women' shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."

This definition is rights-based and signals that discrimination exists wherever women are denied or prevented from exercising rights in any sphere of life. According to the Convention, states are obliged to eliminate not only direct but also indirect forms of discrimination.

Article 17 establishes the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, tasked with monitoring developments under the Convention and empowered to interpret its provisions. States parties must submit periodic reports to the Committee every four years. The Committee reviews state progress in the field of women's rights, considers shadow reports from civil society organisations, and issues Concluding Observations containing recommendations and warnings to states. Thanks to the Optional Protocol (1999), which Türkiye ratified in 2002, individuals and groups can also bring complaints directly before the Committee. In cases of serious violations, the Committee may launch inquiries against states, thereby giving CEDAW a degree of enforceability.

CEDAW's initial lack of an explicit definition of violence against women has been criticised. To address this gap, the Committee issued **General Recommendation No. 19** and later **General Recommendation No. 35**, which together clarified that gender-based violence constitutes a form of discrimination covered by the Convention.

# 2.2. The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention)

The process that began with CEDAW and was further shaped through subsequent recommendations gained momentum with the influence of the women's movement, which pushed for more concrete and binding measures on violence against women. As CEDAW did not explicitly define violence against women and its recommendations lacked binding force, these instruments were deemed insufficient. This created the need for a new, comprehensive, and legally binding international treaty on violence against women (Acar, 2014).

The Istanbul Convention's core objective is to establish a Europe free from violence against women and domestic violence (Bakırcı, 2015, p. 364). The Convention is based on the recognition that violence against women stems from gender inequality (Moroğlu, 2016, p. 303). Although it was drafted within the Council of Europe framework, the fact that its ratification is not limited to Council of Europe member states underlines its status as a universal human rights treaty (Gündoğmuş, 2021). For signatory states, it is legally binding and includes monitoring mechanisms to ensure compliance.

The Istanbul Convention has faced criticism on the grounds that it allegedly conflicts with social structures and undermines cultural values. Türkiye—arguing that national jurisprudence was sufficient to address violence against women and that an international treaty was unnecessary—announced its withdrawal from the Convention through Presidential Decision No. 3718 of 19 March 2021, published in the Official Gazette on 20 March 2021.

Although the Turkish translation uses the phrase "aile içi şiddet" ("domestic violence within the family"), the Convention is actually built upon the broader concept of "domestic violence" ("ev içi şiddet"), which has important implications in terms of scope. The Convention prohibits all forms of violence against women and domestic violence, covering not only physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence but also behaviours such as stalking, forced marriage, so-called honour crimes, and female genital mutilation—all of which constitute violations of women's human rights.

The most significant feature of the Istanbul Convention is that it obliges states parties to take preventive measures, establish institutional mechanisms for combating violence, and comply with its dedicated monitoring body, GREVIO (Moroğlu, 2016).

The Convention served as one of the legal foundations for Law No. 6284, placing obligations on states to prevent violence against women, protect survivors, and punish perpetrators. When considered together with CEDAW and other instruments such as the Lanzarote Convention, the responsibilities imposed by Law No. 6284 extend beyond national law, encompassing accountability under the international legal framework. Türkiye's withdrawal from the Convention has weakened the political legitimacy and institutional safeguards of Law No. 6284. This development poses a serious threat to women's and disadvantaged groups' access to rights-based protection mechanisms.

#### 2.3 The Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye

The Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye contains key provisions on the prevention of discrimination. Article 10 states:

"Everyone is equal before the law without distinction as to language, race, colour, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion, sect, or any such grounds."

In 2004, the following sentence was added to this article:

"Women and men have equal rights. The state is obliged to ensure that this equality is realised in practice."

In 2010, an additional provision was introduced:

"Measures to be taken for this purpose shall not be interpreted as contrary to the principle of equality."

The Constitution of Türkiye not only recognises equality but also legitimises positive discrimination. This aligns with the spirit of CEDAW and, in particular, with General Recommendation No. 25 on temporary special measures and General Recommendation No. 35 on positive obligations.

Based on these constitutional provisions, Law No. 6284—one of Türkiye's most comprehensive legal instruments in the fight against violence against women—entered into force.

#### 2.4 The Turkish Penal Code

The Turkish Penal Code (TCK) includes provisions aimed at preventing violence against women and ensuring that perpetrators are punished. Regulations under the sections concerning crimes against public order and bodily integrity directly cover acts of violence against women. Article 82 lists femicide as an aggravated form of intentional homicide, carrying a heavier penalty. Similarly, intentional injury (Article 86) and torture or ill-treatment (Article 96) carry harsher sentences when committed against women. Crimes such as sexual assault (Article 102), sexual abuse of children (Article 103), and sexual harassment (Article 105) are directly related to sexual violence against women. Article 232 criminalises domestic ill-treatment, thus covering cases of violence within the household.

Article 122 criminalises discrimination. It establishes that denying services or benefits to an individual on the basis of language, race, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion, sect, or similar grounds constitutes a criminal offence. Within this framework, discrimination based on gender—such as restricting women's participation in employment, access to public services, or economic activity—is punishable. This provision seeks to address systematic exclusion or unequal treatment of women under criminal law.

Further reforms were introduced with Law No. 7406 of 12 May 2022, which increased penalties for crimes committed against women. Offences such as murder, intentional injury, torture, and ill-treatment carry more severe punishments when directed against women. Thus, being a woman is explicitly recognised as an aggravating circumstance.

Additionally, stalking was introduced as a distinct offence under Article 123/A. Behaviours that disturb the peace and tranquillity of individuals are criminalised, with perpetrators facing up to one year in prison. If the crime is committed against a child or a former spouse, the sentence is increased.

# 2.5 Law No. 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence Against Women

Enacted on 8 March 2012, Law No. 6284 aims to protect individuals exposed to, or at risk of, violence—including women, children, family members, and those exposed to persistent stalking. The law provides both protective and preventive orders, designed to ensure immediate protection after violence has occurred as well as to prevent violence before it happens. It enables authorities to take swift and effective action.

#### **Protective Orders**

Protective orders are designed to secure the safety of those subjected to violence and support them in rebuilding their lives. Protective orders by administrative authorities (governors/district governors) include:

- Shelter: Ensuring safe accommodation for the person subjected to violence and their children.
- Temporary financial assistance: Providing economic support.
- Counseling services: Offering psychological, legal, or social guidance.
- Temporary protection: Ensuring security through police accompaniment.
- Childcare support: Providing safe childcare services.

Protective orders by the family court include:

- Relocation: Changing the residence or workplace of either the person subjected to violence or the perpetrator.
- Residence order: Allocating the shared home to the person subjected to violence and registering it at the land registry.
- Change of identity and related documents: Issuing new identity documents or altering records when necessary.

Judges have the discretion to impose orders beyond those explicitly listed in the law, but this authority is limited to family court judges; administrative authorities cannot go beyond the scope defined in the law.

#### **Preventive Orders**

Preventive orders are aimed at restricting perpetrators and preventing further acts of violence. Preventive orders by the family court include:

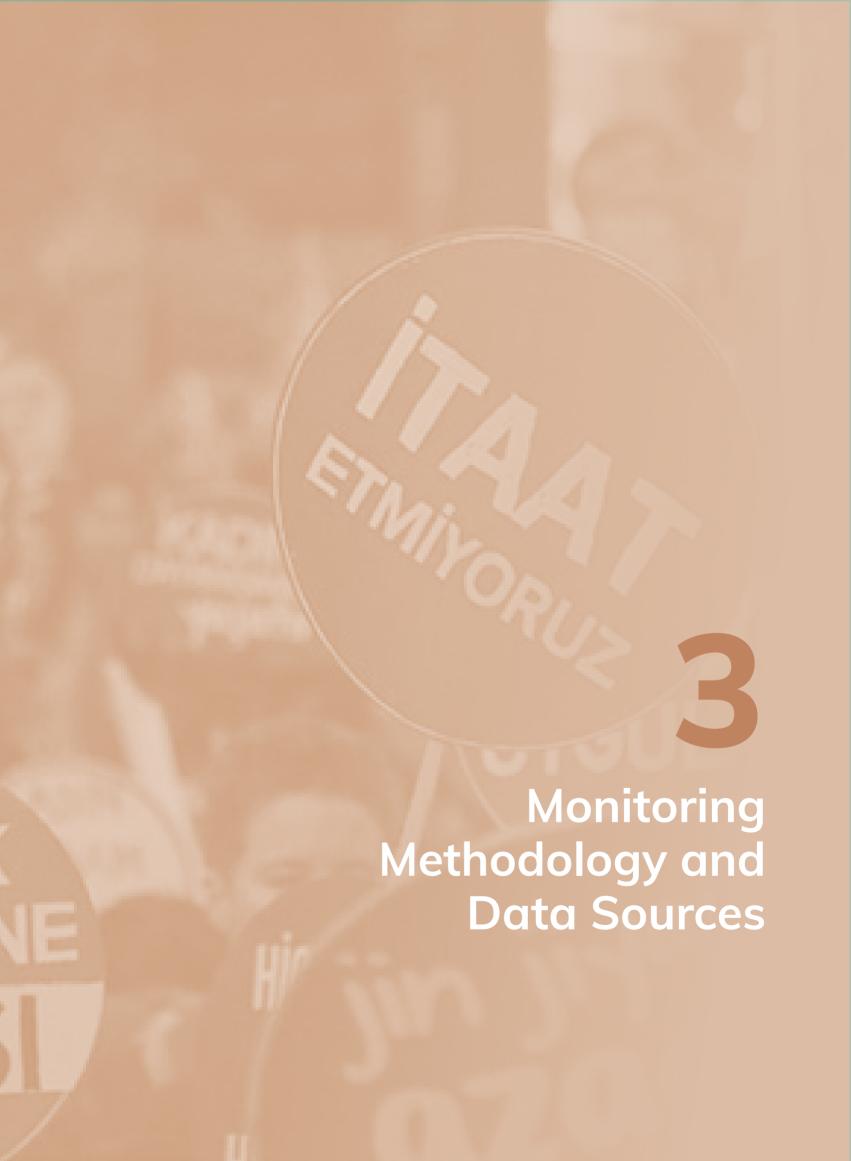
- Removal from the home: Ordering the perpetrator to leave the shared residence.
- Restraining order: Prohibiting approach to the person subjected to violence, their home, workplace, or school.
- No communication: Banning contact through phone, messages, or other means.
- Ban on threats and insults: Prohibiting intimidation, humiliation, or verbal abuse.
- Restriction of child visitation: Limiting or supervising child contact when safety requires it.
- Protection of property: Preventing damage to the belongings or household goods of the person subjected to violence.
- Surrender of weapons: Requiring the perpetrator to hand over firearms.
- Treatment orders: Referring perpetrators for treatment in cases of alcohol or substance addiction.

In urgent cases where judicial orders cannot be awaited, law enforcement officers may impose temporary orders such as removal from the home or provision of shelter, subject to judicial confirmation.

Article 16 of the law requires awareness-raising on gender equality. All public institutions, professional bodies, and organisations must ensure their staff receive training on women's human rights and gender equality, coordinated by the Ministry. The law also stipulates the integration of gender equality education into school curricula at primary and secondary levels.

A person subjected to violence may apply for protective or preventive orders through the family court, administrative authorities, or law enforcement, either directly or via their legal representative, the police, or other public institutions. Such orders are issued urgently and can be transmitted electronically. No fees or charges are required for applications.

Law No. 6284 is of critical importance for securing the safety of those subjected to violence, protecting their fundamental rights, and enabling them to rebuild safe lives. Its provisions focus on ensuring both physical and psychological security. Working in interaction with the Penal Code, the Civil Code, and the Child Protection Law, it provides short-term protection in emergencies as well as long-term social support mechanisms. However, challenges remain in practice: inconsistencies in interpretation among implementing institutions, lack of standardisation, and insufficient monitoring undermine its effectiveness.



# Monitoring Methodology and Data Sources

The data for this study came not only from judicial decisions but also from the National Judiciary Informatics System (UYAP), statistics from \$\sigma\text{ONIM}\$, reports from bar association legal aid centers, and reports by civil society organisations. Academic theses and field research also informed the study. Most importantly, the experiences shared by women at our counseling center provided essential insight into the lived, qualitative aspects of the issue.

#### 3.1 Monitoring Tools and Criteria

The indicators used in this report were adapted from the Association for Monitoring Gender Equality (Cinsiyet Eşitliği İzleme Derneği - CEİD). They include factors such as how quickly protection orders were issued, how effectively they were enforced, what measures were taken when violations occurred, and how decisions affected women's lives. These indicators were assessed through both statistical data and case-based analysis. This method reflects feminist research principles. The full set of indicators is provided in Annex-2.

### 3.2 Gender-Sensitive Approach

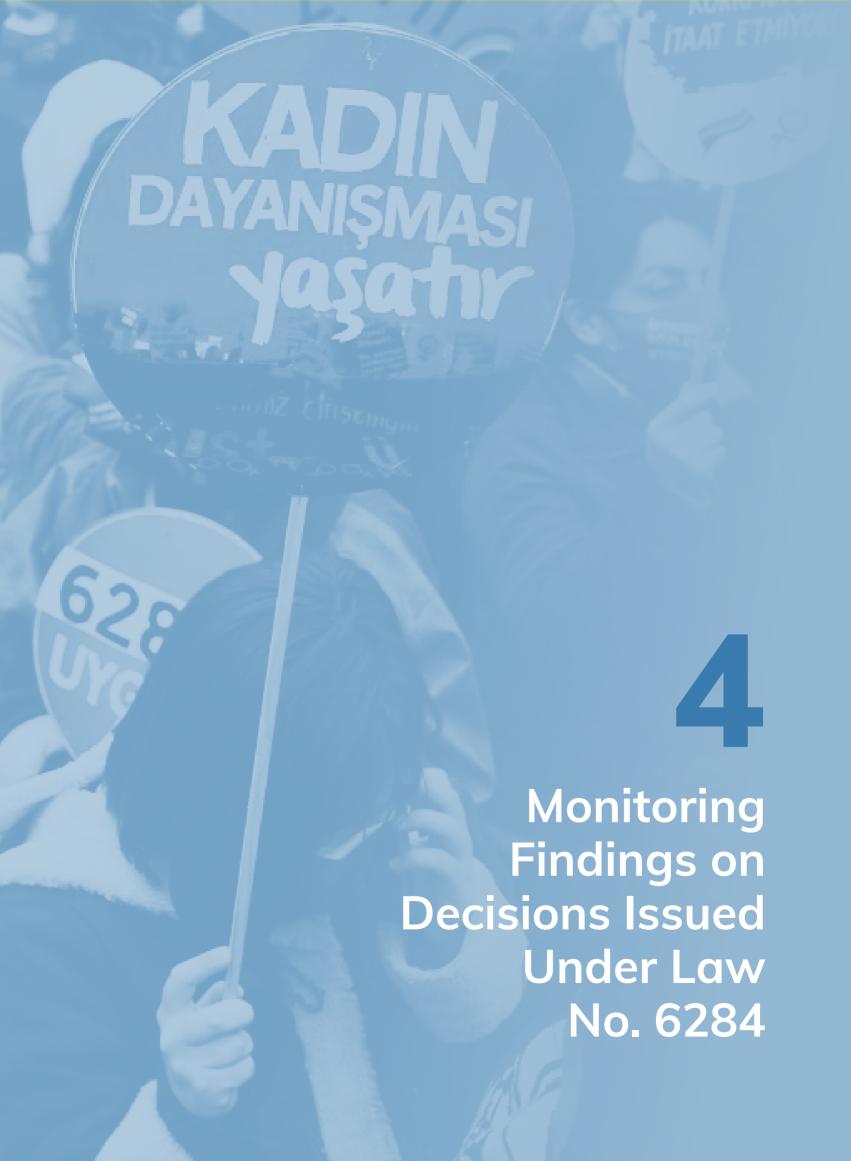
A key strength of this monitoring study is that it does not stop at counting figures but also looks at the structural inequalities that shape women's experiences of violence. Gender sensitivity here is not just a guiding principle but a necessity. Violence is not only the result of individual acts by perpetrators; it is also sustained by institutional practices, policy gaps, and the adequacy (or inadequacy) of support services. Therefore, understanding the multiple dimensions of gender inequality cannot be reduced to questions such as "How many women applied?" or "How many protection orders were issued?".

Using feminist research tools allowed us to ask deeper questions: "Did women's experiences with the justice system strengthen their autonomy?", "Were their voices heard during decision-making?", "Did cooperation between institutions meet women's needs?", and "Were support services strong enough to help women break free from cycles of violence?" These questions shift the focus from outputs to processes and impacts, and from the formal presence of services to their real effects on women's lives.

This approach treats women not only as people subjected to violence but also as active agents whose perspectives matter. Women's narratives should not be regarded merely as data but as contributions to policymaking processes.

Focusing on women's lived experiences also makes it possible to reveal institutional shortcomings and rights violations. For instance, the existence of a protection order alone does not guarantee safety — what matters is whether it is continuous, enforced, and monitored. Similarly, the presence of a ŞÖNİM does not necessarily mean that it is accessible, safe, and properly resourced for women. Effective monitoring therefore requires asking not just "Does it exist?" but also "Does it work?" and "How has it changed women's lives?".

A gender-sensitive perspective allows us to see not only women's situations but also how social roles, norms, institutions, and discourses reproduce inequality. This perspective directs attention to the structures that enable violence, not just its outcomes. As such, gender-sensitive monitoring both evaluates past practice and offers guidance for more transformative policies in the future.



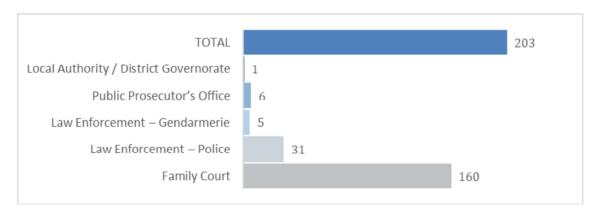
## **Monitoring Findings on Decisions Issued Under Law**

## No. 6284

The findings on the implementation of Law No. 6284 reveal the systemic barriers that undermine the protective mechanisms envisaged by the legislation. Measures such as restraining orders, the right to shelter, temporary financial assistance, and the use of electronic ankle bracelets are regulated by law. However, in practice, there are significant problems in terms of consistency, effectiveness, and accessibility. Women's experiences in accessing judicial and social service mechanisms depend not only on the existence of the law, but also on the attitudes of officials, the quality of institutional procedures, and the accessibility of services. The findings presented in this section are based on both quantitative data from the Law No. 6284 Monitoring Questionnaire and the experiences shared with us by women who sought support through our counseling center.

In the 203 case files we reviewed, we found that 160 women applied to family courts, 36 women to law enforcement units, six to public prosecutors, and only one to a local administrative authority in order to obtain preventive or protective orders under Law No. 6284. Among those who applied through law enforcement, five women had reached the police via the Women's Support Application (Kadın Destek Uygulaması - KADES). While direct application to family courts is possible, women often turn to law enforcement when incidents of violence occur outside court hours, such as during weekends.

Table 1: Where was the protection order requested?



**Preventive orders** are orders issued to stop the perpetrator and prevent further acts of violence. In the case files we examined, the **most frequently requested and least frequently rejected orders were**:

- Article 5/1(a): Prohibition of attitude or behaviour involving threats of violence, insults, humiliation, or degradation directed at the protected person.
- Article 5/1(c): Prohibition of approaching the protected person's residence, school, or workplace.
- Article 5/1(d): Where necessary, prohibition of approaching the relatives, witnesses, and—except where
  personal contact is required by custody or visitation arrangements—the children of the protected person,
  even if they have not been subjected to violence.
- Article 5/1(e): Prohibition of damaging the personal belongings or household items of the protected person.
- Article 5/1(f): Prohibition of disturbing the protected person through communication tools or any other means.

#### Findings on Requests for Preventive Orders:

Table 2: Law No. 6284, Article 5/1-a

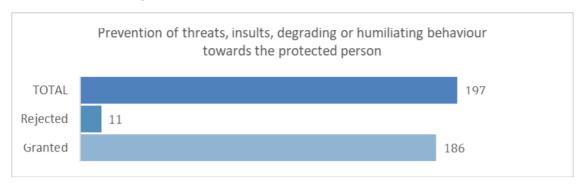


Table 3: Law No. 6284, Article 5/1-b

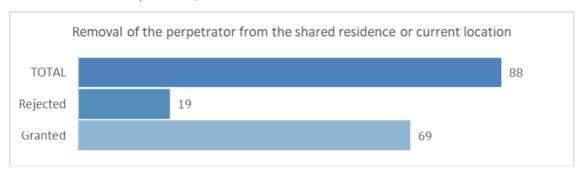


Table 4: Law No. 6284, Article 5/1-c

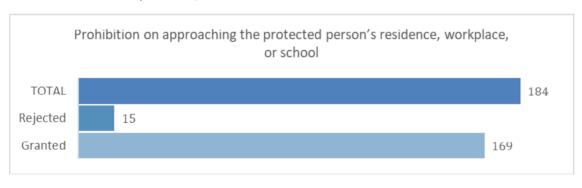


Table 5: Law No. 6284, Article 5/1-ç

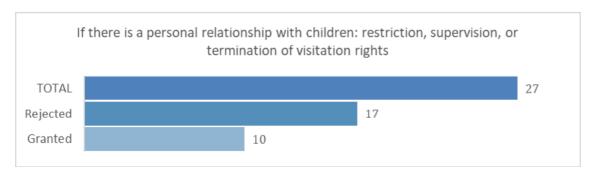


Table 6: Law No. 6284, Article 5/1-d

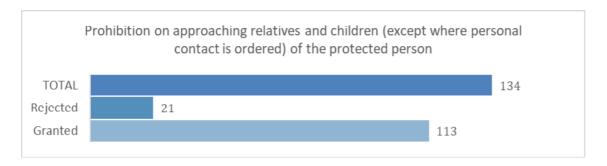


Table 7: Law No. 6284, Article 5/1-e

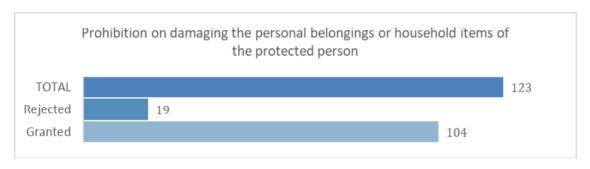


Table 8: Law No. 6284, Article 5/1-f

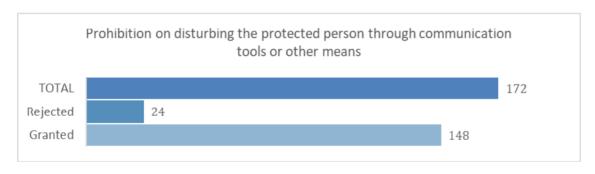


Table 9: Law No. 6284, Article 5/1-g

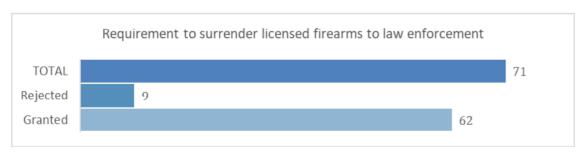


Table 10: Law No. 6284, Article 5/1- ğ

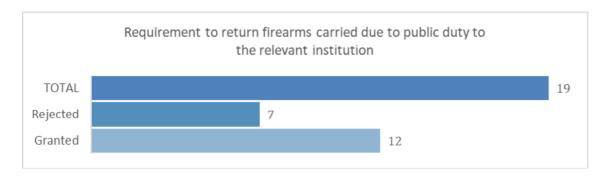


Table 11: Law No. 6284. Article 5/1- h

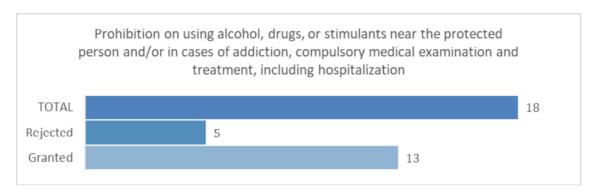
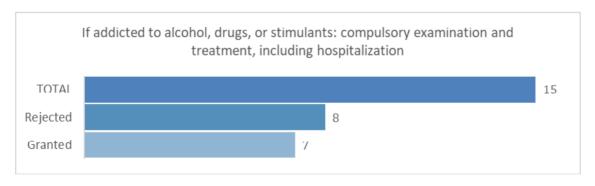


Table 12: Law No. 6284, Article 5/1-h



**Protective orders** are crucial in enabling women experiencing violence to make decisions about their lives, create safe spaces, and take practical steps towards moving away from violence. Judges are not required to demand documents or formal evidence that violence has occurred or is imminent; a woman's statement or petition, considered in the context of the case, is sufficient. This approach lifts the burden of proof from women, helps to avoid delays, and ensures that protection mechanisms can be activated quickly in urgent situations.

Although protective orders have a profound impact on the lives of women subjected to violence, the case files we reviewed reveal that the number of applications for such measures remains relatively low.

#### Findings on Requests for Protective Orders:

Table 13: Law No. 6284, Article 4/1-ç

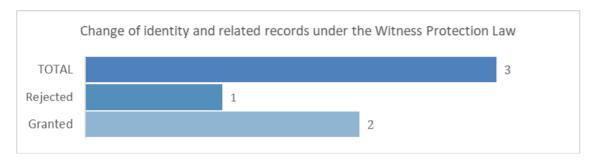


Table 14: Law No. 6284, Article 4/1-c

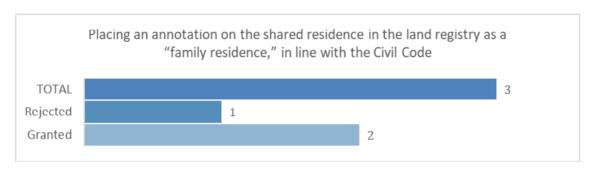


Table 15: Law No. 6284, Article 5/1-ı

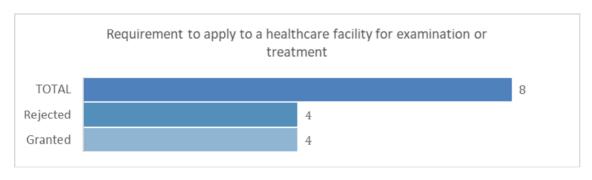
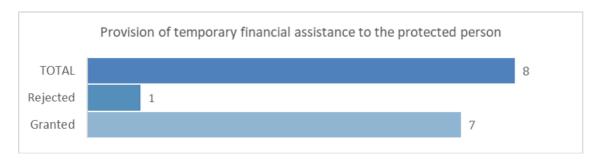
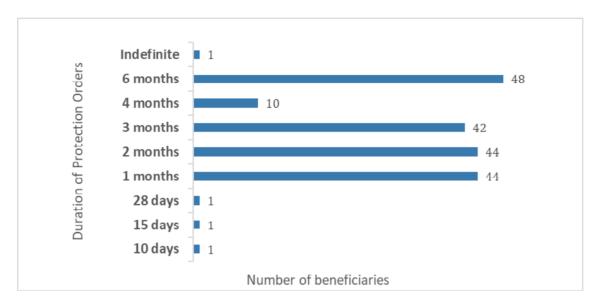


Table 16: Law No. 6284, Article 3/1-b



#### 4.1 Duration and Nature of Protection Orders

Law No. 6284 stipulates that both protective and preventive orders can be issued for a maximum of six months and extended when necessary. In practice, however, much shorter orders are frequently granted. In the 203 case files we examined, most orders were issued for only one or two months:



**Table 17: Duration of Protection Orders** 

The data shows that around **44% of the orders reviewed were limited to very short periods (one or two months)**. Particularly in such short-term orders, delays in serving the decision often render them ineffective from the outset. Even when violations occur during the period covered by the order, these violations cannot be monitored or followed up with criminal proceedings.

In addition, inconsistencies between different courts undermine women's equal access to justice. In some courthouses, orders are granted quickly and with relative ease, while in others the process is slow and more complex. As a result, short-term and non-standardised practices risk leaving protection orders as little more than paperwork.

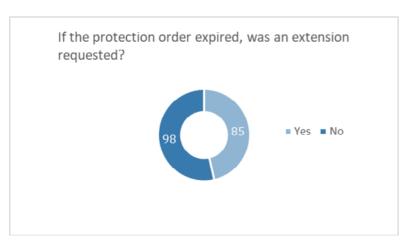


Table 18: Requests for Extension of Protection Orders

In 98 of the 203 files, women did not request an extension once the order expired. In two cases, women requested the order be lifted before the expiry date; in another two, new orders were issued before the previous one had lapsed; and in 11 cases, no extension was requested because the order was still in effect. In extension requests, we observed rejections based on reasons such as "no new evidence of ongoing violence" or "no proof provided." Yet women's accounts indicate that violence often resumes once the order ends.

We also observed that the need to reapply for an extension can discourage women from continuing the struggle against violence. The table below shows how many times the 85 women who did request an extension applied for it. Of these 85 women, eight had their requests rejected, while the remainder were accepted.

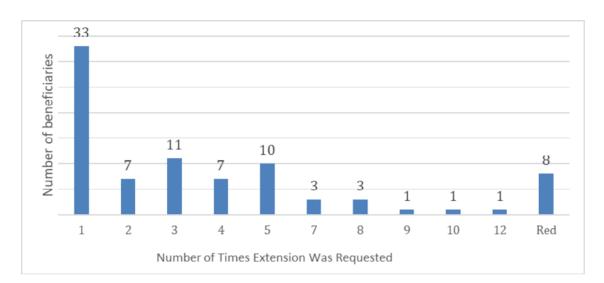


Table 19: Number of Times Extension Was Requested

Notably, **one woman applied for an extension 10 times and another 12 times**. These cases are striking examples of how women are forced to repeatedly approach institutions with the same need.

Our review of the files revealed that requests for protection orders and extensions were rejected based on reasons that were either not explicitly defined in law or interpreted arbitrarily. For example:

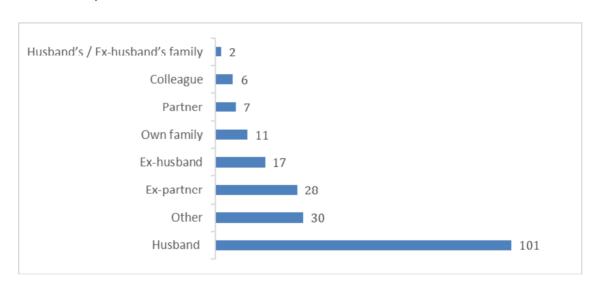
- Failure to present evidence,
- The need to preserve the perpetrator's contact with shared children,
- Applications made to a different courthouse than the first one,
- The applicant and the perpetrator living in the same apartment building,
- The incident being categorised as an "employee-employer dispute" or an "ordinary crime",
- The request being filed against a police officer.

In one of the cases we reviewed, a woman who had been subjected to digital violence had her request for an order under Law No. 6284 rejected with the following reasoning:

"Upon examination of the file, it was determined that the online discussions on Twitter regarding the roles of men and women in society were not directly addressed to the applicant. The purpose of Law No. 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence

Against Women is to prioritise the protection of women, family members and children who have been subjected to or are at risk of violence. In a society where there are women in genuine need of protection, the state organs responsible for implementing this law cannot be used as a tool in disputes where men and women exchange arguments online over gender roles, seeking to punish each other. This is inconsistent with the purpose of the law. To issue a preventive order under Law No. 6284, there must be evidence of stalking behaviour. According to Article 3/ş of the Law's Implementing Regulation, this requires actions that cause fear and a sense of helplessness in a way that threatens physical or psychological safety. Social media debates cannot be considered stalking. The case instead concerns allegations of an attack on personal rights under the Turkish Penal Code, falling into the category of ordinary crimes. Therefore, the applicant's request does not fall within the scope of Article 1 of Law No. 6284, and the request is rejected."

Law No. 6284 covers all forms of violence, regardless of whether the perpetrator is a family member, partner, employer, police officer, or stranger, and obliges the state to provide protection and prevention in each case. Orders should therefore be interpreted broadly. Rejections based on reasons such as those cited above—where applications are deemed irrelevant or unrelated—undermine the protective and inclusive nature of the law and obstruct applicants' access to their fundamental rights.



Tablo 20: Perpetrators

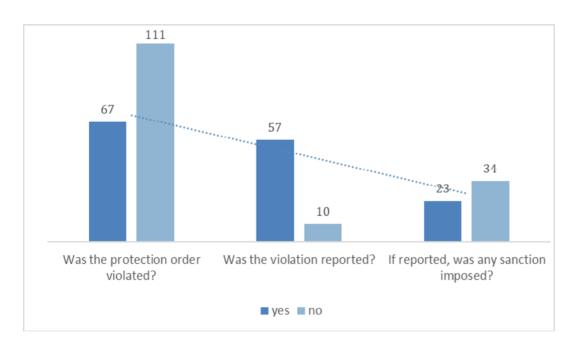
In the 203 files we reviewed, the **individuals against whom protection orders were requested were, in 101 cases, women's husbands**. In 17 cases they were ex-husbands, in 28 cases ex-partners, and in the "other" category included neighbours, service providers such as painters, landlords, schoolmates, and strangers.

In 58 of the files where women's requests for orders were granted, men filed objections against these decisions. Of these objections, five were fully accepted, six were partially accepted (covering some provisions), and 47 were rejected. However, of the 10 renewed appeals lodged after rejections, three were accepted by a different court. This shows that perpetrators often exhaust every possible legal avenue to challenge the preventive orders issued against them.

#### 4.2 Violations of Protection Orders

One of the most serious problems in the implementation of Law No. 6284 is the violation of protection orders. Inadequate monitoring and enforcement mean that women are not effectively protected from violence, while at the same time undermining trust in the justice system. Women report being forced to recount the same traumatic events repeatedly in statements and petitions, that their privacy is not respected, and that they are subjected to questioning or even accusatory attitudes.

In the files we reviewed, **protection orders were violated in 67 cases**. In 10 of these, no official report was filed. **Of the 57 cases where a violation was reported, only 23 resulted in sanctions**, with coercive detention imposed. **In 13 cases, a criminal complaint was filed** in relation to the violation, and **in 10 of those, a criminal investigation was launched**. The fact that most reports of violations did not lead to concrete outcomes both discourages women from using complaint mechanisms and weakens the deterrent effect of sanctions.



**Table 21: Violations of Protection Orders** 

We also encountered examples where perpetrators continued to approach women's homes, workplaces, or schools despite existing orders, and in some cases, even while wearing electronic ankle bracelets. In one case, a man with an electronic bracelet went to the woman's home and banged on her door. Both the files examined and women's accounts in interviews indicate that most women either refrain from filing complaints about violations or, when they do, they often see no meaningful results.

In files where violations were reported and confirmed, the lack of sanctions was most often explained by the claim that the perpetrator had not yet been formally notified of the protection order. Other examples included electronic ankle bracelet orders not being implemented because of "lack of available devices," threatening messages not being taken seriously by law enforcement, digital messages sent in breach of communication bans being dismissed on the grounds that they did not constitute "physical violence," renewed protection requests rejected by courts on the grounds that the woman herself had withdrawn a previous order, and men violating restraining orders being released with only verbal warnings. These examples point to systemic problems in the enforcement of orders, which seriously undermine the effective implementation of the law.

# 4.3 Interim (Temporary) Financial Support Orders and Allocation of Housing

Article 5 of Law No. 6284 and the relevant regulations grant judges broad powers to safeguard the living conditions of women subjected to violence. Accordingly, a judge may, even without an explicit request, issue an interim (temporary) financial support order; remove the perpetrator from the shared residence or place of residence and allocate it to the protected person; and order that rent and essential household expenses (electricity, water, gas, telephone, etc.) continue to be paid, that subscriptions not be terminated, or that they be transferred to the woman's name.

In the 203 case files we examined, we found that interim financial support orders were issued in three cases, housing allocation in two cases, the return of personal belongings with police assistance in one case, and the continuation of bill payments by the perpetrator in five cases. The broad authority conferred upon judges under Law No. 6284 extends beyond the physical removal of the perpetrator; it also encompasses safeguarding the economic and practical conditions necessary for women to live safely.

Measures such as allocating the shared home to the woman, covering basic living expenses, and maintaining access to utility services reduce the risk of women becoming dependent on the perpetrator again for financial reasons. These measures strengthen women's ability to organise their lives, meet their needs, and make independent decisions, thereby creating a more comprehensive system of protection.

#### **4.4** Confidentiality

Article 8 of Law No. 6284 regulates the concealment of the identity and address information of survivors of violence and their relatives, either upon request or ex officio, in official records. This measure is vital for ensuring the safety of women and preventing repeated violence. Any unlawful disclosure of such information is subject to criminal sanctions under the Turkish Penal Code (Law No. 5237).

In practice, however, serious problems arise in both the issuance and implementation of confidentiality orders. Requests are often initially rejected and only accepted upon appeal. These delays pose significant risks to women's safety.



Table 22: Law No. 6284, Article 8/6

Among the **203** cases we examined, **32** involved requests for confidentiality orders, of which **24** were granted. Given that confidentiality measures are generally requested in situations where there is a high risk of severe violence and other protective measures may have failed, the denial of such requests can be assumed to substantially hinder women's efforts to protect themselves from violence.

The lack of a standardized system leads to inconsistent procedures across institutions. In some instances, information is hidden in e-Government portals, the Central Civil Registration System (MERNIS), school records, or health databases; in others, a "code" is assigned instead of an address. Sometimes notifications are sent to ŞÖNİM or the Provincial Directorates of the Ministry of Family and Social Services. When rulings do not clearly specify which institutions should apply confidentiality, women must individually approach each institution, which results in both time loss and security risks.

In our official request for information to the Ministry of National Education, we asked whether there is a system for confidential records for children subject to confidentiality orders and requested the number of applications and beneficiaries between 1 January 2024 and 15 May 2025. The Ministry confirmed the existence of such a system, stating that the process is initiated through a court order; however, no data was provided on the number of applicants or beneficiaries.

Women's accounts indicate that those with confidentiality orders face difficulties at Civil Registry Offices when registering residence, changing addresses, or obtaining identity documents. These challenges hinder access to financial assistance, healthcare, and education services. We observed that, due to such difficulties, women sometimes withdraw requests for confidentiality before the protection orders expire.

The fact that court decisions are not automatically entered into relevant systems means that staff in hospitals, schools, and other institutions may be unaware of these measures. For example, in hospitals, only the person's ID number may allow access to confidential appointment information, or, if a separate confidentiality order has not been issued for a child, the perpetrator may still access the child's records to reach the mother, creating serious safety risks. In Ministry of National Education schools, confidentiality practices are not yet fully established; some administrators are either unaware of the procedures or misinterpret them.

Legislation does not explicitly allow confidentiality orders to be issued without naming a defendant, sometimes forcing women to designate family members as defendants. Furthermore, the failure to process orders accurately and promptly across all systems endangers individual safety. Confidentiality measures can only be truly effective when supported not just by legal provisions, but also by consistent practice, staff training, technical infrastructure, and inter-institutional coordination.

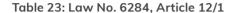
#### 4.5 Electronic Ankle Bracelets and Technical Monitoring

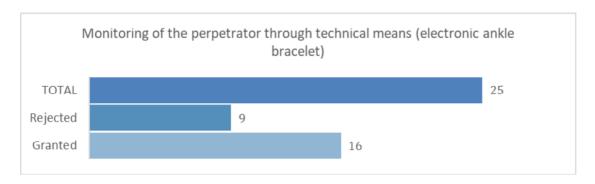
The electronic ankle bracelet (also referred to as electronic tagging) system is designed to prevent perpetrators from approaching women subjected to violence. When the perpetrator crosses a pre-defined distance, the system automatically triggers an alert to law enforcement. Introduced as a pilot in 2020 through the cooperation of the Ministry of Family and Social Services and the Ministry of Justice, it has since been gradually expanded nationwide.

We observed that women's requests for electronic ankle bracelets and technical monitoring are first referred to \$\tilde{\tilde{O}}\tilde{\tilde{N}}\tilde{M}\tilde{M}, where a risk assessment report is prepared. The decision to impose an ankle bracelet is then based on this report. However, in practice, the measure is applied only in very limited cases, usually in situations involving severe threats, such as death threats. Yet, preventing violence requires intervention before the risk escalates to this level. Moreover, the process of activating the system involves lengthy and complex bureaucratic steps, leaving women in urgent need of protection vulnerable during this time.

Out of the **203** case files we reviewed, **25** included requests for electronic ankle bracelets, of which **16** were granted. Similar to confidentiality orders, women generally do not request this measure initially; instead, they turn to it when other protective measures prove ineffective, when the threat continues, or when the perpetrator violates an existing order—often in connection with requests to extend protection orders. Given this, it is important to recognize that rejecting ankle bracelet requests can also have life-threatening consequences.

In cases where protection orders are violated, women are often expected to provide proof of the violation—something that is frequently very difficult. By contrast, electronic ankle bracelets automatically alerts law enforcement through GPS signals whenever a perpetrator breaches the distance requirement. As seen in the case files we examined, once this measure is in place, women do not have to document violations themselves; the system-generated alerts allow authorities to impose sanctions quickly. This demonstrates the value of electronic bracelets as both a monitoring and evidentiary tool.





However, women's experiences also reveal significant weaknesses: inadequate technical infrastructure in some provinces, insufficient rapid-response teams, and lack of coordination reduce the system's deterrent effect. Everyday circumstances—such as living in the same area as the perpetrator or using public transport—can also limit the effectiveness of the system's physical safeguards. For this reason, electronic ankle bracelets and technical monitoring alone are insufficient; they only become meaningful when combined with robust social support mechanisms and effective legal sanctions.

While EU countries have integrated GPS-based early warning systems more rapidly into daily practice, in Türkiye the coverage and capacity of the system remain inadequate. A shortage of devices, limited capacity, and delays in intervention processes in cases of violation mean that, despite protection orders, women are not always physically safe.

In our request for information to the Ministry of Justice regarding the number of applications and approvals for close protection, electronic ankle bracelets, confidentiality, and identity change measures, the Ministry responded:

"In cooperation with our Ministry, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Justice, the Technical Monitoring (Electronic Ankle Bracelet) system has been implemented to monitor protective measures under Law No. 6284 through geographic information systems. The practice was launched as a pilot in 2015 and, as of 2021, has been expanded to all 81 provinces."

This response highlights the difficulty of accessing concrete and detailed data on the implementation of such measures.

## **4.6 Temporary Protection**

According to the Research on Domestic Violence Against Women in Türkiye (2014), among the measures provided under Law No. 6284, temporary protection—together with the perpetrator's removal from the home and the provision of shelter for women subjected to violence—is known by more than 80% of women.

Temporary protection can be applied in cases where women face life-threatening danger, allowing law enforcement to use any necessary technical tools and resources to protect them from perpetrators. Although this measure is critical for the safety of women at risk, it currently has serious limitations.

The Implementation Guide for Law No. 6284 states that temporary protection can take different forms: close protection, protection at home, protection at the workplace, motorized or patrol-based protection, and on-call protection. The measure is implemented by local law enforcement units where the woman is located or where protection is to be provided. Women are required to notify law enforcement of their whereabouts immediately in emergencies, or 24 hours in advance in other cases. The officer in charge must promptly inform the relevant unit in the woman's destination area to ensure continuity of protection. In practice, however, the system usually operates only when a woman calls for help, effectively ignoring situations where protection is needed continuously. This approach shifts the responsibility for risk assessment onto women themselves.

In the 203 case files we reviewed, only one woman requested temporary protection, and her request was granted. In this case, although an electronic ankle bracelet order had been issued against the perpetrator, it was communicated that implementation would take 10 days. As a result, the woman also requested temporary protection. Protection was granted for one month; however, instead of providing protection at her residence, the assigned police officer simply gave her his phone number and said, "Call if anything happens."

During our review, we also found that temporary close protection was used more often when perpetrators violated electronic ankle bracelet orders. In a positive example, the perpetrator approached the woman despite wearing a bracelet. The GPS device immediately sent an alert, and the police called the woman to warn her. They asked her to come to the station, but when she explained that she had errands to run, an officer accompanied her instead to make sure she was safe. This example shows that real protection cannot be achieved by limiting women to police stations or shelters. Allowing them to continue their daily lives is essential for both empowerment and leaving violence behind.

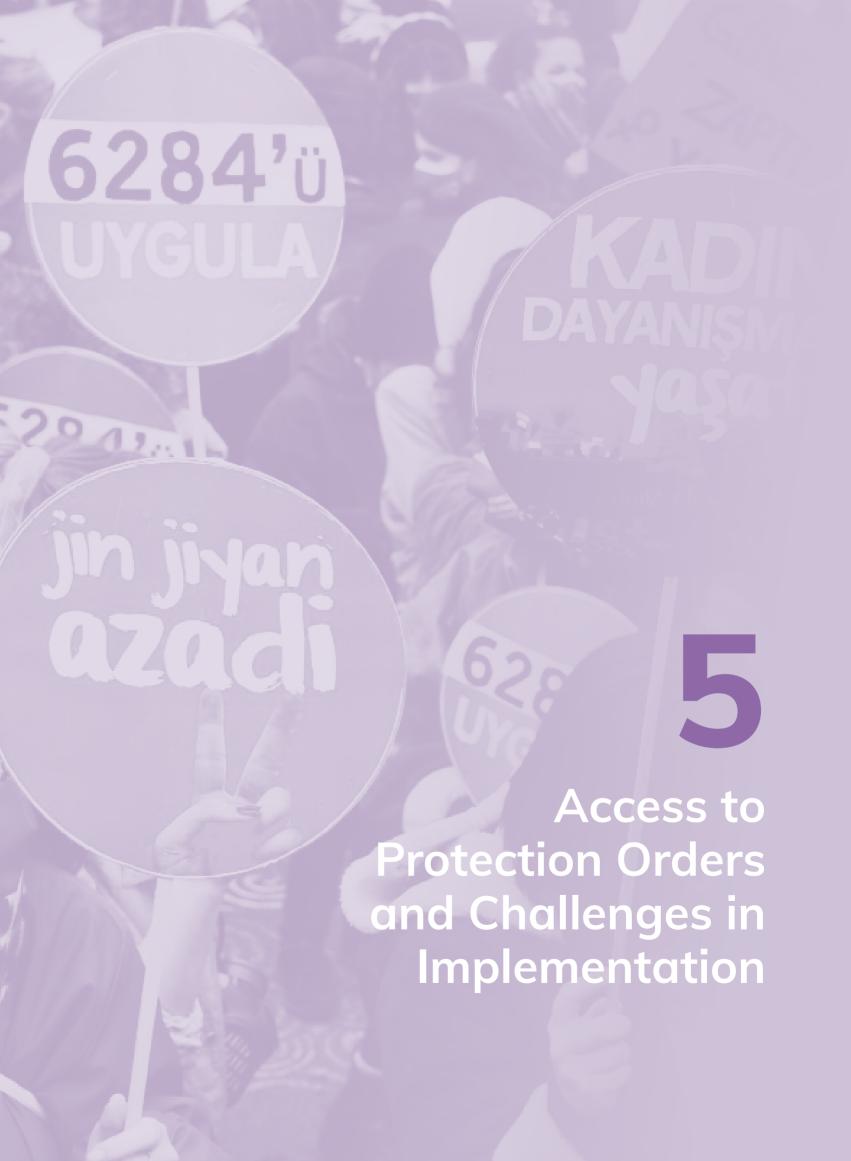
However, law enforcement officers sometimes act judgmentally or indifferently, and inconsistent practices weaken women's sense of safety. The unclear scope of temporary protection orders, along with cases where officers fail to take an active role, discourages women from requesting this measure. To make temporary protection effective, it must be clearly recognised as a right. Assignments of protection officers should be transparent and subject to oversight, and officers need specialised training to ensure women feel truly protected.

#### 4.7 Request for Workplace Change

One of the protective measures that can be ordered by the judge under Law No. 6284 is a workplace reassignment, which aims to eliminate the risks that may arise from being in the same working environment as the perpetrator. For public sector employees, this measure may mean reassignment to a different unit or location, while for private sector employees, it may entail being transferred to another branch or department. However, it is not always easy to implement. Women employed in the public sector request this measure more frequently, while those working in the private sector tend to refrain from requesting it, and in some cases are even forced to resign.

In the case files we examined, we found only one woman who had applied for this measure. She was a public sector employee who requested her workplace to be relocated to the city where her family lived, and her request was accepted by the court. However, since the institution only offered reassignment options in provinces where she could not move, she was forced to abandon the measure. Similarly, another woman we interviewed at our counseling center shared that the order granted by the judge was not implemented by her institution on the grounds that "no suitable position was available."

These examples show that even when protective orders are granted, institutions may fail to implement them, rendering the measures ineffective in practice.



# Access to Protection Orders and Challenges in

# **Implementation**

Our monitoring findings show that how protective and preventive orders are applied by relevant institutions and organisations has a decisive impact on women's lives. Women's experiences indicate that the institutions responsible for implementing the law—law enforcement, family courts, judicial offices, shelters, and \$ÖNİMs—often do not adopt an approach that prioritises women's needs and safety.

Barriers encountered during applications, delays, misguidance, and gender-based biases weaken the effectiveness of protection mechanisms, making it harder for women to access justice and break free from the cycle of violence. The sections below highlight the main problem areas in each institution's practices, drawing on women's testimonies, responses to our information requests, and analyses of case files obtained through our questionnaire.

#### **5.1 Law Enforcement Practices**

In the 203 case files we reviewed, 36 women had turned to law enforcement (police or gendarmerie) for protective measures. Many said that, from the very beginning, their statements were questioned or the violence they faced was brushed aside as a "family matter." Because of incomplete or misleading information, women were often left with the impression that they could not get a protection order unless they filed a formal complaint against the perpetrator—even though the law does not require this. For example, one woman who contacted the police late at night was told, "It's late, come to the station in the morning." Another said that after going to the station, she was sent back home with the remark, "He's your husband, make peace."

Applications involving psychological, economic, or digital violence are often not taken seriously. They may be dismissed or delayed on the grounds that there was no evidence, even though Law No. 6284 does not require evidence for protective measures. When the perpetrator is not present to receive the notification of the order, ignores the summons, or cannot be found at their registered address, law enforcement often fails to activate monitoring or enforcement mechanisms—leaving violations without consequences.

The KADES mobile app, which is meant to connect women with law enforcement in emergencies at the touch of a button, is also not always effective. Women shared cases where officers who responded to their call simply wrote in the report that "no one was visible" and took no further action. Women also reported repeated attempts by officers to reconcile them with perpetrators. Such practices not only endanger women's safety but also undermine law enforcement's duty of neutrality.

For migrant women, the process is even harder. Fear of deportation often prevents them from seeking help at all. Those who do apply usually have to give statements without interpretation support, which leads to incomplete or incorrect records of what they said.

A lack of proper information and active support from law enforcement also causes serious delays—especially for urgent requests such as the surrender of weapons or confidentiality orders. Since women are often encouraged to submit only general statements like "I want a restraining order," they later need to file additional requests. These delays can cost precious time in situations where women's lives are at risk.

All of these issues show the urgent need for structural change in law enforcement practices. Officers must receive regular, mandatory, and monitored training on gender equality. Every report of violence must be taken seriously, and standardized procedures that prioritize women's safety must be put into practice. These steps are essential for ensuring the effective enforcement of Law No. 6284.

#### 5.2 Judicial Mechanisms

Findings from our monitoring study show that judicial bodies—such as family courts, public prosecutors, and legal aid centers—often take an approach that complicates rather than facilitates the issuing of protective and preventive measures. The assumption that the legal system is impartial and functions equally for all is contradicted by women's lived experiences in the face of male violence.

In 154 of the 203 case files we reviewed, women submitted evidence with their requests for protective measures, and in 124 cases they also filed complaints against the perpetrator. This shows that courts frequently treat women's statements with suspicion, placing the burden of proof on them. As a result, the fact that violence is a violation of rights is overshadowed, and women find themselves struggling not only against the perpetrator but also against a justice system they must convince.

Table 24: Number of Cases with Evidence Submitted

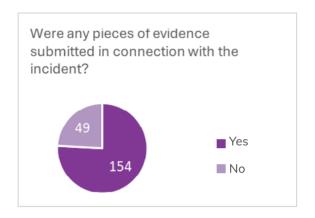
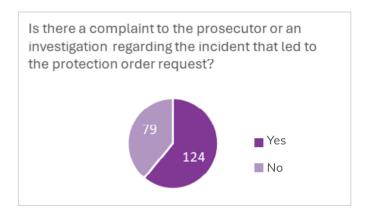
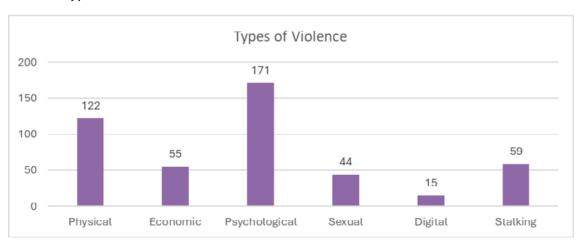


Table 25: Number of Investigations/Complaints



Women reported having to return to court multiple times while violence continued, yet risk assessments were not carried out effectively and protective measures were delayed.

Table 26: Types of Violence



Our review also revealed that most women had experienced more than one form of violence. Despite this, courts often failed to conduct in-depth risk assessments and instead focused only on the most recent incident. This approach overlooks the likelihood of repeated violence.

When women applied for rights such as temporary custody, interim financial support, confidentiality orders, or emergency assistance, courts often granted only restraining or no-contact orders. This limited scope of protection left space for perpetrators to continue their control through children or financial means.

We also found instances where women were made to wait in the same space as perpetrators—before or after hearings, even in court corridors. This put their safety at risk, retraumatised them, and revealed structural problems in the physical design of court buildings as well as in staff practices.

In 107 of the 203 cases, children were involved, yet protective measures for children were requested in only 41 of them. Women often had to rely on the perpetrator's signature or approval for procedures involving children. Being forced to contact the perpetrator for ID documents or other paperwork created serious risks for their psychological and physical safety. Meanwhile, the heavy burden of childcare made it extremely difficult for women to attend hearings, follow up on paperwork, or repeatedly go to the courthouse—pushing some to abandon the process entirely.

Access to legal aid was another major obstacle. In 44 cases, women went through proceedings without a lawyer. In total, 167 women had 319 ongoing legal cases in addition to their requests for protective measures, most of which were divorce cases. Without a lawyer, women struggled to receive legal support throughout the process. Applications to bar association legal aid offices often took days or even weeks before a lawyer was assigned—leaving women exposed to risk in the meantime. Moreover, legal aid was usually limited to technical assistance for filing a case, without providing the broader support women needed to manage the risks they faced during proceedings.

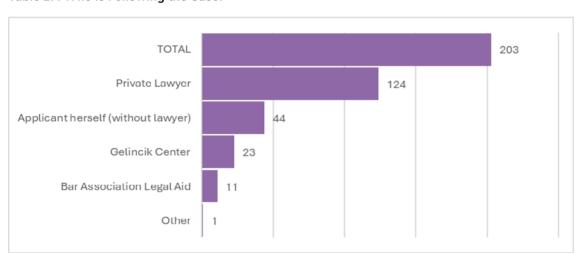
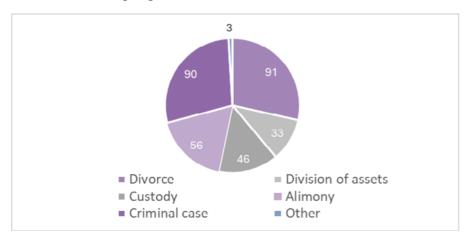


Table 27: Who Is Following the Case?





According to the Ministry of Family and Social Services' Women in Türkiye report, access to protective measures is faster and more effective in urban centers, whereas in rural areas there are serious gaps in accessibility, enforcement, and oversight.<sup>1</sup> A lack of coordination between judges and law enforcement, insistence on burdensome evidence requirements, poor treatment, and bureaucratic obstacles all make it harder for women to seek justice. When violations of protective orders are not met with swift and effective sanctions, women are forced into an impossible choice: return to violent relationships or face the justice system's failure to protect them.

In response to our request for information from the Ministry of Justice regarding the implementation of Law No. 6284, the Ministry replied:

"Therefore, as the questions included in your application fall within the remit of our Directorate General but require a separate or special study, research, review, and analysis in order to generate the requested level of detail, statistical information cannot be provided. However, the existing annual judicial statistics compiled from the UYAP system are published on our website at http://www.adlisicil.adalet.gov.tr."

Our questions thus remained unanswered, and the website referenced in the response was inaccessible.

When we sent similar questions to the General Directorate on the Status of Women (KSGM), the reply stated:

"Through the data integration work conducted between our Ministry, the Ministry of Justice, and the Ministry of Interior, data on protective orders and applications to law enforcement under Law No. 6284 are instantly recorded in our Family Information System, thereby enabling rapid response and effective intervention in cases."

Yet again, no detailed data was shared. This lack of transparency makes it extremely difficult to monitor how the institutions responsible for implementing Law No. 6284 are performing.

Overall, our findings show that family courts and judicial bodies must treat Law No. 6284 not simply as a legal procedure, but as a vital mechanism for protecting women's right to life. A holistic approach to justice is essential—one that takes women's statements seriously, carries out thorough risk assessments, removes barriers to accessing protection, adapts decisions to women's needs, and places gender equality at its core.

# 5.3 Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centers (ŞÖNİM)

Our findings show that, despite their stated purpose of providing comprehensive, one-stop support to women subjected to violence, \$ÖNİM often fall short in practice. These centers are intended to serve as the first point of contact under Law No. 6284, offering psychosocial support, temporary shelter, legal guidance, and assistance with applications for protective measures. While they play a potentially crucial role in helping women break free from cycles of violence, serious problems remain in both accessibility and the quality of services provided.

Women reported that reaching \$ÖNİM is a significant challenge, especially for those living in districts or rural areas. Those outside provincial centers face barriers such as travelling long distances, covering high transport costs, or attempting to leave the control of the perpetrator. In its response to our request for information, the Ministry of Family and Social Services shared the following data:

"Currently, 84 ŞÖNİM operate across 81 provinces in Türkiye. Each province has at least one, while istanbul, izmir, and Mersin have two. In 2024, ŞÖNİM provided services to 270,647 women, 28,023 accompanying children, and 10,092 men. In the first six months of 2025, they served 124,524 women, 13,929 accompanying children, and 4,087 men—reaching a total of 451,302 people.

 $1\ https://www.aile.gov.tr/media/142379/tu-rkiye-de-kadin-temmuz-23.pdf?utm\_source$ 

To improve accessibility, Violence Prevention Contact Points have been established within 420 district-level Social Service Centers."

Even when women reach a ŞÖNİM, they often encounter problems such as insufficient staffing and practices that lack gender sensitivity. In some cases, applications were reduced to simply taking down a phone number, while women seeking shelter were told, "there is no space right now" or "you may not feel comfortable there," delaying access to safe accommodation.

In response to our inquiry about the range of services provided, the Ministry largely shared data on shelters:

"Between 1 January 2024 and 30 June 2025, 4,601 women received legal support and counseling, while 14,614 accessed psychological services. During the same period, 25,402 women staying in shelters received medical care, 5,872 attended vocational training courses, and 740 women entered employment. In addition, 56 women with children over the age of 12 applied to and received services from women's shelters."

Women who applied to our counseling center highlighted that psychosocial support at \$ÖNİM often ended after the initial application, with little or no follow-up. Long-term support, monitoring, and continuity—which are essential for women living with the prolonged effects of violence—were largely absent.

These findings make it clear that ŞÖNİM should not be evaluated merely on their numbers, but on the quality of services they provide. For ŞÖNİM to become an effective part of combating violence, access must be expanded, services must be continuous and multidisciplinary, staff must receive mandatory gender equality training, and an institutional culture that places women's needs at the center must be established.

# 5.4 Shelters, Financial Assistance, and Legal Support Services

Under Law No. 6284, shelters, temporary financial assistance, and legal support are essential mechanisms designed to help women leave violent relationships, strengthen their resilience, and build independent lives. However, due to both limited availability and unequal implementation, these services often fall short of meeting women's needs.

Despite Article 3 of the law allowing local authorities to order "accommodation," not a single one of the 203 case files we examined contained such a measure.

Across Türkiye, the number of shelters remains far too low compared to the population and the demand. While some provinces have no shelters at all, those that exist frequently operate over capacity. In response to our information request, the Ministry of Family and Social Services stated:

"As of July 2025, 112 women's shelters affiliated with our Ministry are operating in 81 provinces, with a total capacity of 2,819. In addition, to improve the quality of services, ensure uniform implementation, and respond to the needs of different groups, efforts toward specialisation are ongoing. As of 2025, 19 specialised shelters are operating in 16 provinces."

The Ministry also reported:

"Between 1 January 2024 and 30 June 2025, 54,490 women and 31,477 accompanying children applied for and received shelter services."

Despite Article 14 of the Municipal Law (No. 5393) requiring metropolitan municipalities and those with populations over 100,000 to establish shelters, many municipalities fail to meet this obligation. The Ministry's response

referred only to the Ministry of Interior's role in "guiding and supporting local governments," without providing any concrete data on municipal shelters. When we asked the General Directorate on the Status of Women (KSGM) about budget allocations, they replied that for 2025, 3.1 billion TL was allocated to shelters, 1.54 billion TL to \$\tilde{\to}\nimethat{N\infty} Million TL to the Directorate's central budget.

Strict admission criteria at shelters—such as requiring proof of physical violence, age restrictions, official documents, pregnancy, or psychiatric diagnoses—prevent many women from accessing these services. Yet the right to safe housing must apply not only in cases of physical violence but also psychological, economic, and digital abuse. Institutional gaps, poor coordination, and rejections or delays in applications leave women at further risk. Expanding shelter services and making admission processes more accessible, inclusive, and women-centered is essential.

The women we support through our counseling center frequently describe these barriers. For example, one woman who had entered a shelter after facing violence from her husband was forced to leave the very next day because she was not allowed to go to work. She was told that shelter rules required her to stay inside for an initial period. Since this was not a viable option for her, we informed her about the possibility of requesting a restraining order to keep her husband away from her home and workplace instead.

Although shelters are meant as temporary accommodation, in practice women's individual circumstances often require longer stays. One woman, living with her sister and mother in a shelter, reported that after their one-year stay expired—and following earlier warnings—they were forced to leave. With legal support from our center, she appealed the decision, but was granted only an additional week, which she spent searching for a new home. Another woman described how repeated reminders from shelter staff that her "time was running out" led to heightened anxiety, eventually resulting in a 20-day psychiatric hospitalisation. This shows that shelters must also support women's transition to independence by actively assisting with housing and employment.

Age restrictions also create serious barriers. According to current regulations, women over 60 who experience violence are not admitted to shelters but referred to other social service institutions. One of our applicants, aged 60, was denied shelter for this reason. When we contacted the ŞÖNİM, we were told she could only be referred to the police, who would then notify the Directorate of Services for Persons with Disabilities and Older Adults. Ultimately, staff insisted that "she won't be left on the street, she will be taken to a care home." Such rigid criteria and lack of clear information force women to shuttle repeatedly between institutions, prolonging their exposure to violence.

In 8 of the 203 case files, women requested temporary financial assistance as a protective measure. Seven requests were granted and one rejected. While this assistance is a critical tool for overcoming the economic barriers women face, it is inadequate in both amount and duration. Most payments are one-off and insufficient to cover basic needs such as housing, transport, or childcare. Furthermore, requirements such as income statements, residence documents, or letters from local officials create additional barriers, especially for women already facing economic abuse. These supports must instead be structured as regular, long-term entitlements that promote women's economic independence, grounded in a rights-based social policy approach.

Legal support services also remain fragmented and limited in scope. Women face inconsistencies in being referred to the legal aid system; lawyer appointments are often delayed or fail to happen at all. Where support is provided, it is usually confined to technical assistance with filing cases, without addressing the broader risks women face throughout proceedings. For women who are illiterate, non-Turkish speaking, disabled, or have migrant status, access to justice becomes almost impossible.

Restricting these services to emergency situations alone creates a service model that does not meet women's real needs. Women require both immediate and ongoing support—delivered in a coordinated, multidimensional, and sustainable way. Shelters, financial aid, and legal assistance must be restructured on the basis of feminist social policy principles: prioritising women's empowerment, avoiding discrimination, and ensuring that services are rights-based public provisions.



#### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

Our monitoring of court decisions, reports, statistics, and testimonies—together with insights from women's organisations and those who used our counseling center makes clear that while Law No. 6284 is a vital tool in combating violence against women, **much still needs to be done to ensure its effective implementation**.

To build that effectiveness, it's essential to **strengthen institutional capacity through a gender-equality lens** and to **enshrine meaningful participation of experienced women's organisations** in decision-making. The law must also be interpreted in a way that includes **LGBTI+s**, **migrants**, **and persons with disabilities**—a truly inclusive, rights-based approach requires it.

Here are our key recommendations:

- Collect and share gender-sensitive, transparent, and accessible data regularly.
- Expand ŞÖNİMs, ensure they have qualified staff, and make their data publicly available.
- Require **mandatory**, **high-quality training** on gender equality and combating male violence for family court judges and all relevant public officials.
- Expand support services for women, including digital access points.
- Clarify Law No. 6284's provisions, particularly law enforcement's duty to intervene.
- Ensure the **framework around coercive detention for restraining order violations** is clear and consistently applied.
- On confidentiality orders;
  - Ensure that decisions are **automatically integrated** across all institutional systems.
  - Clearly define the **scope** of confidentiality measures.
  - Provide **regular in-service training** to public officials.
  - Explicitly include the **right to ex parte (one-sided) applications** in legislation.
  - Establish a system to **automatically extend confidentiality protections to children**.
- In legal aid, prioritise lawyers with training in **gender-based violence**.
- Bar associations must unconditionally appoint lawyers in Law No. 6284 cases, irrespective of income status, and standardise legal aid practices across regions.
- Women's counseling centers, bar associations' women's rights units, and civil society organisations should adopt a **holistic approach** that addresses not only legal needs but also **secondary trauma**.
- For child protection, ensure **Judicial Interview Rooms** and **Child Monitoring Centers** are available in every district and consistently activated—with binding provisions for use by courts and institutions.
- The concept of "fault" in the Civil Code must be **redefined through a gender equality lens**, so that women's work, reproductive decisions, and refusal of unpaid domestic labour are not stigmatized.

- At intake, women must receive **verbal and written information** about all their rights under Law No. 6284.
- Create Rapid Response Units to conduct same-day risk assessments and issue temporary protection orders immediately.
- Guarantee participation of women's organisations in independent monitoring boards and decisionmaking processes.
- Implement gender-sensitive budgeting and data systems, with independent oversight.
- Involve women's organisations directly in state training programmes.
- Remove barriers that prevent **migrants and LGBTI+s** from accessing rights under Law No. 6284, and develop **clear procedures** for inclusion.
- Provide information on legal rights and support services in migrants' native languages, and ensure prompt access to qualified interpreters.

The real power in combating violence against women doesn't lie in legal texts alone, but in the **societal transformation** that brings these laws to life—universally, effectively, and without discrimination. That transformation is embodied by the women who persist in their fight to escape violence and sustain their strength through solidarity.

With this report, we aim to make the experiences of women subjected to violence visible and to clarify the steps needed for the effective implementation of Law No. 6284. May it strengthen feminist solidarity against male violence.





# Appendix-1

Law No. 6284 Monitoring Questionnaire

1. From where was the protection order requested under Law No. 6284?

<ul> <li>□ Family Court</li> <li>□ Law Enforcement – Police</li> <li>□ Law Enforcement – Gendarmerie</li> <li>□ Public Prosecutor's Office</li> <li>□ Local Authority / District Governorate</li> <li>□ Local Authority / Governorship</li> <li>□ Other</li> </ul>		
2. From which court was it obtained?		
3. On what date was the decision issued?		
4. What was requested? What was decided?		
Orders Issued by the Judge	Orders Issued by the Local Authority	
☐ Prevention of threats, insults, degrading or humiliating behaviour towards the protected person	☐ Provision of safe accommodation for the protected person and children	
□ Granted □ Rejected	□ Granted □ Rejected	
☐ Removal of the perpetrator from the shared residence or current location	☐ Provision of temporary financial assistance to the protected person	
□ Granted □ Rejected	□ Granted □ Rejected	
☐ Prohibition on approaching the protected person's residence, workplace, or school	☐ Provision of psychological, vocational, legal, and social counselling services	
□ Granted □ Rejected	□ Granted □ Rejected	
☐ If there is a personal relationship with children: restriction, supervision, or termination of visitation rights	□ Placing the protected person under temporary police protection	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	

☐ Prohibition on approaching relatives and children (except where personal contact is ordered) of the protected person	☐ Provision of temporary childcare services for the protected person's children
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	□ Granted □ Rejected
☐ Prohibition on damaging the personal belongings or household items of the protected person	
□ Granted □ Rejected	
☐ Prohibition on disturbing the protected person through communication tools or other means	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	
☐ Requirement to surrender licensed firearms to law enforcement	
□ Granted □ Rejected	
☐ Requirement to return firearms carried due to public duty to the relevant institution	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	
☐ Prohibition on using alcohol, drugs, or stimulants near the protected person or their residence; or approaching them while under the influence. In cases of addiction, compulsory medical examination and treatment, including hospitalization	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	
☐ If addicted to alcohol, drugs, or stimulants: compulsory examination and treatment, including hospitalization	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	
☐ Requirement to apply to a healthcare facility for examination or treatment	
□ Granted □ Rejected	
☐ Change of workplace for the protected person	
□ Granted □ Rejected	
☐ Allocation of a separate residence for the protected person when married and sharing a household	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	

☐ Placing an annotation on the shared residence in the land registry as a "family residence," in line with the Civil Code	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	
☐ Change of identity and related records under the Witness Protection Law	
□ Granted □ Rejected	
☐ Monitoring of the perpetrator through technical means (electronic ankle bracelet)	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	
☐ Ensuring the confidentiality of the protected person's information	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	
☐ Temporary alimony from the perpetrator in favor of the protected person	
□ Granted □ Rejected	
☐ Allocation of the shared residence to the protected person	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	
☐ Payment of utility bills for the residence by the perpetrator	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	
☐ Delivery of personal belongings through law enforcement	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	
☐ Participation in training and rehabilitation programmes (anger management, stress management, awareness on preventing violence, behavioural change programmes)	
☐ Granted ☐ Rejected	

<ul><li>□ If time-limited, for how long?</li><li>□ If financial, how much was granted?</li></ul>	them as well?  ☐ Yes ☐ No
6. Did the perpetrator appeal the decision?  ☐ Yes ☐ No	19. What types of violence formed the basis of the decision? (multiple may be selected)
7. If yes;	a. □ Physical
☐ Appeal accepted	b.   Economic
☐ Appeal rejected	c. 🗆 Psychological
□ Other	d. □ Sexual
	e. □ Digital
8. If rejected, what was the reason?	f. □ Stalking
9. If rejected;	20. How was the violence carried out? (multiple
☐ Appealed ☐ Not appealed	may be selected)
40.16	a.   Beating (punching, slapping, kicking)
10. If appealed;	b. □ Sharp objects
☐ Another assigned court accepted the requests	c. ☐ Firearms
☐ Appeal rejected	<ul> <li>d. □ Verbal insults, humiliation, intimidation, threats</li> </ul>
11. Who followed the file?	e. 🗆 Harassment, rape, sexual assault
☐ Private Lawyer	f.   Economic violence (confiscating money or
☐ Gelincik Center	belongings)
□ Bar Association Legal Aid	g. 🗆 Stalking
☐ Applicant herself (without lawyer)	
□ Court-Appointed Lawyer (CMK)	21. Who was the perpetrator?
□ Other	☐ Husband
	☐ Ex-husband
12. Are there other ongoing cases?	<ul><li>□ Partner</li><li>□ Ex-partner</li></ul>
□ Divorce	☐ Own family
☐ Division of assets	☐ Husband's / ex-husband's family
<ul><li>☐ Custody</li><li>☐ Alimony</li></ul>	☐ Partner's / ex-partner's family
☐ Criminal case	☐ Colleague
□ Other	□ Other
13. Is there a complaint to the prosecutor or an investigation regarding the incident that led to the protection order request?	22. Was the protection order violated?  ☐ Yes ☐ No
☐ Yes ☐ No	23. Was the violation reported?
1 163 1110	☐ Yes ☐ No
14. Were any pieces of evidence submitted in	
connection with the incident?	24. If reported, was any sanction imposed?
☐ Yes ☐ No	☐ Yes ☐ No
15. If the protection order expired, was an	25. If yes;
extension requested?	☐ Coercive detention ☐ Fine
☐ Yes ☐ No	
16. If yes;	26. Did the woman file a complaint about the violation?
•	☐ Yes ☐ No
a. How many times was an extension requested?	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
b. For how long was it extended?	27. Was a criminal investigation launched
17. Are there shared children?	regarding the violation?
☐ Yes ☐ No	☐ Yes ☐ No

## **Appendix-2**

#### Law No. 6284 and Gender Equality: Indicator Set for Establishing Monitoring Mechanisms

- Number of applications for restraining orders
- Number of restraining orders granted
- Number of restraining orders rejected
- Number of perpetrators subject to restraining orders, broken down by their relationship to the woman (spouse/partner, former spouse/partner, father, brother, etc.)
- Number of appeals against restraining orders
- Number of appeals rejected
- Number of restraining orders issued without evidence being submitted
- Number of applications to extend existing restraining orders
- Number of restraining orders extended
- Number of repeat restraining orders
- Number of restraining orders violated
- Number of coercive detention orders issued for violation of restraining orders
- Number of fines issued for violation of restraining orders
- Number of criminal cases initiated after violation of restraining orders was reported
- Number of applications for close protection
- Number of close protection orders granted
- Number of applications for electronic ankle bracelet
- Number of electronic ankle bracelet orders granted
- Number of applications for confidentiality orders
- Number of confidentiality orders granted
- Number of women experiencing problems with confidentiality orders
- Number of women experiencing problems with confidentiality orders due to children's school registration
- Number of women experiencing problems with confidentiality orders due to employment records with the Social Security Institution
- Number of women experiencing problems with confidentiality orders due to the Centralized Doctor Appointment System (MHRS)
- Number of women experiencing problems with confidentiality orders in applications for financial assistance
- Number of women applying to lift confidentiality orders
- Number of applications for identity change
- Number of identity change orders granted
- Number of women experiencing problems with identity change orders
- Number of applications to lift identity change orders
- Number of applications for restraining orders for children

- Number of restraining orders for children granted
- Number of applications for childcare/kindergarten support for children
- Number of childcare/kindergarten support orders granted
- Number of applications for temporary or permanent suspension of visitation rights with children
- Number of orders granted for temporary or permanent suspension of visitation rights with children
- Number of shelters required by regulation
- Number of existing shelters
- Number of shelter applications
- Number of shelter applications granted
- Number of applications to the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality for in-kind support after shelter stay
- Number of applications to the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality for financial support after shelter stay
- Number of applications to the Ministry of Family and Social Services for in-kind support after shelter stay
- Number of applications to the Ministry of Family and Social Services for financial support after shelter stay
- Number of applications to district governorships for in-kind support after shelter stay
- Number of applications to district governorships for financial support after shelter stay
- Number of cases where the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality provided in-kind support after shelter stay
- Number of cases where the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality provided financial support after shelter stay
- Number of cases where the Ministry of Family and Social Services provided in-kind support after shelter stay
- Number of cases where the Ministry of Family and Social Services provided financial support after shelter stay
- Number of cases where district governorships provided in-kind support after shelter stay
- Number of cases where district governorships provided financial support after shelter stay
- Number of women receiving psycho-social support from ŞÖNİM
- Number of women receiving legal support from SÖNİM
- Number of children receiving psycho-social support from ŞÖNİM
- Number of women receiving legal support while staying in shelters
- Number of women receiving psycho-social support while staying in shelters
- Number of children receiving psycho-social support while staying in shelters
- Number of women receiving medical treatment or health services while staying in shelters
- Number of women attending vocational or skills training courses while staying in shelters
- Number of women who started paid employment while staying in shelters
- Number of women placed in a job by the General Directorate on the Status of Women while staying in shelters
- Number of women with male children over 12 years old applying for shelter
- Number of women with male children over 12 years old accepted into shelters

- Number of housing requests from women with male children over 12 years old
- Number of housing requests granted for women with male children over 12 years old
- Number of cases where male children over 12 were placed in another institution while their mothers stayed in shelters
- Is ŞÖNİM accessible 24/7 by phone?
- Outside working hours, do professional staff work on a rotation basis to provide support to women?
- Number of applications for workplace change
- Number of workplace change orders granted
- Number of applications for "family residence" annotation on the shared residence in the land registry
- Number of "family residence" annotation orders granted
- Number of applications for housing allocation
- Number of housing allocation orders granted
- Number of applications for surrender of weapons to law enforcement (if applicable)
- Number of orders granted for surrender of weapons to law enforcement (if applicable)
- Number of applications for health-related measures in cases where the perpetrator has alcohol, drug, or stimulant addiction, or a psychological disorder
- Number of health-related measures granted in such cases
- Are shelters conducting activities to support women's education and training?
- Do shelters organize awareness-raising and educational activities on gender inequality and combating violence against women?
- Is the policy on combating violence against women comprehensive?
- Do coordination and cooperation efforts focus on women's empowerment?
- Do shelters have the physical conditions and security measures to meet children's needs?
  - Is there a separate room for children interviews?
  - Is there a separate playroom?
- Is the Alo 183 hotline accessible 24/7?
- Does the Alo 183 hotline provide support in Arabic?
- Does the Alo 183 hotline provide support in Kurdish?
- Does the Alo 183 hotline provide support in Farsi?

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