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# Melsa Ararat Editor

# Business Against Intimate Partner Violence

A Case of Participatory Action Research and Social Action



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Edited by Melsa Ararat With contribution by Sevda Alkan

# Business Against Intimate Partner Violence

A Case of Participatory Action Research and Social Action



*Editor* Melsa Ararat School of Management Sabanci University Istanbul, Turkey

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# Foreword by Karl Kulessa

Gender-based violence which reflects and reinforces inequalities between women and men is a serious problem, which tragically is all too common. It has consequences that affect women above all, but also ramifications across society. It has been described as the most prevalent human rights violation in the world. Gender-based violence is exceptionally dehumanizing, pervasive, oppressive, and no other form of discrimination violates so many of the fundamental human rights set out under the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Over many years despite considerable efforts by governments, international institutions and most importantly by women's movements, women and girls are still exposed to violence, being abused, trafficked, their access to education, work life and political participation denied, to name just a few human rights violations.

Gender-based violence is not just a violation of human rights, but also a type of violence which has a direct and damaging impact on a woman's access to paid work (e.g., because the victim cannot fully participate in the labor market due to the psychological, physical, and social consequences of the abuse) and, as a consequence, on her income and on society as a whole. There is increasing recognition in the literature about the importance of addressing violence in the workplace, especially the types in which women are often victims. Such violence is moving from being a "hidden" to a "disclosed" issue, and growing evidence has contributed to giving more equal emphasis to sustained psychological aggression including bullying, mobbing, and sexual harassment, of which women are also often targets. The interplay between domestic violence and gender-based violence at work has also become increasingly apparent.

In the past two decades, several UN agencies, international initiatives, and some private sector companies have been looking into women's employment problem with different lenses. Through these new lenses, they aim to support the empowerment of women in working life by identifying methods of deploying business organizations as a channel through which human rights of women are exercised and as means of a provision of equal, safe, and fair working conditions for women. Akin to other countries, in Turkey women still do not enjoy equal economic or social status with their male counterparts. Economic independence does improve the quality of lives of women in Turkey. Women, regardless of their education and seniority in the business world, are repeatedly being subject to physical and emotional violence and due to cultural norms fear to talk about it and ask for help.

As in many other aspects of life gender inequality persists also in the labor market. Labor force participation rate of women is 30 and 70% for men. Unemployment rate of men is 9.7 and 13% for women. One of the important factors of women's underrepresentation in labor force is gender-based violence the women may face in their working lives.

Gender-based violence against women as a concept rooted from gender inequality is widespread in Turkey as in the rest of the world. The survey titled "Business against Domestic Violence" conducted in 2014 among some of the WEPs signatory private sector companies indicates a high prevalence of domestic violence among white-collar working women (75% experience any type of violence at least once in their lifetime) and the absence of response mechanisms within the private sector. This means that women, regardless of their background and seniority in their work life, are persistently subjected to physical, psychological, and economic violence. This owes much to cultural norms, fear of one's losing job, embarrassment but also lack of support mechanisms to talk about such violence and ask for help.

One of the mandates of UNFPA is the advancement of women, because we know that empowering women means closing the gender gap. And gender equality can enhance economic productivity, improve development outcomes for the next generations, and having more equitable policies which lead the world to become a better place. In such a picture, Private Sector has an important role in the advancement of women. It has become one of the important driving forces in the development agenda in the past decade and with the SDGs and 2030 Agenda goals to be reached, everyone including the private sector needs to do their part. Goal number 17 which is on partnerships with the goals is the specific one to reach them with private sector.

We are very happy to see that Business against Domestic Violence project which is welcome by many prominent companies and holdings of Turkey has a leadership role to develop policies and establish mechanisms regarding to combat GBV in the workplace to create a violence-free environment. As UNFPA, we are very proud to be part of such an innovative project through which 54 companies benefitted from the research on domestic violence and private sector, guidebook to develop company policies and gender equality training. We also believe that this book consists of experiences of companies and the history of gender equality in Turkey will be an important asset for future interventions of private sector, academia, and the government. We cannot but stress the importance of this partnership with Sabancı University, TUSİAD, Sabancı Foundation, and all the private sector partners which implemented the project in their companies. As UNFPA, we welcome and thank you for your readiness to work with the United Nations Population Fund on the important topic of gender-based violence against women.

Karl Kulessa UNFPA Representative Turkey—Country Director for Azerbaijan and Georgia Ankara, Turkey

# Foreword by Simone Kaslowski

Women should become more influential in every aspect of social life, especially in education, working life and decision-making mechanisms. "Violence against women" is a very important problem arising from the failure to achieve gender equality, as well as reinforcing gender inequality further. The data draws attention to the extent of the problem both worldwide and in our country: 723 million, that is to say, 3 out of 10 women in the world are victims of violence.<sup>1</sup> Four out of 10 women in Turkey have suffered physical and/or sexual violence from their spouses or partners at one point in their lives. Twenty-four percent have been subjected to economic violence such as being prevented from working, forced to leave their jobs, or deprived of their income.<sup>2</sup>

Domestic violence against women is, first and foremost, a violation of human rights. Violence is also a key factor that prevents women from accessing health, education, and social life, hindering their empowerment in economic and social areas. According to the UNDP report, the economic cost of violence becomes manifested in the form of medical and judicial services, loss of productivity, and potential loss of wages<sup>3</sup>. In order to overcome the direct and indirect consequences of violence, a "zero tolerance to violence" approach must be adopted, which must be propagated by the joint efforts of the public and private sectors as well as civil society.

The equal access of women to the opportunities yielded by economic growth is a requirement for achieving social welfare and sustainable development. Studies clearly show that the involvement of women in the economy empowers both the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>McKinsey Global Institute, 2015. "The Power of Parity: How advancing Women's Equality Can Add \$12 Trillion to Global Growth" http://www.mckinsey.com/global-themes/employment-and-growth/how-advancing-womens-equality-can-add-12-trillion-to-global-growth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>"Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey Summary Report", December 2014, The Ministry of Family and Social Policies and Hacettepe University http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/ING\_SUMMARY\_REPORT\_VAW\_2014.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourperspective/ourperspectivearticles/2013/03/29/ violence-against-women-also-hurts-business-and-development.html.

institutions they work in, and the global economy in general. When countries attain "best in region" levels of gender equality in economic participation, the global economy stands to grow by 12 trillion US dollars or 11% by 2025.<sup>4</sup> Research suggests that companies which achieve gender equality improve their performance as well.<sup>5</sup>

It is known that the number of companies that incorporate the concept of gender equality into their corporate policies has been increasing as the awareness about understanding of inclusive growth becomes widespread. TÜSİAD firmly believes that policies to prevent "violence against women" should be included in the corporate policies of the companies, and that we must mobilize all our corporate capabilities to fight against violence. It is imperative to develop permanent solutions through sustainable projects and provide companies with tools and methods they can benefit from.

In this understanding, TÜSİAD has been proudly supporting "Business Against Domestic Violence" project since 2015. Even before I became the president of TÜSİAD, my company (Organik Holding) was also one of the first pilot firms and the project definitely improved our institutional capacity to fight against domestic violence.

TÜSİAD and its member companies also provided input to the "Business Against Domestic Violence Policy Development and Implementation Guide" which is a valuable resource for all companies. We express our gratitude to the Sabancı University Corporate Governance Forum, UNFPA, and Sabancı Foundation, for this valuable partnership in the BADV project.

This project underlines the importance of the cooperation between academia, civil society, and the private sector to address the issues and take effective actions to achieve Sustainable Development Goals, including gender equality. We share our experience in this book with all the interested parties.

TÜSİAD supported the dissemination of the "Business Against Domestic Violence" project and will continue to do so. It falls upon all of us to create an environment where women live in safety. "We cannot fly on one wing alone".

Istanbul, Turkey

Simone Kaslowski TÜSİAD President

# Reference

McKinsey Global Institute (2015) The power of parity: How advancing women's equality can add \$12 trillion to global growth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>McKinsey Global Institute, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>McKinsey, "Why Diversity Matters" 2015. http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/organization/ why\_diversity\_matters.

# Foreword by Nevgül Bilsel Safkan

Domestic violence against women is one of the most prevalent forms of human rights violations worldwide, irrespective of education or economic development. Figures paint a stark picture. Thirty percent of the world's women are subjected to some form of violence.<sup>6</sup> In Turkey, this is closer to 39%.<sup>7</sup> In other words, 4 out of 10 women in Turkey suffer some form of violence at the hands of their spouses or partners at one point in their lives. Considering that 48% of women are unable to speak to anyone about the violence they suffer, we may assume that reported data is far below actual.

Violence against women is a fundamental threat to the lives of its victims and prevents them from taking part in social life or economic output. Violence victims face challenges in obtaining and retaining employment. Unfortunately, domestic violence is usually regarded as a private matter in Turkey, and its detrimental effect on women's participation in the economy is disregarded.

Tackling a multidimensional issue like violence against women necessitates extensive cooperation between academia, civil society, and businesses. The Business Against Domestic Violence Project implemented by the Sabanci University Corporate Governance Forum in association with TÜSİAD, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and Sabanci Foundation set a brilliant example in this regard. The project ensures the cooperation of different actors and empowers businesses to become stakeholders that play an active part in fighting domestic violence while recommending tangible solutions. The "Business Against Domestic Violence Policy Development and Implementation Guide" prepared as part of the project is a first in that it is a definitive guide to what companies can do to tackle the issue. Companies that adopt solution recommendations and support mechanisms presented in the Guide will ensure equality for their employees while significantly improving social justice.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>McKinsey Global Institute, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>"Türkiye'de Kadına Yönelik Aile İçi Şddet Araştırması", Ministry of Family and Social Policy and Hacettepe University: http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/KKSA-TRAnaRaporKitap26Mart.pdf.

As Sabanci Foundation, we have been conducting projects for women, youth, and persons with disabilities for over a decade, making the improvement of the human rights of women a priority. Through our grant programs we work with leading civil society organizations to implement long-term projects designed to secure gender equality in Turkey. We believe that violence against women cannot be tackled independent of gender equality. As a result, we are proud to be a sponsor of the "Business Against Domestic Violence" project, and to help disseminate the project as a best practice across Turkey and the world. We would like to thank the Sabanci University Corporate Governance Forum for their dedicated work, and the United Nations Population Fund and TÜSİAD for their support.

In addition to public policies, we must each play an active part in reaching permanent and sustainable solutions, starting with our immediate spheres from influence. We invite businesses to develop and implement policies for domestic violence against women, and hope that this publication guides and directs them in this matter.

Istanbul, Turkey

Nevgül Bilsel Safkan Sabancı Foundation General Manager

# Reference

McKinsey Global Institute (2015) The power of parity: How advancing women's equality can add \$12 trillion to global growth

# Preface

Damn your killing love! This was the slogan of women who flooded the streets of Istanbul in the Valentine's day protests on February 14, 2018. In Turkey, "love" claimed between 290 and 255 women's lives in 2017 and 2018, respectively.<sup>8</sup> During the same period, 244<sup>9</sup> and 94<sup>10</sup> Turkish soldiers, gendarme, and police were killed in their fight against terror, which is depicted as the most important problem the country was facing according to the Turkish government.

Whether we call it domestic violence or intimate partner terror, violence at home is a global epidemic as the World Health Organization calls it. In 2017, 50,000 women were killed, at the hands of an intimate partner or a family member according to a recent research published by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).<sup>11</sup> This amounts to some six women being killed every hour by people they once loved. "Home is the most dangerous place for women", said UNODC in its press release.

How do things get out of control? What is the pattern of escalation? At what point, after how many threats or intense moments of aggression, does a woman realize that it is not "love"? How are they entrapped, isolated, and cut off from family, work, friends, and colleagues? Why do women stay in an abusive relationship even when they are well educated and have an income? What does it take to break free? How many survivors are out there, in our neighborhood, in our office? Is leaving more dangerous than staying? Does work offer the safest route to freedom as some argue? Can it? How?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>https://bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/205428-erkek-siddetinin-2018-grafigi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>https://www.haber3.com/guncel/turkiye-2017-yilinda-kac-sehit-verdi-haberi-4904438.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>http://www.kpsscafe.com.tr/gundem/bakan-soylu-2018-yilinda-verilen-sehit-sayisini-acikladi-h90959.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/2018/November/home-the-most-dangerous-place-forwomen-with-majority-of-female-homicide-victims-worldwide-killed-by-partners-or-family-unodcstudy-says.html.

Snyder (2019) in her award-winning book "No Visible Bruises" writes: "leaving is not an event; it is a process," and it takes the average victim seven or eight times to leave an abuser. "Why do victims stay isn't the question we need to be asking," she says, "a better question is: how do we protect this person?" who negotiates her life every day. Perhaps some other good questions are: how can we change men who have been taught that "it is their social obligation to be superior," not only to women but to each other and it is ok to use force and violence to enforce their authority; how can we change the social norms and power structures so that men appreciate justice, equality, and intimacy, instead of violence, terror, and control? What a different world of work and private life we would have if we only could!

This book is a humble answer to the questions; "how can businesses help woman employees in their fight against all forms of violence including coercion, psychological and economic abuse, and intimidation; how can they protect them and empower them?" It is also a humble proposal to business schools and businesses to work together in the fight against this "most shameful human rights violation".<sup>12</sup>

Apeldoorn, Netherlands June 2019

Melsa Ararat

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Snyder R.L. (2019) No Visible Bruises. Bloomsbury Publishing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>https://www.un.org/press/en/1999/19990308.sgsm6919.html.

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# About the Editor

**Melsa Ararat** is the founding director of the Corporate Governance Forum of Turkey (CGFT, 2013- present) and principle researcher at Sabanci University School of Management. She had an extensive corporate background in senior management and board positions in Turkey, the Benelux, Singapore and Japan within Philips group prior to her academic career.

As an activist scholar, Dr. Ararat's scholarly background is in Management and Strategy and her research focuses on corporate governance and sustainability. She coordinates IFC endorsed Emerging Markets Corporate Governance Research Network since 2006 and was actively involved in policy work as a consultant to the World Bank Group until 2016. Since 2015 she has been serving as a board governor of the ICGN (International Corporate Governance Network), an investor-led and membership-based organization of governance experts. In May 2019, she was elected to the board of United Nations Global Compact Turkey Network for a three year period. She oversees CDP's Turkey operation and chairs the Steering Committee of 30% Club's Turkey Chapter.

# Part I Gender Equality: An imperative for Achieving Sustainable Development Goals

# Introduction

#### Melsa Ararat

Eliminating gender-based violence has recently been recognized as an important part of the development agenda as articulated in the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that about one in three women worldwide have experienced physical and/or sexual violence at least once during their lifetime. Most of this violence is perpetuated by a current intimate partner or ex-partner. Although it is more prevalent in developing countries where social norms and embedded economic disadvantages decrease women's options, intimate partner violence (IPV) is widespread around the world and in all segments of the society (Bhalotra et al. 2018). In the European Union for example, 22% of women who are, or have been in a relationship with a man, have experienced physical and/or sexual violence after the age of 15 (FRA 2014). As such, the SDGs explicitly call for the "elimination of all forms of violence against women" as an imperative for achieving Gender Equality, one of the 17 SDGs.

IPV has a profound psychological impact on a woman's confidence and capacity to participate effectively in the labor force (Adams et al. 2013); IPV is, for this reason, increasingly recognized as a business issue due to its spillover effect on the workplace and economy.

This book is about the Business Against Domestic Violence (BADV) project, which has been initiated and coordinated by the Corporate Governance Forum of Turkey (CGFT)—a research center at Sabancı University's School of Management, as a participatory action research project. The Project is aimed at exploring business agency in achieving gender equality through playing a catalytic role in mobilizing companies and business associations against IPV in Turkey in collaboration with the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD). Turkey represents an ideal setting for observing

the role of business in achieving gender equality, as it has the highest gender gap amongst G-20 states following Saudi Arabia (WEF 2018), the lowest labor force participation by women amongst all OECD countries (OECD 2018), and a persistently high record of gender-based violence.

The BADV Project is built upon the results of a survey conducted by the CGFT in 2014, which revealed that the majority of white-collar working women in Turkey were affected by IPV. These results contradicted the widely held assumption that IPV is a problem for less educated women or women who don't have economic independence. The survey challenged this perception; it unveiled the pervasive and indiscriminate nature of IPV, while at the same time, it supplemented findings of previous studies that reported the negative consequences of IPV on businesses and the workplace. The findings were published in a report which called for companies to take action for the sake of their own viability. In response, the board of TÜSİAD, a membership-based association of Turkey's largest companies and a member of Business Europe,<sup>1</sup> decided to collaborate with the CGFT in mobilizing its 400 member firms. As a result of this collaboration, the BADV Project has now evolved from an action research project to a social movement.

The first phase of the Project focused on developing a guide to help companies set a workplace policy with the objective of supporting their female employees experiencing IPV. The development of the guide was followed by a pilot implementation by participating companies. In the third phase, following a revision of the guide to reflect the experiences of the pilot phase, the Project was rolled out to other industrial cities in Turkey to test the validity of the approach in different socio-economic contexts. Between 2016 and 2018, the BADV campaign included 52 companies with more than 1,00,000 employees in four cities. At the time this book was written, enrollment of companies for the 2019 program was in progress.

BADV continues to evolve and serve as an instrument not only for supporting working women in their struggle against IPV, but also for changing attitudes and organizational norms towards a rooted appreciation of gender equality and respect for human rights in the business environment. The scope and content of policies developed by companies as well as the outreach campaigns they initiated during the Project are manifestations of this change.

The broader motivation behind this book is the desire to contribute to the practice of corporate social responsibility (CSR) towards achieving SDGs by 'telling the story' of a successful partnership between a university, business association, and UN agency, who collaborated to mobilize companies around an SDG target. We believe that the approach used in the Project has proven to be effective in transforming companies to corporate citizens and business leaders and employees to social change agents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Business Europe is a pan-European confederation whose members consists of national business federations and associations in 35 European countries. It aims to 'foster solidarity' between its members by 'encouraging a Europe-wide competitive industrial policy and acting as a spokesperson body to the European institutions': https://www.businesseurope.eu/, accessed on April 30, 2019.

The book is organized as follows: part 1 'tells the story': the BADV Project and its background. The importance of gender equality and IPV to business and the economy serves as a prelude to this story. The story is 'told together' by including anecdotes from participating actors. The motivation, underlying research, project organization, implementation process, and the outcome of the Project are addressed in detail. A deconstruction of the Project reveals the significance of the participating actors and the interactions between them in creating social change. Based on the reflective analysis of the Project, part 1 concludes with an actor-agency framework for social action proposal in order to achieve the SDGs. The role of business schools and management scholars in achieving development goals is also discussed at the end of part 1.

Part 2 sheds a multidisciplinary light on the local context in which the BADV Project has come to life and evolved. It begins with Berktay's presentation of the historical and cultural roots of gender-based violence in Turkey. Berktay argues that the effect of radical legal changes brought on by Republican reforms were limited with regard to changing the role of women in society. Izdes's article follows this historical perspective with an overview of the role of women in the Turkish economy by presenting gendered employment dynamics across economic cycles. Against the background of this setting, Cubukcu examines the parameters of change in gender equality across the country with an overview of feminism in Turkey as well as its current position as a central theme in the political and social agenda. Ağduk's article specifically focuses on the history of the struggle against domestic violence in Turkey by elaborating on the role of private sector as a new and powerful actor in multi-stakeholder/multisectoral interventions. Part 2 concludes with Cağlar's article on the local and international legal framework around the responsibilities of the private sector, and companies in general, in eliminating gender-based violence and protecting human rights.

In our view, the BADV project represents a case of an academia/business partnership in co-creating actionable knowledge and engaging with relevant actors to undertake a collaborative social action towards achieving a SDG. The case and the reflections presented in this book are undoubtedly rooted in the local context depicted in part 2. We believe however, they may serve as useful resources for engaged scholars and business leaders in bringing social change in other contexts.

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# **Chapter 1 The Global Context: Sustainable Development Goals and Gender Equality**



Melsa Ararat

# Abbreviations

- CGFT Corporate Governance Forum of Turkey
- DV Domestic Violence
- EU European Union
- ILO International Labour Organisation
- IPV Intimate Partner Violence
- SDG Sustainable Development Goals
- OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
- UN United Nations
- VNR Voluntary National Review

The 2030 Development Agenda,<sup>1</sup> adopted unanimously by the 193 United Nations (UN) member countries on September 25, 2015, is a universal call to action for transforming the world to one that is free from poverty, inequality, violence, manmade natural disasters, and resource depletion for the current and future generations. The 2030 Agenda sets 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 associated Targets that represent a broad intergovernmental consensus on the world's development priorities.<sup>2</sup> The Goals were set through a participative process led by the UN, which included states, companies, civil society organizations, scientists, and experts over a period of 3 years. "Commitment to universal human rights" is depicted as the overarching normative and ethical framework for the SDGs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For the Development Agenda, see https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/ transformingourworld. Accessed on August 31, 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>For the 17 SDGs and the 169 Targets, see https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/. Accessed on August 23, 2018.

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The 2030 Agenda prioritizes *Gender Equality* as a standalone Goal as well as a cross-cutting theme, without which the aims of the Agenda cannot be realized. Elimination of "all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres" is one of the six targets set for achieving *Gender Equality*, which is Goal 5 of the 2030 Agenda.

#### **SDG 5: Gender Equality Target**

Target 5.1. End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere.

# Target 5.2. Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation.

Target 5.3. Eliminate all harmful practices such as child, early, and forced marriage and female genital mutilation.

Target 5.4. Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure, and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate.

Target 5.5. Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life.

Target 5.6. Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences.

The central premise of the 2030 Agenda is "leaving no one behind," based on the notion that the Agenda's Goals and Targets should be met for the benefit of all nations, people, and segments of society. A fundamental component of the implementation of the Agenda by UN member states is the monitoring and reporting element. Since 2016, 102 states have issued at least one Voluntary National Review (VNR) on their progress toward the SDGs. It is anticipated that an additional 41 countries will be issuing their VNRs for the first time in 2019.<sup>3</sup> Gender Equality is one of the themes that a majority of reporting countries covered extensively in their VNRs. Moreover, 95% of the countries that issued a VNR report in 2017 identified *women* as the group that requires a special focus in order "not to be left behind."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>For a synthesis of all VNRs, see UN DESA (2017, 2018). Synthesis of Voluntary National reviews available at https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/. For Turkey's 2016 VNR, see https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/107102030% 20Agenda%20Turkey%20Report.pdf. Accessed on April 13, 2019.

#### **UN Quote**

Women's economic empowerment is at the heart of the 2030 Agenda. We will not achieve the Sustainable Development Goals if there is no accelerated action to empower women economically. We know that women's participation in all spheres of life, including in the economy, is essential to sustainable and durable peace and to the realization of human rights.

UN General Secretary's High-Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment, 2017

SDGs depart from their predecessor, the Millennium Goals,<sup>4</sup> through their explicit calls for businesses to engage with the Goals in partnership with the governments based on the understanding that they can't be attained without contribution from the private sector. The concept of a partnership between the UN and private sector was new for both parties, as well as for civil society organizations.<sup>5</sup> The call, however, has been well received. In 2017, 57% of the world's 250 largest companies mentioned the SDGs in their corporate reports and 50% of them specifically mentioned Goal 5-Gender Equality as one of their priorities. Moreover, "representation of women in management positions" has been the second most reported indicator chosen by the companies to measure and report on their contribution to the Goals.<sup>6</sup>

Inequality between genders remains one of the most difficult dimensions of inequality to overcome. Around the world, and more so in the developing world, women face socioeconomic disadvantages as a result of discriminatory social norms, violence, and constraints on speech and participation. Representation of women in management correlates specifically and directly to Target 5.5-labor force participation by women and indirectly to Target 5.2-elimination of gender-based violence, as a representation of women in management positions strengthens women's agency in decisions that have an impact on women's rights and health. It also relates to Target 8.5-the achievement of full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men. Achieving Gender Equality is, therefore, a fundamental dimension of Goal 10-Reducing Inequality.

#### Quote

We all aspire to the aims of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), but if we are to achieve the world we want by 2030, it simply must be gender-equal. And it's not just a matter of focusing on Goal 5, the specific target on gender. Gender equality

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>See https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/. Accessed on April 4, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>See the column by Gillian Tee: "The UN started to talk business," Financial Times, September 21, 2017, https://www.ft.com/content/11b19afc-9d97-11e7-9a86-4d5a475ba4c5. Accessed on August 23, 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Report by PWC, SDG Reporting Challenge 2017, see https://www.pwc.com/gx/en/sustainability/ SDG/pwc-sdg-reporting-challenge-2017-final.pdf. Accessed on August 23, 2018.

and the empowerment of women and girls must happen across all the SDGs to ensure their success, from poverty to sanitation and climate change.

Paul Polman, Former Chief Executive Officer, Unilever

The first internationally agreed-upon definition of violence against women was introduced in Article 1 of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women published in 1993:

violence against women means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.<sup>7</sup>

Article 3 of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence<sup>8</sup> (hereinafter "the Istanbul Convention"), defines both "violence against women" and "domestic violence" separately, as follows:

(a) 'violence against women' is understood as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life;

(b) 'domestic violence' shall mean all acts of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence that occur within the family or domestic unit or between former or current spouses or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim.<sup>9</sup>

# **1.1** Why Gender Equality Matter for Companies and the Economy

The recent attention gender equality received from businesses is grounded predominantly in self-interest. Various studies report that gender diversity and equality matter for the competitiveness and growth of companies. For example, Bernile et al. (2016) found that diverse boards invest more in research and development. IMF researchers Christiansen et al. (2016) report that gender diversity in corporate senior positions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>UN, General Assembly, Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, A/RES/48/104, 20 December 1993, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Council of Europe (2011), Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, Explanatory report, available at www.coe.int/en/ web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/210.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Council of Europe, Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, CETS No. 210, 2011, p. 8.

affect firm performance more in sectors where women form a larger share of the workforce (such as services) and where critical thinking is in high demand (such as high-tech and knowledge-intensive industries) based on an investigation of 2 million companies throughout Europe. Firms with greater gender diversity in boards and top management positions perform better. For example, Fortune 500 companies with the highest percentage of women on the board outperform those with the least (the bottom quartile) by 53% for return on equity and 66% for return on invested capital (Catalyst 2007). In a meta-analytic study compiling 140 studies on the relationship between gender diversity on boards and firm performance, Post and Byron (2015) concludes that the representation of women on corporate boards is associated with better firm performance and causes higher social and environmental responsibility.

While the representation of women on boards and senior management roles matter for companies, recent research strongly suggests that a precondition for greater representation of women in top positions is greater full-time employment of women (Adams and Kirchmaier 2015).<sup>10</sup> Women's access to full employment can also have the structural effect of shifting social norms and stereotypes in a gender-equitable direction (Seguino 2007). Unfortunately, the participation of women in business organizations declines steadily when moving along the corporate ladder toward the executive positions (McKinsey 2017).

The first challenge is to get women employed. Although the gap in the participation rates between men and women is narrowing in developed countries, it continues to widen in emerging economies, where it stands at 30.5% as of 2018 (ILO 2018). Women in some of these countries are more constrained in terms of their options to seek paid employment due to restrictive gender and cultural norms (ILO 2017). Occupational segregation is persistent across labor markets resulting in a significant gender pay gap. While women's access to education has converged with men's, women on average earn about 24% less than men (UN Women 2015).

Women's participation in the labor force in Turkey indeed hit its lowest point (37.6%) in 2017, which represented the lowest rate of increase from 28% since 2000 among all OECD countries (OECD 2019). The unequal division of unpaid care and domestic work remains a systematic barrier to full-time and effective employment in Turkey and around the world for women. Women often stay out of work or leave the workforce because their socially defined roles coupled with discriminatory or unsupportive maternity policies seem incompatible with career development. The dilemma faced by women was demonstrated in the inaugural meeting of the Professional Women's Network Turkey Chapter in 2013 by the attendees' reaction when the editor of this book challenged the call to "lean in"<sup>11</sup> as the way for women to climb the corporate ladder. One woman in the audience broke the silence and exclaimed: "We are so tired!" Her outburst was subsequently echoed and affirmed by many of her peers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Although working full time may not be sufficient for women to make it to the top due to economic and cultural barriers, it is nevertheless a necessary condition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>In her book "Lean In," Sheryl Sanberg (2013) suggests women who are seeking to advance their careers to be more assertive and focus on self-improvement.

Social norms may also place pressure on women to enter low-paying occupations that accommodate more flexible working hours or part-time jobs (Albanesi and Olivetti 2009). In OECD countries, the median wage of a woman working full-time is 85% that of a man's (The Economist 2017) whereas the global average annual earnings for women was \$12,000 compared to men's earnings of \$21,000 in 2017 (WEF 2017). This is not only because women are paid less than men for the same job, but also because occupations dominated by women have lower status and pay. Second, long maternity leaves increase the gender pay gap (Thévenon and Solaz 2013). Given the differences in pay, women's opportunity cost of not working is lower when couples are forced to decide on their role in childcare.

Gender inequality in the world of work not only has consequences for women and individual companies, it also translates into major costs for the wider economy. Development experts agree that equal participation of women in the labor force would add significantly to the global economy. In 2012, the ILO estimated that globally an additional USD\$1.6 trillion in output could be generated by reducing the gap in employment between women and men (ILO 2012). A more recent report by McKinsey Global Institute estimates the effect to be between USD\$12 and 28 trillion, representing 11–26% of the global GDP, depending on various assumptions (McKinsey 2015).

#### **1.2 Domestic Violence as a Barrier to Work**

One of the obstacles for women's effective participation in the labor force is domestic violence, which is driven by women's unequal status in society and the unequal distribution of economic and political power between genders. Although IPV can target both men and women, women are disproportionally and more consistently impacted by IPV, making it a major reason for women settling for less ambitious and demanding jobs or leaving the workforce entirely. Even in relatively more egalitarian countries where the gender gap is smaller, IPV is still a significant issue for women. Working women, and especially white-collar working women, are more exposed. The results of a survey conducted by the European Commission Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) revealed that the highest rate of physical and/or sexual partner violence after reaching 15 years of age is among women working as supervisors (28%) in contrast with women who have never been employed (14%) (FRA 2014). The report also highlights the difficulties women in positions of authority face at work. 29% of professional women, 25% of women in senior management, and 26% of female business owners have experienced sexual harassment at work during the past 12 months.

Discussions of the workplace effects of IPV are generally focused on workplace safety triggered by a "third-page" coverage of an employee, whose partner comes to her workplace with a gun or knife. Widiss (2018) notes that such incidents provide a distorting-and potentially counterproductive-frame for the subject; the typical picture of IPV at work is not "an employee lying in a pool of blood." Perpetrators of IPV use

coercion, psychological abuse, intimidation, and threats to undermine their partners' confidence (Ganley and Schechter 1996). Economic abuse, including interfering with the partner's ability to find or maintain work in order to prevent them from establishing economic independence, is common (Widiss 2018). Surveys carried out around the world on IPV show that job performance and employment of women are significantly affected by IPV.

Recently, the use of digital technologies has been reported as a widely manifested new form of violence with devastating effects on women and more specifically on women's careers. A study conducted for the EU reports that one in every ten women and 20% of all young women have experienced cyber violence at least once since the age of 15 (EU 2018). In response, CEDAW (2017) extended the definition of gender-based violence to encapsulate the advancements in technology: "Gender-based violence against women occurs in all spaces and spheres of human interaction, whether public or private…and their redefinition through technology-mediated environments, such as contemporary forms of violence occurring in the Internet and digital spaces."

Increasingly, IPV is understood by businesses and governments as an economic issue with associated financial costs. While the majority of these costs are borne by women and families, a significant portion is paid by the state and private sector (Adams et al. 2013). For example, a report on women working in the retail industry in Australia found that approximately 7% of employees experienced domestic violence during 2014–2015 which cost the retail industry \$62 billion (NRA 2016). The cost of IPV to employers in Canada was estimated to be around \$78 million in 2009 (Zhang et al. 2012). According to a recent survey covering the UK and the Republic of Ireland, more than 40% of women surveyed had an IPV experience which affected their ability to go to work and perform their job. 75% of those who experienced IPV were disturbed by phone calls or e-mails at work, 20% took time off for more than 30 days in a year, and 53% could not get to work for at least 3 days a month (Crown Prosecution Service 2015).

A recent medical review study notes that IPV is more prevalent during a woman's lifetime than conditions such as diabetes, depression, or breast cancer and is conducive to a variety of medical conditions, including chronic conditions, such as asthma, cardiovascular conditions, stroke, and chronic pain. IPV is also more widespread than common mental health conditions such as anxiety disorders, eating disorders, and prescription misuse along with other conditions such as fibromyalgia, sleeping disorders, and gastrointestinal disorders (Ropper 2019).

Other potential costs of IPV such as the cost of recruiting and training new employees or decreased productivity, lack of concentration, or accidents are generally not included in the cost estimates due to difficulties in quantifying them. There are no statistics related to the cost of IPV for employers in Turkey. However, the CGFT survey on Turkey and five other large-scale surveys carried out in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the UK provide clear evidence of the impact of domestic violence on job performance and the work efficiency.<sup>12</sup>

IPV harms both the affected women and others, including those who witness the abuse. The co-workers of abused women are also at risk for being disturbed by the abusive partner or by experiencing second-hand trauma through having IPV experiences disclosed to them (Swanberg et al. 2005; Logan et al. 2007). IPV affects the perpetrators' job performance as well. Individuals involved in violence, whether as a victim or a perpetrator, are at risk with respect to their physical and psychological health and ability to pay attention to demanding tasks. As such, they expose workplaces to health and safety risks (Heise 1994).

# **1.3 The Role of Trade Unions**

In most developed countries, IPV is considered to be a trade union issue as it affects workers' health and safety (although it is a relatively new collective bargaining issue throughout the world). Australian and Canadian trade unions have pioneered efforts to include a domestic violence clause in collective agreements (Baird et al. 2014). Union actions include the formulation of model clauses on domestic violence and the drafting of workplace policies for adoption, the introduction of clauses in workplace equality plans, and lobbying for the introduction of legislation providing for domestic violence leave (ILO BVA 2017). For example, in the Philippines, Italy, Spain, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, labor laws grant paid leave to attend legal and medical appointments, reduced flexible work hours, and transfer of work location. A background paper written for the "Safe at home, safe at work" project published by the European Trade Unions Confederation (ETUC 2017) includes examples of how IPV has been addressed in collective agreements in European Union (EU) countries.<sup>13</sup>

The UNI Global Union, which represents workers from over 150 different countries in the service sector, has set out key principles for workplace support on domestic violence and a model agreement. Proposed model covers additional paid leave and flexible working, workplace safety planning, referral to specialist support services, the provision of appropriate training, and dedicated contacts for people experiencing family or domestic violence (UNI 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>For further information about the national surveys, see http://dvatworknet.org/research/nationalsurveys.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>For information on the project, please visit ETUC web site: https://www.etuc.org/en/pressrelease/ safe-home-safe-work-briefing-etuc-project.

#### UNI Practical Workplace Support on Domestic Violence – Key Principles (UNI 2014)

[Name of company] commits to give the following support and entitlements to help people break the cycle of domestic violence:

**Dedicated additional paid leave** for people experiencing family or domestic violence

Confidentiality of people's details will be assured and respected

**Workplace safety planning** strategies to ensure the protection of individuals will be developed and clearly understood by the parties concerned

Referral of people to appropriate domestic violence support services

Provision of appropriate **training** and paid time off work for agreed roles for nominated contact persons (including union representatives or health and safety representatives as necessary)

People entitled to domestic violence leave will also be able to access **flexible work arrangements** where appropriate

People will be **protected against adverse action or discrimination** on the basis of their disclosure of, experience of, or perceived experience of domestic violence.

On the other hand, trade unions are not exempted from gender biases. Razavi (2016) notes that while women's membership in trade unions has increased since the 2000s, their presence is not reflected at the leadership level. This underrepresentation leads to giving less priority to women-specific concerns. In the case of white-collar workers who are less likely to be trade union members, collective bargaining maybe even more futile.

# 1.4 The Role of Responsible Business Leadership

While trade unions are instrumental in securing jobs for workers who deal with IPV in the EU and developed economies, business awareness and leadership are essential in developing countries like Turkey where trade unions are struggling for survival. In that setting, the workplace may be the only place that offers women safety and potential paths to exit from an abusive relationship. Article 17 of The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence, referred to as the Istanbul Convention of which Turkey was the first signatory, requires states to actively engage businesses to contribute to the prevention of violence against women.

#### **Istanbul Convention Article 17**

Istanbul Convention Article 17—Participation of the private sector and the media 1. Parties shall encourage the private sector, the information and communication technology sector, and the media, with due respect for freedom of expression and their independence, to participate in the elaboration and implementation of policies and to set guidelines and self-regulatory standards to prevent violence against women and to enhance respect for their dignity. 2. Parties shall develop and promote, in co-operation with private sector actors, skills among children, parents, and educators on how to deal with the information and communications environment that provides access to degrading content of a sexual or violent nature which might be harmful.

Similarly, the High-level Political Forum (HLPF), the UN's central platform for follow-up after the 2030 Agenda, recommends that states organize awareness-raising and violence prevention campaigns in collaboration with women workers, businesses, trade unions, employer organizations, and women's organizations. Undoubtedly, such liberal approaches based on voluntarism and market mechanisms are not sufficient. The ILO's ongoing efforts on adopting a Convention concerning violence and harassment in the world of work is in itself significant. The draft of the Convention, which would be binding for states and employers if adopted, includes "promoting specific measures and services to support victims of gender-based violence" with recommendations for "flexible work hours and support to re-enter the labor market" and "employment leave for victims of gender-based violence." The draft of the Convention (ILO 2018) also includes "the development, in cooperation with workers and employers and their organizations, of policies, guidelines, codes of practice, awareness-raising campaigns and other initiatives aimed at eliminating gender-based violence." ILO's forthcoming 108th conference in June 2019 includes the second and last discussion on the proposed Convention for the adoption.<sup>14</sup> Related *Recommen*dations include

- promoting gender-sensitive guidelines and training to assist workers, employers, and their organizations;
- promoting programmes aimed at addressing negative power relations, gender norms, cultural and social norms, and discrimination that increases the likelihood of violence and harassment;
- promoting awareness-raising campaigns that convey the impermissible nature of violence and harassment, particularly gender-based violence, and that address discriminatory attitudes which work to perpetuate violence and harassment and stigmatize complainants and victims of violence;
- promoting joint campaigns aimed at fostering positive-, violence-, and harassmentfree workplaces

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>For the agenda and background information, see https://www.ilo.org/ilc/ILCSessions/108/ committees/violence-harassment/lang--en/index.htm. Accessed on May 4, 2019.

### 1.5 Gender Dimensions of Corporate Social Responsibility

There has been a growing interest in the role of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in achieving gender equality. Traditionally, CSR is defined as *business policies and conduct* which recognize the social imperatives of business success and their impact for wider societal good. CSR, therefore, combines technical processes with political processes of redefining rights and responsibilities through stakeholder engagement (Grosser and Moon 2005). Sometimes used synonymously with corporate citizenship it "…involves corporations becoming more informed and enlightened members of society and understanding that they are both public and private entities…They are created by society and derive their legitimacy from the societies in which they operate. They need to … understand their full social and environmental impacts and responsibilities" (McIntosh et al. 1998, p. 16). A more recent conceptualization of corporate citizenship frames the workplace as a medium and an instrument through which citizenship rights, including human rights, are exercised (Matten and Moon 2013).

Two perspectives underpin why Gender Equality, and therefore IPV, is a business issue. The first perspective is a utilitarian one that focuses on how businesses and economies are harmed by IPV on the one hand and the reputational benefits on the other. The utilitarian perspective provides the basis for the business case for companies to act individually or collectively to minimize the negative consequences of IPV for their own well-being. Company CSR initiatives related to women reflects business interests based on the recognition of risks and opportunities and the growing need for companies to gain legitimacy in the eyes of their stakeholders. The second perspective is normative; a firm should behave in a socially responsible manner because it is morally correct to do so (Swanson 1999). This duty-aligned perspective impact, but also make a positive impact at the touchpoints where their economic activities and societal goals intersect. Gender Equality and the elimination of genderbased violence represent such touchpoints.

Sjåfjell and Fannon (2018) discuss organizational change strategies to achieve gender equality inspired by Grosser's work (2011). Those strategies include helping women succeed by changing and empowering them, as reflected in the "Lean-In" campaign, by the following initiatives: identifying feminine traits and revaluing them as equal to or superior to perceived masculine traits, to facilitate improved gender diversity at the decision-making level, and establishing new forms of organization and bottom-up innovation to lead the way for new ways of doing business. Women's bottom-up leadership and coordinated action in creating organizational changes toward gender equality are also explored as a vital strategy. One strategy involves making small but deep cultural changes using action-based research and pilot projects built by collaborations between business and academia. Indeed, this strategy is reminiscent of the approach used in the BADV Project. Such projects have dual objectives: an instrumental one that builds the "business case" and a moral one that aims to transform the organization and may be highly successful in creating "pockets" of corporate sustainability. These pockets may pave the way to systemic transformation.

The extent of a company's scope of contributing to gender equality depends upon a number of issues, including but not limited to, the company's awareness of its role and impact on a social issue, the level of managerial discretion, and its internal capacity to respond. Companies can, as a minimum, initiate an attempt to break gender stereotypes by increasing the representation of women at all levels of their organizations and raise awareness around gender equality. Such attempts include reducing the impact of IPV by establishing formal policies and procedures to protect women exposed to IPV. Companies can do much more by fostering an organizational culture that is based on values of equality, justice, human dignity, and respect for individuality. Those companies are likely to be transformative agents by generating similar employee responses towards the social issues they are addressing (De Roeck et al. 2014).

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# Chapter 2 The BADV Project



**Melsa Ararat** 

# Abbreviations

BADV Business Against Domestic Violence	
0	
BIST Borsa Istanbul	
CGFT Corporate Governance Forum of Turkey	
DV Domestic Violence	
EU European Union	
GREVIO Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women	and
Domestic Violence	
IPV Intimate Partner Violence	
MÜSİAD Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association	
NGO Non-Governmental Organisation	
SOM School of Management	
SDG Sustainable Development Goals	
TÜSİAD Turkish Industrialist and Business Association	
UN United Nations	
UN GC United Nations Global Compact	
UN PRME United Nations Principles of Responsible Management Education	
UNODC United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime	
UNFPA United Nations Population Fund	
WEP Women Empowerment Principles	
WHO World Health Organisation	

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# 2.1 Gender Inequality and Gender-Based Violence in Turkey

Turkey, frequently referred to as a bridge between the East and the West, has a long history of women struggling for equality. Part 2 of this book provides an overview of this rich history from multiple lenses. In this part, we briefly turn the spotlight to the most recent developments in which the BADV Project evolved.

Turkey has been ranked at the bottom 10% of the WEF's Gender Gap Index for years. In 2018, it was placed at 130 among 149 countries. WEF includes Turkey in the group of upper-middle-income countries by income and, in that group, Turkey shares the lowest rankings alongside Jordan and Iran. Globally, Turkey ranks even lower in labor force participation of women at 133. Among G-20 states, Turkey is placed second from the bottom, just above Saudi Arabia. Turkey's Gender Gap score has been stagnant since 2015 and the gap between Turkey's score and the world median has been maintained since 2006.

The Gender Gap is correlated with the prevalence of IPV. In 2018, according to Bianet, an independent agency that compiles news about gender-based violence, at least 255 women were killed and 380 were injured by their intimate partners in Turkey. Additionally, there were 18 unsuccessful attempts of femicides along with 40 deaths and suicides that were considered suspicious.<sup>1</sup> During the first 5 months of 2019, the death toll was reported to be as high as 126. The severity of the problem is also reflected in the number of women who applied to the courts for state protection. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Justice published by Bianet, 99.475 women applied to the courts for protection in 2018. This represents a fivefold increase since 2012, the year that unmarried women were granted the right to have state protection. The 2018 results of a survey conducted by O'Neil and Carkoğlu (2018) reveals the persistence of IPV in Turkey. According to the researchers, 60% of all respondents and 64% of female respondents put gender-based violence at the top of issues women face in Turkey. This represents a worsening trend since 2016, when 53% of all respondents thought gender-based violence was the most important issue faced by women in the society. Unemployment followed gender-based violence as the second most cited important issue. However, it was in fact, only mentioned by 11% of the respondents. The slogan of women who flooded the streets of Istanbul in Valentine's day protests on February 14, 2018 was indicative of this dire strait: "Damn your killing love!"

An assessment of the government's efforts in eliminating gender-based violence in Turkey draws attention to the tension between government's gender equality policies and its policies that prioritize the viability of family institution as one reason for the failure in eliminating gender-based violence in Turkey (GREVIO 2018). This tension, partly attributable to the rise of political Islam in Turkey, is further explored in part 2 of this book.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The website is accessible at https://bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/205428-erkek-siddetinin-2018-grafigi.

#### 2.2 Background and Overview

We argued in previous sections that workplace diversity and gender equality are not achievable, when social norms limit working women's abilities to set ambitious goals for themselves and commit to professional development. This line of reasoning underpins the connection between the BADV Project and its predecessor, the Independent Women Directors (IWD) Project.<sup>2</sup> IWD project was initiated by the CGFT in 2012 with the objective of understanding the obstacles for women's representation on corporate boards in Turkey and developing tools and strategies for helping companies to increase their boards' gender diversity.

The fieldwork undertaken during the IWD project as well as anecdotal evidence suggested that IPV was one of the supply-side obstacles for gender diversity in boards and top management roles as it limits women's willingness to take more responsibility at work and commit to professional development. Available data and resources rarely address IPV among white-collar working women separately although both victims and perpetrators of IPV are often managers, professionals, and business owners.<sup>3</sup> Few studies reveal a negative association between the level of education and extent of physical violence among working women. According to one survey, for example, while approximately 50% of uneducated women experience physical violence, the figure for women with a high school education or higher is around 25% (Jansen et al. 2009). Another survey conducted by Altınay and Arat (2009) confirms the inversely proportional association between income levels and women's experiences of physical violence. However, if women earn more income than their spouse, the likelihood of violence increases significantly. The authors report that 63% of women who have a higher income than their spouses have indeed been subjected to IPV at least once. This finding is in line with Europe-based statistics suggesting that women in managerial positions are more likely to experience IPV (FRA 2014) and the findings of Herrero et al. (2017), who report a causal relationship between men earning less than their partners and psychological violence. There is no data on other forms of violence on white-collar working women specifically.

The BADV project, on a reflection from these insights, has specifically focused on understanding the magnitude of all types of IPV among white-collar working women in Turkey and its impact on the work environment. The Project has evolved in the following phases:

- 1. Survey on IPV amongst white-collar working women.
- 2. Multi-stakeholder workshop on best workplace practices against IPV.
- 3. Reporting on domestic violence against white-collar working women in Turkey (CGFT 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>More information is available at the IWD project website: http://iwdturkey.sabanciuniv.edu/. The project was funded by the government of Sweden.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>We define a **white-collar worker** as a person who performs professional, managerial, or administrative work and, as such, is better educated and has higher earnings than blue-collar workers.

- Developing a Guide for setting out and implementing workplace policies against IPV (CGFT 2015)<sup>4</sup>.
- 5. Pilot implementation of the guidebook by companies in Istanbul.
- 6. Roll out of the BADV Project to other industrial cities in Turkey.
- 7. Search Conference for institutionalization of the movement.

The phases and associated events are presented chronologically in Fig. 2.1. As shown in the chronology above, during the course of the project:

- Four workshops were held to bring together the relevant actors for the exchange of ideas and consultations.
- Six events were organized to disseminate the outcome of the project to the stakeholders.
- Two major surveys were conducted to establish the baseline and helped measure the Project's impact. respectively.
- Three global UN meetings provided the opportunity for sharing the learning outcomes of the Project with an international audience.

## 2.3 Survey on IPV

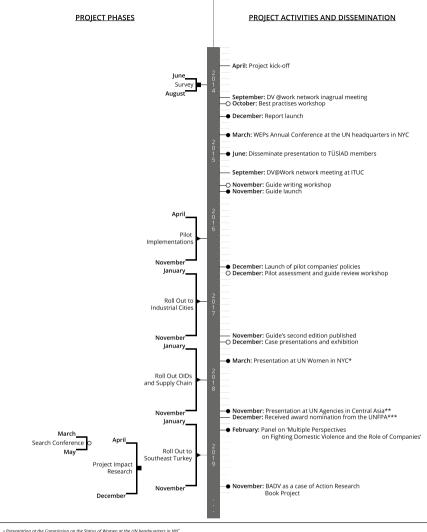
The key instrument of the CGFT's investigation on IPV among white-collar working women was a survey, which aimed to validate the anecdotal evidence regarding the widespread occurrence of IPV within that population segment. During the design of the survey, the CGFT became affiliated with DV@Worknet, a global network of researchers and domestic violence experts. Supported by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), the Network was set up to conduct research and mobilize knowledge about the impact of domestic violence in the workplace. Although the focus of the Network was not specifically on white-collar working women, the interactions with other researchers from different countries were useful for designing the survey.<sup>5</sup>

The survey on IPV among white-collar working women in Turkey was initiated in April 2014 with funding from the Netherlands' Social Transformation Fund, MATRA.<sup>6</sup> The specific objective of the survey was to understand the extent of domestic violence as an obstacle for white-collar working women setting high ambitions for their career, committing to developing their full potential, and remaining in employment during their employable years. On June 21, 2014, UNFPA's Gender Programme Coordinator Meltem Ağduk, soon after having seen the press coverage of the project launch, approached the CGFT to discuss how the two organizations could cooperate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>The English translation of the guidebook is available at https://badv.sabanciuniv.edu/sites/badv.sabanciuniv.edu/files/badv\_rehber\_eng.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>See DV@Worknet website for further information: https://www.DV@Worknet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>For information on MATRA, see the website: https://www.netherlandsandyou.nl/your-countryand-the-netherlands/turkey.



Presentation at the Commission on the Status of Women at the UN headquarters in NYC
 "Presentation at the UNFP, UNDP, UNICE, and UN women's meeting on Turning policies into action: eliminating gender-based violence against women and girls in Central Asia" in Kirghizstan in March 2019
 "In Perspect research cas and eff the 5 Champions anong all UNFPs projects worklowide

Fig. 2.1 Chronology of the BADV project

on eliminating IPV in Turkey. These discussions led to UNFPA becoming a strategic partner in the BADV Project, contributing both financially and intellectually.

The survey questionnaire was designed by Dr. Ararat and Dr. Bayazit, both of whom are faculty members at Sabancı University's School of Management and administered in cooperation with the market research firm IPSOS. Companies that are signatories of relevant business networks (UN Global Compact Turkey Network, Equality at Work Platform,<sup>7</sup> signatories of the UN Women Empowerment Principles (WEPs)) were invited to participate in the survey.<sup>8</sup> Initially 19 companies, all of which were located in Istanbul, accepted the invitation. Sabancı University was not a "business" per se, its inclusion as an employer allowed the CGFT team to observe the organizational dynamics at every step of developing and implementing formal workplace policies against IPV.

The survey was sent to the employees of the participating companies in an e-mail from their Human Resources departments between July 23, and August 6, 2014. The message encouraged employees to take the survey and assured the respondents that the survey design prevents the responses from being matched with the respondents' identities. Each company had a separate link that redirected the respondents to the IPSOS system, where the data was collected.

The results of the survey confirmed the anecdotal evidence regarding the widespread occurrence of IPV among relatively more educated and economically independent women. A shocking 75% of the female survey respondents reported having experienced at least one form of IPV during the past 5 years. Physical and sexual violence were reported by 26% of all female respondents and by 13% of those in managerial roles. 65% of women who had experienced IPV reported it having had a negative impact on their work. 3% reported having lost their job in the past due to IPV.

The CGFT team was able to prepare individual reports for each company since each organization had a separate link to the survey without compromising the anonymity of the respondents. Company-specific reports were sent to the chief executive officers (CEOs). The results were shocking to many companies, as explained by one female bank executive:

I can't believe that some of my colleagues who come to work every day, come from hell and return to hell at the end of the day. Perhaps one of my team members or my supervisors are among them. I can't sleep knowing this and doing nothing to help them.

According to the results, those women who experienced violence were significantly more likely to confirm that "the concerns and problems in my family life occupy my thoughts at work" and "the stress at home makes me irritable at work."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>The Equality at Work Platform was a government-led initiative that mobilized companies to set targets for employing more women as a part of a World Economic Forum EF program, which covered Japan, Turkey, and Mexico. The Platform was initiated by the Ministry of Women. The platform is no longer active.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>The UN Global Compact Turkey Network (see https://www.unglobalcompact.org/engage-locally/ europe/turkey) and Equality at Work Platform (see https://www.isteesitlikplatformu.gov.tr/).

An interesting result was the extent of working overtime. As high as 62.3% of the respondents reported working overtime, some of which took place at home. Among those working overtime, it was difficult to work at home for the women who were experiencing violence. The responses to work/family conflict questions showed that all types of domestic violence, collectively and individually, were related to higher levels of family interference with the demands of work. Social and economic types of violence—which most women did not interpret as violence, were also related to incidents of work/family conflict. An analysis of the responses according to marital status showed that divorced women were more likely to report experiencing violence in the past 5 years relative to married or never married women. Overall, the figures suggested that women with more income were more likely to experience nonphysical forms of IPV and were more likely to have ended an abusive relationship. 16% of women who reported being abused were still in relationship with the perpetrator and their income levels were shown to be lower than those who ended the violent relationship.

Another unexpected finding of the survey was regarding the attitudes of women toward sharing their experience with others. 75% of white-collar working women who had experienced IPV reported not having shared it with anyone. Furthermore, they were most reluctant to share their experience with their employers due to the anticipation of negative consequences on their employment and career. Some employers expressed their regrets about this, as they expected their employees to be more trusting in the management team.

The survey was expanded to include three more firms between 2014 and 2017 with similar results.

## 2.4 Best Practices Workshop and Guide Development

As the severity of the problem became evident with the survey results, the CGFT set up an Advisory Board to consult about how to put this new knowledge into action. The Advisory Board primarily consisted of representatives of companies that had already taken steps to intervene against IPV as well as representatives of NGOs active in this field.<sup>9</sup> The Advisory Board suggested organizing a workshop to discuss best practices adopted by companies and to agree on a means of collective action to combat IPV.

The workshop took place on November 4, 2014 at the Sabanci Center. The participants were organized into three heterogeneous groups making sure that each group had representatives from companies, NGOs, academia, and lawyers. In the first session of the workshop, each group discussed the same set of questions under the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>See Appendix 4 for Advisory Board members.

#### **Best Practices Workshop Discussion Topics**

- · What can and should companies do to help women to be free from violence?
- What can help women to see the workplace as a supportive environment?
- · How can companies collaborate and join forces in combating domestic violence?
- What are the risks that a company faces when adopting a strategy against intimate partner violence?
- · What are the proactive strategies that companies can employee against partner violence?
- What are the reactive strategies for dealing with the consequences of partner violence?
  Which approaches work better in Turkey? (A list of company best practices was shared at the workshop.)
- Who and what can positively affect a company's management in the adoption of policies against domestic violence and in supporting women? (Government initiatives, UN Global Compact, NGOs, businessorganisations, trade unions, etc.)
- How can universities support and collaborate with businesses in dealing with domestic violence?

Fig. 2.2 Best practice workshop discussion topics

moderation of a scholar.<sup>10</sup> The questions discussed in the workshop are presented in Fig. 2.2.

At the end of session one, moderators reported the outcome of their discussions to the whole group. In the second session, the participants discussed and explored ways of collaboration among the participants to address IPV. The main outcome of these deliberations was the agreement to collaborate in developing a guide that would help companies set formal workplace policies against IPV. The participants also agreed that the best practices discussed at the workshop should be incorporated into a model policy and included in the guide.

One of the common concerns raised by the companies during the workshop was the legal risks associated if their interventions were perceived as a violation of privacy. Some companies were also concerned about the possible abuse of supportive policies by employees. To address these concerns, a task force consisting of legal scholars and company legal councils was organized. The task force put together a viewpoint that detailed not only the legitimacy of companies' action against IPV, but, in fact, the requirement by national and international law that they do so. The viewpoint authored by the lawyers and legal scholars was disseminated to the participants. This work was useful in convincing decision makers to take part in the BADV project. The risk of misuse of the policy by employees was considered to be negligible.

The results of the Survey and the outcome of the Best Workplace Practices Workshop were included in a report titled "Domestic Violence Against White-collar Working Women in Turkey, A Call for Business Action" (CGFT 2014). The report was launched on December 9, 2014. It was covered extensively by both printed and digital press. The report was concluded with a call for action:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>The scholars who participated were mainly from Sabanci University, with the exception of legal scholars since Sabanci University does not have a law school.

## **Conclusion and Call for Action**<sup>11</sup>

The magnitude of intimate partner violence in Turkey is alarming. We tried to shed light on the severity of the problem and its effect on women's participation in the workforce and on the workplace by focusing on the relatively more "silent victims": the educated working women; the professionals. These are the women in the pipeline expected to crush the glass ceiling and participate in the high-level decision-making. Our survey suggests that vast majority of women, regardless of their status and education, are subjected to one form of violence or the other in their lifetime. Professional women and women in managerial roles are no exception. We also established that women who experience forms of violence other than the severe physical form are not aware that they are victims of abuse or they prefer to deny their situation. Sometimes women blame their work for preventing them to fulfill expectations of their partners as mothers and lovers. Violence seems to be a fact of every woman's life in Turkey.

Our survey demonstrated that intimate partner violence prevents women to effectively and fully participate in economic life. While DV first and foremost affects women, families, and communities, it also creates costs associated with lost productivity, absence, distraction, missed work, workplace accidents, and turnover and employee morale. The cost to the society related with disability, unemployment, mental illnesses, and damaged children are not easily quantifiable but significant. More research is required to understand the wider impact of DV. However, DV prevents women to develop their full potential as workers, professionals, entrepreneurs, and business leaders, and contribute to economic and social development accordingly.

We hereby invite companies who are concerned about the future of our societies, who subscribe to the goals of sustainable development and aspire a better quality of life for all. to individually and collectively take action against DV by creating a work culture that is intolerant to violence, adopting formal support and intervention policies to deal with domestic violence, use their organizational capabilities to empower victims, discourage potential perpetrators and collaborate with the government. NGOs. trade unions, and universities to develop effective strategies that would benefit both the companies themselves, and protect and empower women.

Companies who are signatories of the UN Global Compact. UN WEP and members of Equality at Work Platform, some of which have participated in our survey are especially invited to take a leadership role to bring the issue into the business agenda. We will continue to observe and research the effectiveness of various policies, help develop tools and practices to combat domestic violence against working women and report back.

Diversity and the richness of ideas and perspectives that come with it cannot be achieved without equality at work. Domestic violence is a serious obstacle to this end. The reactions to the Report, which created a snowball effect, was overwhelming. The most critical response was that of TÜSİAD. TÜSİAD's board of directors, chaired by a woman (Cansen Başaran Symes) decided to offer organizational support in mobilizing companies against IPV in cooperation with the CGFT. TÜSİAD announced its decision on March 8, 2015, International Women's Day. On March 9th, two women, Cansen Başaran Symes, the chairwoman of the TÜSİAD board and Melsa Ararat, the director of the CGFT, had a phone call to initiate the cooperation between the two organizations. The first action was to organize a meeting to present CGFT's report to TÜSİAD members. On June 26, the CGFT presented the report to approximately 30 company representatives at TÜSİAD premises.

As preparation for developing the guide, the CGFT conducted a literature survey on corporate policies and interventions related to IPV globally. The results of this survey and the input provided by the workshop participants on best practices adopted by Turkish companies were used to draft the Guide and model policy. After an iterative process led by the CGFT with contributions from the workshop participants and the Project's Advisory Board members, the Guide was finalized. On December 9, 2015, the Guide was launched in the presence of the press with the participation of the Minister of Women and Social Affairs,<sup>12</sup> the president of TÜSİAD, UNFPA senior management, and business representatives. The Guide's launch was covered extensively by the media, building upon the previous publicity around the Survey Report. Haci Ömer Sabanci Foundation,<sup>13</sup> which was already active in the fight against gender-based violence, offered the funding for the prospective phases of the Project.

## 2.5 The Pilot Project

Following the launch of the Guide, three strategic partners, the CGFT, TÜSİAD, and UNFPA, decided to start a campaign to invite TÜSİAD member companies to implement the Guide. From this point onward, the strategic direction and oversight function for the Project was fulfilled by those three strategic partners. The Project's Advisory Board, which was set up to facilitate business involvement in formulating an action, was dissolved since their objective had already been achieved with TÜSİAD's decision to become a project partner.

Invitations to join the pilot implementation were sent by TÜSİAD to 76 companies, which were comprised of those whose representatives sit on TÜSİAD's Board

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WHITE-COLLAR WORKING WOMEN IN TURKEY, A CALL FOR BUSINESS ACTION, Sabanci University, December 2014

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>The name of the ministry was later changed to the Minister of Family and Social Affairs, marking a shift in the government's attitude toward gender equality. This change is discussed by Ağduk in this book.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Hacı Ömer Sabancı Foundation is a charitable foundation set up by Sabancı family. The foundation is also the founder of Sabancı University.

of Directors and its High-Level Advisory Board as well as those that were signatories to the WEPs. In total, 14 companies accepted the invitation. Additionally, the CGFT sent invitations to 59 companies which had been observed to demonstrate some sensitivity to gender equality. Three companies from this group joined the Project. These figures represent an overall 13% positive response and 18% response to TÜSİAD's invitation indicative of its leadership. In the meantime, the CGFT invited Sabanci University to implement the Guide in a face-to-face meeting with Rector Nihat Berker. An enthusiastic advocate of gender equality, he accepted the invitation. A task force consisting of representatives from all faculties and support units was set up. The BADV Project Manager, Sevda Alkan, joined the task force.

Eventually, the 2016 Pilot Implementation phase included 17 companies and Sabanci University. At the end of 2016, the Guide was revised to reflect the lessons learned from the pilot. 2017 marked the beginning of the roll out of the Project to other industrial cities. In 2018, Organized Industrial Districts (OID) and Tax-Free Zones were chosen as testing grounds to explore the capacity of local business associations in playing a similar role that TÜSİAD played nationwide. In 2019, the Project was expanded to Gaziantep, the most eastern industrial city in Turkey. In every city, a local business association that showed interest in the Project was chosen as a partner.

Every year, the invitations to join the campaign were sent to TÜSİAD members and members of partnering local business associations that had more than 100 employees. Smaller companies were excluded to maximize the effect of the Project. Invitations were addressed to the CEOs and Human Resources department heads.

Figure 2.3 shows the respective partnerships and participating companies in each phase of the Project.

Typical implementation took 12 months. Each annual project cycle included the following steps:

- Step 1. Sending invitations to selected companies
- Step 2. Enrollment of companies to the Project
- Step 3. Training of companies on the Guide
- Step 4. Training of trainers from companies on Gender Equality
- Step 5. Policy development at companies

The list of companies that would join the Project for every year is finalized in the first quarter. Companies receive the Guide Training between March and May and the Gender Equality Trainer Course between April and September. Most companies complete the development of their formal IPV policies within a year.

The first step of implementation is to appoint the owner of the policy development process. In some companies, a specific department is charged, while in others, a special task force or committee is set up. The Human Resources and Corporate Communication departments are involved in almost all the implementations. The policy development task force, once established, receives a customized in-house Guide Training delivered by the CGFT. Companies fill-out an electronic questionnaire that includes questions about the company, project ownership, employee demographics, and existing policies or initiatives around gender equality. Some companies prefer to conduct the survey if they had not participated in the initial survey to understand the extent of IPV among their own employees before they start the Project.

Year	2016	2017	2018	2019	
Focus/Purpose	Pilot (TÜSİAD Member Companies, UN WEPs Signatories, "Equality at Work" Signatories)	Roll out to other industrial cities	Organized Industrial Zones and supply chains of 2016 pilot companies	Southeastern region of Turkey	
Project Location	İstanbul	İstanbul, Bursa, Antalya	İstanbul and İzmir	İstanbul and Gaziantep	
Strategic Partner	TÜSİAD				
Local Partners	N/A	BAKSİFED, ANTİKAD, BURSA WEPS Platform (Yeşim Tekstil, BUSİAD, BUİKAD)	BAKSİFED, ANTİKAD, BURSA WEPS Platform (Yeşim Tekstil, BUSİAD, BUİKAD)	Gaziantep Commodity Exchange	
Companies	Aras Kargo	Accor Hotels	Aksigorta	Avivasa	
	Aygaz	AGT	Avon	Barilla	
	Doğuş Grubu	Akra Barut Hotels	Carrefoursa	Çimsa	
	Eczacıbaşı Holding	BASF	Doğan Kurye	Coca Cola İçecek	
	Ekoten	Çelebi	Doğu Pres	Gaziantep Ticaret Borsası	
	Erdemir Grubu	Coats	Dudullu OSB	Gitti Gidiyor	
	Ericsson Türkiye	Dal Mantar	Eldor	Gratis	
	Garanti Bankası	Eker	Emin Gümrükleme	Güven Hastanesi	
	Havaş	Fiberli/PSL Electronic	EnerjiSA	Kordsa	
	İnci Holding	İzmir Ticaret Borsası	ESBAŞ	Teknosa	
	İpekyol	MAY Tohum	GOSB	Temsa	
	Organik Kimya	Ral Tekstil	Hugo Boss	Vodafone	
	Sabancı Üniversitesi	Sabancı Holding	iss	Yünsa	
	Siemens Türkiye	Schneider Electric	Jotun Boya		
	Sun Tekstil	Seger Ses ve Elektrikli Gereçler	Logo Yazılım		
	Turcas Petrol		Sabancı Vakfi		
	Yeşim Tekstil		Shell Türkiye		
			Stackpole		
			Yapı ve Kredi Bankası		
	τΰςίλο τυ				

 TÜSİAD
 Turkish Industralists and Business Association

 BUİKAD
 Bursa Business Women and Managers Association

 BAKSİFED
 West Mediterrenean Industry and Business Association

 ANTİKAD
 Antalya Business Women Association

Fig. 2.3 Project phases and partnerships

The Gender Equality Course follows the Guide Training. The course is the transformative instrument of the Project. It aims to develop in-house capacity to deliver gender equality training to the employees. Each participating company nominates one male and one female trainer to take the course. Trainers from all companies participate in the same Gender Equality course so that they can meet and collaborate in the future. The Gender Equality course is delivered by the CGFT in cooperation with subject experts. The course syllabus is presented in Fig. 2.4.

During the policy development phase, some companies focus specifically on IPV, whereas others choose to focus on gender equality in a broader scope, which includes IPV. Companies name their policies using a variety of titles, such as Manifesto, Policy, or Procedure.

Once the policy is developed, the owner of the policy, which may be different than the owner of the policy development process, is identified. Various departments or units are involved in the implementation of the policy including Human Resources, Communications, Quality, Guest Relations, Floor Services, Sales and Marketing,

## **Module 1:** Concepts and Roles of Gender Equality (2 days)

- · Basic concepts and roles of gender
- Gender in media and language
- Working life and gender
- · Gender discrimination and violence against women

**Module 2:** A Multilateral Approach to Addressing Violence Against Women: Legal Frameworks and Communication Techniques with Employees Who Are at Risk of Violence (2 days)

- · Institutions and organizations in Turkey
- Legal framework, relevant laws and International Conventions
- Interview techniques with women exposed to violence
- Active listening and communication barriers
- · Factors to be considered when helping
- Coping skills, concerns and solutions

Module 3: Communication Training and Experience Sharing (2 days)

- Adult education and effective communication
- Effective teaching methods and techniques
- Company experiences (Policy Making Processes, Policy Contents and Awareness Sharing)
- Presentation by the companies forming their policies (details of draft policies, trainings to be designed and awareness studies)

Fig. 2.4 Gender equality course content

Administration, Operations, Legal, Internal Audit, Compliance, and Diversity and Inclusion, where they exist.

The resulting policies cover many areas such as workplace safety, workplace security, performance evaluations, and employee support. The policies listed below are the most common and best received by employees:

- Additional paid leave;
- Workplace security and safety planning together with at-risk employees;
- Psychological and legal support services;
- Personalized performance evaluation that take into consideration the extraordinary personal circumstances;
- Ongoing awareness training on gender-based violence in the company;
- Ongoing internal and external communications on the value of gender equality;
- CEO involvement in communications regarding gender equality and, specifically, IPV as a workplace issue.

## Postcard 1: Akra Barut Hotels, Antalya

Domestic violence and gender inequality are primarily considered social problems. In fact, we as Akra Barut Hotel had neglected to acknowledge the importance of addressing this issue due to competing priorities until we began working with Sabanci University. Previously, when we saw such issues covered on the television or on the third-page news, we believed the problem fell under the jurisdiction of law enforcement and was not a managerial issue. After being properly educated on the subject, however, we as a company experienced a sort of "re-birth". The impactful domestic violence statistics we've come to learn about has catalyzed our decision to incorporate official policies into our objectives for the protection of our personnel from genderbased discrimination. While the policies remain in their nascent stages, our primary aim is to maintain a focused, firm approach in addressing this all too prevalent issue.

To begin the development process of our Preventing Domestic Violence Policy, a policy team was created which comprised an HR coordinator, HR manager, housekeeping manager, guest relations manager, and food engineer. In collaboration with the policy team, we were able to outline our objectives and principles, including addressing important topics such as "what is violence?" and "what are the definitions of violence?" Following the development of our objectives and policies, personnel training began on gender equality and domestic violence with a specific focus on:

- Incorporating gender equality training into the orientation program for newly recruited personnel.
- Training departmental managers and charging them with the task of disseminating the relevant information to their personnel.
- Organizing an annual gender equality seminar for all employees.

Later, within the scope of this policy, we developed the following practices:

- We provided the contact numbers of our policy team members so that those subjected to domestic violence can receive consultation and guidance.
- We placed a "Domestic Violence Notice Box" in changing rooms in instances, where oral communication is inhibited due to trauma incurred from domestic abuse.
- Important numbers were added to our policy brochure so that people exposed to domestic violence have the necessary resources to inquire for assistance. These included contact information for Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centers, NGOs, Provincial Directorate of Family and Social Policies, Municipalities, etc.
- We revised our advance payment policy to reflect the special consideration required for people subjected to domestic violence.
- We allowed our shuttles to stop at irregular (off-itinerary) stops following the consideration of the security needs of domestic violence victims.
- We allowed for security personnel to escort victims of domestic abuse to the shuttles.
- We established flexible working hours for people subjected to domestic violence.
- We revised our leave day policies to include a provision of a 2-day leave immediately upon request for survivors of domestic abuse.
- We directed our marketing and media departments to share short instructive videos on domestic violence on the social media accounts and digital platforms of the firm.
- Additionally, we planned to organize awareness-raising events on November 25th, International Day for Elimination of Violence against Women.

In consultation with our legal advisor, we have also prepared a protection instruction guide for survivors of domestic violence. Following the approval of the CEO and the Human Resources Group Manager, we disseminated the guide to all personnel via e-mail. We also posted banners and brochures for additional awareness-raising in the staff rooms. As Akra Barut Hotel, our primary objectives are to support our personnel and ensure a safe work environment and inform and guide the executive team on the impacts of domestic violence in the workplace as well as discover ways in which these impacts can be addressed. While the project remains in its beginning phases, our hope is to continue to develop increasingly effective and efficient methods of protecting our employees and creating a greater awareness of the complicated, pervasive issue of domestic violence.

## 2.6 Project Organization and Resources

The BADV project organization evolved throughout the Project in response to the needs and priorities of each phase. As presented in Fig. 2.5, the Project is best described as a network of companies, NGOs, and funding organizations with the CGFT as the coordinating node with the institutional support of Sabanci University.

The CGFT is located at the Sabanci University campus on the outskirts of Istanbul and hosted by the School of Management (SOM) under the directorship of a faculty member, the editor of this book, with the expertise on action research focused on sustainable development, corporate governance, and CSR. The BADV Project Manager reports to the CGFT director, who is accountable to the providers of funding. The CGFT director and other interested faculty members provide intellectual input to the Project. The Project Manager is supported by a junior expert and student volunteers. Annual planning meetings between UNFPA, TUSIAD, and the CGFT provide strategic direction and oversight for the Project.

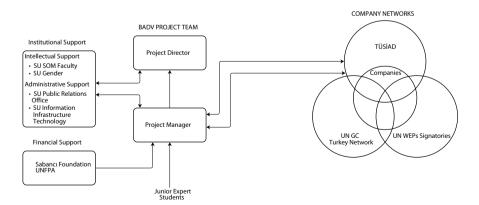


Fig. 2.5 Project organization and resources

All costs of the Project, including the CGFT staff costs, are covered by external funding provided by Sabanci Foundation and UNFPA. Joining the Project is free of charge for the companies.

The BADV Project partners regularly meet with the BADV community, which includes participating companies and contributing scholars, at a series of workshops and search conferences to discuss the status of the Project and plan the next steps. The Sabanci University Public Relations office issues press releases, facilitates media coverage, and communicates the project internally within the university. The project organization is exhibited in Fig. 2.5.

Regular communication between participating companies and partners is facilitated by a project management and team communication software, Basecamp. Companies share their achievements and experiences, ask questions, and send comments through the software. The Project office uses social media extensively<sup>14</sup> to communicate externally and disseminate the Project outputs to a wider audience. The Project's annual social media plans are prepared with the support of a social media expert. The BADV website<sup>15</sup> serves as a repository of resources and general information. The CGFT's quarterly News Bulletin, sent to approximately 5,000 subscribers, includes BADV project news. Sabancı University's information technology infrastructure provides the backbone for communications.

The BADV project organization demonstrates the importance of a university's institutional capacity in supporting faculty members' outreach activities.

## 2.7 Search for a Coalition of Companies Against IPV

Sustainability of action is always a major concern for voluntary initiatives. From the very beginning of the BADV Project, the CGFT aimed at transferring the ownership of the initiative to companies at the appropriate time.

To kick off the discussion on the future of the initiative, all of the BADV companies were invited to participate in a search conference to discuss and agree on the most effective approach to transferring the ownership of the Project. The search conference method<sup>16</sup> is ideally situated for collaborative social action planning since, at its core, it places a particular emphasis on community belonging, engagement, and ownership as well as ensuring responsibility for follow-up activity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>BADV social media accounts: Twitter: @badvturkey; Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/ badvturkey/; Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCR24jCxmkRWsKWc1HWvtgyQ; LinkedIn: Business Against Domestic Violence Project.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>https://badv.sabanciuniv.edu/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>The Search Conference method enables participants "to create a plan for the most desirable future of their community" that they themselves will implement (Emery and Purser 1996). The method challenges the notion that planning is a task reserved for the elite; "People are purposeful creatures with the capacity to select and produce desirable outcomes and they will accept responsibility for a task that is meaningful for them."

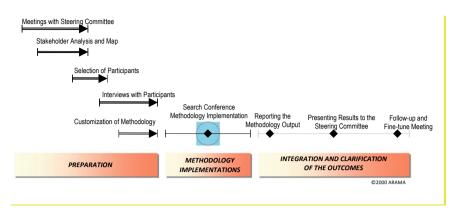


Fig. 2.6 Search conference workshop methodology

The BADV Search Conference took place on March 15, 2019 and May 9, 2019. 23 companies participated in the workshop together with the CGFT, TÜSİAD, and UNFPA representatives. The Conference was led by ArAmA, a consultancy firm specialized in the Search method. Figure 2.6 presents workshop flow.

On the first day during the brainstorming session, trends and changes that have the potential of influencing the BADV Project globally and locally were listed. After the brainstorming session, participants were asked to prioritize the trends as opportunities and challenges in small groups. They were also asked to prioritize the achievements of the Project and any difficulties faced. The outcomes from the groups were discussed and evaluated in a joint session. Participants were then asked to work on developing a future strategy in small groups by first identifying the Foresight (vision, mission, main goals) and the Strategic Framework. The groups shared their suggestions with the rest of the participants. In the final session, the participants worked on the Governance and Executional Framework in small groups. Each group presented their work, which was then integrated into a Consolidated Future Design Document. The second day of the search workshop was focused on the confirmation and fine-tuning of the outcome.

The Consolidated Future Design is based on a consensus on the Foresight, which included the following statements:

Vision: A world free from gender-based violence and inequality

**Mission**: Promoting gender equality as an imperative for the elimination of genderbased violence within the society

**Goals**: Widespread adoption of formal workplace policies against IPV by companies in different regions, integration and standardization of company experiences into a model policy that is proven, setting targets and tracking policy outcome against the targets, and transferring of experience and sharing of knowledge through common platforms.

**Short-term objectives (2–3 years)**: Increasing the ratio of female employees at all levels (facilitated by gender-segregated data and reporting); encouraging participating companies to sign the WEPs.

**Medium-term objectives (3–5 years)**: Regular communications and campaigns to increase awareness around gender equality and IPV; collaboration with public institutions and lobbying for mandatory gender equality education.

**Long-term objectives (5–10 years)**: Identifying other groups suffering from discrimination such as LGBT, disabled, refugees, etc. and offering equal opportunities for them and setting up the necessary infrastructure.

The Strategic Framework, based on the Foresight, boasted many far-reaching ambitions with an inclusive scope that covers not only companies but also NGOs, universities, public institutions, unions, the United Nations, the EU, and the general public. Elimination of all kinds of violence, discrimination, and prejudices and promoting diversity, equality, and justice were identified as main areas of work. Participants discussed a wide range of instruments and methods for collaboration and identified alternative models for the future coalition/alliance including establishing a formal structure (e.g., an association), forming a digital platform and project-based multi-stakeholder collaboration networks. A small Planning Committee is appointed at the end of the workshop that would develop concrete proposals based on the Strategic Framework.

The outcome of the search workshop demonstrates the transformative power of university/business partnerships. The depth of the foresight articulated, the idealistic perspective that underpinned the objectives set, and the long-term ambitions agreed upon are all far-reaching. We don't know whether the Consolidated Future envisaged during these meetings will come to fruition. The BADV case will continue to provide a rich context for learning and knowledge creation regarding the collaborative approaches to achieving social goals.

## 2.8 Analysis

## 2.8.1 Mobilizing Business

Our main conclusion about the BADV experience is that this multi-stakeholder initiative has successfully mobilized companies for taking action to achieve an SDG Target: elimination of gender-based violence and IPV, specifically. The success of the project is evident foremost by the number of companies that joined the project. From BADV's inception in 2016 until April 2019, 57 companies with 129,220 employees, out of which 50,395 are women, have joined the initiative and developed formal intervention policies and training and communication programs to internalize the principle of gender equality throughout their organizations.

Some of these companies have taken a broader perspective by including their customers and suppliers in their policies and/or communications. Three companies developed a formal purchasing policy requiring their suppliers to raise awareness of IPV among their employees.

#### Doğus Holding, Executive Vice President/HR, Ebru Esmen Mete

We are well aware that domestic violence is not limited to private life, but it also has negative impacts on work life. Knowing that we are responsible for providing our employees with a safe and healthy work environment free of any kind of violence and threat, we developed and announced "Doğuş Holding Domestic Violence Workplace Policy" in 2016. In the following period, our aim is to encourage all our partners from whom we buy services to implement domestic violence policy and to raise awareness of the employees. As of 2018, we have started adding domestic violence-related articles to the business contracts with our suppliers. In order to raise awareness on domestic violence, we greatly value to extend our sphere of influence and to share our practices with the other interested corporations.

#### Siemens Turkey, CEO, Hüseyin Geliş

In order to remove violence from our employees' lives, we strive for them to develop selfconfidence they need and for preventing their work lives to be affected by this process. With this aim in mind, as Siemens Turkey, we became a part of the "Business against Domestic Violence" project and published our principles. We also collaborate with our stakeholders and work for raising awareness of our suppliers on domestic violence.

We are very proud of being one of the first corporations which signed "The Guideline on Development and Implementation of Company Policies with respect to Domestic Violence against Women"; of course, we do not think this is enough. Within the scope of the sustainability goal of Siemens Turkey, we will continue our work for women to achieve their deserved place in social and business life.

Campaigns launched by participating companies on the 25th of November, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women,<sup>17</sup> are examples of such efforts. Figure 2.7 presents some examples.

Some of the companies extended support to a small Call Center operated by the National Federation of Women's Associations, which offers advice to IPV survivors. The Call Center was able to increase its full-time staff from two to four thanks to this

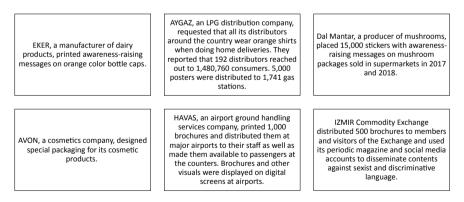


Fig. 2.7 Examples of celebrations on an international day for the elimination of violence against women

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>"International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women". *United Nations. United Nations. 2013.* Retrieved March 25, 2019.

support. One of the participating companies further decided to grant employment to those women who had applied to the Call Center and moved to shelters after due process.

#### Postcard 2: Aygaz

Aygaz is an LPG company and it has 2,406 Cylinder gas dealers and 1,718 Autogas stations in its distribution network. It has approximately 10,000 employees of which 12 percent are women. In November 2015, we decided to join the 'Business Against Domestic Violence Project' launched by the partnership of Sabanci University Corporate Governance Forum of Turkey and TUSIAD. During the course of the project, we have developed a 'Workplace Domestic Violence Policy'.

The main objectives of our Workplace Domestic Violence Policy are to raise awareness among all of our employees about domestic violence and create a workplace environment that is egalitarian and safe and tolerates no form of violence. Most of all, we wanted to make sure that all of our employees recognize violence when they experience it and they seek support from their employer if they need help. Our policy and guidelines assure that the position and the career of the employee who experiences domestic violence are minimally affected. The Policy also provides guidance to managers about how to address the consequences of domestic violence when it affects work. In July 2016, Aygaz became the first company that published its 'Business Against Domestic Violence Policy' that aims to create a business culture that does not tolerate violence against women.

Our next move was to reach out to the outside world and explain why we should combat domestic violence. To this end, we have developed a 10-point 'No Violence Against to Women' manifesto and presented it on the exterior of the Aygaz HQ Building on March 8, International Women's Day.

We extended support to the Domestic Violence Emergency Helpline established by the Federation of Turkish Women Associations. Furthermore, in collaboration with Purple Roof Women's Shelter Foundation, we organized training for our executives and managers on how to communicate with women who are exposed to violence.

On 25 November 2018, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, organized by the UN and known as the Orange Day Movement, we launched a campaign at Aygaz regional directorates and facilities to collect signatures against domestic violence. Our Manifesto was printed on flyers and posters and delivered to 1.480.760 customers through our dealers all around the country.

On International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, we continued our support for the '16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence'. We made an orange on-wall advertising to our HQ Building with 'Stop Violence Against Women'. Our Mogaz brand, which supports Beşiktaş Mogaz Men Handball Team went out for their match with an orange banner called 'Stop the Violence Against Women' between the dates 25 November and 10 December.

Additional to these campaigns, we made a collaboration with Opet, in September 2017 TKDF Domestic Violence Emergency Hotline number was affixed to the toilets of all autogas stations and social media communication was fulfilled.

In February 2016, the United Nations Global Compact and UN Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Unit established the Women Empowerment Principles. Thus, it became part of a global movement that would lead to improvements in gender equality and steps towards empowering women in society, in business, and in economic life.

A research conducted on all fields and office workers in order to determine whether women's employees did not seek violence because they did not seek out the emergency hotline created for the call of violence within the company or that women did not seek violence. According to the results of the study, almost all of the employees (97%) agreed that violence would affect the work life, and there were low levels of awareness and knowledge of different types of violence among male and female employees.

For this reason, in the next step, we aim to implement a workshop where we can explain the types of violence and what they can do to all our field employees, including permanent and subcontracted employees. We think that this awareness study will create a significant multiplier effect when evaluating themselves, their families and their social environment.

Sabanci University's policy covers support to female students affected by IPV and disciplinary measures for perpetrators if they are students of the university. The policy also includes support to students who are exposed to IPV at home. The policy and related procedure are presented in the Appendix.

The BADV Project created a market for gender equality training and company assessment services. This became evident by the increase in the consultancy and training fees. One of the NGOs that the CGFT cooperates with in delivering Gender Equality courses increased their fees by 43% (after inflation adjustment).

The BADV project and related initiatives taken by participating companies have been covered in the media extensively. This is partially the result of Sabancı University's and participating companies' public relations efforts, but also due to the attention of woman journalists. Between 2013 and 2019, the BADV project was covered 204 times in printed media corresponding to 67 full newspaper pages. It was also covered 9 times by various national television channels, with a total airing time of 3,205 s, and 726 times by digital media. The television programs that put a spotlight on the IPV and the BADV initiative were produced by women.

In the rest of this section, we will deconstruct the Project in order to hypothesize about factors that led to the BADV Project's success. We will do that by first analyzing the characteristics of the companies that joined the project.

## 2.8.2 Actors-Participating Companies

As shown in Fig. 2.8, only 28% of the companies that participated in the BADV project are listed in Borsa Istanbul (BIST). A majority of the companies are privately held and 25% of the companies, both privately held and publicly listed, are family

Year	Number of BADV Companies	Total Number of Employees				
2016	17	58335				
2017	14	8432				
2018	19	51858				
2019	4	10595				
All BADV Companies						
	_					
Total number of employees	129220					
Ratio of female employees	39%					
Average number of employees	2438	100				
Ratio of publicly listed companies	28%	All Compan	ies Listed in BIST			
Ratio of GC signatories	20% 41%		9%			
Ratio of UN WEPs signatories			7.75%			
Ratio of both GC and UN WEPs signatories	13%		4.75%			
Sectoral Distribution						
Education, health, sports and other social service						
Electricity, gas and water	7%					
Manufacturing industry	37%					
Financial institutions	22%					
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	6%					
Technology	6%					
Wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurant	11%					
Transportation, telecommunication and storage	6%					
Geographical Distribution						
İstanbul	59%					
İzmir	15%					
Bursa	11%					
Antalya	10%					
Kocaeli	3%					
Ankara	1%					
Tekirdağ	1%					

Fig. 2.8 Descriptive statistics of participating companies

owned and controlled. 26% of the companies are TÜSİAD members. 37% of the companies are in the manufacturing sector, 22% in finance, 11% in tourism, and 7% in oil and gas. 19% of companies are subsidiaries of international companies.

Companies that voluntarily develop workplace policies against IPV are more likely to be UN GC members or the WEPs' signatories. 9% of all companies listed in BIST are signatories of the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC)<sup>18</sup> and 7.5% are signatories to the WEPs. This figure, however, is 20% and 41%, respectively, for the BADV participants. This may be attributable to TÜSİAD's leadership role in organizing and coordinating the Network.

 $<sup>^{18}\</sup>mathrm{UN}$  Global Compact Turkey Network is one of the most active and largest GC country networks in the world.

13% of companies are members of both the GC and the WEPs. The high percentage of the WEPs' signatories among the participants may suggest the effectiveness of the WEPs' activities in Turkey or the significance already attributed by participating companies to women's empowerment.

Unfortunately, we only have board data for participating companies that are publicly listed. The percentage of female directors in those companies is similar to the average for all listed companies at 14%. However, those companies are more likely to have a female CEO or a female Board Chair. In 45% of participating companies, the Project was brought to the management agenda by the CEO or the Chairperson, 75% of whom were female. The high rate of the WEPs' signatories among the BADV participants may also be associated with a higher rate of female leadership in the sample.

57 of the BADV companies that joined the Project up until 2019 collectively employ 129,220 employees, out of which 39% are women. In 30% of the companies, the Project was put into the management agenda by the head of Human Resources and by the head of Corporate Communications in the remaining 25%. In 58% of the companies, the decision to join the Project was given by the CEO directly and in 42% of the companies, by the board. In three companies, the board members participated in policy development task forces in person. Two of them were female, one being the CEO and the other a significant shareholder, and the third one was a male CEO with foreign nationality.<sup>19</sup>

## Turcas Petrol, General Manager, Batu Aksoy

Violence against women is a global problem which crosscuts the entire humanity and all societies. For us, it is of great importance that any of our employees, as well as our stakeholders, are not exposed to economic, physical or psychological violence. We attach great value to the well-being and safety of our employees and stakeholders. Within the scope our commitment to this principle, we prepared "Policy of Zero Tolerance to Domestic Violence". We raise awareness on the subject through trainings and we provide psychological and legal counselling to our colleagues without violating their privacy. Besides, gender equality and equal representation are the top priorities in our corporate management agenda. I am proud and glad of being a part of the BADV project and a signatory of the WEPs, of taking action for a social change, and of the collaboration of the business world in this subject.

In a survey conducted by the CGFT, the participants mentioned the following factors as key for positively effecting the management decision to join the Project:

- Project Ownership:
  - The Project is coordinated by one of the most reputable universities in Turkey, Sabancı University<sup>20</sup>
  - The Project is endorsed and supported by a thought leader in business, TÜSİAD

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Simon Kaslowski, the CEO of Organik Kimya (a participating company) was elected as president of TÜSİAD in 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Sabanci University is ranked at the top of The Entrepreneurial and Innovative Universities Index calculated by TUBITAK (Turkey Science and Technology Research Institution) in 2015, 2016, and 2017. It ranks among the top 20 universities in emerging economies and top 400 around the world by the Times Higher Education.

- Decision Makers:
  - The ultimate decision maker in the company is a woman (CEO, Board Chair, or Owner)
- Company Characteristics:
  - Gender equality is a key principle in the company.
  - The company has a corporate social responsibility strategy that includes gender equality as a key theme.
  - The company employs a high percentage of women.
  - The mission of the Project resonates with the values of the families that control the companies.

These responses suggest that women's agency mattered the most followed by the participation of the lead actors, namely TÜSİAD and Sabancı University, as the factors that influenced the companies' decision to join the Project. These were followed by the alignment of companies' CSR priorities with the objectives of the Project.

## 2.8.3 Actors-TÜSİAD

The role of companies in pursuing goals beyond their financial and economic interests voluntarily has been investigated under the notions of Corporate Social Responsibility and Corporate Citizenship as discussed in the previous sections. The role of national business associations or federations of businesses, however, has attracted only limited attention from scholars. Although these organizations are generally categorized as lobby groups or civil society organizations, they differ from both in terms of the breadth of their activities, their political power, and access to resources.

A direct counterpart of the world's leading business organizations such as CBI of the UK, BDI of Germany, or the French Business Confederation (MEDEF), TÜSİAD is an exception. Researchers have always been interested in TÜSİAD either as a standalone subject of the investigation or as one of the key actors in the social, economic, or political situational analysis of Turkey. As of 2019, TÜSİAD members represent over 4,500 companies providing over 80% of the tax revenue in Turkey and 85% of the country's total foreign trade. It has representative offices in Brussels (European Union), Paris, Washington D.C., and Berlin and has business networks in Shanghai, San Francisco/Silicon Valley, and Dubai. It is host to the UN Global Compact Turkey Network and sits on the Network's board and Executive Committee. Through its university collaborations, global memberships, and affiliations, TÜSİAD is a global social actor. TÜSİAD's most important affiliation is with BUSINESSEU-ROPE<sup>21</sup> (Confederation of European Business) and the Global Business Coalition,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>TÜSİAD's affiliations can be reviewed at https://tusiad.org/en/tusiad/about. Accessed on April 23, 2019.

which highlight its accreditation at the European and international levels. It also has several partnerships with the world's leading thinktanks and business platforms.

TÜSİAD members are Turkey's largest corporations and most dynamic mid-size companies. Among its members, there are not only companies of Turkish origin, but also global multinationals that operate in Turkey. TÜSİAD is described by some authors as the organization of big business and large conglomerates in Turkey.<sup>22</sup> Straw (2013) positions TÜSİAD as representative of the Turkish bourgeoisie. According to Öniş and Türem (2002), TÜSİAD is a political actor in terms of both defending its members' interests and expressing the collective concerns of big business regarding the social, political, and economic problems of the country. Öniş and co-authors argue that TÜSIAD's commitment to democracy and human rights not only reflects a fundamental concern that is the legitimation of the positioning of big business in society, but that this commitment can also be explained by the instrumental role that democracy can play in capitalizing on the potential benefits of integrating with the global economy and the EU.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, Straw (2013) notes that since its founding in 1971 after the military intervention in Turkey, TÜSİAD has always striven to amplify the voices of non-state actors and mitigate state power in the governance of the Republic. According to key political actors and observers, TÜSIAD was probably the most determinant actor in promoting a democratic agenda in the late 1990s and early 2000s, paving Turkey's path as well to the beginning of the accession process to the European Union in 2005. TÜSİAD has again been a vocal advocate for democratization, establishing the rule of law, and respecting human rights in Turkey after 2013 under the AKP leadership that has diverted Turkey from its path to integration with the EU to a more nationalistic and opportunistic route.

More recent research on TÜSİAD by Yaka (2015) defines TÜSİAD as a unique institution that has a highly developed understanding of the role of intellectual and moral leadership in formulating the interests of its constituencies as a "national" program. TÜSİAD, she posits, given that instability and short-termism are key structural features of mainstream politics in Turkey, was forced to compensate by developing a long-term, strategic vision beyond the short-term economic/corporate interests. She cites Ömer Sabancı, one of the previous presidents of TÜSİAD, who defined TÜSİAD as the "only organization capable of developing a vision, designing a future and proposing certain strategies for the country as a whole which does not abstain criticizing the political power and even encountering with it when the political power

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Although many authors analyze Turkey's business networks as secular and religious (for example, see Atiyas et al. 2016), represented by TÜSİAD and MÜSIAD, respectively, and the share of companies in the religious network has increased among the top 1,000 firms significantly, most big companies are members of TÜSİAD. Those that are members of MÜSIAD are also members of TÜSİAD. In the beginning of the BADV project, after TÜSİAD offered its support to the fight against IPV, the CGFT repeatedly requested a meeting from the president of MÜSIAD without success.

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$ We must note that the opinions of Öniş and Türem (2002) reflect a period when neoliberal globalism was on the rise whereas following the 2008 crises, business discourse had an increasingly Keynesian undertone.

act against the 'national interest'." She describes TÜSİAD as functioning as a "collective organic intellectual" in economic, social, and political life, from democratization to women's rights, from public reform to competitiveness. TÜSİAD does indeed, through its university/TÜSİAD Joint Forums, form its opinions by using input from intelligentsia, academics, and scientists and disseminates them first within the membership base and then to the society in general.<sup>24</sup>

The question is, then, to what extent TÜSİAD is an idiosyncratic product of Turkey's unique context and to what extent it is representative of big business with global ambitions in late industrialized societies whose role goes beyond the representation of collective interest and lobbying to a comprehensive political and social role that may be supportive of the 2030 Development Agenda. A more general question, perhaps, is under what conditions the collective interests of big businesses can be aligned with the interests of society.

In trying to find an answer to this question while remaining wary of the critical perspectives of the role of business in achieving social goals, we must note that economic interests alone are not sufficient to define the identity of a social class or its representatives since they are embedded in social, political, and cultural identities. These identities cannot be reduced to economic interests. TÜSİAD's access to the political elite may have been eroded with the emergence of new elites affiliated with the AKP, but its intellectual capacity built upon its tradition of collaborating with the country's intellectuals and scientists to formulate its "national" agenda resonates with both big and small companies as well as with society at large whose envisagement of the future overlaps with that of TÜSİAD's. This is reflected in the effectiveness of TÜSİAD in mobilizing its members to participate in the BADV Project.

TUSIAD is an example of a business association, whose current future vision aligns with the 2030 Development Agenda in pursuit of a global liberal economic and political order that respects the rule of law, individual freedoms, and human rights which are the building blocks of democracy. Not in all societies nor at all points of history is such a counterpart available.

## 2.8.4 Actors-Sabanci University

Sabancı University was founded in 1994 by the late Sakıp Sabancı, who was one of the eight founders of TÜSİAD in 1971, as a nonprofit, but the privately funded university. The university's philosophy and vision are explained in the following words:

We will strive to define and make visible all issues that concern us at large and focus on applied techniques to meet the social and technological needs of the future. We will adopt an interdisciplinary approach of "learning to learn" to cultivate knowledge, support

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>The CGFT was founded jointly by TÜSİAD and Sabancı University in 2002 and remained as a jointly governed body until 2015.

education and facilitate social advancement...through innovative education and research with transformative impact on science and society.<sup>25</sup>

Sabanci University is not alone in its ambition to transform society. Most foundation universities founded and funded by powerful families in Turkey have similar visions. Ararat (2008) explains this characteristic of privately funded universities in Turkey as a manifestation of corporate philanthropy. The question is, as we asked for TÜSİAD, to what extent Sabanci University is an idiosyncratic product of Turkey's unique context and to what extent it is representative of entrepreneurial universities in the late industrializing countries with a vision to play a transformational role in the society. A more general question is under what conditions universities (or business schools) can play a more effective role in achieving the SDGs by reaching out and engaging with companies without compromising their primary functions of research and education.

Various global initiatives promote the more effective agency of academia in achieving social goals. The UN Principles of Responsible Management Education (PRME) is a UN-supported global initiative founded in 2007.<sup>26</sup> PRME engages business and management schools to ensure they provide future leaders with the skills needed to balance economic and sustainability goals while drawing attention to the SDGs. PRME had 650 members as of May 2019, of which Sabanci University School of Management is one. The Academy of Business in Society is an older initiative founded in 2001 to bring European companies and business schools together with the mission to advance the role of business in society through research and education.<sup>27</sup> ABIS had approximately 100 members as of May 2019. These numbers may be a response to the growing trend of de-intellectualization around the world and discontent with "experts" and the "educated", suggesting that universities need to improve their standing and integration in the society.

The immediate threats and challenges faced by societies around the world require universities to become more active and solution-oriented. This should not be understood as undermining the traditional roles of formal education and scientific research, but instead, as adding the emerging function of social outreach and engagement in addressing key issues that societies face. Arguing that the only responsibility of the university is to conduct research and offer education is an outdated position, similar to saying the only responsibility of businesses is to make a profit. This does not mean that the university does not need some insulation from society's concerns and priorities in terms of allowing for paradigm-shifting ideas (McOwen 2017). However, business schools can't afford isolation if they want to remain relevant and do what they are expected to do well: develop professional managers who are able to lead companies toward a sustainable future.

Consider the words of project managers that worked together with the CGFT:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>The full text is available at https://www.sabanciuniv.edu/en/our-philosophy, accessed on April 23, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Members of UN PRME are available at http://www.unprme.org/. Accessed on May 1, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Formerly known as EABIS, the ABIS membership list is available at https://www.abis-global. org/about/. Accessed on May 1, 2019.

Our decision to be involved in this project was undoubtedly informed by the leadership role of Sabancı University, one of the most reputable research universities in Turkey.

....the fact that Sabancı University had no other interest than making a positive social impact by bringing together corporations affected our decision to participate.

Since this project involves documents, forms, use of specialists, informative seminars and an analysis of the causes and effects of domestic violence based on data, it is very important for us that this project is run by a university.

It was invaluable for us to work together with a university which conducts reliable and sound research. Participating in workshops organized by Sabancı University reinforced our awareness on this issue. The University played an important role in connecting the corporations who want to work together in an environment in which best practices were shared.

The fact that the project was run by a university certainly raised the credibility of the project. The University also contributed greatly in providing the necessary resources such as academic research, reports and implementation guides.

These praises illuminate the need for a more active role for universities in mobilizing business toward social goals as well as the moderating effect of universities' reputation in playing that role.

The BADV case shows that universities can act as a platform of knowledge and idea exchange between academic institutions and businesses through partnerships with the objective of finding solutions to social problems. They can also be instrumental in raising awareness on issues that require collaborative efforts to address. Collaborations and partnerships with universities can take a variety of forms, including but not limited to, conducting and disseminating targeted research, developing tools and instruments for change, organizing, and leading transformational campaigns, collecting data, observing and reporting trends, lending their institutional credibility to positive activism, etc. The BADV Project demonstrates each of these elements.

## 2.9 Reflections on the Experience

To be concise, the Business Against Domestic Violence Project presents a case whereby a university center played a catalytic role in mobilizing companies towards the elimination of intimate partner violence. The Forum's role included conducting research, educating and training business managers, developing tools, supporting their implementation, and facilitating the formation of a network of companies, non-governmental organizations, and scholars in collaboration with a business association, and a UN agency. Looking back, participating companies joined the Project not as subjects of a process, but as members of a network that aimed to bring change both in their own organizations and their ecosystems. This is reflected in the words of one CEO:

Our employees....act as project ambassadors. The "Voice of Equality" commission that we established within the company reaches out to the various actors we are able to collaborate with, both locally and at a national level.

Another CEO expresses similar sentiments:

Thanks to our work that included our clients and retailers, we have received positive feedback that not only our employees but also their families and social circles started to think about this issue.

An important question is what made companies decide to join a Project that has both a business reason and a social purpose? Based on our observations during the 5 years of working with companies on the Project, we posit that the following factors are influential in mobilizing companies to embrace a social issue:

- Availability of new and actionable knowledge and a formulation of solutions to address the issue (e.g., the Survey created actionable knowledge and the Guide offered a solution).
- Endorsement and involvement of business associations and networks whose missions and values are aligned with the solution and the underlying ethical principles (e.g., engaging with TÜSİAD, the UN GC, and the WEPs).
- Triggering employee activism by communicating campaigns to a wide audience (e.g., through press conferences, social media, letters, and bulletins).
- Presenting a "business case" to frame the issue as relevant to businesses while also utilizing moral language (i.e., presenting the workplace consequences of IPV and at the same time framing gender equality as a matter of justice)
- Creating an open platform of collaboration with a clear owner who has the capacity to facilitate and lead (i.e., the University as the owner).
- Continuity of action (e.g., workshops, panels, and search conferences)

In the previous section, we have discussed the role of universities and business associations and elaborated on women's agency in mobilizing their organizations around gender issues. Leadership literature is rich in explaining the role of managers in addressing social issues, with a growing focus on the role of mid-level managers in raising social and ethical issues in organizations (Wickert and de Bakker 2018). These studies show that top management can't easily dismiss a proposal from a department head, who highlights an issue that is connected to the company's formally stated values and mission. In the case of BADV, Human Resources and Corporate Communications functions have played an important role in persuading the top executives to join the Project. Both functions are more likely to be led by female managers, which reinforces the role played by these departments on addressing gender equality and IPV. For other social issues, other functions may be more relevant.

Framing is also important. Extant research often assumes that economic language will be effective and moral language will often be ineffective in raising issues (Sonenshein 2006). We argue that the "business case" may be the suitable packaging for opening a conversation about taking action against a social issue like IPV. However, based on our observations, the language used by employees to persuade top managers were more effective when it had a moral tone. When the issue was brought up by the CEO, the justification was generally based on organizational values and ethical principles. Moreover, the language used in policy documents and internal and external corporate communications also had a moral tone. Mayer et al. (2019)

argue that changing the business case narrative and assuming the best of others—that they want to make a positive difference—may be a more useful strategy for creating social change. They report that moral messages that are framed to align with the organizational environment (i.e., the organization's values and/or mission) are more effective. Their findings are supported by our analysis. Most companies we surveyed mentioned that they participated in the BADV project because it was aligned with the mission and values of the company or its CSR program. Employees and managers alike often care about social issues. The question is how they can be motivated to use their work as an instrument to foster social change. Alignment with mission and values, isomorphic pressures, and peer pressure motivate managers to devote resources and take concrete actions to promote issues that benefit society. "Employees at all levels have the agency to initiate social change-and a properly tailored moral argument isn't a bad place to start" (Mayer et al. 2019).

Our conclusion based on our observations and surveys on the impact of the Project on the workplace are as follows:

- Mobilizing employees around a social issue energizes the organization
- Social action, if they are directly involved, transforms leaders and employees to become social agents within their environment.
- Company initiatives that provide an opportunity for everyone to contribute strengthen the employees' sense of belonging and self-esteem.
- Social action provides an opportunity for latent leaders to emerge and boosts innovation.

We have included testimonials from the leaders of participating organizations in Appendix 2 and would like to highlight a few statements that support our analysis. Consider the words of Başak Helen Taşkan:

Our journey started with "We are against domestic violence." Today, we continue this journey with projects that encourage the development of gender equality. We are setting policies to further raise the collective consciousness of our employees and the sector at-large. With the help of these new corporate policies, we've worked diligently to challenge and change our previous mentalities by...the heartful and informed participation of our leaders. Utilization of corporate resources in combating violence and gender inequality and the resulting awareness are the indicators of our transformation.

## Tülin Tezer says partaking in the Project made her job more meaningful:

....directing my personal energy into the women's empowerment movement in business (which is a very important field of development for our country) makes my job as a female CEO more meaningful. Seeing the results and experiencing them directly makes me proud...Thanks to the project, I more clearly understand that preventing domestic violence can only be attained through social solidarity and collective action to raise consciousness...I sincerely believe that corporations' work on domestic violence contributes both to an increase in efficiency and to ensuring safety at the workplace.

The words of Esra Ersoy show how employees begin to feel a greater sense of belonging when their organization becomes an instrument of social change of which they can participate in

From the moment we presented the project to our Executive Committee, the Committee has stood with us and supported both the project and the policy we developed. This has become an important source of motivation for us. This encouragement of the Executive Committee has strengthened the familial bonds between the management and all the employees. It is an invaluable source of inspiration to have the full support and trust of our executives and the corporation.

#### Semih Çatak confirms:

The project also contributed to strengthening the bond between employees and the institution. The employees of İzmir Commodity Exchange now know that they are not alone if they experience violence. They have the full backing and support of ICE, both morally and materially. This leads to greater confidence among the employees and strengthens their sense of belonging at the institution.

The survey we conducted among employees supported the perceptions of the management team:

After our participation in the project, my colleagues often voiced that they take pride in our corporation.

Participation rate in the project was very high. A platform where employees can participate in a social issue has also increased the commitment to the company.

We were very fond of and satisfied with the work we did as the project team. It makes us proud to know that we did our best.

## 2.10 Conclusion

With the knowledge obtained from the BADV experience, we propose a conceptual model for mobilizing businesses to achieve the SDGs as presented in Fig. 2.9.

Our model involves the co-creation of new and actionable knowledge around the Targets through the synthesis of best practices with research output. Best practices include best practices of business, rule enforcement, and collaborative social action around a Target. During the conceptualization of the BADV project, best practices at all levels were compiled and analyzed, which highlighted the knowledge gap; the extent of IPV among white-collar working women was, indeed, the missing knowledge. Combined with previous research on the workplace effects of IPV, the survey conducted by the CGFT led to creation of actionable knowledge together with companies. The proposed action was a campaign to develop workplace policies against IPV. Campaigns and initiatives are effective forms of involving companies in action. Finally, our proposed model is founded upon dual pillars: the justification of action based on business benefits and moral reasoning.

"Leaving no one behind" is one of the premises of the partnership approach proposed by the model. NGOs, experts, scholars, and business associations can all contribute to creating an action. BADV suggests that partnering with a federation or an employer's union that is a good fit for the purpose is effective in mobilizing

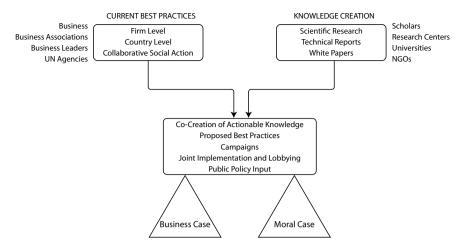


Fig. 2.9 A model for mobilizing business for SDGs

companies towards a social goal. Different business associations may represent different interests at various times, and not all business associations are ideal partners for collaborating on social agendas. It may, however, be increasingly difficult for business associations to refuse to play a thought leadership role by ignoring the risks of instability and unrest that social problems like inequality fuel.

In our proposed model, the university plays a critical role. Figure 2.10 presents the centrality of knowledge creation and dissemination in the project cycle.

The BADV case highlights the need for universities to be socially embedded and to work creatively to foster social transformation. In our view, universities should not

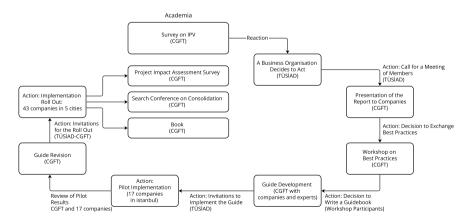


Fig. 2.10 Actionable knowledge creation as the facilitator of action

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be "people factories" automating the education of the masses to meet the demands of employers. Instead, universities must be idea and solution generators that can make the world a better place for all. McOwan (2017) argues that the university that will address the 2030 Development Agenda (post-2015) may not necessarily be a state university. However, it will need to be a *public institution*. That is to say, the institute will need to be one that is fully oriented towards the public good. He argues that universities should undertake three functions: first, investigate and determine the nature of societal challenges; second, provide solutions to those problems, and, in some cases, *implement those solutions*; third, provide a space for the construction of society's conception of development. The first of these functions will primarily involve traditional research. Solving the problems, he argues, however, will also involve a significant service function: "in allowing the uptake of the ideas generated by the university in society, whether through technology transfer to industry, advice to governments, or interchange and developmental work with communities. The third of these functions is rather less concrete in terms of the activities involved, but it rests on the principle that universities provide a space for free interchange of ideas without constrictive influences from external bodies, and allow for as broad a range of social groups as possible to contribute their ideas." The BADV case exemplifies this public role that universities are expected to play even when they are privately funded. To meet the changing expectations of research universities and to help them solve societal challenges, "the central requirement is to help get research not only published but also disseminated and transferred for the use of society. The opportunity for the university is to capture some portion of the wealth thereby generated, through traditional mechanisms as well as grants and ultimately endowment gifts from those who have benefited from the catalytic role of the campus" (Leih and Teece 2016).

There are challenges for universities to play a catalytic role. The first challenge is to make sure that there is a match of capacity/expertise present (or to be developed) in the university and society's priorities. These themes should be spelled out in the university's strategic objectives. Knowledge generated through the scientific methods also needs to be translated into popular language and disseminated to relevant stakeholders through the mediums effective in reaching target audiences. This requires developing a capacity for high-quality journalism in universities. The second requirement is facilitating the interdisciplinary and interfaculty research that will be necessary to address complex societal issues. Many universities around the world struggle with this task and fail to incorporate these ambitions within their performance evaluation system. The AACSB, the global standard provider for business schools, suggests inclusion of media citations, requests from practice communities to utilize faculty expertise, publications in practice journals, income from industry or government agencies, adoption of new practices in line with faculty work, and membership on the boards of directors of corporate and nonprofit organizations in performance indicators.<sup>28</sup> Most of these indicators are not included, or have negligible significance, in performance evaluation systems in universities. Without recognition of these impact indicators, the efforts to engage and create social action will depend

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>See the Appendix 1 Accreditation Standards at https://www.aacsb.edu, accessed on May 2, 2019.

on bottom-up voluntarism that is decoupled from the mainstream faculty. We can't claim that Sabancı University is an exception.

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# Part I Photographs

# **BADV Project Events**



Project Launch, April 2013, Consulate of Netherlands, Istanbul



Best Practices about Domesic Violence Workshop, November 2014, İstanbul



Guide Writing Workshop, November 2015, İstanbul



BADV Guide Launch, December 2015, İstanbul



Launch of pilot companies policies, December 2016, İstanbul



BADV Project Information Session, March 2017, Bursa



BADV Project Information Session, April 2017, Antalya



BADV Project Information Session, May 2017, İzmir



Gender Equity Training, June 2017, Antalya



Gender Equity Trainings, June 2017, Antalya



Gender Equity Trainings, September 2018, İzmir



Gender Equity Training, September 2018, İstanbul



Panel on 'Multi-disciplinary perspectives on DV and the Role of Companies', February 2019, İstanbul

### **BADV Companies' Internal Communications-Posters**



Aygaz says "No to Violence against Women"



Havas's Poster: "We can carry everything, but not the burden of inequality"



İnci Holding's Poster: "No to Domestic Violence!"









Dudullu Industrial Zone's Poster: "Violence has always attracted men with low moral values-Albert Einstein"

## GARANTİ, AİLE İÇİ ŞİDDETE KARŞI ÇALIŞANLARINI DESTEKLİYOR.



Fiziksel, psikolojik, ekonomik ve benzeri bir şiddet türüne maruz kaldığınızı veya çalışma arkadaşlarınızdan birinin şiddete uğradığını düşünüyorsanız, lütfen tepkisiz kalmayın!



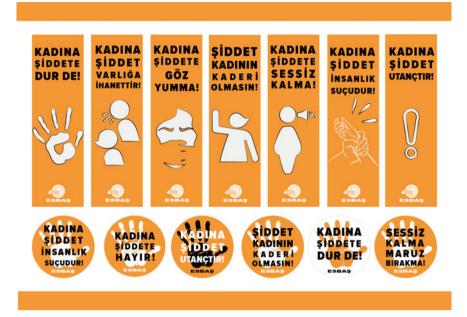
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AILE İÇİ ŞİDDET HATTI'nı\* arayın, hukuki ve psikolojik destek hizmetinden faydalanın. \*Ale içi Şiddet Hattı, LEAP Çalşan Dıstek Program tarafından yürütülmektedir. Arayanların bigleri kendleri istemediği sürece kesinlikle paylaşılmayacaktır.

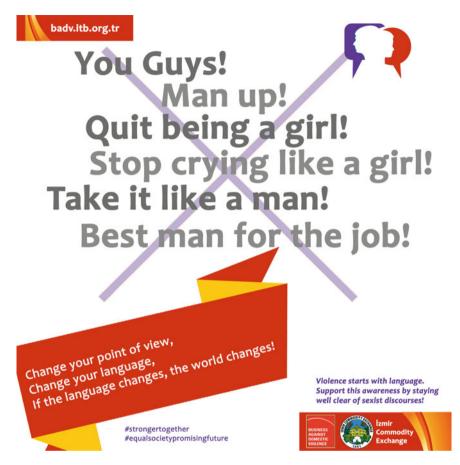
Garanti Bank's Poster: "We are against domestic violence!"



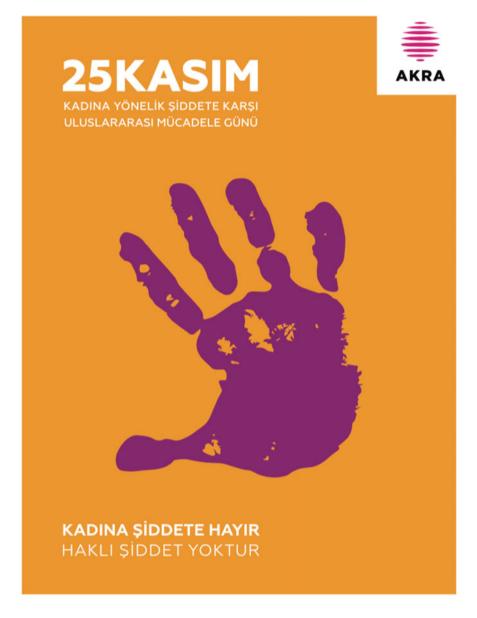
Ral Textile's Poster: "Together we are Stronger"



ESBAS's stickers



Izmir Commodity Exchange's Gender Equality Awareness Activities- Social Media Poster



akrahotels.com



URBAN | ÖZENÍMÍZ. SÖZÜMÜZ. SOCIAL | OUR DEDICATION. OUR WORD.

Akra Barut Hotel's Poster: "No to Violence against Women"

# Şiddetin Her Türlüsüne Karşıyız!

#### Fiziksel Şiddet:

Bir kimsenin karşısındakine zorla dokunma, korkutma veya sindirme için kaba kuvvet yolu ile yaralaması veya ölümüne sebep olmak.

#### Cinsel Şiddet:

Bir kişiye istemediği yer, zaman ve durumda dokunma, cinsel ilişkiye zorlama. (hamile kalmaya, doğurma, doğurmamaya zorlamak vb.)

#### Psikolojik/Duygusal Şiddet:

Bir kimsenin varlığını yok saymak, küçük düşürmek, kıyaslamak, korkutmak ve kişinin ruh sağlığını hedef almak.

Teknolojinin sunduğu imkanları kişileri küçük düşürmek, denetlemek ve cezalandırmak için kullanmak.

Kişiyi zorla çalıştırmak, gelirini elinden almak. (çalışmaya engel olmak, ev harcamaları için para

Ekonomik Şiddet:

vermemek vb.)

Dijital Şiddet:

Aile İçi Şiddet Hattı: 0212 656 96 96 0549 656 96 96

Dogus Holding's Poster: "We are against all forms of violence!"

8

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Organik Kimya's Poster: "We have the formula of equality!"



Seger's Poster: "If women voice up, society will become stronger!"



Yesim Textile's Poster: "We were born equal; we should live equal!"

# **BADV** Companies Gender Awareness Trainings and Activities



Ral Textile, International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, Awareness Activities



ESBAS, International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, Awareness Activities



AYGAZ, International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, Awareness Activities



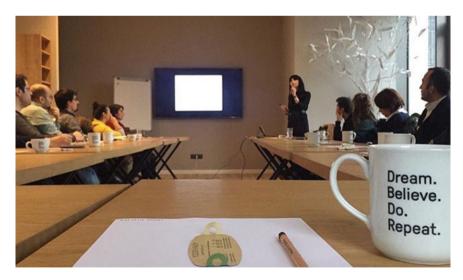
Yesim Textile, Domestic Violence Policy Launch



Seger, Gender Equality Trainings



Organik Kimya, International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, Awareness Activities



Turcas Petrol, Gender Equality Trainings

## Part II Institutional Context: Women in Turkey

### Chapter 3 Gender and Violence in Turkey: An Introduction



Fatmagül Berktay

The society we should strive for is one that can hold and value cultural, religious, and gendered differences while maintaining the promise of equality for all. In many obvious ways, women's daily lives differ from men. The strategies to improve their lives must, therefore, take these differences into consideration. There is a critical need to place gender-based violence within the context of the structural inequality faced by women. Doing so would work as a means of breaking down the distinction between public and private life, which operates to exclude gender-based violence from the human rights agenda.

While as a society we need to recognize the inherent merit of individuality and equality, this does not mean that a celebration of these differences should immediately, and without examination, be applauded. Any blanket deference to culture, institution of family, or privacy rights within the family has disastrous consequences for women. The discriminatory and abhorrent practices of stoning, genital mutilation, suttee, bride burning, "honor killings", passion killings, rape, domestic violence, etc., are all part and parcel of a universal web of violence against women. These acts are assaults to the life, dignity, and personal integrity of women and they are all political in a broad sense as they manifest, and at the same time, reinforce patriarchal values.

On the other hand, defining and limiting crimes of "honor", or more generally crimes related to the religious and cultural practices of minority groups and religious communities and linking them to a particular area (the Middle East, for example) identifies these as "problematic" groups or cultures. This practice is, therefore, both dependent on and simultaneously perpetuates a homogenized interpretation of culture. In this approach, a certain culture is assumed to be monolithic, which uniformly

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M. Ararat (ed.), *Business Against Intimate Partner Violence*, Accounting, Finance, Sustainability, Governance & Fraud: Theory and Application, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-32-9652-7\_3

condones such practices and thereby builds a wall between the (homogenized) members of that culture and those outside it. At the same time, it labels the problematized group/culture as a backward "other". Often the "outsiders" are assumed to be equipped with an ability to criticize whereas the dissent among "insiders" is not recognized. This inevitably strengthens the power of conservatives within such cultures. What we should aim for is precisely the opposite: listening to and validating the voices of the dissenters in these cultures and forging alliances with them. Emphasis also needs to be placed on the state's responsibility for any unlawful actions as well as failure to reprimand and correct for these actions. By failing to provide adequate protection for women's human rights, the state assumes responsibility for any violation of these human rights in or outside of the home as well as for the violence legitimized by cultural and/or religious traditions.

The dissonance between women's rights and some religious and/or cultural practices and traditions reflects itself not only within religious contexts but in the secular frames of nation-states as well. Even where the majority of formal legal inequalities are removed, institutional structures and practices continue to reveal the prevalence of discriminatory treatment against women. The rationale given most often for denial of human rights for half the population (i.e. women) is the so-called preservation of culture and family. The argument from the perspective of "culture" is employed to serve diverse interests and wide-ranging human rights violations by religious and nonreligious governments and extra-constitutional groups, all of which continue to be justified on the grounds of cultural differences.

We know that deeply entrenched patriarchal cultural norms prove strongly resistant to change. These norms embody the cultural and social prejudices and stereotypes about female and male roles and identity. The socially defined gender identities and images, which are particularly significant in terms of women's existence, are the product as well as part of traditions shaped through centuries by religion and culture. Even people who do not consider themselves religious accept these images; indeed, the religious world view outgrows the boundaries of the faithful and joins mainstream culture, deeply affecting the conscience and daily lives of all. The world view, or "ethos" of a culture, contains vast amounts of images of women, all of which play a significant role in shaping the conceptualization of women for the entire culture. Most of these images are of religious origin and are primarily constructed not by women themselves, but by men.

Moreover, these dominant images and stereotypes continue to exist even after the social change has achieved its established goals. The images have penetrated the deepest nooks and crannies of our consciousness. When women embark on the path of self-determination and emancipation, they inevitably are met with and need to rid themselves of the purveying images of a "cursed Eve" or a "woman as source of *fitna*" (disruption or discord) which continue to define women even in secular frameworks (Berktay 1998). Female subordination is so deeply ingrained that it is still viewed as inevitable or natural rather than as socially or politically constructed by patriarchal interests, ideology, and institutions. **The physical territory of this political struggle is women's bodies**. The importance of controlling women's bodies can be seen in the intensity of resistance to laws and social changes that put control of women's bodies

in their own hands: reproductive rights, right to abortion, freedom of sexuality, laws that criminalize rape in marriage, etc.

Particularly in the West, the process of secularization has involved the transfer of religious disciplinary practices into secular regulative practices whereby they are subjected to legal and bureaucratic control. This transfer process has ensured they become commonsensical knowledge backed by divine authority and that they also involve a moral discourse evolving around family and sexuality. While the legal and cultural embodiments of patriarchal thinking and practice vary among different cultures, there is an astounding convergence of cultures in regard to the basic tenets of patriarchy and the legitimacy of violence against women as a mechanism for enforcing that system. This is also reflected in the support given to these structures by the patriarchal hierarchy of the nation-state.

While states may prohibit cultural practices such as suttee, honor killings, stoning, etc., at the same time they may show selective indifference of varying degrees in practice. The notion of cultural and religious rights can often reinforce the distinction between public and private worlds to the disadvantage of women. Culture, family, and religion can be seen as spheres protected from legal regulations even though they allow the oppression of women by men.

In order to respond to the brutal and systematic violation of women's rights globally, governments and human rights organizations must move beyond male-defined norms, a move that requires examining gender biases and acknowledging the rights of women as, simply, human rights.

This final point draws out controversy among the international community and begets the question of whether prioritizing the preservation of cultural and religious rights over human rights is appropriate. Cultural relativists argue that universal human rights are nothing but the fulfillment of the final stage of imperialism, nothing but the West's imposition of its own norms on the rest of the world. From this perspective, no member of a particular society can criticize or judge the cultural practices of another society. Especially when faced with the West's criticism for unequal treatment of, for example, Middle Eastern women, they deny that there are universal norms to measure such treatment and that the existing norms used to measure are not based on international values but only on the values of the West. In this context, signaling alarm for the discrimination of women is seen as a reflection of western imperialism and, thus, these kinds of discriminatory practices are legitimized in the name of Muslim particularism. (See, for example, the 1990 Cairo Human Rights Declaration of the Organization of Muslim Countries which declared that all rights were subordinate and dependent upon Sharia laws.) In political practice, cultural and religious freedoms are accorded a higher priority nationally and internationally which leads to the perpetuation of gender inequity due to the current interpretations of cultural rights.

#### 3.1 "Culture" Needs to Be Problematized

This brings us to the need to problematize "culture" and the culture argument. First, culture is not a static, unchanging body of information; rather it is a series of constantly contested and negotiated social practices whose meanings are influenced by the power and status of their interpreters and participants. Second, it is an integral part of the complex web of power relationships that circumscribes our existence. "Without questioning the political uses of culture, without asking whose culture this is and who its primary beneficiaries are, without placing the very notion of culture in historical context and investigating the status of the interpreter we cannot fully understand the case with which women become instrumentalized in larger battles of political, economic, and military competition in the international arena." (Rao 1995).

Whenever states argue that international conventions are interfering with their cultural rights, inevitably, women are denied access to equal rights. If violations of women's rights are excused and perpetuated in the name of cultural particularism then these supposed "rights" are nothing more than an attempted disguise for the universality of male determination to cling to power and privilege. Therefore, while criticizing these pseudo-universal claims, we also have to struggle against the unquestioning acceptance of cultural difference. Culture, tradition, or religion can never be invoked to excuse states' failure to take action against violence. Even in the states where there are no religious or customary laws, the state may still refrain from redressing inequalities and intervention on the grounds that such restraint respects culture and tradition.

As women's access to the public sphere is curtailed in many ways, public rights are critical to close the equality gap. Yet, much of the abuse women endure is part of a larger socioeconomic and cultural web that entraps women making them vulnerable to abuses inside the private sphere, the home, and the family. The rigid distinction between public and private is a dichotomy largely used to justify female subordination and to shield human rights abuses in the home from public scrutiny. The treatment of women—sexual harassment, rape, "honor killing", etc.—in the public sphere is a further manifestation of traditional patriarchal views regarding the role and status of women in society.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.2 The Need for a Comparative Perspective

Problematization of culture and the culture argument also calls for a comparative approach in dealing with the subject of gender and violence across

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The abortion issue and law represent an area which straddles the public and the private. Whereas the legal right to abortion should be viewed as a matter for a woman's determination alone, the cultural and religious sensitivities and concerns towards abortion always intrude. The mother's right to control her body is also circumscribed by public factors of state interest as well.

the world. This approach may instigate questions surrounding feelings of selfcenteredness/uniqueness, or worse, a (baseless) sense of supremacy. Discriminating cultural practices exist in every society in varying degrees and reflect the deeply rooted patriarchal attitudes. However, the general opinion of people in Western societies is that these patriarchal cultural practices are restricted to the East, particularly to the Islamic world. Existing stereotyping in the West, irrespective of diversity, defines "other" women as disadvantaged *vis-à-vis* emancipation, obedient, subordinate, and repressed. This is especially true of the image of migrant Muslim women in the West. What one Turkish sociologist working in Germany highlights with respect to the existing studies about Turkish immigrant women is telling:

These studies say little that is relevant to the actual situation of Turkish women; in short they are an expression of the collective Western dream of the Orient. The result is that to this day the Orient is defined as being fundamentally different from the West with this characterization as "different" in no way serving as a neutral term, but rather assuming and confirming the West's cultural, economic and social superiority. (Akkent 1995)

As is detailed above, in these circumstances it is nearly impossible for, say, a Turkish woman to define herself in a way that does not correspond to a stereotype. Furthermore, because foreign women are viewed as walking stereotypes, it is generally believed that every member of their society adheres to this characterization. This is never the complete story, of course, and leads only to a vast underestimate of the struggle of self-determination waged by women in these societies.

In Turkey, women have been campaigning for equality since the mid-nineteenth century by redefining their state-viewed personhood as more autonomous and equal while still being subject to Islamic Law (*Sharia*), which roundly denied them equal rights. However, neither the situation nor the struggle of Ottoman women is unique (*sui generis*) or disconnected from women's history in the West either. At the beginning of the twentieth century, most societies were patriarchal. Women lived under the legal and moral authority of their father until marriage, when the husband took his place.

The German civil code enforced in 1900 stipulated that "to the husband belong the decisions in all affairs of the married life in common." In France, the Napoleonic tradition had bequeathed a civil code requiring a wife's "obedience" to her husband. In nineteenth-century English society, where the discourse of modernization and progress peaked, women were confined to the household and the private domain, deprived of the right to vote, and restricted from entering the academic and professional domain. In total, they were subjected to the will of their husbands in marriage and, until 1882, they were denied the right to own and run property.<sup>2</sup> The state of married women echoed husbands' absolute dominion within the family. Even Sweden, one of the forerunners of the global movement for gender equality, enacted the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>See Lawrence Stone, *Road to Divorce: England 1530–1987*, Oxford University Press, 1992; S. Menafee, *Wives for Sale*, Oxford University Press, 1981. It was no coincidence that John Stuart Mill complained in the mid-nineteenth century that slavery still existed in England within marriage (*The Subjection of Women*—1869—Cambridge UP, 1989). This point also presents an interesting element of comparison with regard to the stature of women in the Ottoman state where women, single or married, had the right to own and run property.

first Marriage Act embodying an explicitly egalitarian conception of marriage only in 1915.<sup>3</sup> Even though Turkish women were still under Islamic Law at that time, this did not prevent them from waging a struggle for emancipation as their counterparts did in the West.

#### **3.3** A Brief History of the Turkish Women's Movement

The Turkish Republic, which was founded in 1923 after the decline of the Ottoman Empire, is a pluralistic democracy as of 1946. Until that time, it was under a reformist one-party rule. These reforms notably involved the inclusion of women's equality and citizenship. However, before the modernization process—generally agreed upon as being a case of "defensive modernization"<sup>4</sup>—a debate over women's rights had previously begun under the Empire in the nineteenth century. This period of modernization and change also birthed a women's movement.

The Ottoman society was now witness to a process akin to the struggle carried out by Western women against inequality, exclusion from the public domain, and deprivation of the right to vote. Though naturally there are differences, both societies demanded basic, inherent human rights such as the need to be recognized as autonomous individuals and citizens. We owe our knowledge of this process and the visibility of the women originating the campaign to the new feminist movement that developed in Turkey. This revolution followed the global development of the second wave of feminism and the women historians who were disciples of this movement in academia. If it had not been for them, we would not have known about the existence of these courageous women in Ottoman society who raised their voices demanding equality, published more than 40 magazines on the subject, established several foundations and associations, held demonstrations lobbying to be allowed to work in public offices and insisted on (and even achieved) co-education in the university system before the Republic was proclaimed.<sup>5</sup>

The Ottoman society prior to the present republic was based on Islamic Law, which denied women the right to enter the public sphere freely. The traditional Islamic legal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Bacon, besides advocating a husband's right to "tame" his wife in 1736, indicated that a husband could beat his wife without "hurting her too much" and that he could detain her at home to make her obey. (Bacon, *Abridgement of the Law*, 1736, Tit Baron anåd Feme, quoted in Hilaire Barnett, *Introduction to Feminist Jurisprudence*, Cavendish Publishing Limited, 1998, p. 57.) It is another interesting element of comparison that in Sweden as well, husbands lost their legal right of beating their wives only in 1864. See *Equal Worth, The Status of Men and Women in Sweden*, Swedish Institute, 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>A process initiated as a reaction to the experience of persistent military failure at the hands of the major European powers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>It is interesting to note that while demanding political rights some activists even "threatened" the government saying, "If you do not grant our rights, we shall demonstrate in front of the *Mebus-u Mebusan* [the Ottoman Parliament] and chain ourselves like the British suffragettes!" This was something unthinkable in a segregated society where women were expected to come out their home only seldomly.

code, the *Sharia*, was at the heart of Ottoman family law. The *Sharia* governs marriage, divorce, and inheritance. The core of marriage is a contract between two parties. The content of this contract is left to the parties to determine, but traditionally includes a dowry (a sum of money that is given from the groom to the bride, which remains her property throughout marriage). The husband is also required to provide housing for the family, which will remain his personal property. The woman is required to obey her husband, in accordance with the *Sharia*, while economic responsibilities fall on the husband, who must provide for the wife and children. A child born to a married couple is considered to be the husband's child legally. Family relations in Turkey were governed by the *Sharia* until the first codified family law was promulgated in the Ottoman Empire in 1917. However, the New Family Law of 1917 was still largely based on the *Sharia*. While some of the changes were progressive, like raising the female minimum age of marriage to 17, the new code also endorsed polygamy. The law did also, however, give the wife a right to sue for divorce if her husband took another wife.

The legal codifications of 1839 and the constitutional reform movements of 1876 and 1908 in the Ottoman Empire brought about change in this structure and moved it toward centralization, secularization, and freedom, which directly affected women's claims for individual rights and independence against the constraints of traditional gender roles. The political discourse of prevailing intellectual trends, namely, Ottomanism, Westernism, and Turkism, always included the theme of women's emancipation; hence, the first protagonists of the woman question were modernist men. The Turkish nationalists, *Young Turks*, regarded women's emancipation as one of the major requisites of a larger social revolution. It was not only modernizing male intellectuals, however, who were involved in the debate. By organizing in several associations, writing in, and even directing daily papers and magazines, women themselves actively took place in this debate and thereby contributed to the creation of civil public space.

As early as 1868 women were demanding full equality with men pondering, just as their counterparts in the West had done, "Are we not human, too? Is it only because of our sex that we have lagged behind?" (*Rabia Hanum* writing in the daily *Terakki*, 1868). A small circle of educated women began to become involved in public debates regarding women's rights. Women graduating from the first secondary schools for girls or those educated by private tutors started to fight for greater access to education. Arguments were presented in utilitarian terms: since the family was the foundation of the country and the mother the foundation of the family, her intellectual development was key to the development of the country.

Women's journals emerged to provide a public forum for the discussion of women's issues. In *Terakki-i Muhadderat* (**Progress of Muslim Women**, 1869–1870), writers discussed female education, polygamy, and problems of discrimination. Other journals followed: *Vakit yahud Murebbi-i Muhadderat* (**Time for the Education of Muslim Women**, 1875), *Ayna* (**Mirror**, 1875–1876), *Aile* (**Family**, 1880), and *Insaniyet* (**Humanity**, 1883). Some of these journals were managed and published solely by women. Following the **1908 Young Turk Revolution**, a new magazine, *Kadinlar Dunyasi* (Women's World, 1913–1921), which was the publication of *The Association for the Defense of the Rights of Ottoman Women*, clearly stated its purpose as "promoting women's legal and citizenship rights" and openly celebrated feminism. The publication was outspoken in its musings, stating:

Let us confess today a woman lacks the rights to live and be free...her life is dominated by a father, a maternal or paternal uncle, a husband or a brother who takes advantage of traditions and customs. It is impossible for her to set a goal or an ideal for herself. (Çakır 1994)

*Women's World* problematized women's status in Ottoman society and struggled against traditional gender inequalities. Ottoman women activists such as *Fatma Aliye*, a famous writer, questioned patriarchal interpretations of Islam (Çakır 2005). In 1911, the call to embrace feminism came from the so-called *White Conferences* in Istanbul.<sup>6</sup> Due to the demands of women and reformist men supporting the women's cause, the Ottoman Government adopted its first codified family law in 1917 (mentioned above) according to marginal improvements to women's status.

Interestingly, during this period prominent feminists were even calling on men to give up their desire to "liberate" women and "leave them to their own because women have their more subtle ways of defending themselves and their kind!".<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, Ottoman and later republican (Muslim) feminists were acutely aware that Turkish nationalism had paved the way for women's citizenship rights. Indeed, Turkish feminism in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries was dominated by the nationalist ideology as is the case with most late nation-states. Women demanded full citizenship in return for their sacrifices during World War I and the War of Independence (1919–1922). This was the same justification used by Western feminists and their male supporters for granting suffrage to women after the First World War. In Turkey, women even applied to establish the Women's People's Party as early as 1923 (before the founding of the ruling **Republican People's Party**) but were refused authorization on the grounds that women were not yet granted political rights. In its stead, The Women's Union was established as a civil society organization.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>In these conferences, an Ottoman feminist, *Fatma Nesibe*, gave a series of lectures to an audience of 300 women from Istanbul's social elite. Quoting John Stuart Mill's, *The Subjection of Women*, she talked about the new concept of women's rights and their advocates emerging in Western countries. Describing Ottoman women as oppressed, she noted that "law, tradition, pleasure, indulgence, property, power, appreciation, arbitration... are all favorable to men." She boldly predicted that the Ottoman Empire, like the rest of Europe, was on the eve of a "feminine revolution": "*Pay attention to every corner of the world, we are on the eve of a revolution. Be assured, this revolution is not going to be bloody and savage like a man's revolution. On the contrary, it will be pleasant and relatively quiet, but definitely productive. You must believe this, ladies!" Istanbul 1911.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>These pioneering women wrote in women's journals such as *Aile* (Family), *Hanumlara Mahsus Gazete* (Journal for Women), *Genç Kadın* (Young Woman), *Demet* (Bunch), *Kadın* (Woman), Süs (Ornamentation), *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World), *İnci* (Pearl), *Şüküfezar* (Flower Garden, published as early as 1883), and *Parça Bohçası* (Patchwork, 1889), which in total numbered 40 publications.

### **3.4 Secular Republican Reforms: A Radical Break** with the Past

Women and their status in society were central to the reform agenda of the Turkish Republic, which emerged in 1923. The founding fathers defended women's rights and replaced the standing Islamic family law with a **Civil Code borrowed from Switzerland** and a **Penal Code taken from Italy**. The revolutionary nature of the Republic was evident in the abolishment of the *Caliphate* (1924), the secularization of education by the enactment of *the Law of Union of Education* (1924), and the adoption of a secular Civil Code (1926), which opened up the way for women's citizenship. Indeed, one of the most important breaking points between the Ottoman society and the new Republic resided in the fact that women were now "visible" in the public space.

At the same time, tensions rose between republican leaders and women activists. Novelist Halide Edip, who had played a prominent role in the war of independence, left Turkey when the Republic became an authoritarian one-party state in the 1920s and only returned in 1939 after the death of Ataturk. Nezihe Muhiddin, leader of the **Turkish Women's Union**, an advocate for political equality and women's right to vote, was prosecuted and forced to leave her position. In 1935, the Union itself dissolved as its mandate of achieving equal rights and citizenship for women had been accomplished.

The ways in which each modernizing project speaks to the existing patriarchal gender rules (as evident by the "new" ideology of the nation-state) carries their own explanations. One obvious reason in Turkey's case was the prevalence of the Islamic Law in the previous Ottoman society, which excluded women from the public space, as well as women's subsequent inclusion into the republican public space. Women's newly obtained visibility was an explicit symbol of the break with the past (and Islam as the ideological/religious basis). However, the psychological and social trauma this caused in the (male) society had to be overcome and the "patriarchal anxiety" eliminated through the continuation of male control of women and their bodies, albeit now in a different (seemingly Westernized) guise.

This is what some feminist writers in Turkey coin as the "replacement of Islamic patriarchy by Western patriarchy." (Arat 1998). One example to this point was the new Civil Code, which brought the secularization of the family and improved women's status but also had its patriarchal biases, such as legally designating the husband as the "head" of the family and relegating the wife to being his "helpmate". Explicitly patriarchal clauses of the Civil Code were only amended at the end of 2001 after a decades-long struggle, constituting one of the major achievements of the women's movement in Turkey.

However, the importance of the 1926 Civil Code should not be underestimated as it eliminated the Islamic Law that underlined the segregation of genders and the discrepancies in legal treatment, therefore, clearing the way for comprehensive changes in women's lives in terms of education and admission to public professions. Thus, a generation of highly trained women professionals started filling the ranks of public offices. This is what accounts for the high percentages of women in what were traditionally male occupations like medicine, law, engineering, etc. Women even filled an outstanding 42% of academic positions in the 1940s (TÜSİAD 2002). Furthermore, after gaining the right to vote in 1934, women acquired an impressive 18 seats in the parliament amounting to 4.5% in the next election.<sup>8</sup>

The republican regime brought concrete legal gains for women and opened up a slew of new possibilities particularly for middle-class women who greatly benefited from the new educational opportunities. Without the necessary legal reform, women would never be allowed to enter the public realm, achieve equality within marriage and the workplace, gain the right to vote, etc. However, in all societies, deeply entrenched cultural mores such as sexism and patriarchy prove strongly resistant to change. Without such change at a cultural level, the success of law as an instrument of reform will inevitably be limited. In Turkey, despite all the legal and administrative reforms, gender roles in the family and in the larger society remained largely immutable.

#### **3.5** The Feminist Challenge

It was only in the 1980s that Turkish feminists began to ask more radical questions problematizing gender roles and stereotypes. They drew attention to the paradox between the purported success of women's liberation in Turkey and the reality of women's absence from the political arena. Indeed, no woman served as government minister until 1987 or as governor of a province until 1991. This was not just an outcome of the "backwardness of rural society," but with the law itself. Legal emancipation proved to be very limited—a reality that had long been hidden by official ideology. Previous generations of women—because they had obtained a few key important rights and were given new opportunities or perhaps because they were forced to do so by repression—identified with Kemalism (the official ideology) rather than feminism. The patriarchal nature of the Civil Code (which recognized the husband as the head of the family) and the patriarchal division of labor within the family was not an issue for most women in the previous generations.

When examining the family as the potential source of patriarchal practices and beliefs, feminists found that these values were inscribed into the law at the most fundamental level. If husbands and wives were supposed to be equal before the law, why did married women require the permission of their husbands to work? Why were there differences in the consequences prescribed by the criminal law to women and men when addressing extramarital affairs? The questions were endless and subsequently led to a new feminist consciousness. The leaders of the post-1980 feminist movement—academics, professionals, journalists, and students—advocated an independent women's movement challenging the patriarchal structures in society. These

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Between 1918 and 1938, women's representation in the British parliament changed from 0.1 to 2.4%. Martin Gruberg, **Women in American Politics**, Academic Press, 1968, p. 125.

women organized feminist consciousness-raising groups, started publication activities, organized campaigns against domestic violence ("*Say No to Wife Battering*"), created campaigns to amend the articles discriminating against women in the Civil Code and the Penal Code and founded the **Women's Library and Information Center** in İstanbul, the **Purple Roof Women's Shelter**, and many other associations to promote women's rights. This feminist activism also reverberated throughout the academic world and led to the inception of **Women's Research Centers** in the university system.

However, it was the **UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)**, which entered into force in 1979 and was ratified by Turkey in 1985, that most clearly brought the deficiencies in Turkish law into public view. The Convention requires signatory states to reflect the equality of the sexes throughout their legislation and to prohibit all forms of discrimination. Discovering that much of its Civil Code was in violation of these principles, Turkish officials were compelled to issue several embarrassing reservations to many of the key provisions highlighted in the Convention. Due to existing policies articulated in the Civil Code, Turkey was unable to grant men and women equal rights and responsibilities in marriage, divorce, property ownership, and employment.

In political terms, **CEDAW** accomplished a radical shift of perspective. The yardstick for measuring Turkey's laws was no longer the Ottoman past or the *Sharia*, but contemporary international standards. By highlighting the shortcomings of the 1926 Civil Code, Turkey's reservations to **CEDAW** set a clear reform agenda for the Turkish women's movement (although it would take another 17 years for their efforts to bear fruit).

Campaigns launched by women's rights activists in the 1980s to reform the Civil Code produced dismal results in the face of indifference from the political establishment. It was not until the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing that Turkey committed to withdrawing its reservations to **CEDAW**, which government officials finally did in 1999. However, a formal amendment to the discrepancies still present in the Civil Code had yet to be addressed. The EU became a notable additional influence on the process, issuing regular pre-accession progress reports noting the need to update the Civil Code and bring it in line with **CEDAW**'s requirements.

### **3.6** The New Civil Code (2001) and the Amended Penal Code (2004)

Women's organizations continued to advocate on the issue through the 1990s using increasingly sophisticated campaigning techniques. A special mailing list (*Kadin Kurultayi*) for activists was set up and 126 women's NGOs from all over Turkey joined forces for a national campaign. **Istanbul University Women's Education and Research Center**<sup>9</sup> coordinated a petition campaign in 1993 in which about

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>This center was founded in 1990 and is the first of its kind in Turkey.

119,000 women joined. These women coupled with a large coalition of feminists and women's group promoted amendments to the Civil Code. Women's groups also lobbied intensively in parliament. These diverse feminist groups succeeded in having the **Law for the Protection of Family** (Law No. 4320) passed in 1998, which included specific measures against domestic violence. Finally, after decades of advocacy work, Turkey's new Civil Code was adopted on November 22, 2001.

The new Civil Code abolished the supremacy of the husband in the marriage union and, in cases of divorce, allowed women to share the property acquired during the marriage with the man. This denoted a radical departure from the historical legal foundations of gender relations and the family. Spouses became equal partners with the same decision-making powers and rights over the children and property acquired during marriage. The new law also revoked the concept of "illegitimate children" and granted custody of children born out of wedlock to their mother. However, although the more egalitarian new Civil Code was now formally enshrined in Turkish law, the gender-biased articles in the Penal Code still remained.

The Turkish Penal Code, which was enforced from 1926 until 2004, was the most striking example of the **divergence between rhetoric and reality** in Turkey. Like many of the laws adopted at the time of the early republic, it was based on a Western European model (in this case, the Italian Penal Code of 1889). The model was then adapted to reflect Turkish values and traditions. For instance, in its treatment of sexual crimes, the 1926 Penal Code reflected the belief that women's bodies were the property of men and that sexual crimes against women were in fact crimes against the honor of the family. It was full of traditional concepts adapted from Arabic: irz (honor or purity), hava (shame), and ar (things to be ashamed of). The Code defined women's sexuality as a threat that needed to be controlled by society, like in its treatment of rape as a question of honor which carried a number of consequences. First, it decriminalized marital rape. Under this definition, sexual acts within the context of marriage—even if forced—could not be considered a violation of a woman's honor. Second, it exempted a rapist from punishment if he offered to marry his victim, thereby "restoring" her honor. Even in the case of a woman raped by many men, an offer of marriage from one of them was considered sufficient for charges against all of them to be dropped.

The 1926 Penal Code was also extremely lenient on "honor crimes;" that is, crimes committed for the purpose of restoring a family's honor. One provision granted a reduction of the punishment served to the perpetrators of honor crimes where the victims had been caught in the act of adultery, "illegitimate sexual relations" (including, for women, sex before marriage), or if there was clear evidence that the victim had just completed such an act. The Code also valued single women less than married women. Abducting a single woman was punishable by up to 3 years imprisonment while abducting a married woman carried a minimum of 7 years, suggesting that the "real" victim in the latter case was the husband.

The persistence of these norms past the end of the twentieth century was not a mere legal anachronism, but instead reflected values that were embedded in Turkish society, including among its judges and prosecutors. At the same time, as the twentieth century came to an end, these values were becoming increasingly scrutinized

as demonstrated most dramatically by the public reactions to a number of highly controversial court decisions. In 1987, a judge in the Central Anatolian province of Corum refused to grant divorce to a pregnant woman who had been abused by her husband, citing a Turkish proverb: "Women should never be free of a child in the womb and a whip on the back!" The decision triggered the first public demonstration since the 1980 military coup: more than a thousand women took to the streets in the Istanbul district of Kadiköy.

In another court in 1996, a young man who murdered his cousin, Sevda Gok, in the province of Sanliurfa was given a light sentence following arguments from the prosecution that "the incident was caused by the socio-economic structure of Sanliurfa." The 16-year-old girl had been murdered as a result of gossip in the community that she had acted "shamefully". The trial brought the tolerance of the judiciary for these "honor killings" to the forefront of national conversation. The outcry, however, did not prevent other such judgements. As late as June 2003, a court in the southeast Anatolian province of Mardin acquitted 27 perpetrators, including military officers, accused of raping a young girl, citing insufficient evidence as to whether the 13-year old had consented to the acts.

Experiences such as these motivated Turkish women's organizations to mobilize in pursuit of reform. Women's groups in Turkey from the mid-1980s onwards struggled to transform the state policies *vis-à-vis* women and continued to lobby for positive changes in law and state mechanisms. It was the process of European integration, however, that provided them with the political opportunity to make real progress as reform of the Penal Code was made a condition for the start of EU membership negotiations. Finally, in 2004, the 1926 Penal Code was amended, constituting one of the major achievements of the women's movement in Turkey.

In the amended Penal Code, some 35 articles concerning women and their rights to sexual autonomy were changed. Additionally, all references to vague patriarchal constructs such as chastity, morality, shame, public customs, or decency were eliminated. The new Penal Code treated sexual crimes **as violations of individual women's rights and not as crimes against society, the family, or public morality**. It criminalized rape in marriage, eliminated sentence reductions for honor killings, ended legal discrimination against nonvirgin and unmarried women, criminalized sexual harassment in the workplace, and treated sexual assault by members of the security forces as aggravated offenses. Provisions on the sexual abuse of children had also been amended to remove the possibility of underage consent.<sup>10</sup> Here we should note that while international agreements and the EU accession process that Turkey is party to are important, **it was mainly the feminist struggle which** played a crucial role in the development of legal regulations concerning violence against women and the development of social work institutions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>The new Penal Code also makes the examination of the hymen by physicians' illegal. This is important because examination of the hymen (to determine whether virginity has been maintained) is not carried out for health reasons and because it violates a woman's emotional and physical integrity.

In the same vein, Law No. 4320 for the protection of the Family and Preventing Violence Against Women (1998) was also changed. There were major deficiencies in this law, such as providing protection exclusively for legally married women and an absence of sanctions through which legal authorities could protect women. Women's organizations were demanding amendments in this respect and received such on 8 March 2012 as Turkey passed Law No. 6284 on Prevention of Violence against Women and the Protection of the Family. This law included protectionary provisions for "all women, regardless of marital status, and expands the rights of the victim." In addition, punitive sanctions for perpetrators were intensified. As part of the reforms, "family courts can classify shared houses as 'family houses' and inform the land registration office as well. In this case, the perpetrator will not be able to sell the property against the woman's will or to relocate her. Relocation is a decision left up to the woman." According to Law No. 6284, "perpetrators of domestic violence are to be removed from the home for one month." The new regulations also provide state assistance for victims of domestic violence including a new residence, financial aid, legal and psychological help, and police protection.

# 3.7 Ongoing Problems with State Protection and the Justice System

Although these legal reforms were important, structural problems in Turkey remain and continue to cause problems related to domestic violence and protection. First, there is a notable lack of specialized staff and units at police stations, even in larger cities and major regional centers. Second, there is a shortage of adequate, ongoing, and thorough training of law enforcement officers, prosecutors, and judges who deal with domestic violence cases. Finally, ample privacy in police stations or family courts when reporting family violence is often insufficient. Authorities often do not respond to charges of other forms of abuse besides physical violence, such as psychological and economic violence or even marital rape. Public officials and institutions tend to have a deep-seated sexist outlook on society, which influences the way abused women are treated when they try to file a complaint or ask for protection at police station or Public Prosecutor's Office. Furthermore, many Turkish law enforcement and judicial officials do not have the necessary expertise, or often the desire, to deal with cases of violence against women. Instead, they would rather preserve the "family unit" than protect the victim. Far too often, officers ask domestic violence victims to resolve the problem "inside the family," sending the victim back where the violence originated. Women are also often unable or hesitant to look for assistance as, routinely, the woman's family or husband exercises extensive control over the woman physically, psychologically, or economically. For example, many women are economically dependent on their abusers and have no other way of supporting themselves. Another reason a woman might not advocate for herself is because their experience, or that of an acquaintance, has caused them to believe that the police can or will not offer assistance.

It is not surprising, then, that mistrust of the police is widespread in Turkey and constitutes a major obstacle for women wishing to report abuse. Police and gendarmeries send women back to their husbands or promote reconciliation even after multiple reports of abuse. Furthermore, women victims of domestic violence are too often not made aware of their rights when they first report their experiences to the police. This includes the right to free legal assistance if the victim cannot afford it. It is also often the case that prosecutors or judges send victims back to the abusive situation, recommending reconciliation, requiring medical records, or delaying the overall process.<sup>11</sup> In cases where lawyers try to use international law such as CEDAW, some judges dismiss them, citing reasons such as it is not national law or it does not apply to Turkish "traditions" (although Article 90 of the Turkish Constitution states that "national law cannot supersede international agreements that have passed into law.").

## **3.8 Increasing Conservatism and Deterioration of Gender Equality: Are They Mutually Related?**

The legal reforms of the early republican period and the abovementioned later amendments are certainly important. However, without change at a cultural level or political will to ensure the sustainability of change, the success of law as an instrument of reform will be severely hindered. Reform must be backed by resources and government initiatives to raise awareness and empower citizens (especially women citizens) to use the new legal framework. Even then, it can take many years for the effects to become visible across society, which is, unfortunately, the current situation in Turkey. Even though Turkey was the first country to ratify the **Council of Europe's Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence** (known as **Istanbul Convention** of 2012<sup>12</sup>) and there have been a plethora of other legal and administrative reforms, gender equality has continued to deteriorate as masculinist conservatism increases.

Especially with respect to gender violence, modern Turkish society paints a somber picture. Generally, Turkey's position *vis-á-vis* gender equality has rapidly deteriorated. According to official statistics, the number of women murdered in the 4 years leading up to 2012 increased by 1400%. Data published by the **We Will Stop Femicide Platform** noted that 237 women were murdered in 2013 and 294 were killed in 2014. These numbers escalated to 303 in 2015, 328 in 2016, and 409 in 2017, demonstrating a 25% increase in 2017. A government study estimates 40%

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>In its May 2011 report, Human Rights Watch notes that their research found several cases in which women needed protection but did not receive it because "officials handling their cases took a narrow view of the law" (May 2011, 17).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>There is still a long way to go in order to bring the existing laws in line with the Convention.

of the female population was affected by domestic violence in 2015, 10% higher than the global average of 30%. And all of this happened when the Law No. 4320 for the Protection of the Family and Preventing Violence Against Women was already enforced and promised the protection of women, children, and family members of victims of domestic violence and delegated services such as shelters, financial aid, and psychological and legal guidance. We Will Stop Femicide Platform also notes that on average, 250 women are being killed every year by their husbands, ex-husbands, partners, or fathers. Close to one-third of these murders are catalyzed by the women's attempt to break off ties with their partner. This is an important point that will be expanded upon below.

In 2014, due to the diminishing rights for women, Turkey was devalued to 125 out of 142 countries on the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap index. This index ranks countries based on their progress toward achieving gender parity across four thematic dimensions: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. This depreciation represented a five-spot drop for Turkey from the year before when the country ranked 120 out of 136 nations in the World Economic Forum's 2013 Gender Gap Index. Even more astonishingly, since 2006, Turkey's ranking has dropped by 15 places. And in the 2017 Global Gender Gap Report, Turkey ranked 131 among 144 countries. Statistics speak for themselves.

At the very heart of violence against women is gender inequality, which stems from the patriarchy, but continues on through global capitalism, militarism, neoconservatism, and several other dynamics of oppressive state mechanisms. Gender roles that treat men and women unequally are based on discrimination against women in health, education, employment, participation in politics, decision-making, and property ownership. In all of these areas, women in Turkey lag behind men.

The ruling party's approach and ideological discourse certainly has been a determining factor in this regression. In 2011, the Ministry for Women and Family was abolished and replaced by the Ministry for Family and Social Policies. This action seemed to indicate the grim trajectory of women's rights in the years that followed.

**Currently, in Turkey, we see top government officials promoting gender inequality through their statements. These statements aim** to regulate citizens' private lives, from dictating how many children they should have or whether women should be allowed to have abortions and cesarean sections, to whether they should be allowed to drink or show affection in public. For example, women are called upon to have at least three children to combat the shrinking population. Currently, the biggest problem in sexual health care is related to the limitations of family planning and restrictions on abortion. Although there is no significant change in the legal framework concerning abortion, most public hospitals do not perform it. Lack of privacy in the healthcare sector's databases has prevented single women from turning to hospitals for pregnancy tests, birth control, and abortions. This archaic government approach was made clear by the Minister of Health's speech to female hospital staff on January 2015: "Mothers have the career of motherhood, which cannot be possessed by anyone else in the world. Mothers should not put a career other than motherhood

at the center of their lives."<sup>13</sup> Along with these types of official statements, there are plentiful pronouncements by conservative MPs and other public figures discussing various ways to control and regulate women's lives, including how it is improper for women to walk around the streets while they are pregnant or at night and even that women should not laugh out loud publicly. Clearly, women's say on their own bodies and reproductive rights are under attack and women's rights groups are very much concerned about the purveying sexist attitude.

In 2014, the President in a speech in Istanbul accused feminists of rejecting motherhood and of trying to erase gender differences in the name of "equality."<sup>14</sup> As a result, conservative women's organizations close to the government started calling for "gender justice" instead of "gender equality", proclaiming that "equality" meant "similarity" with men.<sup>15</sup> In line with this approach, some conservative women writers and activists are currently promoting "Muslim woman's identity" politics based on biological essentialism. Interestingly, these writers are attempting to balance pushing the boundaries of existing religious/patriarchal values by arguing for women's human rights and the right to participate in the public realm while simultaneously endorsing the biological essentialist position, which identifies women as belonging to the private realm of the family and motherhood. Thus, their reaction to the existing patriarchal values goes only so far as to demand complementarity to men, which does not pose a real challenge to male dominance (although it may increase Muslim women's negotiating power *vis-á-vis* men to a certain extent.)<sup>16</sup>

### 3.9 The Masculinity Crisis and the Masculinist Restoration

In modern Turkey, one can observe a conflict generated by the conservative discourse and policies that promote the fertility and domestic role of women as a counterreaction to the modernization that prioritizes the empowerment of women in all spheres of social life. On the one hand, there are legal and institutional developments to prevent violence against woman. Conversely, there is a dilemma generated by the policies aiming to suppress women within the family. It would not be wrong to claim that this contradiction engenders the negative reaction of men with regard to the emancipation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Hurriyet.com.tr; 3 January 2015: "Motherhood is the Sacred Career of Women."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>He continued, "you cannot put women and men on an equal footing. It is against nature" and "women's nature given by God—'fitrat'—is to be mothers." See BBC.com/turkce/haberler/2014; 26 November, 2014. Also Hurriyet.com.tr: 26 November, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Against this attack, women's organizatons reminded the public that it was mainly the feminist movement which underlined respect for differences not only in gender terms, but in all respects in society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>When identity politics is based on the biological essentialism of bodily difference, there arises the danger of closing in upon itself and turning into a defensive movement of self-limitation where the freedom of choice is denied in the name of anti-consumerism and anti-Westernism. Identity politics is difference producing politics and, within a network of power relations, this ends up in "otherizing" all other differences.

of women and progressive legal regulations. A general reason for femicide (taking the name "honor killings" in rural areas and "passion killings" in cities) is often aimed at preserving women's secondary position and keeping them from making their own choices even on the most ordinary issues. Pretexts such as disobedience to the husband or other men in the family, refusing to dress or behave in accordance to traditions, attempting to divorce due to abuse, refusing to marry a person seen fit by the family, etc., are often used to justify harsh punishments exercised on women.

However, this also proves that women have begun to assert themselves more often and that they are asking for divorce as well as utilizing their legal rights. Reassuringly, this is not the case just among the modern, secular women, but also among more conservative or veiled women as well. The traditional "patriarchal bargain" appears to be dissolving due to women's recently obtained rights and economic independence, particularly in big cities. These changes could also explain the increase of domestic violence and femicides in urban areas and among the educated classes. Therefore, one may also ask if the government's conservative discourse, which calls women back to family and urges them to be good mothers and spouses by putting motherhood before a career while also participating in part-time work to meet the needs of the precarious labor market, is in fact a reflection of its will to manage the fear that stems from the dissolution of the "patriarchal bargain" by trying to reestablish it through familial conservatism. In other words, is it an effort to bring about a "masculinist restoration?"

Male dominance presupposes women will continue playing their prescribed traditional role without complaint. Violence becomes a means to obtain this dominance when this expectation is not completely fulfilled. Violence as an instrument to subjugate women, to make them accept male dominance, and to seek revenge for the broken male ego is used to punish women to demonstrate "male power". Men's power loss functionalizes the violence as a mechanism of compensation. Thus, while violence is used as a means to assert dominance, in reality it indicates a loss of dominance. The crisis of men also signals a crisis of marriage. The transition from an understanding of life-long marriage that assumes the duties and unconditional obedience of the woman towards an understanding of modern marriage which is based upon mutual understanding where the power of the man is more fragile transformed marriage into a zone of conflict. Empowerment of women in domestic negotiations challenges the traditional roles of women as wives while the increased societal acceptance of divorce challenges the household dominance of men and precipitates counterreactions. Men who engage in violence are obviously quite resentful about the law that orders punishments, like suspension from the house, psychological treatment, expropriation of guns, and limitations on divorce. The so-called Association of Victimized Fathers' protestations that these "new laws tear the family apart by giving more rights to women" demonstrate this point succinctly.

Men in crisis seem to be "leaving their throne fighting and getting fought back." While it is not easy to say if this is a real withdrawal, certainly the legitimacy of violence is becoming more challenged and visible. Thus, one can conclude that as violence against woman is increasingly questioned and delegitimized, the resentment of men, the increasingly anti-feminist conservative discourse, and the approach of the government actually proves that violence against woman is a political problem. The solution, however, depends on the realization of gender equality in every sphere of social life through the sincere embracement of the issue by both the purveying political narrative and subsequent actions. Furthermore, all will depend on the struggle of women themselves and whether they can create solidarity between women from all walks of life and ideological/political stances.

### 3.10 By Way of Conclusion

The Turkish case once again proves that law is a powerful tool for social change, but it is not a magic wand. It demonstrates that deeply entrenched patriarchal cultural norms prove strongly resistant to change especially when they embody the cultural and social prejudices and stereotypes about gender roles and identity. This accounts for the dramatic discrepancy between legal framework and reality. Female subordination runs so deep that it is still viewed as inevitable or natural rather than as a social or political construct by patriarchal interests, ideology, and institutions. Moreover, the change in traditional values toward women's sexuality is not necessarily dispelled with the modernization process. Violence against women is present in every society at every level regardless of class, race, or cultural differences. Differences emerge in fighting this violence and in the approach of the political rulers. The severity of laws and other attitudes in the public domain undoubtedly alternate between societies. However, it is obvious that these sensitivities do not develop in modern societies by themselves; they are always the outgrowth of special efforts and care. The leading figures of such efforts almost everywhere are activists in the women's movement. The awareness that the "woman question" is a universal phenomenon, which is also experienced in varying forms and degrees by women in Western societies, represents a potential point of solidarity between women activists and women's organizations. This awareness could precipitate the opening of burgeoning opportunities for collaboration not just in Turkey, but elsewhere too.

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# Chapter 4 The Role of Women in the Turkish Economy: Gender Equality in the Labor Market

Özge İzdeş

# Abbreviations

AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi
DİSK	Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu
GGG	Global Gender Gap
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDR	Human Development Report
ILO	International Labor Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
TurkStat	Turkish Statistical Institute
TÜSİAD	Türk Sanayicileri ve İş İnsanları Derneği
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WEF	World Economic Forum

# 4.1 Introduction

A fundamental constraint in Turkey's social and economic development is gender inequality and the deepening conservatism that regresses any hard-won egalitarian rights and practices. Increasingly, conservative gender politics define women's primary role within the family as the homemaker, which is consistent with the increasing dependency of women on their partners. Being financially dependent withholds women from fulfilling their potential, exercising their fundamental rights, and exploiting their capabilities. Moreover, economic dependency makes women

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vulnerable to all types of violence and abuse. Even though violence occurs in all socioeconomic classes and women from all different educational and economic backgrounds are at risk of violence, economically dependent women are more constrained and have less ability to leave their abusive partner. The severity of the abuse is also often correlated with the scarcity of outside options. Unless women have their own or inherited assets, the economic empowerment and independency of women becomes solely related to labor force participation and the gender equality in the labor market. This paper provides an overview of the gendered patterns and trends in the Turkish labor market and addresses the drivers of the gender gaps in paid and unpaid work, unemployment, wages, and employment conditions.

Turkey has one of the widest gender gaps in the world in terms of employment. The Global Gender Gap (GGG) Report 2017 (World Economic Forum, WEF) ranks Turkey at the lowest end of the global index (131st out of 144 countries). Turkey is an upper-middle-income country and one of the G20 countries. Yet, in terms of gender equality in economic participation and opportunities, there is a sizable breach with the rest of the group (save for Saudi Arabia). The striking gender gap in employment in Turkey is caused by structural reasons coupled with conjectural cultural and economic bottlenecks. Underlying structural factors for the low percentage of women in the labor force are: (i) de-ruralization, (ii) low employment creation performance by Turkey's development strategy (inability of the exporting sector to create enough jobs), (iii) poor state of social care infrastructure, and (iv) an Islamic conservative ideological setting that neglects and further aggravates issues of gender inequality. After the 2000s, structural barriers to women's economic participation were reinforced with the changing labor market structure and the dominance of conservative politics. Persistently high unemployment problems since the 2000-2001 economic crisis and deteriorating working conditions along with decreasing employment security have created an inaccessible labor market for women. Finally, the family-oriented ideology of the ruling Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP)) promotes a traditional gender division of labor and undermines egalitarian employment policy goals. The AKP government's employment policies for women go hand in hand with labor market flexibilization policies. In other words, in line with conservative values, the government supports women's employment simply as an economic activity to secure supplementary income for the household and neither describes nor desires it to be an emancipatory process.

The paper is organized as follows: the subsequent section focuses on the economic participation of women and the determinants of Turkey's dramatically low labor force participation of women. The next section details the feminist view that "work" includes unpaid reproductive work as well as paid work. This view promulgates the stark division of unpaid work along gender lines as the key driver of gender inequality in employment. Afterward, an overview of the gender-segregated structure of the labor market as well as its contributions to the gender gaps in employment is discussed. A primary outcome of gender segregation and discrimination is the gender wage gap. Therefore, the fifth section focuses on the differences in gender regarding wages and earnings as well as the dynamics that lead to the gender wage gap. Discussions on women's position in the labor market are concluded on by

analyzing gender differences in unemployment rates and gendered patterns in the unemployment structure. The final section ends with evaluative remarks.

## 4.2 Trends and Determinants of Women's Economic Participation

Economic participation is a stepping-stone to the economic empowerment of women. Yet, the labor force participation of women in Turkey remains one of the lowest in the world. Women's economic participation has been increasing globally since the 1950s. By 2018, nearly half of the worlds' women were participating in the labor force (48.5%) and the gender gap dropped to 26.5% points (see Table 4.1). In Turkey, the trend was reversed. Women's participation in the labor force has been in a steady decline since the 1950s. It declined from 72% in 1955 to only 24.8% in 2007, though, recently, it has been gradually rising (Tansel 2002; Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat) 2018a). Even though by 2017 the men's labor force participation rate (72.5%) was comparable with the rest of the world, the women's labor force participation rate remained as low as 33.6% and continued to reflect an even greater gender gap (38.9% points) compared to that of developed countries (15.6% points), of developing countries (11.8% points), and of emerging market countries (30.5% points) (see Table 4.1).

Achieving gender equality in economic participation deserves to be a fundamental goal in its own right. Additionally, it has substantive positive economic and development related externalities. Women's economic participation increases household income and consumption and, subsequently, the overall well-being of the household members. In terms of labor demand, at the firm level, it increases worker diversity and provides a larger pool of jobseekers hence provides a greater potential for efficiency. Besides the household level and firm-level externalities, women's integration into the economy has macroeconomic externalities as well. Research conducted by the International Labor Organization (ILO 2017) into the potential impacts of closing the gender gap in labor force participation showed that by narrowing the gap by 25% by 2025, global gross domestic product (GDP) could increase by 3.9%, with a near 5% increase for emerging economies. Another study that focused exclusively on Turkey showed that the growth effect of closing the gender gap would be even higher in Turkey due to the width of the gap (McKinsey and Türk Sanayicileri ve İş İnsanları Derneği (TÜSİAD) 2016). Accordingly, if Turkey could increase its female labor force participation rate to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) average (63%), GDP would expand by nearly 20% by 2025. Moreover, besides potential growth externalities, addressing gender equality in employment would introduce crucial measures to achieving long-term developmental goals, such as human development, poverty eradication, and sustainable and inclusive development.

	Laboi	r force parti	Labor force participation rate	Unemp	Unemployment rate	ate	Share	of own-acc	Share of own-account workers	Share	of contribu	Share of contributing family
	(perce	(percentages) and g (percentage points)	(percentages) and gender gap (percentage points)	(percer male u	ntages) and nemployrr	(percentages) and female to male unemployment rate ratio	in tota (perce	in total employment (percentages) and ge	in total employment (percentages) and gender gap	worke (perce)	rs in total ( ntages) and	workers in total employment (percentages) and gender gap
	,						(perce	(percentage points)	ts)	(perce	(percentage points)	ts)
Country/region Men	Men	Women	Women Gap (men- women)	Men	Women	Men Women Gap (female rate/male rate)	Men	Women	Men Women Gap (wom- en-men)	Men	Women	Men Women Gap (wom- en-men)
World	75.0	48.5	26.5	5.2	6.0	1.2	36.2 26.1	26.1	-10.1	6.4	6.4 16.6	10.2
Developing countries	81.1	69.3	11.8	4.6	6.1	1.3	51.7	39.4	-12.3	20.2	42.3	22.1
Emerging countries	76.1	45.6	30.5	5.2	6.1	1.2	39.9	29.5	-10.5	6.2	6.2 17.0	10.8
Developed countries	68.0	52.4	15.6	5.3	5.6	1.1	10.6	6.9	-3.6	0.5	1.6	1.1
Turkey (2017)	72.5	33.6	38.9	9.6	14.4	1.5	20.5	9.4	-11.1	4	4 25.8	21.8
Note Figures for	the wor	rld average,	<i>Note</i> Figures for the world average, developing countries, emerging countries, and developed countries are the 2018 projections of the ILO	tries, em	erging cou	intries, and devel	loped co	untries are	the 2018 project	ions of t	he ILO	

Table 4.1 The gender gap in labor force participation, unemployment, and vulnerable employment types. ILO (2018), World Employment and Social Outlook:

2014 Ś. . . â å *Source* Figures for Turkey are for the year 2017, ages 15+ The fundamental reasons behind the low labor force participation of women in Turkey are: (i) urbanization/de-ruralization, (ii) low employment creation performance, and (iii) the traditional division of labor coupled with the absence of affordable childcare services. The decrease in the women's employment rate since the 1950s reflects Turkey's structural transformation from an agricultural economy to a modern economy. Between 1955 and 1985, as a result of the industrialization policy, the share of women's employment in agriculture decreased from 94.8 to 78% (Özbay 1995: 91). This process accelerated when agricultural sector subsidies were cutback after 1980. The complete withdrawal of state support in agriculture in the second half of the 2000s as part of the liberalization and associated policies to reduce the role of the state in the economy have shrunk, the premise of new job creation in sectors supporting export-oriented industrialization has been another driver of urbanization.

The urbanization and industrialization process and their effect on women's participation in economic activity are explained by the U-curve hypothesis in feminist development literature (Boserup 1970). According to the U-curve hypothesis, in the initial stages of development, rural structure and agriculture dominate the economy. In the rural economy, women's participation in economic activity is high as production and re-production activities do not need to be strictly differentiated. In this setting, women mostly serve as unpaid family workers. During the process of modernization, the share of the agricultural sector shrinks while in the urban setting, the complementarities between productive and reproductive work are severed. As a result, women's labor supply decreases and women withdraw from the labor force in mass due to the combined effect of conservative gender norms and their relatively lower education status. In the latter phases of urbanization, the migrant population is expected to adapt to the urban setting and women's labor force participation is expected to increase once again.

Women's economic participation in Turkey showed similar patterns with respect to the declining trend in employment in the agricultural sector. However, the recovery of women's economic participation has not occurred primarily due to the low employment creation performance of Turkey's development strategy (Dayıoğlu and Kırdar 2010). Unlike in Asian or Latin American developing countries where women have become the preferred inexpensive, flexible labor source and drivers of exportoriented industrialization (Seguino 2000; Berik et al. 2004), this feminization of export-oriented production has been limited in Turkey. Even though studies show that a relationship exists between the export-oriented direction adopted after the 1980s and women's employment in those sectors, this effect has remained nearly negligible due to the low employment creation performance of exporting sectors in Turkey (Çağatay and Berik 1990; Özler 2000; Başlevent and Onaran 2004). In a labor market setting with high male unemployment, the failure of the export-oriented strategy to generate sustained growth combined with the consequently weak labor demand left the male "breadwinner" norms unchallenged.

In addition to bottlenecks related to economic development, social development deficiencies also placed limits on women's ability to exercise economic rights. Patriarchal gender norms and an unequal division of labor within the household continue to shape women's choice to work. When asked, 55.4% of women who are not in the labor force address their household chores and responsibilities as the primary reasons for not participating. A common view, which holds some legitimacy, is that women's low educational attainment sequesters them from economic participation. Even though a positive relationship exists between the level of education and economic participation, statistics reveal that women's unpaid work in the household is a stronger determinant of women's participation in the workforce when marital status is included in the analysis as a mediator in the relationship between the level of education and labor force participation. For example, the rate of labor force participation among women with a primary school education is as high as 48% if they are single, which is on par with the world average. This rate, however, drops to 19% for women with a primary school education that are married. The weak attachment of women to the labor force is thereby argued to be primarily related to the unpaid work expected from married women (İlkkaracan et al. 2015: 22).

Conservative gender values and the traditional gender division of labor are reproduced and reinforced due to a lack of social infrastructure. Unfortunately, Turkey lags behind in care policies and services which could work to contest the traditional gender division of labor. Turkey performs poorly in the provision of affordable and accessible childcare services as well as disabled and elderly care services. The conservative gender policies of recent governments increasingly relies on the family for care services and, therefore, locks women into a traditional caregiver role. In the absence of affordable childcare services, women's decision to work becomes conditional to their ability to find family support. This conundrum inescapably weakens women's connection to the labor market because for most women with anything less than a higher education, the wage and benefits from work can hardly pay for childcare (İlkkaracan et al. 2015).

Besides employment decisions, working hours as well as other working conditions are greatly influenced and constrained by the care responsibilities beholden to women (Memiş and İzdeş 2018). Among women who work, only 16.6% are able to use childcare services. This rate declines to 8.9% for unemployed women and 7.7% for women who are not in the labor force (TurkStat 2018a, b, c). Overall, 86% of children between the ages of 0–5 are cared for by their mothers, and 7.4% of children are cared for by their grandmothers and grandfathers (Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2016, TurkStat 2017). Compared to OECD countries where the share of children between 0 and 3 years old that receive childcare services is higher than 60% on average and reaches almost 100% for children aged 4 and 5, Turkey is clearly an outlier (İlkkaracan et al. 2015: 33). The lack of affordable childcare services is not only a primary constraint for women's economic empowerment, it also must be considered a serious impediment to the development of future generations.

### 4.3 Unpaid Work

The unequal division of labor within the household is both a major factor in women's low economic participation and a determinant of women's employment conditions. Time use statistics reveal that women continue to perform copious amounts of unpaid household work and that the gender division of labor remains resistant to change. When total working hours (both paid and unpaid) are considered, women work much longer hours than men.

Unpaid domestic work is fundamental to the re-production of the labor force and society, and thus, is as important as production from paid employment. Despite the vital importance of unpaid domestic work, it is not accounted in national accounts and is obstinately undervalued from a social standpoint as well as an economic one., The Human Development Report (HDR) 2015 (United Nations Development Program (UNDP) 2015), based on comparable time use data from 65 countries, illustrated that 41% of total global work is unpaid. Furthermore, women perform 31/41 of unpaid work. Indeed, women's work accounts for 52% of the global total work when both paid and unpaid work is considered (UNDP 2015). The market value of unpaid work is estimated by utilizing various approaches that demonstrate the contribution of household production to total income, consumption, and well-being (see İzdeş et al. 2017: 88 for alternatives). For example, a 2008 cross-country comparison that includes Turkey shows that the value of unpaid work corresponds to 53% of the GDP (Beneria et al. 2016: 207).

A time-use survey has been conducted twice in Turkey, both in 2006 and in 2014–2015. The data shows that there is a sizable difference between men and women in terms of time spent on unpaid work. Men who do not work spend only 1 h on unpaid work while women spend 5 times as much. Working women are time-poor as they continue to spend 3 h and 31 min on unpaid housework on a daily basis, while employed men spend only 46 min. While in total, working women and men both spend relatively less time on housework compared to unemployed women and men, the gender division of labor within the household remains intact.

## 4.4 Women's Employment: Gender Segmentation and Employment Conditions

Gender segmentation in employment constrains women's ability to have equal representation in the labor market as well as their ability to benefit equally from economic participation. In accordance to traditional gender roles, gender discrimination and gendered assignment of jobs not only perpetuate gender inequality, but also obscure its very existence. Gender segregation limits women's access to the full spectrum of jobs both vertically and horizontally, in the form of occupational segregation and sectoral segregation. The absence of women at the upper end of the workplace hierarchy (referred to as the "glass ceiling") proves the existence of the invisible barriers to women's access to decision-making and managerial positions.

2017 statistics show that the women's employment rate is 28.9% while the men's employment rate is 65.6% in Turkey (TurkStat 2018a, b, c). The sector-based division of employment in the most general sense shows that women are mostly employed in services (56.1%) followed by agriculture (28.1%) and industry (14.6%). Within the services sector, the subsectors with the greatest numbers of women are: (i) wholesale trade/retail trade, (ii) education, (iii) human health and social work, and (iv) administrative and support system activities. However, the more lucrative, promising sectors, such as information technology and communications, finance, and insurance, boast dismal employment rates for women. Similarly, statistics measuring participation in manufacturing industries that constitute 97% of the employment in the industry sector (TurkStat 2018a, Household Labor Force Survey 2017) illustrate that women are underrepresented in 24 of the 26 manufacturing sectors (except for textiles and clothing apparel). The sectors with the highest rate of female employees are the lowest paying industries within the manufacturing industry. These are also the sectors with the highest turnovers and gendered pay gaps, such as the textile and clothing apparel subsectors (İzdes and Yücel, forthcoming 2019).

Statistics regarding the employment status of women (categorized as employer, wage earner, own-account worker, and self-employed) provide insight into employment conditions. 63% (a majority of women) work as wage earners. This rate jumps to 85% when agricultural employment is excluded. Very few women participate in the economy as employers (1.2%) compared to men (5%). In line with the world average and the developing world, there is a gap between men and women who are classified as own-account workers (see Table 4.1). Working as an unpaid contributing family worker is a phenomena nearly exclusive to the women of Turkey. The share of unpaid contributing family work in women's employment constitutes a whole quarter of women's employment (25.8%) whereas its share in men's employment remains almost negligible (4%). The ILO defines vulnerable employment as the sum of ownaccount workers and contributing family workers. Vulnerable employment refers to the least secure form of employment with inadequate working conditions and job prospects. Vulnerable employment constitutes more than 10% of the manufacturing industry within which subsectors with greater rates of female participation, such as textiles and clothing apparel, represent a larger share of the employment classified as vulnerable. In total, women constitute 92% of vulnerable employment (Izdes and Yücel, forthcoming 2019) (Table 4.2).

Increasing the quality of employment is as important as increasing the quantity of employment for the economic empowerment of women. Unfortunately, a more detailed review reveals that insecure and precarious forms of employment compose a significant share of women's employment. For instance, nearly half of women's employment is informal (44.6% in 2017) and 58% of wage-earning women in the nonagricultural sector are informally employed (TurkStat 2018a, b, c).

The type of employment also determines whether the employee will be able to secure basic labor rights and social security. Part-time employment is significantly

	Female/male ratio (%)	Pay gap (median earnings, female/male) (%)	Insufficient earnings for a decent life*
Textiles	95	88	1
Clothing apparel	94	90	
Basic pharmaceutical products and pharmaceutical preparations	51	128	1
Other manufacturing	33	90	1
Food products	32	97	1
Computer, electronic, and optical products	31	73	
Beverages	29	88	1
Tobacco products	28	100	1
Paper and paper products	26	93	
Chemicals and chemical products	22	89	

 Table 4.2
 Female concentration, earnings gap in manufacturing industry sectors

*Source* İzdeş and Yücel forthcoming 2019, estimated based on the 2012 HLFS survey \*The insufficient earnings for a decent life indicator is derived from the respondents' answers in HLFS Survey to the questions 52, 60, and 63, reflecting the participants' own claims about the sufficiency of their earnings

limited in Turkey. However, most of the part-time work is gender-biased. Within the manufacturing sector, female-populated sectors (namely textiles and clothing apparel as well as food product sectors) have the highest share of part-time employment. When asked the reason for working part-time, the answers reflected the gendered division of labor and reveal how care responsibilities constrain women's employment preferences (İzdeş and Yücel, forthcoming in 2019). Most of the part-time working women are married (74.1% in 2017) and work in the informal sector (81.9% in 2017) (Durmaz 2018).

### 4.5 Earnings of Women and the Gender Wage Gap

Women's earnings constitute only 12.2% of the total earnings of working-age people. (Day10ğlu et al. 2006). The most recent statistics (2017) show that 21.9% of women earn less than minimum wage and 70% work for less than 2000 liras (351 US dollars)<sup>1</sup> a month (Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (DİSK) 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The US dollar conversion is based on the average exchange rate during the 4th quarter of 2018, with the US dollar being equal to 5.7 Turkish liras.

Low employment gains lock women into a vicious cycle of lower economic participation. Moreover, paying lower wages to women also has macroeconomic costs in terms of the loss of taxable income and the foregone effective demand that could have stimulated economic growth. A recent ILO research argued that decreasing the gender wage gap by 25% globally would increase the GDP by 3.9% and increase the global tax revenues by 1.5 trillion dollars (ILO 2017).

The gender wage gap is both a driver and a consequence of gender inequality. There exists a significant gender gap in both wages and earnings in Turkey. According to the GGG Report of 2017 (WEF 2017), women receive only 50% of the wages a man would receive for similar work in Turkey, which places Turkey 94th out of 144 countries in the GGG Report rankings. The discrepancy is even greater for earned income. Women earn only 44% of men's earnings, putting Turkey 122nd out of 144 countries. This wage inequality may be due to the gap in access to education, occupational or sector-based gender segregation, gendered patterns in the type of work, the size of the companies in sectors that employ more women, unionization differences, gender discrimination, or a combination of reasons.

Research on the gender wage gap in Turkey is rather few. An earlier study by Kasnakoğlu and Dayıoğlu (1997) (based on the 1987 Household Income and Expenditure Survey) refutes the argument that education and human capital differences between men and women are the reasons behind the wage gap by revealing that men earn more than women at all education levels. The authors argue that such human capital differences can explain only 36% of the gender wage gap while 63.8% is due to gender discrimination. A later study by Cudeville and Gürbüzer (2007) (based on the 2003 Household Budget Survey) supports Kasnakoğlu and Dayıoğlu's findings and argues that 33.4% of the gender wage gap can be explained by differences in the human capital endowment whereas 65.7% is attributed to discrimination. İlkkaracan and Selim (2007) also account for variables such as collective bargaining, occupation, industry, firm-size, and private employment as potential sources of the gender wage gap. The study shows that even when only human capital variables are accounted for, 43% of the gender wage gap is due to discrimination. This rate decreases to 22% when firm characteristics and industrial relations are included.

Understanding how gender inequality in earnings and wages differ across income distribution and employment types provides us a more concrete and differentiated overview. Day10ğlu et al. (2006) show that women workers (excluding unpaid family workers) constitute 19.6% of the workforce, with more than one-third belonging to the lowest income quintile. Only 10.5% of these women represent the highest income group. While women earn less than men at all levels of employment, the gap is greater at the bottom of the distribution (the lowest 20%), which includes casual workers and the self-employed.

### 4.6 Gendered Patterns in Unemployment

Though Turkey achieved high economic growth rates in the past decade, these rates were not accompanied by comparable growth in employment creation. The economy did not fully recover from the double-digit unemployment rates inherited from the 2000–2001 crises. The persistent scarcity of jobs in the subsequent growth years further diluted decent employment opportunities for the entire population. Persistence of these high levels of long-term unemployment as well as share of people that fall out of the labor force due to loss of hope of finding a job increased.

The gender disaggregation of unemployment statistics shows that despite the low labor force participation of women, women's unemployment is 1.5 times greater than men's unemployment (2017). Contrary to the conventional argument, lack of education does not seem to be the source of the problem, as women with higher education face greater levels of unemployment. In 2017, the unemployment rate of professional women was higher (21.7% for women, 9.1% for men) compared to women that searched for unskilled employment (17.7%) (TurkStat 2018a, b, c).

High and persistent unemployment hit women harder than their male counterparts in the Turkish economy. Long-term unemployment (longer than a year) for men is remarkably high (17.5%) yet is still relatively lower than that of women's long-term unemployment (28%) (Household Labor Force Statistics 2017; TurkStat 2018a, b, c). Moreover, high unemployment disproportionately discourages women's employment expectations, pushing them to drop out of the labor force (the discouraged worker effect) and into unpaid domestic work. Overall, women constitute a greater portion of the discouraged worker population and, once they leave the labor force, policymakers no longer consider them as part of the unemployment problem. However, neglecting the gendered consequences of low employment prospects not only underestimates the unemployment problem, but also ignores the constraints on women's economic participation.

### 4.7 Conclusion

Turkey is one of the worst-performing countries globally in terms of gender equality and, specifically, gender equality in economic life. The fundamental determinants of gender equality in economic life are the availability of jobs, availability of care services, and the political will to achieve gender equality. Women in Turkey are locked into a vicious cycle of low economic participation and a regurgitation of traditional gender roles due to the absence of all of the factors mentioned above.

Women's participation in the labor force in the European Union on average is 64% while the OECD average is 58%. In Turkey, women's participation in the economy is less than half of these averages (28.9% in 2017). The quality of jobs available to women is another challenging problem. Informal employment constitutes almost

half of women's employment and is driven by the large share of unpaid family work. Increases in gender segregation coupled with the hegemony of conservative politics and discourse leads to the strengthening of gender inequalities. The separation of men and women in workplace and in the types of work they perform results in the widening of the gender gap in both wages and employment conditions. Increasingly conservative discourse normalizes gender segregation and contributes to the continuation of gender discrimination in the labor market. Moreover, high and persistent unemployment in the Turkish economy hits women relatively harder. The gendered differences in the unemployment rate, the higher share of long-term unemployment, and the discouraged worker phenomena in women's unemployment reflect the relatively vulnerable position of women in the labor market.

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# **Chapter 5 An Overview of Feminism in Turkey: Parameters of Change**



Sevgi Uçan Çubukçu

Feminist movements and feminist thought have experienced several noteworthy events throughout Turkish history. These events began with the Tanzimat Era of the Ottoman Empire and continued through the formation of the modern Republic. During this period, there were significant legal changes in women's lives in both the public and private spheres, including in regard to equality within the modernization paradigm. This event can also be considered as the first wave of the feminist thought and movement that aimed at promoting the recognition of equal citizenship for women as promised by the nation-states. The second historical moment is the second wave of feminism that emerged in the 1980s. From the 1930s through the 1980s, Turkey experienced an era of sociological and political struggles that ended in many victories in legal and discursive equality throughout the Republic. In fact, the newfound legal rights opened the doors to the public sphere for women, but they were not, however, comprehensive enough to provide mechanisms for women to utilize the rights for themselves. Women had to continuously raise their voices on new political subjects in the public sphere in order to use those rights. This voice is, indeed, viewed as the second wave of feminism beginning in the 1980s. In this second occurrence of Turkish feminism, women were able to make the private sphere (mahrem) an issue in politics by bringing to light topics such as violence, domestic labor, sexuality. Feminism is now considered to be a political actor in its own right, one that brings private events into the public sphere, offering up new narratives, demands, and methods as it has done for the past 100 years.

After the 2000s, feminism reached its third "moment." This third-wave feminism has brought about many new developments and parameters. On one hand, women and other genders are fighting for recognition in private and public spheres. On the

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other, there is a rise of sexist attacks by the authoritarian and conservative populists in Turkey and across the world focusing on the hard-won equal rights achieved by feminists after 150 years of struggle. How these attacks will affect the current struggle and potential future negotiations remains an open-ended question. During this period, the questioning of the private sphere and the very concept of gender uncovered much of the heterosexism underlying the patriarchal system. The feminism that developed through women's fight for freedom and equality is now even more inclusive and robust due to the LGBTI and queer movements seeking social and political recognition. There is a growing social demand for recognition and equality of a variety of gender identities on one side and a proliferation of political authoritarianconservative neoliberal policies on the other. This is the dominant dynamic of the period.

# 5.1 The First Historical Moment of Feminism: The Discourse of Civil and Political Rights

The discovery that the women's movement was not a new phenomenon was possible following the rise of the 1980s feminist movement. Alongside the feminism that emerged in the West after the seventeenth century, Ottoman women started to fight for their right to free speech, education, work, and divorce starting in the 1870s, which indelibly opened the status of women for deliberation and consideration. Within discussions surrounding westernization and modernization, women included their own opinions, critiques, and ideas on their standing in society, which eventually led to the purveying sentiment of equality among the sexes.

These discussions aimed at determining boundaries and defining the concept of modernism (Durakbaşa 1988, 43, 1989, 36–37). Even though the process of modernization and change that began with the Tanzimat period was unable to influence women's status quantitatively, it gave way to radical qualitative transformations. Even though these transformations did not change the traditional female identities (i.e., a mother and housewife) they forced a notable rift in traditional society (Sirman 1989, 6–8; Çakır 1989, 16–21).

During the Republican era, women attempted to form the first feminist political party: "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası" (Women's People's Party). However, they were only allowed to start an association, which was called: "Türk Kadınlar Birliği" (Turkish Women's Federation). This was termed "state feminism" by feminist activist and thinker, (Tekeli 1990, 20). According to Tekeli, even though the new nation-state enforced legal reforms regarding women's rights and seemed open to initiating even major changes, the state still limited women's freedom of organization and overall demand for equal rights. However, the legal regulations on education, family, and political life achieved during the first decade of the Republic, especially the Medeni Kanun (Civil Code) (1926), had a regulatory effect on the private sphere in terms of divorce, inheritance, and the testimony of women. The right to vote and to be

elected in local and parliamentary elections (in 1930 and 1934, respectively) signifies another topic of discussion on the sexist context of Turkey's modernization. Instead of promoting individual rights, Turkey's modernization project enabled women to function primarily as mothers and wives, albeit with more education (Kadıoğlu 1988, 93).

According to similar research, women internalized the modern nation-state building and ideology because of the reforms made in the discourse of equality in social and political status. But the same discourse also highlights a paradox that became an obstacle for women's organization's rights, just as the example of Türk Kadınlar Birliği (Turkish Women's Federation) illustrated. In fact, under the new gendered regime of the modern Turkish Republic, a woman can be educated, have a profession, but must also be a good mother and wife (Toska 1998, 78).

According to this view, the reforms made to the Civil Code are based on the promotion of secular and equal citizenship as opposed to the religious laws that infantilized women. But the fact that the Civil Code reproduced many of the inequalities women were subject to in the private sphere, including the promotion of the man as the leader of the household, was never properly addressed. In the following decades during the republican era where equality was a founding principle, Turkey experienced class inequalities in both social and political arenas. The unequal nature of capitalism uncovered structural problems like external dependence and underdevelopment. Marginalized classes that did not share the benefit of equal rights became more conscious of this discrepancy and new oppositions were formed based on class struggle. One of these opposition parties worked to raise the issue of the oppression of women (Berktay 1990, 290). In the testimonies of women regarding this period, we see the experiences of "Îlerici Kadınlar Derneği" (Progressive Women's Association) (1975) promoting the feminist struggle through (and after) the 1980s (Kadın Yazarlar Derneği 2014).

# The second historical moment of feminism: "Enough with the hegemony of men over women's body, identity, and labor!"

The second historical moment of feminism in Turkey occurred right after the military coup in 1980. In this occurrence, there is a strong objection to the purveying patriarchal society and state and a promotion of new concepts, methods, and narratives. Most of the feminists were well-educated women who spoke foreign languages, were able to travel abroad, communicated with European feminists, and participated in the leftist movement. This second movement is called the second-wave feminism, new feminism, or, as Nermin Abadan Unat called it, neo-feminism. This wave has themes of totality and the inclusion of multiple parties as well as boasts elements of both distinction and similarity as dominant characteristics (Abadan Unat 1988, 330). When examining this time in the feminist movement chronologically, it's evident that the movement created an impact on society that lasted well after its dissolution and beyond its formal parameters (Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi 2000). Its impact began with discussions hosted in the *YAZKO* magazine of literature and the *Somut's* (1983) weekly feminist page. Both pieces discussed the usage of the term feminism and addressed some of the problems related to women. In a time where the

word feminism had overwhelmingly negative connotations, many pieces on feminist thinking, as well as criticisms, discussions, philosophies, foreign literature excerpts, and translations of concepts, were published in the *Somut* (Arat 1991, 10). A publishing, services, and consultancy company called Kadın Çevresi (Women's Circle) was also founded during this time, which focused on publishing classic books on feminist theory (Uçan Çubukçu-Yöney 1995, 11). Feminist politics, experiences, and consciousness-raising groups were formed, campaigns were organized, and the movement began gaining popularity. This period, in fact, is often considered the golden age of Turkish feminism. Campaigns, protests, discussions, and publications spoke to the political and ideological ideas of the movement. From beatings to rape, sexuality policies to prevention of discriminatory applications, every aspect of the private sphere was brought to the public, and therefore, politicized (Tekeli 2017, 273). Women from different classes and age groups came together in these protests and campaigns, making feminism in Turkey a full-fledged political movement. Undoubt-edly, the most important event was the Solidarity Against Beating campaign in 1987.

### Private is political: Solidarity Against Beating campaign

During this time in the history of Turkish feminism, the most important subjects were the patriarchal control mechanisms on women's bodies and identities. One trigger of the post-1980s feminist struggle was certainly the objections to violence toward women. With the "private is political" slogan, feminist women protested domestic violence in 1987. The attendance was higher than expected (2000 women) in the March Against Beating organized in Yoğurtçu Park, Kadıkoy, Istanbul. This represented the first significant protest of the feminist movement. Protests like "Shout so everybody can hear!" aimed at publicly advertising violence toward women. Feminists opened a Gecici Modern Kadın Müzesi (Temporary Modern Women's Museum) to demonstrate many of the traditional roles' women (as mothers and wives) were forced to take on inside the patriarchy, including cleaning and caretaking (Uçan Çubukçu 2004a, b). Between 1989 and 1990, feminist groups began a "purple needle" campaign to protest sexual abuse. These groups gathered every Friday in Beyoğlu to distribute purple needles to women pedestrians for protection purposes. Later they advertised violence-control relations through women's bodies with a campaign entitled "Our body is ours, no to sexual harassment!" (Işık 2002, 46). To address virginity control and rape issues, they used "We want the streets, we want the nights!" as a slogan for their protests. They also rejected the myth of the differences between chaste/unchaste women, protested the idea that rapists could get a reduced sentence if the victim was a prostitute, and advocated for the nullification of law no: 438 on the grounds of equality (Uçan Çubukçu 1995, 12). Other topics were explored during the feminist movement between 1987 and 1990, such as sexuality, the female body, "private" male-female relationships, violence, all of which were designed by the patriarchy and kept out of the public narrative in order to suppress and control women. As Donna Haraway stated, the feminist movement put bodies and sexuality ("power and identity maps") at the center of feminist politics.

#### The first feminist magazines: feminist and Kaktüs

At this point in the history of feminism, protests surrounding different manifestations of sexism were held and new discursive and organizational practices were created to forge an understanding of the different experiences of womanhood. Discussions and publications on the theoretical and ideological differences within feminism were also formed (Yapıt, Kadın Sorunu Özel Sayısı 1985). The plurality of the discussions and theories on feminism inevitably created varying positions within the movement. Socialist, radical, and liberal feminists did not break the solidarity among women, but instead gave way to a newfound pluralism in terms of philosophy and politics. Some magazines of the period offer key examples of this plurality. The magazine feminist, published between 1987 and 90, was a unique magazine in terms of content, diction, and language. It was a publication that questioned every authority figure and hierarchal system, while remaining fun, colorful, and cynical. Providing entertaining content on the topic of feminism, the socialist feminist publication Kaktüs dealt with theoretical and experience-based discussions. With this approach, socialist feminists underscored the independence of the feminist movement while simultaneously promoting the belief that gender and relations of production's systems should be examined together in order to eliminate the inequality between men and women (Uçan Çubukçu 1995, 20, 28). In the 1990s, magazines continued to offer a platform for feminists, including with the publication of Pazartesi. The articles featured news related to women in a variety of subjects and genres. In this way, the magazine helped to diffuse feminism.

Turkish feminism then entered a new era where different groups in Istanbul and Ankara began concentrating their efforts toward new events. One of the most important of these events in the 1980s was the First Feminist Weekend. This event was organized in Ankara in 1989 with women coming from many other major cities. After a serious debate between different feminist's groups, a Declaration for Women's Salvation was created (Timisi and Gevrek 2002, 45–46). The 1980s were known as the years when the movement grew both in theory and in politics and knowledge and experience was accumulated. It was an historical moment when the issue of women became an important item on the agenda both in official and civil areas. It was at this point that feminists politicized the private sphere by popularizing the saying "Private is political!" while exposing sexist content in both public and private spheres.

### 5.2 From Protests to Institutionalization

Feminist protests often seemed like they were dealing with singular and specific issues, such as beating, sexual assault, abuse, and rape. However, these issues were, in fact, different elements of the same topic. The solidarity among feminist groups ensured unity despite differences in belonging, experiences, and practices. This quality that seemed ad hoc during the protests of singular issues gave way to autonomous

units throughout the process of institutionalization. Subsequently, there was a significant transformation similar to the street protests of the 1980s. Feminism started to diffuse, institutionalize, and impact the formation of public policies. Women began building associations and foundations that would fight against violence while also encouraging progressive policies in regard to education, politics, and labor. Feminist groups were now able to generate mechanisms that enhanced the conditions of women in the private and public spheres. They developed women-related projects under the Human Rights Foundation for Women and feminist pioneers started Mor Catı, Ka-der, and the Women's Library. Bars in Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara developed Women's Rights Centers to intervene in favor of women's political and legal status. An autonomous body called Uçan Süpürge was formed with the aim of fostering collaboration between women's organizations. Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği, Kadın Haklarını Araştırma ve Geliştirme Derneği, Emekçi Kadınlar Derneği, and Kadın İşgücünü Geliştirme Derneği were among the many associations created in the attempt to address the many policies that subjugated women to second class citizenship. Overall, these organizations were formulated within the feminist movement to engender solidarity and unity regarding all women's issues.

The independent women's movement, while defining violence from a physical, sexual, psychological, economic, and emotional standpoint, created an awareness and eventual conceptual shift regarding the cultural structure. At the same time, it presented new ideas for solutions. The first examples were Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı and Ankara Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı, which were founded by women activists in 1990. There were also a growing number of institutions supporting women experiencing violence like Ege Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı, Altındağ Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı, Diyarbakır Ka-mer, Antalya Dayanışma Derneği. Today, there are hundreds of institutes, foundations, platforms, commissions, and research centers that study issues related to women and inspiring innovative solutions regarding cooperation with one another as well as the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and UNDP-Woman. The feminist movement continues to battle against violence with its autonomous bodies and pushes the state to take responsibility (Öztunalı Kayır 1997, 17–25; Arın 1988, 2019-211).

Thanks to the acceleration caused by the 1995 UN Declaration of Beijing, Turkish Social Service and Children Protection Institution (SHÇEK) issued an ordinance for Women's Shelters mandating that all counseling centers and shelters should be organized under the legislation (Dördüncü Dünya Kadın Konferansı 1995, 233–238). This ordinance coupled with law no: 4320 for the Protection of the Family triggered a critical breaking point for arguably the most important mechanism of the patriarchal state and society: violence. In the following years, a growing number of shelters and independent institutions became permanent platforms in the struggle against violence as experiences and information began to be shared at the national level in order to effect change. A great example of this information sharing is the Women's Shelters Assembly started by feminists in 1998. As of then, 21 additional assemblies have been organized (Kadın Sığınakları I. ve II. Kurultayları 2000, 222; Işık 2002, 54–56; Ailenin Korunmasına Dair Kanun ve Yeni Medeni Kanun'a İlişkin Uygulama Sorunları 2003).

Turkish women were aware of the liabilities that came with CEDAW, which was signed by the government in 1985. Feminist groups began organizing a series of feminist campaigns which they hoped would translate into the formation of public policies. For example, they organized meetings and sent 7,000 petitions to parliament. Additionally, the group Women Against Discrimination Association was founded during this time. As feminist women were aware of the general disdain by Turkey's nonprogressive politicians toward the CEDAW agreement, they promoted the international condemnation of any discriminatory practices and policies toward women in the hopes of pressuring these politicians to adopt CEDAW's policies outright.

### 5.3 Reforms

One of the most important changes catalyzed by the second-wave feminism was the transformation of the state in terms of equality in discourse and in law. A positive example of this was the foundation of Basbakanlık Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü (KSSGM), which helped with promoting gender equality through inclusive rhetoric. National reports issued by KSSGM (located under the Ministry of Family, Labor, and Social Services) collected data regarding the social, political, and economic position of women. This data pool helped determine reference points regarding the future of official policies on gender inequality. These changes took place due to pressure from the feminist movement to enact more progressive policies on gender equality. In 1997, the Surname Law was changed so that women could carry their own surnames together with their husbands. However, the most critical reform was the change in the civic code. With the new Civil Code (2003), men and women were finally considered equal in family life with the man no longer being designated as the head of the family. Changes with regard to the responsibilities of husband and wife were also made so equal rights were better enforced. In total, mechanisms of the patriarchy were experiencing great transformation, including in regard to the principle of equal shares of any property obtained during marriage (though there continued to be discussions regarding the removal of some of the more progressive policies all the way through 2010). These changes were achieved through democratic means like researching solutions, discussing the issues, and lobbying. In the end, the Turkish Penal Code was changed so that sexual crimes were no longer considered crimes against society, but instead as a crime against an individual. A woman's body and her identity were now being discussed according to their individual rights and liberties and not according to the criteria of patriarchal codes, such as morality (ahlak) and honor (namus). The 10th amendment of the constitution was also rephrased (although without the inclusion of positive discrimination) so that it could be a reference point for the standard of equality for each new policy (Uçan Çubukçu 2004c, 21, 18–20).

### **5.4 Difference and Plurality**

The feminist movement was delineated in the 1920s and 1930 within the equality paradigm as working toward equal citizenship in the public sphere. The Turkish process of modernization that combined traditional practices with modern developments did not, in the end, fulfill its promises of equality for women. The state failed to protect women's rights even though some women obtained benefits from the new system, such as higher education and better paying work. Despite the increase of educated women as the symbol of Republican modernization, the era between 1930s and 1980s were, as Şirin Tekeli puts it, the "dry years" of Turkish feminism (Tekeli 1998, 337).

Thanks to the second wave, a critical examination of the potential limits of equal citizenship in the state was now possible. Following the military coup of 1980, different political demands and agendas politicized the inequality between men and women. Issues such as domestic violence, sexual harassment, rape, incest that belonged to the private sphere were now being publicized and openly discussed. Despite the many revisions to the patriarchal mechanisms by the Republican reforms of the public sphere, the patriarchal mechanisms of the private sphere remained mostly untouched. This remained the primary dynamic of the second wave. These second-wave feminists rallying around the theme of "Private is political!" had many notable differences from their first-wave counterparts in the 1800s. In addition, the second-wave feminists used new ideological references to explain the causality of the patriarchy. This was a period of diverse forms of actions, organization, and theoretical explanations. Still even with the diversity, women were able to continue the movement in solidarity with one another. For example, while egalitarian feminists supported Kemalist ideology, radical feminists criticized what they perceived to be its sexist nature (Abadan Unat 1988, 331-336). According to radical feminists, egalitarians demanded that women move into the public sphere in order to enjoy the same rights as men. However, the important issue went far beyond enjoying the same rights; it was critical to alter the political, cultural, and legal heritage in which those rights were given as well. Socialist feminists altogether had a different position. They criticized the reductive political heritage and viewed the issue of women as a part of the "total transformation" that would change the society (Berktay 1990, 293–295). Islamist feminism, which was derived from the Islamist ideology that would become the focal point of the state and society in the coming years, also began flourishing during this period. Its subscribers claimed they were invisible in the public sphere because of issues regarding the "turban." In other words, they were victims of sexist discrimination. Overall, this approach proved to be weak and limited because the Islamist feminists never criticized Islam or the patriarchal system explicitly. Magazines like Mektup or Kadın ve Aile did not level any criticism toward Islamic rules, whereas Islamist groups like Başkent Kadın Platformu ve Gökkuşağı Kadın Platformu theoretically and politically questioned the sexist nature of Islam (Eraslan 2002, 255).

Among the varying approaches and practices dealing with the understanding and organization of women's issues, there was also Kurdish feminism that aimed to enhance the inclusiveness of Turkish feminism. In the same vein, different feminist approaches built on local cultural identities gave way to studies on the specific issues regarding Armenian and Greek women as well. Local feminism, project feminism, and young feminism can also be listed as new forms of the movement. Women's consciousness can in large part be credited to the paradox that emerged from Turkish modernization and women's attempts at claiming their own cultural, political, and class belongings. For example, Kurdish women faced multiple disadvantages because of their cultural identity, as they were being discriminated against by both the state and their own patriarchal culture. Many organizations like Kadın Emeğini Değerlendirme Vakf1 and Kadav were founded in order to apply for different international funds for research and activities and can be considered under the label of project feminism. Political differentiations had a positive impact on the development of women's points of views and sensitivities, which worked to uncover and expose the sexist system in all of its dimensions. Within the different types of feminism even, those who utilized women and those who considered women as a subject joined together. In this sense, in the political and social sphere, instead of a homogeneous perception of feminism, there existed pluralism and diversity. Despite the fact that the differences that came along with pluralism and internalization created various groups of feminists with women from unique ideological and cultural identities, these groups were also able to join together at a variety of events like Women's Day marches and protests against violence. In this way, feminism in Turkey evolved from monolithic organization to a more plural and inclusive one due to the input from the distinct classes, ethnicities, languages religions, etc.

## 5.5 Academic Feminism: A Production of Feminist Knowledge

One of the most important results of the second-wave feminism in Turkey was that women studies became a separate academic discipline. From a study on women within the paradigm of modernization to feminist thoughts and criticisms of the second wave, gender and women's studies was now an important scholarly topic. The accumulation of knowledge which was supported by the scholars of previous periods who studied women from their own academic standpoints (Abadan Unat 1979; Tekeli 1982) was now being used by the generation of the 1980s to create a new critical area inside feminist theory with an epistemological position. The academic feminism that emerged in Turkey in the 1990s had a similar path of development to that of the gender and women's studies in the US, Canada, and Europe (Sancar 2003, 97). This interdisciplinary area is one of the gains of the second-wave feminism as feminist scholars saw the formation of knowledge as a primary battlefield.

The first Women's Problems Research and Application Center was established at Istanbul University in 1989. Immediately after its founding, established universities like Ankara University, Middle-Eastern Technical University, Aegean University, and Cukurova University started their own centers on gender and women. Today, there are a number of scientific studies in many disciplines both in social and physical sciences (Karakasoğlu et al. 2017–2019). The concepts of women and gender became a part of the knowledge production process as a category of analysis following the institutionalization of academic feminism. Thanks to the academics inside the feminist movement, the masculine-leaning understanding of science was reexamined and knowledge regarding women was embedded into the scientific field. Areas of study began to reflect the aim of transforming women's lives with the knowledge produced (Alkan 2007). This goal has produced more than 100 gender centers in Turkey, even though some of them exist in name only. Still, new centers are opening every day in new cities due to the recommendations of the Council on Higher Education's Position Papers of 2015. Importantly, however, these "name only centers" (Ucan Cubukçu 2018) do not have adequately trained academic staff in feminist methods and approaches. This lack of training either generates empty or even harmful content, some of which reproduces their gender inequality belief systems. It's evident that without specialists on feminist theory and methodology, teaching core/elective gender courses does not serve to promote equality.

### The third historical moment of feminism: "We won't give up our rights and fights"

Today in Turkey, there are many women's organizations working throughout a variety of areas. The current structures are the result of the second-wave feminism, which not only engendered sensitivity toward women's issues from the public, but also forged solutions and alternatives by placing strategic pressure on key groups. Organizations, associations, political groups, research centers, publications, etc. all exist to monitor the decision-making processes, ensure promises are kept, and alter sexist practices. These groups have a tremendous role to play in any democratic society. Simon de Beauvoir's famous expression, "one is not born, but rather becomes a woman," encapsulates much of the identity and hard-won rights of the twenty-first century Turkish woman.

Turkey in the 2000s was marked by a new feminist moment called the third-wave feminism. Despite the constructive and inclusive nature of the concept of gender, feminism in Turkey is subject to plentiful criticism. Many have claimed that the movement is middle-class, heterosexual, and insensitive to differences outside of these narrow parameters. Even though it has plural content and potential, feminist thought has been accused of ignoring racial, sexual orientation, and class differences as well as ignoring the heterosexist nature of the second-wave feminism. The LGBTI (+) movement, with organizations like Kaos and Lambda, and Islamic feminism, which had political and economic representation, are the two primary dynamics fighting for recognition. Both movements used resources from feminist thought to battle for their own place in the philosophical and political conversation. And, in each case, they worked to expand the boundaries of equality created by the gender and women's movement. However, the theoretical and political richness and

plurality that came along with LGBTI (+) and queer discussions did not have the intention of examining relationships and roles between genders in a homogenizing totality. Rather they looked to form new policies to design a more egalitarian and liberating world of sexualities while highlighting the detrimental impact of the patriarchy (Özkazanç 2015, 17). This was also an era when Islamist-conservative feminist discussions, magazines, and organizations were flourishing, even becoming hegemonic in the public-political sphere. However, the movement has several notably hypocrisies (Karakasoglu et al. 2017).

The conservative Islamist discourse in the political sphere emphasizes the traditional roles of motherhood and wifehood of the patriarchal system. Even though Islamic feminism has many views and mechanisms that include women in the public sphere, there are ample contradictions. The clash between the Islamist view that stresses the primary role of a woman as a mother with the Islamic feminist view from organizations like HAZAR and KADEM, which advocate for equal rights in the public sphere, presents a remarkable conundrum. Indeed, many labor opportunities for women are already decreasing under the neoliberal regulations of global capitalism, deepening poverty, and subsequent inequality. These realities coupled with Islamist feminism perpetuates the patriarchal heritage that forces women back to the private sphere of low paid or unpaid domestic labor. This overlap between neoliberal policies and the populist, sexist discourse of an Islamic government is a major threat to the rights of women in Turkey (Yarar 2017).

### 5.6 The Istanbul Convention

The Council of Europe Convention (or the Istanbul Convention) on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence was the first international agreement on violence toward women. Notably, Turkey was the first country to sign the agreement in 2011, signifying a political shift not only for Turkey, but for all the members of the European Council. The convention took effect on August 1, 2014.

Signed in Istanbul, the document articulated approaches to prevent and punish violence for the protection of women. The Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (GREVIO) was established by the convention with a mandate to monitor the agreement's implementation. The convention further outlines GREVIO's responsibilities as a monitoring and reporting committee regarding the signatory states and their adherence to the standards of the agreement (Caniklioğlu 2015, 355–378). Thanks to feminist's activists lobbying, Professor Feride Acar of Turkey is the head of GREVIO (2015). The convention delegates responsibilities primarily to the states. It is, therefore, the state's responsibility to prevent, investigate, punish, and compensate cases of violence, no matter who the perpetrator is (i.e., boyfriend, husband, father, boss). Should the state fail to prosecute, they are held responsible for the violence.

Turkey now also boasts a strong feminist critical and political tradition. Women, both individual feminists and institutions, continue their struggle in solidarity in every aspect of the public sphere. For example, in the summer of 2018, 152 women's organizations from the women's movement of Turkey came together to issue a declaration entitled "We won't give up our rights and fights" (Haklarımızdan da Mücadelemizden de Vazgeçmeyeceğiz 2018).

The declaration recalled the gains of the women's movement throughout history and reinforced the commitment to continue the struggle to protect those rights. There was also a particular emphasis on the sexist discourse and practices coming from certain facets of society against the rights and institutions established in recent years. Women viewed these attacks as threats against their rights and hoped that the declaration could serve as a reminder that the protection of these rights should be the responsibility of the civil society and state. Other recent developments proved worrisome for women's rights activists. For example, the Ministry of Women and Family (the only ministry that worked on behalf of women thanks to the demands and efforts of the feminist movement) removed the word "women" from the title and was placed under the Ministry of Labor, rendering it nonfunctional. This development among many others symbolizes a regression due to the abundant patriarchal political and social discourse present in Turkey and across the globe. An increase in violence toward women, forced marriages for children, pardons for child molesters, encouraging women to marry their rapists, revoking inheritance rights, making divorce easy for men but difficult for women, limiting the amount of child support to the duration of marriage, and applying mediation processes that would clearly cause women to be deterred from divorce are just a few of the outputs caused by these patriarchal policies. Politicians and government ministries are even blatant in their anti-women's rights stances, with the Ministry of Family and Labor espousing damaging rhetoric like "ex-husbands should not be seen as social security" (Süresiz Nafaka Tepkisi 2018).

The authoritarian and oppressive effects of this discourse on the political, private, and public spheres aim at eroding the mechanisms of equality of the state. The most damaging result is perhaps the increasing sexist violence and violence toward women in general. For example, according to the Kaos GL report of 2016, there were 9 hate murders and 16 hate attacks reported in the media (Türkiye Trans Cinayetlerinde Avrupa Birincisi 2018). And as found by the platform We Will Stop Women's Murders, in September 2017, 37 women were murdered, 33 kids were molested, and 24 women experienced violence. Furthermore, in the first 9 months of 2017, men committed 211 murders, 64 rapes, 190 harassment cases, 259 child abuse instances, and 306 violent acts toward women and girls (Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız). Considering these statistics, it is clear why Turkey dropped 26 spots to a dismal ranking of 131 between 2006 and 2018 in the Global Gender Equality Report of the World Economic Forum (Global Gender Gap Report 2017). In this era, there were important changes and breaking points in the roles of men and women in both the social sphere and in power relations. Do all these changes point to a crisis in masculinity and in the patriarchal codes? Certainly, the crisis seems to evoke mass incidents of gendercide as male violence is increasing every day. In this context, we

see that the traditional construction of the patriarchal system cannot continue with its old forms of roles and relationships. There is a new picture where the roles of men and women struggle with each other in all political, social, economic, and cultural areas. However, historically micro and macro power structures, relationships, norms, and roles are not easy to change. Today's feminist movement is already conscious of this challenge.

### 5.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this article is to reconsider theoretical and political moments of the feminist movement and thought and try to better comprehend present-day challenges. The history of feminism delimited by Turkey's political, cultural, and social dynamics has similar transformations and developments of other countries. Differences in time, place, and macropolitical tendencies like equality, diversity, plurality, fragmentation, globalization, and conservatism should be examined as paradigms that define feminist movement and thought. Feminist thought and movement has reached millions of women. In a field study, 36.9% of women identified as feminists, 86.0% supported women's rights groups, and 52.3% expressed a willingness to join these groups (A&G Araştırma 2015, 75).

Further research on the perception of gender in Turkey points to its diffusiveness and, despite all of the challenges, positive connotations of feminism in Turkey. This annual report also showed that 57% of women in 2017 and 58% in 2018 answered "Yes" to the question, "have you ever heard the term feminism before? According to the data, awareness on feminism in the social sphere is increasing every year (Toplumsal Cinsiyet Algısı Araştırması 2018).

Previous studies showed that the word feminism had negative connotations in the 1980s, but by 2018, both women and men felt positively toward it. This progress demonstrates that the feminist movement was able to create a multilayered awareness, which was multiplied and expanded with social, cultural, ethnic, religious, and class diversity and helped to legitimize the fight for equality and liberty. Today, feminism has reached millions of women. Nevertheless, the increasing authoritarianism and conservatism of political power and discourses of modern times seeks to reopen the discussion of gains made by Turkish feminism. Is it possible that the political structure and social establishment's "equal with differences" mantra is transforming into "different and not equal?" Will there be a new development in feminism shaped around "conserving the gains" or will it become, as Tekeli stated, a movement toward "feminism has the right to be conservative" (Tekeli Belgeseli 2018) especially at a time when it should be expanding and becoming more inclusive?

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# Chapter 6 The Story of Turkey's Struggle with Violence Against Women/Domestic Violence in the 2000s



Meltem Ağduk

Nursen voiced in the group, for the first time, that she was beaten up and subjected to violence. While listening to her, everyone in the group realized that violence cannot be measured by socio-economic criteria, because Nursen was an architect and her husband was a doctor. We were all shocked. This testimony was broadcasted to the entire country on the radio. I think, after this, people in Turkey started to discuss this issue more openly; issues such as violence against women, battering, wife beaters were now expressed, voiced, and articulated. (Film Mor, 2008)

The roots of the women's movement in the lands of Anatolia can be traced back to the nineteenth century. However, women's and feminist movements started advocating against violence against women and domestic violence only after the second half of the 1980s. Even though in the 1980s, any form of political movement was strictly forbidden in Turkey, women from "left/leftist circles" were gathering in houses and forming "consciousness-raising" groups. These women were heralding a new wave of feminist movements in Turkey. Articles published in *Yazko* (1981–1984), translations published in *Kadın Çevresi* (founded in 1984), and the women's section of *Somut* magazine began to convey the intellectual foundations of feminist and independent women's movements both to the general public and specifically to women through consciousness-raising groups. Women also began to talk about their own lives, voice their own experiences, and, as expressed in the abovementioned quote, discuss violence against women in these consciousness groups.

The issue of violence against women found a place in the public debate starting with a lawsuit. On April 4, 1987, Mustafa Durmuş, a judge in Çankırı, refused the divorce request of a pregnant woman who had been subjected to violence by her husband. In the judgment, the judge inscribed a Turkish proverb: "A Woman should be tamed with a whip on her back and with a kid in her womb." As a result, the very first social movement on domestic violence was mobilized in the form of a

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demonstration on May 17, 1987 in Istanbul. This street demonstration organized by the Women's Solidarity against Wife Beating campaign, also known as the No to Beating! campaign, was a milestone in the institutionalization of the struggle combating violence against women. Shortly after in 1989, the Purple Needle campaign was organized against violence and sexual harassment in the streets of Istanbul. In the same year, a hotline providing legal and practical support was created. In 1990, the Our Body is Ours campaign was organized. All of these demonstrations pointed to the need for more systematic support regarding violence against women. Subsequently, in 1990, the Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation was founded in Istanbul. During the same year, the women's movement in Ankara was also started, focusing on violence against women and working in cooperation with women in Istanbul. In 1991, the first Women's Counseling Center was opened in partnership with the Altındağ Municipality. And, in 1993, the first independent women's shelter was opened concurrently with the official establishment of The Foundation for Women's Solidarity.

The 1990s are known as the years in which NGOs with an acute focus on violence against women were established, indicating that the institutionalization of this issue had begun. Besides Ankara and Istanbul, İzmir's Ege Women's Solidarity Foundation (Ege Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı) (1992–1993), Mersin's Independent Women's Association (1996), and Diyarbakır's KAMER Foundation (1997), which would later have 23 branches in different cities, were established. In her contribution to the edited volume *90'larda Türkiye'de Feminizm* (Feminism in the 90s in Turkey), Nazik Işık described the 1990s as the years when the women's movement began institutionalizing by creating their own organizations for combating violence against women (Işık 2002, 48). In 1989, The Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation (WLICF) was established. The WLICF not only addressed violence against women, but also bridged the past and the future of the entire women's movement.

From the 1980s until the end of the 1990s, women's NGOs carried out significant work on violence against women. Much of their work was unprecedented as the groups broke away from the unspoken social norm to never speak out on the subject in the public sphere. Various developments in public offices and at the international level took place during this period on the issue of violence against women as well. These developments continued into the 2000s.

While women's NGOs continued lobbying, important amendments were simultaneously made in the legal framework due to Turkey's international commitments. In the 1990s, the Union of Turkish Bar Association Women's Law Committee (TÜBAKKOM) was founded.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the provision of legal consultation to women expanded greatly. The most significant legal development in combating violence against women was the codification of the Law for the Protection of Family (Law No. 4320) in 1998. TÜBAKKOM played a substantial role in the preparation and enactment of this law. While this law did not subvert the patriarchal foundations of the state, it nevertheless underlined state support for women subjected to domestic violence. It also, importantly, revealed that a faction within the state was attempting to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For more detailed information about TÜBAKKOM, see http://tubakkom.barobirlik.org.tr/.

break deep-seated taboos. In addition to Law No. 4320, two further steps were taken regarding the shelters. First, a legal amendment recognized the women's shelters as social service institutions. Second, the Social Services and Child Protection Agency issued the women's guesthouse bylaw.<sup>2</sup> Preparations for the new Civil Code, which was enforced in 2002, also started in the late 1990s. All these legal amendments became milestones in the struggle for freedom from violence against women and paved the way for further developments in the 2000s.

Besides the legal changes, Turkey's commitments *vis-à-vis* the international regulations on violence against women such as the CEDAW reports, the UN General Assembly's "Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women" that was accepted on December 20, 1993, and Beijing's 4th Conference on Women and Action Plan paved the way for further public discussion on the subject. Moreover, the Five-Year Plan prepared by the State Planning Organization was tackled in specialized commission reports which, in turn, heralded the state's upcoming plans to focus on violence against women more in the future.

The establishment of the Directorate General on the Status and Problems of Women (the term "problems" was later removed from the name) in the 1980s was a significant development regarding the struggle against violence against women in the public sphere. The Directorate was established as a state institution with the aim of mainstreaming and promoting gender equality both in society and in state institutions and organizations. The Directorate set up the 3B-Bilgi Başvuru Bankası (Information Application Bank), which provided consultation to women subjected to violence. This bank became the foundation of the Directorate's future tasks.

The stark visibility of violence against women has raised the subject from the private sphere to the public sphere which has brought about a debate on the prevalence of the matter. The first survey on the prevalence of violence against women ("Causes and Consequences of Domestic Violence") was conducted in 1994 by the Turkish Institution of Family Research. Similar research was also conducted by Women's Problems Research and Implementation Centers, which were newly established. In the 1980s and 1990s, a great range of institutions including state offices, NGOs,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The Turkish state refers to the shelters which provide housing to women and their children who have been subjected to violence, especially from their husbands, fathers, lovers, partners, or other male relatives, as 'guesthouses.' This term has always been a controversial issue between the public offices that provide shelter services and women's NGOs. While the state refers to these service units as guesthouses, women's NGOs object to the name, arguing that these units are places where women don't voluntarily go (i.e. the women are not 'guests'). Instead, they are forced into these homes, making the terminology of 'guesthouse' problematic. The term 'shelter' would be a better fit, according to the women's NGOs.

and universities carried out various collaborative works, granting urgency to the institutionalization of the issue.<sup>3</sup>

# 6.1 The 2000s and Combating Violence Against Women

As the 2000s were approaching, the twenty-first century was said to be the "century of the women." However, women's visibility in public life, participation in politics, presence in business, and enrollment in education remained a controversial issue. Women and girls still faced discrimination in every aspect of their lives. While in the 1990s combating violence against women was institutionalized, in the 2000s, the state and private sector became important actors in this struggle. International development affected national legal regulations as well. Especially from 2004 onward, attempts for alignment with the EU *acquis communautaire* and political criteria as well as EU-Turkey progress reports became critically important driving forces in confronting violence against women in the 2000s for Turkey.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the state started to pay attention to the demands of women's NGOs, which had been operational since the mid-1980s. Accordingly, we can infer that the state developed a gender lens in the policymaking processes. According to Gülriz Uygur, the state's attitude toward combating violence against women changed from negative or neutral to positive (Uygur 2011, 883). The first notable point in this process is that under the influence of international regulations, particularly of CEDAW, the Directorate General on the Status and Problems of Women (which was established as the Directorate General for Promoting Gender

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Attempts to institutionalize violence against women and domestic violence were also detailed in various books, articles, and essays that were published for archival purposes in the 1980s and 1990s, including:

<sup>1.</sup> In 1998, Sexuality, Violence, and Women panel at the Women at the End of 20th Century and the Future Conference organized by the Human Rights Research and Compilation Center of the Public Administration Institute for Turkey and the Middle East

<sup>2.</sup> All the presentations given in the Women, Laws, and Honor panel by the Foundation of Women's Solidarity in February 1999 and the Honor Killings panel by the KSSGM in September 1999 were published in the same book by the KSSGM. This is an important example as to how close the state and women's NGO were working together in terms of violence against women.

<sup>3.</sup> Canan Arın's chapter "Violence against Women", in the book *Women and Men in 75 years*, which was published as a part of the book series "Republic of Turkey as a Modernization Project in its 75th Year" published by the İş Bankası Yayınları.

<sup>4.</sup> Şahika Yüksel's chapter titled "Solidarity Campaign against Wife Battering and Violence," in *Women in 1980s Turkey: Women's Perspectives* edited by Şirin Tekeli.

<sup>5.</sup> Nilüfer Timisi and Meltem Ağduk's chapter "Feminist Movement in 1980s Turkey: Ankara Circle" and Nazik Işık's chapter "Some Observation and Thoughts developed from within the struggle against domestic violence against women in 1990s" in *Feminism in Turkey in the 1990s* edited by Aksu Bora and Asena Günal.

Equality in 1987) gained official status by the name of Directorate General on the Status of Women in 2004. The Directorate General was able to operate on an increased budget and human resources capacity and began carrying out more extensive work on violence against women. As of 2005, the Directorate General has been conducting various projects on challenging violence against women. During this period, the Directorate has both enhanced its capacity and led the way for the preparation of national action plans, research projects, and coordination among various ministries on the subject matter.<sup>4</sup> In the 2010s, a series of alterations were made in the public sector: the Ministry of State for Women and Family was abrogated and the Ministry of Family and Social Policies was established by gathering the executive or coordinating general directorates. As a result of these alterations, the focus on the resistance to violence against women was transformed from the "woman as an individual" to the "woman in the family." State–civil society relations also changed and new actors such as the private sector became involved in countering violence against women.

- 1. 2017–2018: Training Project for Capacity Building of Law Enforcement in the Struggle against Violence against Women
- 2014–2016: Women's Guesthouses Project for the Struggle against Violence against Women/ the Struggle against Domestic Violence Project
- 3. 2013: Women's Guesthouses Project for the Struggle against Violence against Women/ the Struggle against Domestic Violence Project
- 4. The Project for Empowering Women Subjected to Violence, Electronic Tagging and Product Purchase
- 5. Impact Analysis Research of the Law to Protect Family and Prevent Violence Against Women (Law No. 6284)
- 6. 2013–2014: The Trainer's Training Project for the Personnel Employed in the Field of Domestic Violence
- 7. 2014–2015: The Technical Support Project for the Assessment of Electronic Tagging and Support System and for Expanding each throughout Turkey
- 8. 2013–2015: The General Command of Gendarmerie Project for Preventing Domestic Violence against Women
- 9. 2013: The Humanitarian Program for Struggle with and Intervention in Gender-based Violence
- 10. 2012: The Research Project for Developing Violence against Women's Database/System
- 2008–2015: Promoting the Role of Religious Officers in the Struggle with Violence against Women Project, Promoting the Role of Religious Officers in Protecting the Family and Preventing Violence against Women Project.
- 12. 2010–2011: The Project for Role of Police in Preventing Domestic Violence against Women and Training Expert Trainers for Future Trainings
- 13. 2009–2010: Seminars on the Role of the Members of the Judiciary in Preventing Violence against Women
- 14. 2008–2010: The Women's Shelter Project

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Between 2006 and 2018, various projects and programs were conducted, including training projects which involved building institutional capacity within the framework of the struggle with violence against women, and domestic violence in particular. This project occurred within the Directorate General on the Status of Women, the Ministry of Interior-Directorate General of Local Administrations, the Ministry of Interior-General Directorate of Security Department of Public Order, the Presidency of Religious Affairs, the Ministry of Justice, and the General Command of Gendarmerie, and included the following trainings:

# 6.2 The Public Sector and Combating Violence Against Women in the 2000s

# (a) International Framework

**CEDAW**: Social discrimination against women and gender inequality are the i two prominent root causes of violence against women. CEDAW (the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) is one of the most important tools created for exposing gender inequality and violence against women as well as in developing policies on the subject matter. CEDAW was opened to signature for the member states on March 1, 1980 following the Second World Conference on Women. Turkey ratified the Convention in 1985 and began enforcing its tenets as of January 19, 1986. Turkey has presented five reports to the CEDAW Committee, two of which were combined. All the reports boasted wide coverage on violence against women. In a few instances, Turkey has also presented interim reports on more specific questions and suggestions. In addition to the CEDAW country reports, several women's NGOs have also written and presented shadow reports to the Committee. In the last two periods (i.e., the 6th and 7th periodic reports) the Committee also requested to hear confidential reports prepared by the UN Offices in Turkey under the coordination of the UN Resident Coordinator's Office. On July 30, 2002, the National Assembly ratified the Optional Protocol to CEDAW. The Protocol was then enforced beginning on January 29, 2003. The Optional Protocol acknowledges the rights of individuals and groups to appeal to the CEDAW Committee in cases of violations of the Convention. The Protocol also grants the Committee the right to accept and investigate the complaints.

When CEDAW was first adopted, there was no provision on violence against women. However, over the course of time, violence against women became an essential topic in almost every country. Accordingly, in 1992, the Committee issued the CEDAW "General Recommendation No. 19 on violence against women." Considering the emerging needs within the last 25 years, the Committee updated the "General Recommendation No. 19" and issued the "General Recommendation No. 35 on gender-based violence against women, updating General Recommendation No. 19" on July 14, 2017.

ii. The Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Istanbul Convention): After lengthy deliberations, the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers adopted the "Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence" (i.e., the Istanbul Convention) on April 7, 2011, when it was then opened to signature. The Convention is of critical importance in terms

<sup>15. 2006–2010:</sup> Role of Police in Preventing Violence against Women Project and Training of the Procedures to Follow.

of establishing a legal framework on violence against women as a legally binding convention. In addition to physical, sexual, and psychological violence, the Convention established a series of punishable offenses, such as forced marriage and stalking, and defined them explicitly as violence against women.

The Convention was opened for the member states' signatures on May 10–11, 2011 at the 121st Session of the Committee of Ministers in Istanbul. Turkey became the first country to adopt and ratify the Istanbul Convention. The Convention entered into force on August 1, 2014 once the number of signatory states reached 10. The Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (GREVIO) was founded in order to monitor the implementation of the Istanbul Convention. GREVIO's first Turkey report was published in 2018 following the first monitoring period.<sup>5</sup> The procedures of the monitoring mechanism pursued by GREVIO is as follows: First, the states submit an official report to the Committee. Subsequently, a group of NGOs, mostly composed of independent women's NGOs, present a shadow report to GREVIO. For Turkey, following the state's official report, the Monitoring Platform formed by 81 independent women's NGOs present a shadow report. In addition to the reports, the Committee conducts field and observation research. Finally, a country report is written and presented to the respective country.

Turkey's country report was published in October 2018. The report underlined basic rights as well as the principles of equality and nondiscrimination addressed in Article 4 of the Convention. The report also emphasized that the most important factor in preventing violence against women is to ensure gender equality, de facto and de jure. GREVIO's emphases are of vital importance especially in a period where the state had been withdrawing from both gender equality policies and from partnerships with independent feminist NGOs.

Another subject highlighted in the report was the development of increasingly integrated policies, which was one of the four areas emphasized in the Convention. The report put a specific emphasis on the need for the development of policies and services for women who had been subjected to intersectional discrimination. Additionally, it noted the need to increase attention toward policies, implementation, and services in times of conflict. Policies prioritizing gender equality are essential in overcoming the traditional gender models that trap the woman in the role of caretaker. These policies would help eliminate barriers and prevent violence against women. Moreover, the report suggested that policies that aim to empower women within the family structure and decrease the rate of inequality would work to halt domestic violence to a great extent.

The GREVIO report also detailed the legal shortcomings and problems pertaining to implementation. It asserted that stalking (including both physical and digital), forced marriage, and sexual harassment toward 15–18 years old girls (which had not been legally criminalized) should be addressed separately. The report also addressed murders committed under the guise of "honor" as well as women driven to suicide.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>For the GREVIO Turkey Report, see https://www.coe.int/en/web/istanbul-convention/ home/-/asset\_publisher/UCakcNXFxO89/content/grevio-receives-the-state-report-for-turkey? inheritRedirect=false.

In these cases, the report insisted that law enforcement must be more rigorous in its investigations, particularly when there is suspicion of an "honor" motive present in the murder. Moreover, it is also recommended that the courts pledge to not allow for penalty reductions for honor killings under any circumstances.

While the report recommended that all service providers, particularly law enforcement, judges, and prosecutors, receive training on gender, it also underlined that developing a multilateral approach to combat violence against women must be one of the main objectives. In these processes, institutions that would ensure cooperation and coordination must have access to the required financial and human resources.

The report also explained the role of the private sector under Article 17. It detailed that employers should take steps to develop various policies to prevent and combat violence against women, especially by way of mobbing and sexual harassment in the workplace. Although the report recommended that the private sector create mechanisms to combat and prevent the violence women are subjected to in the workplace, it did not make any recommendations for the private sector regarding the domestic violence that impedes women's participation and career development. Considering the findings of the research conducted within the framework of the "Business against Domestic Violence" project and companies' experiences, this is a critical gap in the report.

iii. European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) Decisions: Turkey, in the eyes of the ECHR, is a country which has not adequately protected women from domestic violence. For its incompetence, Turkey has been convicted by the Court many times. In the *Nahide Opuz v. Turkey* case, which concluded in 2009, Turkey was condemned by the ECHR. The Court ruled that the Turkish state failed to take necessary measures in the domestic violence case, which resulted in the mother of Nahide Opuz's murder in 2002, even after numerous appeals to intervene had been made to relevant state authorities since 1995. The Turkish state was subsequently fined. This case set a precedent for the state to take the necessary measures against domestic violence. The verdict also played a very important role in amendment of the Family Protection Law (Law No. 4320).<sup>6</sup>

#### (b) Legal regulations

At the root of combating violence against women lies the idea of promoting equality between men and women. In the early 2000s, both international regulations and national laws were based on this idea. Thus, it is necessary to examine other legal regulations on violence against women before moving on to the Law to Protect Family and Prevent Violence against Woman (Law No. 6284).

i. **Constitution**: The principle of gender equality has been strengthened by the amendments in Article 41 and 66 in 2001, Article 10 and 90 in 2004, and Article

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>For more detailed information on the Nahide Opuz case, see: http://www.kahdem.org. tr/?p=234 and https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/kefe/belge/uluslararasi\_belgeler/kadina\_karsi\_ siddet/OPUZ%20v%20T%C3%BCrkiye%20A%C4%B0HM%20Karar%C4%B1.pdf.

10 in 2010. In 2004, an additional provision was added to Article 10 of the Constitution: "Men and women have equal rights. The State has the obligation to ensure that this equality exists in practice." In 2010, another provision was added into the same article's second paragraph: "Measures taken for this purpose shall not be interpreted as contrary to the principle of equality."

- ii. Article 41 of the Constitution stipulated that "Family is the foundation of the Turkish society." In an amendment, this provision was followed by "and based on the equality between the spouses." Additionally, Article 90 had the following revision: "In the case of a conflict between international agreements, duly put into effect, concerning fundamental rights and freedoms and the laws due to differences in provisions on the same matter, the provisions of international agreements shall prevail." Thus, CEDAW and the Istanbul Convention gained prevalence over national regulations.
- iii. Turkish Civil Code: New Turkish Civil Code came into force on January 1, 2002. This regulation ensures equality between men and women, equalizes women with men in society and family, and supports women's labor. This new Civil Code took the developments, changes, and needs in the field of family law and attained significant improvements.
- iv. The Law to Protect Family and Prevent Violence against Woman (Law No. 6284): The term "domestic violence" was first defined in Turkey by the 1998 Family Protection Law (Law No. 4220). This law was amended in 2007 and in 2008 and a Directive on the Implementation of Family Protection Law was issued. These changes notwithstanding, the need for a more comprehensive legal framework on the subject was required in order to avoid problems with implementation. Accordingly, NGO representatives, Ankara Courthouse's public prosecutors working on the subject, family court judges, and bar presidents of 16 metropolitan municipalities assembled under the coordination of the (abrogated) Ministry of Family and Social Policies. Written opinions were gathered from all relevant public institutions and eventually, the "Law to Protect Family and Prevent Violence against Woman" (Law No. 6284) was codified and promulgated on March 20, 2012.<sup>7</sup>
- v. **Municipal Law**: In order to increase the number of shelters which offer housing, psychosocial services, and other means of support to women and their children who have been subjected to violence, municipalities have also been granted the right to open shelters. Law No. 5393 (the Municipal Law) stipulates that metropolitan municipalities and municipalities with a population of over 100,000 are obligated to open shelters for women and children. Other municipalities can also open shelters after evaluating their financial resources and service priorities. As of 2018, the number of shelters opened by the municipalities is 42 with a total capacity of 725.
- vi. In addition to these legal regulations, during the 2000s, new regulations were also issued for regulating the operations of reformed and improved service units. Following the enforcement of Law No. 6284, the **"Ministry's Memorandum**"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>For Law No. 6284, see: http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.6284.pdf.

No. 2012/13 on the Implementation of Law No. 6284 to Protect Family and Prevent Violence against Women'' was issued in order to provide guidance to practitioners. The Implementation Regulation for Law No. 6284 was prepared based on recommendations from relevant institutions and organizations and came into force on January 18, 2013. The Regulation on the Opening and Operation of Women's Guesthouses, which detailed restructuring measures to be taken for women's guesthouses, was enforced starting from January 5, 2013. On March 17, 2016, the Regulation on Centers for the Prevention and Monitoring of Violence (§ÖNİM) came into effect.

vii. In the early 2000s, during the preparation stage of the abovementioned legal documents, relevant public institutions and NGOs working on the subject were consulted. However, shortly after the (abrogated) Ministry of Family and Social Policies was founded in 2011, state's relations, particularly with rights-based NGOs, started to deteriorate. Over time, fewer independent feminist NGOs were consulted during preparations of such legal documents. This, in turn, drastically reduced the contribution of civil society's experiences to the newly formed institutions.

### (c) Policy Papers and Reports

In the 2000s, three national action plans for combating violence against women were prepared and implemented: the National Action Plan for the Struggle against Violence against Women (2004–2010), the Action Plan for combating Violence against Women (2012–2015), and the Action Plan for combating Violence against Women (2016–2020). The plans were developed through a multilateral intervention approach with the participation of relevant public institutions, NGOs, universities, professional associations, media organizations, and international organizations under the coordination of the Directorate General for the Status of Women. The first two plans (although they were quite inclusive) were criticized for inadequate details in their scheduling, budgeting, and indicators. The third plan responded partially to these critiques. The biggest shortcoming of all of the plans is that the monitoring and evaluation sections are not systematically structured. In addition to the National Action Plans, Province Action Plans were written and implemented in 26 provinces. As of the end of 2018, these plans have been prepared, implemented, or are still under preparation in a total of 62 provinces.

The biggest support to the Directorate General for the Status of Women was given in 2005 by the Prime Ministry's Circular No. 2006/17, which was issued as a result of the research: "Parliamentary Commission on Prevention of and Measures to Combat Violence against Women and Children, and Custom and Honor Crimes." This circular assigned the task of coordination to the Directorate General for the Status of Women, which was affiliated with the (abrogated) Ministry of the State of Women and Family. This circular can also be considered as an action plan that defines the duties and responsibilities of all relevant public institutions regarding violence against women. Since 2006, this circular has been the foundation of the capacity-building trainings organized for all public service providers working in the field of violence against women. Immediately after this circular, the Ministry of Interior issued another circular: Circular No. 2007/6. This circular enables public institutions responsible for the struggle against violence against women to set up coordination committees in cities and provinces in collaboration with women's organizations. In the same period, The Directorate General for the Status of Women set up the Committee for Monitoring Violence against Women. The Committee assembles relevant parties and organizes meetings led by ministers in which developments on the subject matter are shared and discussed. During the meetings, parties share their annual activities on violence against women. However, since the information shared in these meetings is not gathered systematically, usually annual activities are only summarized. Besides the Committee for Monitoring Violence against Women meetings, responsible institutions and their collaborators identified in the circular report their circular-related activities every quarter to the Prime Ministry. These quarterly reports are publicized on the Directorate's website. With the presidential government system's enforcement, new arrangements will be made regarding the office for which these reports will be presented to.

Beginning in 2010, in addition to the conventional institutions working in the field of violence against women, new institutions became involved. Among these institutions is the State Supervisory Council (Devlet Denetleme Kurulu). The State Supervisory Council started working on the subject in 2011 in order to assess the opportunities and capacity of local and national public institutions and organizations as well as of NGOs to combat violence against women and children. The Council's report was finalized and published in 2013. The Parliamentary Committee on the Inquiry of Human Rights also published a report titled "Survey Report on Violence against Women and Family Members" in 2012. The Commission that published the report was founded with the aim of investigating the social, economic, and legal configurations of violence against women and family members, improving national and international legal regulations, and monitoring their implementation. The report was created as a result of interviews with the representatives of relevant public, academic, and media institutions. Furthermore, in January 2015, the Parliamentary Research Commission to Explore the Causes of Violence Against Women in order to Determine the Necessary Measures for Prevention was also formed. This commission published a report titled the "Parliamentary Research Commission Report on Exploring the Causes of Violence Against Women in order to Determine the Necessary Measures for Prevention" on May 8, 2015. When the reports of the Parliamentary Commissions were examined, each report, except for the report on which the Circular No. 2006/17 is based, were repetitive and inconclusive. In the same period, an ombudsman responsible for women and children was commissioned within the body of the Ombudsman Institution, which was established in order to monitor public institutions and ensure good governance practices, prepare reports with examples of best governance practices, and work for the betterment of the halting practices of public institutions. Violence against women is an important working area for the Ombudsman Institution and in 2017, the Institution organized a workshop titled Women's Rights and the Ombudsman Institution, for which a report was later published. This was followed by an additional session called the Workshop on Increasing the Effectiveness of the Mechanisms for Preventing Violence against Women and Children, held in 2018, as well as another report. In this workshop, various organizations and institutions, universities, NGOs, and international organizations came together and shared their activities regarding violence against women in the workshop. It was concluded that the Ombudsman Institution should monitor any malpractice and incomplete applications more closely, develop a monitoring protocol, and inform the relevant institutions accordingly to strengthen its capacity.

Combating violence against women appears in several fundamental policy papers. Foremost among them are the development plans. The 10th Development Plan (2014–2018) also remarks that in the plan period, new regulations have been issued for combating violence against women. This includes the strategy of raising social consciousness through formal and nonformal education starting from early childhood. Unfortunately, during preparations for the 11th Development Plan, violence against women was not in the list of issues to be discussed and was not included in the report.

#### (d) Institutional Structures

Combating violence against women in all forms can only be done with the collaboration of various organizations and institutions. This approach is referred to as a "multilateral approach to combating violence against women" in international literature. The components of a multilateral approach to combating violence against women in Turkey include national and international legislation, related ministries (e.g., Family, Labor and Social Services, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Justice, and Ministry of Health), the directorate generals (e.g., Directorate General for Status of Women, General Directorate of Security, and General Command of Gendarmerie), local administrations (e.g., municipalities and governorates), women's counseling and solidarity centers affiliated to municipalities and/or NGOs, women's shelters, bar associations and their women's right implementation centers, the Women's Law Committee, NGOs, universities, and media.

Important components of this mechanism are described below:

- i. Center for Prevention and Monitoring of Violence (ŞÖNİM): In order to provide efficient, extensive, and expedited services to women subjected to violence, ŞÖNİM coordinates the services provided by various public institutions. These centers have been operating since 2003. In addition to their services for preventing violence and effectively implementing protective and preemptive measures, ŞÖNİM also carries out projects and activities to support women's social, economic, psychological, and legal empowerment as well as activities for the perpetrators. As of 2018, ŞÖNİM is operational in each province in Turkey. However, each facility does not enjoy the same capacity. In order to achieve a more effective and expedited response to the problem of domestic abuse, the number of employees needs to be increased, specialized staff needs to be employed, and the institutional capacity of the units needs to be strengthened.
- ii. Women's Shelters: Women's guesthouses are live-in social service institutions in which women who are subjected to physical, emotional, sexual, economic, and verbal abuse (i.e., violence) can temporarily reside along with their children.

The shelters offer protection from violence and psychosocial and economic support. Women's shelters are operated by the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services, municipalities, women's organizations, and governorates and district governorates. In the absence of an emergency (e.g., pregnancy, threat to life), time of residency in the shelters is limited to a 6-month period. In cases of emergency, this period can be extended. As of August 2018, there are a total of 144 women's shelters with a bed capacity of 3,454 in operation. Considering that the shelter capacity is set according to EU standards, which regulates one bed per 10,000 people, clearly, the bed capacity of women's shelters in Turkey is insufficient. Unfortunately, rights-based women's organizations have not been able to open new shelters or improve the sustainability of existing ones due to inadequate financial resources. In addition to the bed capacity, the ability to deliver effective and expedited services is another challenge. Women's shelters' employees experience a secondary trauma, which can impact the quality of service. The same problem applies to ŞÖNİM employees.

iii. Violence Hotline: The Alo 183—Family, Women, Children, and Handicapped Social Service Consultancy Hotline is a phone line operating under the Ministry of Family, Labor, and Social Services. The purpose of its establishment is to receive requests, complaints, opinions, and suggestions from citizens (i.e., women, children, the elderly, and the disabled as well as military veterans and their relatives) who are exposed to violence, abuse, or negligence and are in need of assistance. The hotline offers professional guidance and consultancy and responds to complaints, requests, and emergencies by communicating with authorized personnel in the police, gendarmerie, and emergency services in urgent situations. In Turkey, there is no hotline that exclusively addresses cases of violence, which hampers the ability to effectively intervene in domestic abuse situations. Alo 183 operates simply as a redirecting phone line.

The only hotline created exclusively for combating domestic violence is the Alo Violence Hotline that was created by the *Hürriyet* Newspaper within the scope of End the Domestic Violence! campaign organized in 2007. The hotline was handed over to the Federation of Women's Associations of Turkey in 2015. The phone numbers of the line are 0549 656 96 96 and 0212 656 9696. This line still operates 7/24. The most critical shortcoming of the hotline is that it offers only very limited services in foreign languages at the detriment of asylum seekers and refugees.

iv. Presidency of Religious Affairs and Religious Guidance Bureaus: The Mufti Office stands as an important institution in which women can comfortably access. The Family and Religious Guidance Bureaus, which was established as the Bureau for Family Spiritual Guidance and Counseling, is the first institution in which people who need religious and spiritual guidance can seek advice. Officials in these institutions personally respond to religious (Islamic)-related applications. In other cases, they redirect the applicant to the health, legal, and security units. Within the scope of the Presidency of Religious Affairs' 2008 project titled "Project for Ensuring Religious Officials' Contribution to the Combat with Violence against Women," questions which the (abrogated) ALO Fetwa Hotline and the Bureau for Family Spiritual Guidance and Counseling received were classified. This classification revealed that consultation requests regarding violence against women were quite high in number.

General Directorate of Security—Department of Public Order, Branch for v. Combating Domestic Violence and Violence against Women, and Departments in Provinces: 2014 domestic violence research reveals that 89% of the women who were subjected to violence do not seek recourse at any institution. However, first among the institutions to offer recourse is law enforcement (7%). As such, Law No. 6284 charges law enforcement with important tasks. Additionally, the law ensures that these tasks are undertaken by a sufficient number of personnel in the central and provincial branches by staff who have received adequate training on women's and children's rights and the equality of men and women. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, police training started, first, in pilot regions and later throughout the country. After the General Directorate of Security analyzed the international experiences, discussions on establishing specialized departments within the police force gained traction. In 2011, the Branch for Combating Domestic Violence was established within the body of the Department of Public Order. On November 11, 2015, the Provincial Department for Combating Domestic Violence and Violence against Women was established under the Directorate of Provincial Police of every province. It was then decided that law enforcement personnel that work in this area would be offered training on the subject. Beginning from the early 2000s, approximately 80,000 police officers were trained on violence against women/domestic violence. However, due to recent purges, a major portion of the trained personnel were dismissed from their positions. For that reason, capacity-building missions were relaunched in order for newly established units to offer enhanced services. In addition, other developments, which started in 2010, occurred, including: electronically tagging perpetrators of violence, changing the identity of victims of domestic violence, creating domestic violence registration forms at police stations, and conducting risk analyses. Furthermore, the ALO 155 Police Helpline plays a key role in responding to cases of domestic violence. The General Directorate of the Security Department of Public Order has organized various workshops and conferences in partnership with the Police Academy. The most extensive of these conferences was organized in Ankara through May 2-4, 2017 under the title Conference on Combating Domestic Violence and Violence against Women. The conference report was published in 2018.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>For the Conference on Combating Domestic Violence and Violence against Women Report, see: https://www.pa.edu.tr/Upload/editor/files/aile-ici-ve-kadina-karsi-siddetle-mucadele.pdf.

- vi. General Command of Gendarmerie, Branch of Combating Domestic Violence against Women and Children: Aiming to enact a more robust response to domestic violence and violence against women within the jurisdiction of the gendarmerie, the Branch of Combating Domestic Violence against Women and Children was established within the body of the General Command of Gendarmerie. The Children and Women Section was established under the Provincial Gendarmerie Commands and, in the Provincial and City Gendarmerie Station Commands, operation sergeants were commissioned. Similar to the ALO 155 Helpline, the ALO 156 Gendarmerie Helpline offers assistance to those exposed to violence.
- vii. Family Courts: With the adoption of the new Civil Code, the establishment of the Family Courts was added to the agenda and the Code of the Foundation, Competence, and Procedures of Family Court was enacted on January 9, 2003. This code stipulates that lawsuits and acts falling under the scope of Family Law will be heard in the Family Courts. These courts also proceed on cases falling under the auspices of the Law to Protect Family and Prevent Violence against Women (Law No. 6284). In addition to the Family Courts, toward the close of the first decade of the 2000s, the Offices of the Chief Public Prosecutors started to establish units to address cases of domestic violence. Although these units are not fully specialized, some public prosecutors are exclusively assigned to cases related to domestic violence and violence against women. Thus, they have started to develop expertise on the subject.

### (e) Research and Data Collection

In order to strengthen the combating violence against women mechanisms, data on the extent and prevalence of the problem was needed. However, this gap was not addressed until the 2010s. Research conducted in the cities and provinces in the 1990s remained limited in scope and sample size and failed to reveal the prevalence of the problem. In 1998, the Prime Ministry Institution of Family Research's publication "Violence within Family and Society" provided data on violence against women. However, the first nation-wide research was "Violence against Women in Turkey," which was conducted by Altınay and Arat in 2007 with the support of TUBİTAK. Following the studies mentioned above, the (abrogated) Ministry of State for Women and Family Directorate General for the Status of Women along with the Hacettepe University Institute for Population Studies conducted research titled "Domestic Violence against Women" funded by the European Union IPA Funds. Five years after this research, a 2014 study was conducted utilizing the same methodology.<sup>9</sup> Deliberations on when to conduct the third research after 2014 are ongoing.

# 6.3 Civil Society in Combating Violence against Women in the 2000s

Feminist movements together with the institutionalization of the 1980s started questioning and challenging the private sphere and its role in violence against women (i.e., domestic violence). In the 2000s, the feminist movement transformed itself into a movement which increased its questioning of social statuses, expanded upon its right's platform, and prioritized independence. The protection, prevention, and empowerment approach in combating violence that was adopted in the 1990s gained importance and became established due to support from national and international legislation. In addition to the specialization associated with institutionalization, NGOs joined together to create solidarity networks in which new forms of organizing emerged. Activism that was mobilized through solidarity networks such as the Women's Coalition, the End Violence Platform, CEDAW's NGO Committee, and the Women's Council grew out of the metropolitan cities and spread all around the country. Some of the campaigns even stemmed from virtual platforms. Particularly

- 2. The proportion of lifetime **emotional violence/abuse** that women were subjected to is **44%**. This proportion remained the same in both the 2008 and 2014 studies.
- 3. According to the 2014 research, 12% of married or formerly married women reported having been subjected to lifetime sexual violence (5% of married or formerly married women stated that they have subjected to sexual violence in the last 12 months). In the 2008 research, the proportion increased to 15%. Throughout Turkey, 38% of married or formerly married women were subjected to lifetime physical and/or sexual violence. In the 2008 research, the proportion was recorded as 42%.
- 4. The proportion of physical violence was **35%** in urban areas and **37.5%** in rural areas, according to the 2014 study. In the 2008 research, the proportion of physical violence in urban areas was 38% while in rural areas, it was 43%. In the 2014 research, **26%** of women who had been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence reported being injured as a result of the violence. This proportion was 25% in the 2008 research.
- 5. In the 2004 research, the percentage of non-educated women who had been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence at least once in their lifetime was 43%. This proportion was 21% in women with undergraduate/graduate education. In 2008, this proportion was 55.7% among women with no education.
- 6. The 2014 research shows that 44% of women who have been subjected to violence **did not mention the violence to anyone**. In 2008, this proportion was 48.5%. Overall, **this proportion** has now decreased by 5%.
- 7. According to the findings of the 2014 research, 70% of the women who married young had husbands who were 5-10 years older than themselves.
- 8. In the 2014 research, the proportion of lifetime exposure to physical or sexual violence increased with age. As the level of education decreased, the risk of exposure to sexual violence increased. However, the risk of exposure for divorced or separated women was even higher.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Key findings of both studies are as follows:

<sup>1.</sup> The 2014 research revealed that the proportion of married or formerly married women who reported having been subjected to **physical violence** by their husband or ex-husband was 36%. This proportion was 39% according to the 2008 research.

in the last 10 years, solidarity networks organized via e-mail, WhatsApp groups, and social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram have been widely used to discuss topics, solve problems, circulate manifestos, and spread politically dissenting opinions.<sup>10</sup>

Starting from the second half of the 1980s, NGOs organized along three axes: feminist, Kemalist, and Islamist. These organizations emanated from the intersection of different feminine identities and social belongings. In the first decade of the 2000s, these organizations mobilized for rights, justice, equality, and a violence-free life. Feminists, women from the Kurdish women's movement, Kemalist women, and Muslim women all developed distinct approaches toward combating violence against women and carried out their activities accordingly.<sup>11</sup>

Along with women's NGOs, human rights associations and LGBTI+ rights associations also carried out campaigns and activities on violence against women and domestic violence within the context of gender-based violence.<sup>12</sup> For instance, the Human Rights Joint Platform consists of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, Human Rights Association, Human Rights Agenda Association, and Amnesty International Turkey as well as KAOS GL, Pink Life, and Red Umbrella as LGBTI+ organizations.

Additionally, NGOs specialized in violence against women and organizations involved in the women's movement in the 2000s also worked on violence against women regardless of their field of specialization. This occurred due to topics such as violence against women, domestic violence, child marriage, and incest becoming extensively and widely studied issues in the 2000s. Advocacy conducted especially by women's NGOs since the mid-1980s yielded notable results. Since the 2000s, the state, media, academic, and private sectors have all been working on the subject at different levels.

Feminist rights-based NGOs working on violence against women, and domestic violence, in particular, carried out many activities on protection, prevention, and empowerment. These activities can be reviewed in the reports and books of the Shelters and Consultation Centers Convention, which just held its 21st session in 2018. In the Shelters and Consultation Centers Conventions, which has been running since 1998, NGOs, local administrations, and public institutions come together and collaborate on the development of policies to combat violence against women, introduce international models, and share advocacy instruments.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Besides social networks, these platforms and associations produce content in women's media for combating violence against women: Mediz (Women's Media Monitoring Group (a group which analyses the patriarchal point of view of the media)), Film Mor (a platform established for making movies, producing, imagining, and acting with women, for women. They produce women's documentaries, organize film festivals, and create content on violence against women), and BIANET (Independent Communication Network (a web-based news network which has specialized sections on violence against women)).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>The primary associations established by Muslim women working on violence against women are: Şefkat-Der, Women and Democracy Association (KADEM), Başkent Women's Platform, Hazar Education, and Culture and Solidarity Association.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>For a list of rights-based women's NGOs active in the 2000s, see http://kadinkoalisyonu.org/ bilesenlerimiz/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>The final reports of Shelters and Consultation Centers Convention can be viewed at http://www. siginaksizbirdunya.org/tr/kurultaylar/sonuc-bildirgeleri.

In the 2000s, rights-based feminist NGOs focusing on violence against women, and domestic violence, in particular, established closer relationships with the state which, in some cases, transformed into a "partnership." However, with the establishment of the (abrogated) Ministry of Family and Social Policies and with the removal of the term "woman" from the name of the ministry, these relations deteriorated. The state's focus on combating violence against women changed from "women as individuals" to "women within families." The state also altered their view on "empowering women" to "protecting the family." These changes resulted in greater distance between the state and feminist NGOs. Another reason for this distance is that women's NGOs which did not identify with feminism developed new practices to encourage cooperation with the state.<sup>14</sup>

Certainly, a more detailed analysis of the role of civil society in combating violence against women in the 2000s in terms of the services it provided, reports and books published, campaigns and advocacy activities, coalitions formed with other organizations, and its relationships to the state is required. Nevertheless, we can analyze these activities in three main areas: (a) **prevention**, which encompasses advocacy, awareness, and training support activities, (b) **protection**, which includes service provision, counseling and solidarity centers, women's shelters and post-shelter adoption, and vocational support and partnerships, and (c) **integrated policymaking**, which includes recommendations and reports on legislation and law amendments as well as solves implementation problems and creates common policymaking platforms and interventions.

# 6.4 Private Sector

In the 2000s, along with the state, civil society, media, and academic sectors, a new actor became involved in the field of combating violence against women and mainstreaming gender equality. The *Hürriyet* newspaper pioneered this engagement by launching the End Domestic Violence campaign in 2005. The newspaper carried out awareness-raising activities for its employees while, at the same time, informed the public on the subject by using media resources. During this period, corporations carried out similar campaigns for corporate social responsibility purposes. However, the *Hürriyet* went beyond their corporate social responsibility and became an agent of change. It established the first Alo Şiddet helpline in Turkey for use by the entire Turkish population in a relatively short time. In addition, it relayed foreign experiences presented in international conferences to Turkish society. The *Hürriyet* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>For a comparative analysis of civil society organizations which boasted different approaches in the 2000s (including the examples of Mor Çatı, a feminist rights-based NGO which works on violence and of Şefkat-Der, a conservative NGO which also works on violence but uses protective sexism as a tool), see http://dergipark.gov.tr/sufesosbil/issue/33853/318339.

The report was written within the scope of the WAVE: Women against Violence Europe Network project that was implemented in 2015–2016 and sponsored by the EU and the Republic of Turkey under the framework of the Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and Turkey Program. It is a comprehensive report focusing on violence against women and civil society in the 2000s. https:// notus-asr.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/WAVE\_CR\_TR\_FINAL\_7March2016-2-2.pdf.

also introduced the activities of the US-based Corporate Alliance to End Partnership platform. This platform pioneered the Business against Domestic Violence project, which this book is based off of. The newspaper, after handing over the helpline to the Federation of Women's Associations of Turkey in 2015, withdrew from the field. Nevertheless, through the work it carried out, the newspaper led the way in mainstreaming gender equality and combating violence against women in the private sector.

In 2013 and 2014, in the private sector, concurrent programs were launched in the fields of gender equality, violence against women, and domestic violence. Two main developments sparked the private sector's interest in violence against women: the establishment of the Global Compact Women Empowerment Working Group (which would later become the Women's Empowerment Principles) jointly developed by UN Women and Global Compact and the creation of the Business against Domestic Violence Project launched by the Sabanci University Corporate Governance Forum. Projects launched by corporations such as Koç Holding, Yeşim Textile, Eczacibaşı, Borusan, Doğuş Holding, and Garanti Bankası are pioneering projects in this field. Apart from these two important initiatives, other UN agencies such as ILO and UNDP also have small-scale programs within the private sector. These programs are expanding as they begin to import the Latin American-based Gender Seal to Turkey and the ILO's SCORE program.

The number of corporations that have subscribed to the Business against Domestic Violence campaign reached 54 by the end of 2018. The project has supported these corporations in their attempts to create mechanisms to combat domestic violence through developing corporate policies. Domestic violence is one of the greatest barriers to women's full participation in business and the sustainble development of their careers. If Turkey improves women's participation in the labor force through strong, consistent, and focused policies, by 2025, its GDP will increase by 20%. All problems caused by gender inequality are encouraged by the sexist biases and beliefs. By developing gender-sensitive policies, corporations will create more egalitarian, secure environments where women will be able to realize their full potential. The enhancement of safety in the workplace through these new gender-inclusive policies stand to benefit all.

This book, which focuses on combating violence against women, highlights programs that aim to eliminate one of the many barriers to women's participation in business. These programs are an integral part of the history of combating violence against women, particularly domestic violence.

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# Chapter 7 Responsibilities of Corporations in the Struggle Against Gender-Based Violence



Fatma İrem Çağlar Gürgey

# List of Abbreviations

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
EU	European Union
ILO	International Labor Organization
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
OECD	The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
TUSIAD	Turkish Industry and Business Association
UN	United Nations

# 7.1 Introduction

Gender-based domestic violence (both physical and psychological) are widespread in Turkey. According to a sociological field study that was conducted in 2014 among 20 corporations, three-quarters of all female employees, including white-collar female workers, experienced physical or sexual acts of domestic violence. This research further concluded that gender-based domestic violence against both white-collar and blue-collar employees in corporations not only violated human rights, but also resulted in economic losses for the corporations (Ararat et al. 2017). These findings led to a debate about the legal and ethical responsibilities of corporations in Turkey with regard to the struggle against gender-based violence. In order to draw

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attention to this issue and raise awareness, meetings and workshops were organized and guidelines were subsequently produced. The participating corporations that volunteered were willing to contribute to contending against gender-based domestic violence. Despite their willingness, however, they hesitated to take action due to the presumed existence of certain legal and ethical boundaries surrounding employer responsibility in relation to domestic violence. As gender-based domestic violence is widely regarded as a private matter, these corporations first needed to ensure that legal problems would not arise should they take action against gender-based domestic violence.

This paper intends to placate this concern by relaying the current global intellectual and legal advances with respect to the struggle against gender-based violence. The first section addresses the relation between the problem of public/private life distinction in the struggle against gender-based domestic violence. The second section discusses the responsibilities of corporations in the struggle against gender-based domestic violence in light of national and international legal norms.

# 7.2 Gender-Based Violence and the Transformation of the Due Diligence Standard

The distinction between the public and private realm is the starting point for discussions concerning gender-related problems and their proposed solutions in both feminist theory and feminist legal theory. The distinction between public and private life is also the key to understanding gender roles. Patriarchal norms dictate the attributes that inform such roles, such as obligating men to work in the public realm while women are ascribed roles with characteristics that align more with private life (Poole 1996). The modern state's legal systems have legitimized these cultural norms by way of legalizing them. Legal systems draw a clear line between the public and private realm by means of legal norms. While the public realm is governed by legal norms, governance of the private realm has traditionally been entrusted to the head of the household, who has the sole authority to impose rules on others in their "jurisdiction" in the private realm (Berktay 2012). Disobedience in the private realm, in many circumstances, could easily precipitate violence.

Gender-based violence in the private realm had not been regarded as a problem by modern states for many years. Therefore, states failed to introduce legal norms that would protect the victims of violence in the private sphere and work to halt domestic abuse. The most apparent example of this is the position of the states with respect to marital rape. Sexual intercourse between spouses without mutual consent had not been defined as a crime. Martial rape had been overlooked by the legal system due to the purveying patriarchal social norms. These norms legitimized the violence committed by non-state actors in the private realm whereas the legal system legalized these circumstances by maintaining the public/private distinction. For instance, marital sexual violence was acknowledged as a crime only in 2004 by virtue of an amendment to the Turkish Criminal Code, dating back to 1926, and henceforth subject to certain sanctions. In our opinion, this amendment, which was enacted after 78 years, is not a consequence of a change in mentality, but is instead a result of the influence of the feminist movement on state policies.

The covert nature of the private realm coupled with the belief that a state should not interfere in its affairs constitutes one of the significant barriers to legal reform that is necessary to the struggle against gender-based domestic violence (Schneider 2000). However, as the feminist movement grows stronger in Turkey and throughout the world, human rights abuses in the form of gender-based violence in the private realm have faced increased exposure as evident in emerging legal norms and court decisions. This uncovering of the once private world of domestic abuse has led to the recognition of violence as a public matter.

Feminists have long questioned the liberal point of view that the private or family realm should be isolated from state intervention. According to feminists, this point of view is backed by a misunderstanding of the family as the "heaven in a heartless world." (Lasch 1995). Experience and research reveal that, contrary to popular opinion, the domestic/family realm is the most dangerous place in the world (Herring 2014). As a result of the efforts of feminists, there has been a significant expansion of legal norms addressing violence in the private realm, legal instruments empowering the victims of domestic violence, and activists and/or lawyers defending domestic abuse survivor's rights.

The state's due diligence standard of obligation is one of these legal instruments. This standard has been developed by lawyers who are experts in cases regarding gender-based violence in international law. These lawyers argued that the state is, indeed, culpable for violations of rights committed by non-state actors in the private realm. As a result, the due diligence standard in international law has acquired a new dimension due to feminist criticisms (Benninger-Budel 2009). However, the boundaries of this standard is uncertain. Yakın Ertürk, the former UN Special Reporter for Violence Against Women, substantiated the dimensions of this obligation of the states in relation to the gender-based violence within the international law framework. Ertürk took into consideration the feminist experience in both theory and practice and grouped the state's due diligence obligation under specific headings. These headings included prevention, protection, investigation, decision for sanctions, and enforcement of those decisions (Ertürk 2015).

A similar approach was also embraced in the *Opuz v Turkey* decision by the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). The ECtHR dictated in its decision that local authorities had failed to exercise due diligence in light of the advances in international law with regard to the state's due diligence obligations toward domestic violence.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most important international legal conventions that substantiated the due diligence obligation in relation to gender-based violence was the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combatting violence against women and domestic violence (i.e., the Istanbul Convention), which was signed in Istanbul on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Opuz-Turkey. para. 146. 190.

May 11, 2011. In the agreement, of which Turkey is also signatory to, violence against women is defined in the third article of Convention as follows: "...all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life..." This established norm is one of the most recent expressions of the approach toward gender-based violence as determined by the international laws governing human rights. We believe that this progression was driven by significant and decisive efforts on the part of the feminist movement.

The Istanbul Convention requires each and every one of the contracting states to comply with the following "due diligence obligations" set forth under Article 5 thereof

#### Article 5 - State obligations and due diligence

- 1. Parties shall refrain from engaging in any act of violence against women and ensure that state authorities, officials, agents, institutions, and other actors acting on behalf of the state act in conformity with this obligation.
- 2. Parties shall take the necessary legislative and other measures to exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate, punish, and provide reparation for acts of violence covered by the scope of this Convention that are perpetrated by non-state actors.

According to the Istanbul Convention, gender-based violence falls within the legal responsibility of the state, regardless of whether it is committed in private or public life. As a general principle, the states are liable for their own actions as well as the actions of non-state actors only if the non-state actors are acting under the direction or control of the state. States also have a responsibility to exercise due diligence in preventing and reacting to acts of aggression and neglect by non-state actors that constitute a breach of international law. This is referred to as the state's due diligence obligation. Therefore, when state officials are perpetrators of gender-based violence, the state is liable even if the violation is committed by non-state actors in or outside of the family, in accordance with its due diligence obligation. The feminist movement had been the primary influence behind the transformation and expansion of the interpretation of the due diligence obligation of states in international law (Çaglar and Akçali Gür 2019). This article discusses whether the state's due diligence obligation extends to corporations. In other words, can corporations be held accountable for human rights abuses suffered by their employees in their private lives and/or committed by third parties or non-state actors.

The latest and the most detailed document that set forth the state's due diligence obligation in relation to gender-based violence is the General Recommendation no. 35 of the CEDAW<sup>2</sup> committee produced in 2017. The subtitles throughout the document (prevention, protection, prosecution and punishment, reparations, coordination, monitoring and data collecting, and international cooperation) reveal the limits of

 $<sup>^2\</sup>text{CEDAW}$  is an acronym for: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

the state's obligations in relation to domestic violence. Out of all of the subtitles, prevention can be considered the most significant obligation of the state.

States are expected to provide remedies when losses are incurred due to a breach of rights as well as to enact appropriate punishments. The due diligence standard extends this responsibility beyond responding to the problem to actually predicting and preventing any issues in advance by imposing pertinent legal rules and other preventative measures. In this respect, the recognition of preventative measures as a specific item in the General Recommendation no. 35 is significant in achieving a sustainable solution to domestic violence. This resolution is also important for placing responsibility on the private sector to take preventive measures.<sup>3</sup> From this perspective, signatories to CEDAW have pledged to act in concert with corporations within the scope of their due diligence obligation to struggle against domestic violence.

# 7.3 Responsibilities of Corporations in the Struggle Against Gender-Based Violence

States are held liable for violations of rights committed by third parties in the private sphere because of their due diligence responsibility. Therefore, states have an obligation to take measures against violations of rights committed by non-state actors by forming pertinent policies and collaborating with non-state institutions and agencies. In this respect, in its capacity as a non-state actor, a corporation faces an ethical responsibility to collaborate with the state in the struggle against gender-based violence in order to defend human rights.

A corporation's responsibility to protect human rights is still legally a controversial issue. However, there have been significant steps taken at the international level. In the paragraphs below, the regulations drafted by international agencies and institutions in relation to the responsibility of corporations regarding human rights are analyzed. Subsequently, an account of the relevant legislative framework in Turkey in relation to the responsibility of corporations for gender-based violence is provided.

# 7.3.1 Regulations Regarding the Human Rights Responsibilities of Corporations

Debates about the relationship between corporations and human rights usually focus on what kind of legal action a corporation should take in the case of a human rights violation. If a corporation commits a violation of a human right that is addressed in its jurisdiction's laws, the violation will be subject to national legislation. The states whose legal systems are founded on the principle that the obligation to respect human rights is a basic norm also tend to take actions to facilitate the enjoyment of basic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>United Nations, CEDAW/C/GC/35, Para 39.

human rights by implementing national legislation and other measures as an integral part of labor, environmental, commercial, and criminal law. However, in the case of multinational corporations, national laws in some regions may fall short of addressing human rights abuses. The damages caused by a corporation to its own employees may be less contested in some jurisdictions. The issue becomes more complicated when the corporations violate the rights of the people who are not their employees, but instead are residing in their districts of operation. Potential violations could include housing and living rights as well as the right to live in a healthy environment. In such circumstances, it becomes critical for international mechanisms to be activated. With the help of its domestic norms, a state may require corporations to act with due diligence in respecting human rights. There are also international mechanisms that hold corporations directly liable as subjects of the due diligence obligation, as dictated by documents such as Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. These guidelines were drafted by the Special Reporter of the UN General Secretariat of Business and Human Rights and adopted by the Human Rights Council in 2011. Previous documents that have specifically focused on human rights responsibilities of corporations mostly originated from OECD or the International Labor Organization (ILO). However, despite these international efforts, the states are still the primary overseer for human rights violations committed by corporations.

#### **UN Regulations**

# "UN Draft Norms on the Responsibilities of Transnational Corporations and Other Business Enterprises"<sup>4</sup> and "UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights"

Previously, international declarations fell short of providing adequate assurance about corporate responsibility to uphold human rights. In order to overcome this problem, the United Nations carried out various studies starting from the end of the 1990s. One of the most influential studies in this respect was the *Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights* drafted by John Ruggie, which was adopted by the United Nations Human Rights Council in June 2011.<sup>5</sup> It consists of eight foundation principles and 24 operational principles.<sup>6</sup> These principles are categorized under three main headings: protection of human rights, respect to human rights, and access to remedies. One of the operational principles regarding the protection of human rights specifically addresses gender issues and sexual violence. The provisions that govern the state's duty of protection includes policies to define norms imposing responsibility to corporations and unincorporated business enterprises in the struggle against gender-based violence and sexual violence in areas of conflict as well as areas

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>In international law, the term 'multinational corporations' may be used for both transnational corporations and multinational enterprises. (Deva 2006: 109).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>United Nations General Assembly, A/HRC/RES/17/4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: Implementing the United Nations 'Protect, Respect and Remedy' Framework, 2011.

impacted from such conflict. In fact, a state may lose its rights in areas of conflict, but multinational corporations are expected to offer innovative and practical solutions to mitigate the losses and stop violations. Particularly considering the risk of escalated gender-based and sexual violence in conflict zones, the UN states that corporations should play a more proactive role in this respect. A state is responsible to foresee the conditions that are likely to lead to a conflict in a negative peace environment and take necessary preventative measures.<sup>7</sup>

The responsibility of multinational corporations to eliminate gender-based violence is not only addressed in the *Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights*. The legal basis of a corporation's human rights responsibilities is also supported by other national and international documents. Article 12 of the Guiding Principles makes a reference to the rights set out in international human rights law and the fundamental rights set out in the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work.<sup>8</sup> It adds that, under certain conditions, private enterprises should take into account the UN regulations applicable to minorities, women, children, and the handicapped. CEDAW and other UN regulations addressing the gender-based problems are also referred to in this document.<sup>9</sup> While these principles are not legally binding, the fact that it places ethical responsibilities on corporations may improve the sensitivity of corporations and its employees toward gender-based violence as well as enhance their willingness to participate in this struggle.

The due diligence obligation is a concept highlighted in the UN guiding principles. These principles compel corporations to uphold human rights as outlined in the guidelines and in order to protect themselves from liability.

### **The Global Compact**

Another mechanism governing the responsibility of corporations, particularly multinational ones, in the struggle against gender-based violence is the Global Compact designed by the United Nations General Secretary in 2000. This Compact contains the OECD Guiding Principles for multinational corporations and draft norms accepted in the 55<sup>th</sup> Section of the Human Rights Development and Protection Subcommittee

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>United Nations General Assembly, A/HRC/17/31 (2011: 10).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>For instance, Article 12 of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* addresses the "right of health." It stipulates: "states that are parties to this Covenant agree the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable physical and mental health." According to the UN's general interpretation of no. 14, the article states that not only are parties to the covenant responsible for the right of health, but so are corporations: "as the parties to the covenant are only States and therefore while they are under ultimate responsibility for granting the right of health, the responsibility to give effect to this right of health should also be shouldered by all its members, including, in particular, the society, individual healthcare officials, their families, local communities, international and off-governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations and private sector. Parties to the covenant should therefore provide for an environment that facilitates the fulfilment of their such responsibilities." Corporations are under the obligation to achieve the highest attainable health standard not only for individuals, but also for their own employees. (United Nations General Assembly, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 16 Dec 1966, United Nations, Treaty Series, 993: 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: Implementing the United Nations 'Protect, Respect and Remedy' Framework (2011: 14).

in 2003. It details the responsibilities of these corporations and other business enterprises with respect to human rights (Ertürk 2015). Here, the corporations commit to supporting the ten principles of the UN Global Compact related to human rights, labor standards, environment, and anti-corruption.<sup>10</sup> The corporations must make these ten principles a part of their strategies, culture, and daily activities as well as participate in cooperation projects that support the development of other comprehensive development targets of the United Nations and, in particular, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGS). The most important precondition of becoming party to the UN Global Compact is that every member should publish a yearly progress report dictating the procedures by which they put these ten principles into practice.<sup>11</sup> The first two of the ten principles of the Global Compact are designed to address the struggle against the gender-based violence:

Human Rights **Principle 1:** Businesses should support and respect the protection of internationally proclaimed human rights; and **Principle 2:** make sure that they are not complicit in human right abuses.<sup>12</sup>

It is universally acknowledged that gender-based violence is a human rights violation. Therefore, corporations that are party to the Global Compact cannot overlook gender-based violations in their company policies. However, the obligations of the state and the responsibilities of the corporations as accorded by the Compact are uncertain. The weak monitoring and evaluation mechanisms exacerbated by the recklessness of member corporations in fulfilling their annual reporting commitments prevent more effective implementation of the Global Compact (Deva 2006). Being party to these kinds of agreements based on volunteerism also leads to ethical liability. However, the lack of legal sanctions inhibits any legal binding effect and renders it inadequate for the protection of human rights. Therefore, corporations cannot be forced to comply with these principles if they do not commit themselves to the struggle against domestic violence. However, these norms support the corporations that are willing to take action by placating opponents.

#### **OECD Regulations**

### **OECD** Guidelines

The OECD Council published the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises in 1976. These recommendations impose social responsibilities on multinational corporations and were revised in 2000, 2001, and 2011. They stipulate the standards for businesses in various areas such as employment, industrial relations, human rights,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Kofi Annan, the United Nations General Secretary, first suggested nine principles in respect to human rights. The tenth principle regarding corruption was added to the Global Compact in 2004 (Bilchitz and Deva 2013: 6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>The Ten Principles of the UN Global Compact.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>The Ten Principles of the UN Global Compact.

public disclosure, competition, taxation, science, and technology. The guidelines were adopted by 46 countries, including Turkey, as of 2016. 34 of the participants are OECD members and 12 are non-OECD countries (OECD 2011). The Guidelines do not create any legal obligation, but the states that are party to it are obliged to establish National Contact Points pursuant to this declaration. The national contact points carry out promotional activities, handle complaints, troubleshoot problems, and cooperate with non-governmental organizations (Ruggie 2013).

The Guidelines state that corporations should avoid any practice that may negatively impact its employee's or community member's human rights. Article 6 of Section VI of the Guidelines notes that in the case of a corporation identifying a policy that has an adverse effect on human rights, the corporation is expected to collaborate with other corporations through legal means in order to eliminate such effects. This article is also a vital component in guiding the efforts of corporations against domestic violence.

Turkey has ratified both the Guidelines and the Declaration. The General Directorate of Incentive Implementation and Foreign Investment operating under the Ministry of Economy was appointed as Turkey's national contact point to promote the Guidelines and review the complaints about those who fail to fulfill its recommendations. For this reason, corporations in Turkey should not overlook domestic violence when shaping its human rights policies. Corporations have a legal responsibility to intervene and to cooperate in this respect. As of the time of writing, a review of applications reveals that Turkey's national contact point has not yet received any complaints of a human rights violation.<sup>13</sup>

# **Corporate Governance Principles**

In 1998, the OECD Council began the development of the Corporate Governance Principles in collaboration with states, related international institutions, and the private sector. These principles had been drafted in 1994 and were updated in 2004. Revised principles were initially discussed at meetings of the OECD Corporate Governance Committee. Subsequently, they were discussed at meetings held by the G20 Investment and Infrastructure Work Group, in which all G20 countries were invited to participate and share equal status with the OECD members. These principles were finally accepted by the OECD Council on July 8, 2015. The Principles were then adopted at the G20 Leaders' Summit in November 2015.<sup>14</sup>

According to Paragraph VI/C of the OECD principles, the "board of directors should comply with high ethical standards...[and] should take into account the interests of the related parties." The Corporate Governance Principles published by the Capital Markets Board of Turkey stipulate that a corporation's operations shall be conducted in line with the publicly disclosed ethical principles, which were drafted by the board of directors and submitted to the general assembly.<sup>15</sup> These ethical principles impose legal obligations on corporations and their executives to protect

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>https://mneguidelines.oecd.org/database/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>G20/OECD Principles of Corporate Governance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>2. PUBLIC DISCLOSURE AND TRANSPARENCY—2.1. Corporate website—2.1.1. The company's corporate website shall show, in addition to such information that should be disclosed

interest holders, which include the employees.<sup>16</sup> The Corporate Governance Principles also define corporate employees among the interest holders.<sup>17</sup> According to Article 369 of Turkish Code of Commerce,<sup>18</sup> corporate executives have a due diligence obligation toward all interest holders, including the management employees. Therefore, the Corporate Governance Principles set by the Capital Markets Board and the due diligence obligation in the Turkish Commercial Code can be interpreted as stating corporations and their executives are liable to protect their employees, who make up a significant portion of interest holders in the corporation, against domestic violence (Ararat et al. 2017).

#### **Corporate Social Responsibility**

Corporate social responsibility outlines the ethical responsibilities of corporations within commercial law. The definition of a corporation may differ based on various ideologies. In a capitalist system, the corporation's top responsibility is compliance with the rules of the legal system that it is subject to (i.e., its legal responsibilities). A corporation's second responsibility is to generate profit. The third responsibility is its ethical responsibilities, even those not required by law. The corporate social responsibility concept is described in the United Nations Global Compact, the United Nations Business and Human Rights Guiding Principles, the OCED Guidelines, the

pursuant to the applicable legislation, trade registry details, the latest shareholding and management structure, detailed information about the preferential stocks, the latest version of the company's articles of association along with the date and number of Turkish Trade Registry Gazette in which amendments were published, special disclosures, financial reports, activity reports, prospectuses and other public disclosure certificates, general assembly meeting agenda, list of present shareholders and attendees, minutes of meeting, voting by proxy form, stock purchase offer or mandatory information sheets issued for collecting powers of attorney, similar forms, the company's buyback policy for treasury shares, if any, profit distribution policy, ethical rules set by the company and frequently asked questions, including information requests received by the company, and questions, complaints, and answers given to them. In this respect, a minimum of a 5-year annual information shall be posted on the corporate website. OG date, 3.01.2014; OF issue no: 28871.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>**3. INTEREST HOLDERS**—3.1. Corporate policy for interest holders—3.1.1. Interest holders are employees, creditors, customers, suppliers, unions, various, non-governmental organizations, or similar individuals, entities, and interest groups with an interest in a corporation's operations or in reaching its targets. The company protects the rights of interest holders that are governed in applicable legislation and mutual contracts in its transactions and operations. In circumstances where the rights of interest holders are not protected by means of applicable legislation and mutual contracts, interests of interest holders shall be protected in line with the rules of integrity and the means available to the company. OG date: 3.01.2014; OG issue: 28871.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>**3. INTEREST HOLDERS**—3.1. Corporate policy for interest holders—3.1.1. Interest holders are employees, creditors, customers, suppliers, unions, various, non-governmental organizations, or similar individuals, entities, and interest groups with an interest in a corporation's operations or in reaching its targets. The company protects the rights of interest holders that are governed in applicable legislation and mutual contracts in its transactions and operations. In circumstances where the rights of interest holders are not protected by means of applicable legislation and mutual contracts, interests of interest holders shall be protected in line with the rules of integrity and the means available to the company. OG date: 3.01.2014; OG issue: 28871.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>"Board members and third parties assigned with the management tasks (CEO) shall be under the obligation to perform their tasks with the due diligence of a prudent manager and to defend the corporation's interests by complying with the rules of integrity.".

ILO Declarations, and the ISO 26000 Social Responsibility Guidance Standards.<sup>19</sup> The EU commission defines corporate social responsibilities on the basis of all of these regulations and has adopted an organizational social responsibility of its own.<sup>20</sup> The EU's social responsibility regulations are also aligned with the UN Guidance Principles. While the EU governs the ethical responsibilities of corporations in its member states, it has also noted that member states should consider the UN guiding principles as guidelines (IBA Business and Human Rights Guidence for Bar Associations 2015).

Corporate social responsibilities have become an integral part of the legal system of EU member states as well as candidates. The Green File issued by the European Union Commission defines organizational social responsibility as the inclusion of certain social and environmental expectations in corporation's relations with interest holders and economic activities on a volunteer basis.<sup>21</sup> As corporate social responsibility has become a significant part of the business-making strategy in the international arena, Turkey has also been forced to integrate the concept into its companies' strategies. Moreover, the concept has also been important to Turkey's advancement in its path toward EU membership, as adapting regulations and practices in the field of organizational social responsibility is required to join. In this respect, Sect. 3 of the Corporate Governance Communiqué Principles published by the CMB of Turkey states the following: "3.3.7. Measures shall be taken in order to prevent any discrimination among employees based on race, faith, language and gender, and to protect employees against in-house physical, psychological and emotional abuse (Turkish Official Gazette 2014)". According to this provision, protection shall be provided not only against domestic abuse, but also against any physical, psychological, emotional, and economic violence. Therefore, the struggle against domestic abuse falls within the purview of both the ethical and legal responsibilities of corporations under the corporate governance principles and in connection with organizational social responsibility.

#### International Labor Organization (ILO) Conventions and Declarations

ILO conventions are, as a rule, tripartite conventions as they involve labor unions, state representatives, and business unions. Considering the parties to the convention, this type of international treaty should directly impose human rights obligations on corporations. However, even ILO conventions impose certain obligations on states, but do not hold corporations directly liable (Ruggie 2013). In addition to ILO conventions, there are many declarations with respect to organizational social responsibility, some of which relate to the standards of fundamental human rights in the workplace. One of them is Tripartite Declaration: Multinational Enterprise and Social Policy Declaration, which was adopted in 1977. Principles set out in this declaration were ratified by states, global labor unions, and employer unions in accordance with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>ISO 26000—Social responsibility.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Corporate Social Responsibility & Responsible Business Conduct.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Commission of the European Communities, Green Paper: Promoting a European framework for Corporate Social Responsibility.

the ILO's tripartite approval rule (Ruggie 2013). That said, the absence of mechanisms that monitor any violations of principles set out in the Declaration weakens its enforceability. This Declaration does not directly impose a responsibility on corporations in the struggle against gender-based violence. However, the Declaration notes that states should secure the necessary safety and health standards for the employees of corporations as required by their own legal systems.<sup>22</sup> As gender-based violence violates an individual's right to health, it may be considered within the scope of this article. In particular, with respect to ensuring the necessary health and safety conditions for employees exposed to domestic abuse, Turkey has the same responsibilities as all other states that have ratified the ILO Declaration.

# 7.3.2 Responsibilities of Corporations According to International Conventions Focusing on Gender-Based Violence

# The Istanbul Convention

As it was discussed in the preamble, the Istanbul Convention serves as one of the most important pieces of legislation in the struggle against gender-based violence. States that are party to it have a due diligence obligation to ensure that corporations in their jurisdiction are sensitive to cases of human rights abuses. Article 5 of the Convention defines the due diligence obligation and articulates corporations responsibilities to recognize and prevent violations of human rights as third parties to the Convention. As a matter of fact, a noteworthy contribution to the development of the due diligence obligation is the active inclusion of non-state actors in the process (Ertürk 2015).

Today, in the struggle of states against domestic abuse, collaboration with nonstate actors is more important than ever. In this respect, Article 7 of the Istanbul Convention may serve as a reference point as it is key to the design of comprehensive and coordinated policies. The article states as follows:

# Chapter II – Integrated policies and data collection Article 7 – Comprehensive and coordinated policies

- 1- Parties shall take the necessary legislative actions and other measures to adopt and implement state-wide effective, comprehensive, and coordinated policies encompassing all relevant measures to prevent and combat all forms of violence covered by the scope of this Convention and offer a holistic response to violence against women.
- 2- Parties shall ensure that policies referred to in paragraph one place the rights of the victim at the center of all measures. These actions shall be implemented by way of effective cooperation among all relevant agencies, institutions, and organizations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy, Article 36.

- 7 Responsibilities of Corporations in the Struggle ...
  - 3- Measures taken pursuant to this article shall involve, where appropriate, all relevant actors, such as government agencies, national, regional, and local parliaments and authorities, national human rights institutions, and civil society organizations.

According to this article, a state is required to act in unison with non-state agencies and consult with them in order to generate and implement comprehensive policies in the battle against domestic abuse. In their capacity as non-state actors, corporations can share this due diligence duty by adopting and implementing these policies. Article 17 of the Convention makes a special reference to the importance of the state's collaboration with the private sector and media in order to prevent domestic abuse:

#### Article 17 - Participation of the private sector and the media

- 1- Parties shall encourage the private sector, the information and communication technology sector, and the media, with due respect for freedom of expression and their independence, to participate in the elaboration and implementation of policies, and to set guidelines and self-regulatory standards to prevent violence against women and to enhance respect for their dignity.
- 2- Parties shall develop and promote, in cooperation with private sector actors, skills among children, parents, and educators regarding how to deal with the information and communication's environment that provides access to degrading content of a sexual or violent nature which might be harmful.

States party to the Convention have a duty to encourage the private sector to design and implement policies to stop violence against women and to increase the respect for women's dignity. This is the most explicit provision in the Istanbul Convention that specifically highlights corporation's responsibilities. Under this article, a corporation subject to the jurisdiction of a state party to the Convention can adopt preventive or protective measures against domestic abuse for the sake of defending the human rights of its own employees. Furthermore, this shall not be seen as an unwelcome interference with the state's responsibility or the employee's private life. On the contrary, the corporation's actions shall be deemed a legal obligation. Turkey, as a party to the Istanbul Convention, has not legally imposed a duty on corporations to directly participate in the struggle against domestic violence within national commercial laws. Still, a corporation may share this responsibility at its own discretion and apply certain preventive measures pursuant to Article 17 of the Istanbul Convention.

In Turkey, the corporations may contribute to the adoption of anti-violence measures pursuant to national laws as well, such as according to Article 7 of law no. 6284 on the Protection of Family and Prevention of Violence against Women adopted in 2012. According to this provision, any case or risk of violence or abuse may be reported to the appropriate authorities. Upon receiving this report, public officials are obliged to fulfill their tasks and duties under this provision without delay and inform the authorized officials in connection with other measures that should be implemented. The second paragraph of Article 1 of law no. 6284 states that the

"...Turkish Republic Constitution as well as conventions to which Turkey is a party, including in particular, the European Council Convention for the Prevention of Domestic Abuse and

Violence against Women and Fight against such Violence and Abuse should be taken as basis and a springboard."

The Istanbul Convention also notes a similar provision regarding reporting in Article 27: "...parties shall take the necessary measures to encourage any person witness to the commission of acts of violence covered by the scope of this Convention or who has reasonable grounds to believe that such an act may be committed, or that further acts of violence are to be expected, to report this to the competent organizations or authorities..." Therefore, pursuant to both national and international legal norms, a corporation has a responsibility to report any actual or potential gender-based violence committed by or against its employees.<sup>23</sup> According to law no. 6284, in case domestic abuse is reported, the family court judge or the state authorities may order protective measures.

#### Protective measure decisions that the civilian authority may order

**ARTICLE 3** – (1) In connection with the individuals protected under this law, a civilian authority may order any of the following measures, several of them, or similar ones:

- a) To provide the protected person, and where necessary, the children with her with a suitable place for accommodation either where she is currently residing or at a different location;
- b) To provide temporary financial aid, provided that additional assistance to be made under other pertinent laws shall remain applicable;
- c) To provide guidance and consultancy services in psychological, professional, legal, and social terms;
- ç) Where there is a life-threatening situation, placing her under protection upon her request or ex officio;
- d) Where it is necessary and when there are children involved, to provide means for a nursery, provided that its costs shall be covered out of the relevant portion of the ministry budget and that it shall last for four months. This provision shall work to support the working life of the protected person or, if she is already working, shall be limited to two months. Furthermore, the funding shall not exceed half of the net monthly minimum wage set annually for those older than sixteen years old;

(2) In circumstances where undue delay will cause more damage, measures referred to in subparagraphs (a) and (ç) of the first paragraph may be taken by the relevant security forces. The chief security officer shall submit the documents for the approval of the civilian authority within the first business day following the decision date at the latest. A measure shall automatically become null and void unless it is approved by the civilian authority within 48 h.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>The obligation to report a case also stems from Article 278 of Turkish Criminal Code.

According to Article 278: (1) In case a person fails to report a crime that is being committed to competent authorities, he/she shall be sentenced to imprisonment up to one year. (2) Where a person fails to report to competent authorities a crime, the consequences of which may still be contained and limited, although it has been already committed, he/she shall be punished as per the abovementioned paragraph. (3) Where the victim is a boy younger than 15 years old, a person who is mentally or physically handicapped, or is pregnant and unable to defend herself due to her such condition, the sentence to be ordered according to the paragraphs above shall be increased by half.

#### Protective measure decisions to be ordered by a judge

**ARTICLE 4** – (1) One of the following protective measures, several of them or similar measures deemed appropriate shall be decided by the judge in regard to the persons who are protected within the scope of this law:

- a) Change of workplace;
- b) In case the person is married, her place of residence should be somewhere other than the common place of residence;
- c) In case conditions described in the Turkish Civil Code adopted on 22/11/2001 under no. 4721 are present and upon the request by the protected person, a family residence reservation should be placed within the land registry record;
- ç) Where the protected person is exposed to a life-threatening danger and it is understood that other measures shall fall short of preventing this measure, the change of her identity and other related details, information, and documents pursuant to the provisions of the Witness Protection Law adopted on 27/12/2007 under no. 5726 subject to the informed consent of the protected person shall be considered.

For the purposes of enforcing law no. 6284 and for the purposes of the struggle against the gender-based violence in Turkey, it is necessary that there be a collaboration between individuals and entities as well as between public agencies and institutions as defined in the Istanbul Convention. Within the scope of Article 16/2 of law no. 6284, a corporation has a duty to aid public agencies and institutions in matters that fall within the scope of its duties in relation to the struggle against gender-based violence and to urgently implement the measures adopted. Natural and legal persons should be encouraged to support the ministry's efforts and to collaborate with them in this respect.

Additionally, there is no other legislation in Turkey that addresses a corporation's obligation in relation to domestic abuse of their employees. Indeed, the responsibility of a corporation toward its employees according to national law is addressed within the context of employee health regulations related to labor and commercial law.

### **CEDAW Recommendation no. 35**

One of the texts that is most widely read and discussed in international law regarding women's rights and human rights is CEDAW, which was adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly. The CEDAW Committee reviews whether the states that are party to the Convention have fulfilled their obligations and duties under said Convention. The CEDAW Committee, which consists of 23 experts, reviews reports submitted by the states' parties every four years then interprets the articles of the Convention and makes decisions about individual applications.<sup>24</sup> The CEDAW

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>When the states that are party to the CEDAW Optional Protocol, which was enforced in 2001, act in violation of CEDAW rights, those whose rights that were abused may file an individual complaint with the CEDAW Committee if necessary after they exhaust all remedies available under the national law.

Committee also publishes general recommendations pursuant to its authority to interpret and pass judgment. Among these judgments, General Recommendation no. 19 is significant as it addresses the concept of gender-based violence. Indeed, the CEDAW Convention does not address the gender-based concept in any form. The text of the General Recommendation no. 19 expressly defines gender-based violence as a form of discrimination. The recommendation texts published by the CEDAW Committee that interprets the articles of the Convention are not binding for states. However, the decisions of the international courts in disputes involving gender-based violence as well as decisions made in relation to individual applications to CEDAW refer to the recommendation texts when detailing their decisions. Therefore, in the struggle against gender-based violence, the recommendation texts may play a supporting role in the justification of corporate measures against domestic violence. In this respect, the recommendation texts have had (and still have) an important place in human rights efforts. This importance was recognized by the CEDAW Committee and led to their publishing of Recommendation no. 35 in 2017 in relation to gender-based violence, which is an updated form of Recommendation no. 19.

The CEDAW Recommendation no. 35 addresses gender-based violations in a more detailed manner compared to the General Recommendation no. 19 as it articulates the due diligence duty of the states. The General Recommendation no. 35 states that, according to CEDAW, states are directly responsible for abuses of rights arising from gender-based violence. The recommendation further underlines that the states shall be liable in cases of violations of rights by non-state actors as well. Within this scope, in the case of a gender-based right's violation by a corporation (a non-state actor) states shall be held responsible. According to the due diligence requirement, a state may not allege that it is not legally liable for a human rights violation committed by a non-state actors. A state should take preventive and protective measures against violations of human rights committed by third parties. It is also noted that the state shall be responsible for corporations that are subject to its jurisdiction even if their operations are carried out outside of its territory.<sup>25</sup>

Protocol no. 35 addresses the responsibility of the private sector in a separate provision, where the states' duty to prevent gender-based violence is described:

Encourage, also through the use of incentives and corporate responsibility models, the engagement of the private sector, including businesses and transnational corporations, in efforts to eradicate all forms of gender-based violence against women, and to enhance its responsibility for such violence in the scope of its action. This should entail protocols and procedures addressing all forms of gender-based violence that may occur in the workplace or affect women workers, including effective and accessible internal complaints procedures that do not exclude recourse to law enforcement authorities. This should also address workplace entitlements for women victims/survivors of such violence.<sup>26</sup>

According to CEDAW's Recommendation no. 35, states shall share their duty to struggle against gender-based violence with corporations. A state shall fulfill such obligations by determining and expanding the responsibility of national and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>CEDAW/C/GC/35, Article 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>CEDAW/C/GC/35, Article 30.

multinational corporations in combating domestic abuse, which is one of the most typical manifests of gender-based violence. Furthermore, corporations are expected to activate all mechanisms necessary to protect against any and all types of gender-based violence on behalf of their employees.

# 7.4 Conclusion

Corporations have an ethical responsibility to recognize, respect, and protect human rights as well as remedy any losses in cases of violations of human rights. However, only a few states have adopted legal rules requiring corporations to do so. In addition to this legal obligation, as a non-state actor, corporations have a legal responsibility to take part in the struggle against gender-based violence in cooperation with the state. International legal norms concerning combating domestic violence suggests that states can and, indeed, should compel corporations to take part in promoting human rights. The best way to achieve this is to introduce this requirement in domestic legislation, and require corporations to take concrete steps in supporting and protecting their employees and the communities they operate in.

Absent of any domestic legislation, a corporation willing to take part in the struggle against domestic violence may rely on the norms set forth in international conventions. Furthermore, corporations can also take action to battle against gender-based violence in cooperation with the state's relevant units and relevant non-governmental organizations. Their actions will contribute to the efforts of the state, who is directly responsible for protecting human rights. On the other hand, if corporations do not participate in protecting human rights, there is no legal obligation that would oblige them to comply or participate.

As a party to the Istanbul Convention, Turkey is expected to compel corporations to undertake this responsibility. Contrary to popular opinion, corporations in Turkey are not reluctant to get involved in the struggle against gender-based violence. TUSIAD (Turkish Industry and Business Association), a non-governmental organization whose members include several major corporations in Turkey, made an announcement in Istanbul on 15 December 2015 that the number of corporations willing to take supportive actions against domestic abuse in Turkey were on the rise. Therefore, principles set in national and international law regarding the human rights responsibilities of corporations may serve as guidance for the corporations that are sensitive to gender-based violations.

The struggle against domestic violence, which is the most common manifest of gender-based violence, is an issue that is too big a task to be left to the responsibility of the state alone. It is obvious that the inclusion of corporations in this responsibility is critical, as the corporations play a significant role in shaping social life nearly as much as the state itself. National laws and international human rights laws indirectly define this responsibility by means of soft law. Ideally, these norms would be created from an interdisciplinary perspective and supported by effective sanctions. While the domestic sphere still poses dangers to the individuals who remain subordinate under

the patriarchal norms perpetuated in modern society, the "heaven of the heartless world" story continues to be passed down from generation to generation (Herring 2014).

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## Appendix A Individual Experiences

#### **Case 1: A Business Leader**

#### Tülin Tezer, CEO of Seger

Seger holds a distinct place in the sector as gender and all of its facets is not a new concept to the company. Gender roles and inequality were not brought into our corporate culture as a managerial decision taken to enhance corporate social responsibility. Rather, it has been an organically developed and internalized corporate policy since the founding of our corporation. Seger has been a prescient corporation since it was founded and has maintained its level of quality in production, management, product development, and employment. Seger has also worked to ensure women have equal access to opportunity. The corporation is 37 years old and, for the last 17 years, the position of CEO has been filled exclusively by women. Furthermore, almost 50% of the managerial positions and 23% of the production line employees are women.

In 2016, Seger decided to export its gender approach to the international arena. In order to contribute to the gender equality struggle and be a part of organized activities, Seger joined Bursa Women's Empowerment Platform and signed onto the Women's Empowerment Principles (WEPs). Thus, Seger became a part of the International Global Compact Platform. We, as Seger, came to know Sabancı University thanks to Bursa Platform. The university's academic approach to the subject matter, its prestige, and its goal-oriented drive for working with certain measurement criteria have established a model of working for us as well. During project meetings, we are able to join together with other corporations that have similar goals, exchange information, and outline various ways to improve.

The "**Business Against Domestic Violence**" project is particularly important for Seger. Since we operate in a male-dominated sector, it attracts even more attention when I, as a female CEO, mention these concepts to our partners. As 90% of

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Seger's target market are men, our gender equality messaging directly reaches the target audience and raises the collective consciousness.

Our employees have also internalized this approach and act as project ambassadors. The "Voice of Equality" commission that we established within the corporation reaches out to the various associations we are able to collaborate with, both in Bursa and at a national level. They also work on prospective collaborative projects.

Being a part of these platforms and incorporating Sabancı University's know-how into Seger while also directing my personal energy into the women's empowerment movement in business (which is a very important field of development for our country) makes my job as a female CEO more meaningful. Seeing the results and experiencing them directly makes me proud.

Leading the activities in Seger within the scope of the "Business Against Domestic Violence" project means a lot to me as a CEO. During this project, we organized consciousness-raising trainings with prominent NGOs in the city surrounding questions like: what is domestic violence, what are the different forms of violence, which acts should be seen as violent, and how should people proceed when they are subjected to violence and where should they apply. After this training, I realized our previous understanding of violence only noted physical acts and not ones that are "'unseen,' " like psychological or economic. Throughout the activities we conducted on domestic violence, I could very clearly observe via concrete feedback that both my own and all of our employees' consciousness on the subject had expanded. To this end, I have begun more purposefully questioning the acts of people around me. I now try to help people around me whom I think could be subject to violence with the knowledge I have acquired in this training. Thanks to these projects, I more clearly understand that preventing domestic violence can only be attained through social solidarity and collective consciousness-raising. To witness Seger's development of policy on the subject and commitment to social responsibility with its current (and inevitable future) activities has been deeply fulfilling. I sincerely believe that corporations' work on domestic violence will contribute both to an increase in efficiency and to ensuring security in the workplace.

### **Case 2: A Change Agent**

#### Başak Helen Taşkan—Management Systems Manager at Havaş

I would like to thank all of the stakeholders involved in this collaboration, which began as a corporate social responsibility project after an invitation to join was extended to our corporation in 2016. This project led to many prominent changes in my conception of women, men, and gender roles.

At the start of this journey, I came to the realization that subjects I once believed myself to have a firm grasp of were, in reality, severely lacking. While I was attuned to the technical definition of violence, its forms, victims of violence, and the damages incurred from abuse, my re-education in the subject enlightened me to the many other facets involved. I've now gained a much more holistic understanding of gender roles, family relations that shape these gender roles, motherhood and fatherhood, violence in language, and violence in communication. As I've fine-tuned my understanding, I've become aware of many more instances of violence and gender inequality, even within projects I'm party to.

Every meeting with the project stakeholders revealed new opportunities. In the course of time, I realized that with these opportunities comes a responsibility that encompasses more than simply individual sensitivity. It also necessitates acquiring a more well-rounded knowledge base and the development of robust institutional strategies.

Our journey started with "We are against domestic violence." Today, we continue this journey with projects that encourage the development of gender equality. We are creating policies to further raise the consciousness of our employees and the sector at-large on the subject matter. With the help of these new corporate policies, we've worked diligently to challenge and change our previous mentalities by inspiring transparent communication mechanisms developed through the meaningful and knowledgeable participation of our leaders, ensuring the efficient utilization of corporate resources in combating violence and gender inequality, and establishing effective collaborations with increased consciousness at every level.

As a female executive, I carry the responsibility to enact fair, egalitarian, transparent, and accountable practices for every process ranging from in-house elections to employment, from performance evaluation to ensuring ensure a safe and healthy work environment. Our long-term corporate sustainability strategy is not to limit these principles to our own corporation, but to spread them to the entire sector and encourage a common consciousness. My hope is to continue growing in this journey by dedicating myself more to the cause, collaborating and educating my colleagues and peers, and continuing to expand upon my own knowledge.

#### **Case 3: Transformation**

# Semih ÇATAK—President's Office Private Secretary, İzmir Commodity Exchange

As İzmir Commodity Exchange (ICE), we have always attached great importance to social responsibility projects since our establishment in 1891. After learning about the Business Against Domestic Violence (BADV) project through one of our member companies, we immediately contacted the project coordinator, Sabanci University Corporate Governance Forum, for further details as we were certain our Board of Directors would be highly interested in supporting our participation. The project aims to provide a more secure work environment for employees by revealing and eliminating the negative effects of violence on the professional sector, which is one of the biggest challenges the world is facing regardless of language,

religion, race, sect, etc. After gaining a complete understanding of the scope and breadth of the project, our Board of Directors approved our participation request and we began our partnership.

Within the parameters of the project, I, together with a colleague, participated in the trainers' training organized by Sabancı University as a representative of our institution. Following the training, we were able to disseminate all the information we had obtained in these trainings to our colleagues. With the approval of the Board of Directors, we put into place the "İzmir Commodity Exchange's Policy on Gender Equality and Fight Against Domestic Violence," which we created in collaboration with the ICE BADV project team (a team formed from among our employees). Subsequently, our institution issued a formal declaration of support stating it would assist all employees who become a victim of any form of violence as well as take a stand against any employees who perpetrate abuse.

Within the scope of the project, we continue to carry out various awareness-raising activities on social media and in İzmir. We share informative visuals from our official social media accounts and cover themes such as gender and types of violence while working to reach larger audiences by encouraging our members to display informative posters we provide them with at their workplace. Through the activities we have carried out under the project, we have become more sensitive with regard to sexist discourse and gendered expressions in our language. All of our employees are now more mindful of their gender-biased lexicon and are working to challenge and change their gendered perceptions as well as educate others.

Thanks to this project, we were able to learn about the many kinds of violence, including sexual, economic, psychological, and digital as well as gain an understanding that violence is not only a physical act.

The project also contributed to strengthening the bond between employees and the institution. The employees of İzmir Commodity Exchange now know that they are not alone if they experience any type of violence. They have the full backing and support of ICE, both morally and materially. This leads to greater confidence among the employees and strengthens their sense of belonging at the institution.

Personally, I now exercise increased sensitivity to all cases of violence, especially to those that are committed against disadvantaged groups. I have noticed a clear change in my word choice and the way I perceive news regarding domestic violence. Overall, I have witnessed an unquestionable shift in my perception towards all aspects covered by the project thanks to my participation.

### **Case 4: Transformation**

# Esra Ersoy—Inci Holding HR Executive and Leader of Business Against Domestic Violence Project

We as Inci Holding believe in ensuring gender equality and the need for developing a work culture which does not condone any form of violence, especially violence against women. We also concur that all possible obstacles should be removed in order to increase women's employment and to protect the work efforts of female employees. In this respect, domestic violence, one of the many obstacles women face, is a problem that employers cannot neglect. As Inci Holding, we took the first steps to fulfill our responsibility in this regard in 2016 by supporting the "Business against Domestic Violence Policy Development and Implementation Guide." We were selected to be one of the 18 pilot corporations within the scope of "Business against Domestic Violence" project.

Before continuing, I would like to make a sincere confession...when my assignment to the project first became definite, some stereotypical prejudices arose, such as "are we interfering in people's family lives?" and "aren't these issues related to private life?" However, after I participated in the 5-day -long training session as the corporate representative in 2016, I realized that domestic violence is not merely a private issue. Domestic violence is primarily a human rights violation. Abuse negatively affects society at the socio-economic level and creates a barrier of entry to equal opportunity and conditions for employment for women while also affecting their personal and social lives. Starting from the moment we are born, the perception that "women and men have different identities" identities" is instilled in our belief system and further normalized (particularly within language) by the male-dominated perspective of society. In fact, during the training, I realized that I myself had been using the term "lady" instead of "woman."

After the training stage, we established our policy team, which consisted of female and male employees working in various departments, such as the Legal Department, Internal Audit, HR, and Corporate Communication. As the policy team, we then set out to forge a comprehensive policy. Within the scope of the work we carried out both in the policy team and in the HR departments of the group companies of the Holding, I realized that my teammates were subject to the same tendencies I had been faltering from, including the pervasive belief that domestic violence is a private concern. In order to challenge the dominant prejudices within the team, we conducted the same training we had received in which we defined the concepts of gender equality, gender in language, and violence. These would later become the foundations of our in-house consciousness-raising training with the working teams. These sessions would prove to be greatly successful in gradually but reliably changing the common misconceptions held by many employees.

After we developed our policies, as of 2017, we started organizing "Gender Equality and Business against Domestic Violence Consciousness Trainings" as well as an on-the-job orientation training for the employees of Inci Holding and group companies. These trainings paved the way for increased awareness among both white-collar and blue-collar workers. This awareness led to increased sensitivity to gender equality based on trust and respect within the workplace. The training also proved to be instrumental to the development of a concrete understanding of the struggle against violence and utilization of a common language. For instance, one of the most remarkable examples of this came to us in post-training feedback. At the suggestion of one of the male employees who attended the training, we replaced the phrase "man/hour" with "person/hour."

From the moment we presented the project to the Inci Holding Executive Committee, the Committee has stood with us and supported both the project and the policy we developed. This has become an important source of motivation for us. This encouragement of the Committee has strengthened the familial bonds between us and all Inci Holding employees. It is an invaluable source of inspiration to have the full support and trust of the Committee and corporation.

## Appendix B Company Cases

#### Case 1: Garanti BBVA

Garanti BBVA was established in 1946 and is currently Turkey's second second-largest private bank with consolidated assets of 400 billion TL as of December 2018. It has more than 15 million customers and approximately 930 branches. Garanti BBVA is an integrated financial services group operating in every sector of the banking sector, including corporate, commercial, SME, payment systems, retail, private, and investment banking. The medium age for its employees is 33 with 87% holding university degrees. The bank has around 19 thousand white white-collar employees, of which 56% are women. Women occupy 42% of the managerial positions.

Garanti BBVA is internationally recognized for its exemplary gender equality practices. Indeed, it has been included in the Bloomberg Gender-Equality Index three years in a row (and is notably the only Turkish company receiving such recognition). Garanti BBVA boasts numerous practices and initiatives within its human resource department for ensuring gender equality and directs numerous activities in the same vein for its customers and the community. For example, in Turkey, a total of one hundred thousand women work in the banking industry, which translates to one in every ten of these women working for Garanti BBVA.

Garanti BBVA grants special importance to gender equality and women's empowerment based on the understanding that empowering women to participate fully and effectively in economic life is essential for building strong economies, establishing just societies, and improving the quality of life for all. Without radically improving the current status of women around the world, it will not be possible to achieve internationally agreed upon goals for development, sustainability, and human rights. Garanti BBVA supports and participates in local and global initiatives to this end, including by becoming one of the first banks that implemented the Equal Opportunities Model and signing onto the UN's Women's Empowerment Principles (WEPs).

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The Business Against Domestic Violence Project is one of the gender equality initiatives targeting the employees of the bank. The WEPs offer guidance to businesses on how to empower women in the workplace, marketplace, and community. "Principle 3" specifically addresses the moral duty of companies to safeguard the health, safety, and freedom from violence for women and invites the businesses to "strive to offer health insurance or other needed services including for survivors of domestic violence—and ensure equal access for all employees." We therefore willingly participated in the survey conducted by Sabanci University to assess the magnitude of intimate partner violence among our employees. The results were disappointing and led us to join "Business Against the Domestic Violence" project led by Sabanci University and the UNFPA to develop policies to combat domestic violence.

Our "Domestic Violence Platform" focuses on 3 three main activities within the Domestic Violence Platform offered to the Garanti BBVA community:

- 1. Gender Equality Trainings (18,000 employees completed online training as of 2017).
- 2. Domestic Violence Hotline.
- 3. Domestic Violence Policy Document.

As a result of our efforts, a hotline began operating in August 2016 to offer psychological and legal support to our employees.

While the branding team led the BADV project at Garanti BBVA, they received support from key departments such as Internal Audit, Occupational Health, and Safety, Legal, and Compliance. The resulting "Domestic Violence Policy" document covers the mechanisms and policies in place to support employees experiencing domestic violence. The policy was motivated by the following objectives:

- Creating a healthy, safe, and collaborative workplace.
- Instilling a written policy to specify the type of support offered to Garanti BBVA employees should they be subjected to domestic violence.Raising awareness among Garanti employees about domestic violence.

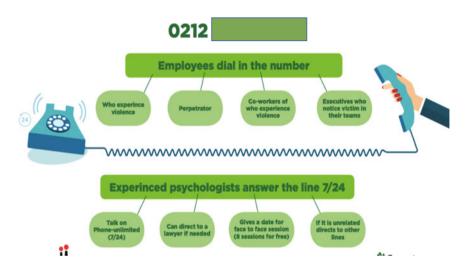
The policy document is designed to serve as a guide for Garanti BBVA employees and covers the aims, principles, and basic definitions and manifestations of domestic violence. The tools and mechanisms we used included, but were not limited to:

- Time-off Policies (paid and unpaid).
- Flexible working hours (to seek protection or counselling, attend court, go to childcare, etc.).
- Workplace Security Policies against perpetrators.
- Access to a 7/24 hotline and an expert psychologist.
- Relocation of an employee's workspace to a more secure location.

The policy document also explains what Garanti BBVA expects from its employees and managers. It contains cross cross-references to other policies like the Human Rights Declaration Employee Guide and the Garanti BBVA Ethics Policy. Our Human Resources team created communications materials suitable for each target group. For example:

- For employees who are subject to violence: creating awareness and providing information about how to get help from the company.
- For managers and HR business partners: how to help victims and internalize the notion of domestic violence being a workplace issue in company policies.
- For batterers: addressing fathers, brothers, and fathers in law to abstain from violence against women.

Our help line is operated by a third party with our financial support. The line has been operating for more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years. More than 120 callers have reached out to the helpline during this period. The helpline structure is as follows:



### Case 2: Yeşim Textile

Yeşim Textile, as one of the companies which employs the highest number of women in Turkey, aims to develop a work culture that does not tolerate domestic violence in order to ensure and protect gender equality in the workplace. Yeşim Textile was one of the 17 pilot companies that implemented "Business Against Domestic Violence Policy Development and Implementation Guide."

The head of Yeşim Academy, Yeşim Textile Corporate Communications Specialist) and the Head of Yeşim Women and Children's Club together with the representatives of other pilot firms attended the trainings of the Sabanci University Corporate Governance Forum, which provided courses on "Concepts of Gender Equality," "Forms of Violence," "Legal Framework," and "Training Skills." As designated Gender Equality Instructors, they trained 700 employees in 2016. Moreover, a "Gender Equality Committee" was founded in the firm to direct and shape future practices and implementations. Executives and union representatives are also represented in the committee. The committee established ta system to direct employees exposed to violence at home or the workplace to a unit which will provide legal and psychological support. Furthermore, this committee prepared and published the gender equality policy of the firm.

Within the scope of these practices, Yeşim Textile has partnered with Mor Salkım Women's Solidarity Association, who are well-known for their projects targeting women subjected to violence. On October 4th, an event was organized in order to sign the aforementioned protocol and to inaugurate the "Equality at Home and in the Workplace" project. Before organizing awareness -raising practices and trainings regarding gender equality within the scope of the "Equality at Home and in the Workplace" project, an evaluation survey was conducted in order to understand employees' perceptions towards violence. Subject matters that were to be highlighted in the firm's trainings and awareness-raising events were determined in accordance with the survey's findings and pertinent trainings were organized.

For raising gender equality awareness, a "School for Parents" was created in the daycare center, which has been providing free daycare services for the employees' children for the past 30 years. First training targeted both the parents and children of 5–6 years age group in 2016–2017. In 2018, trainings on "Women's Role in Happy Marriages" on October 3rd and "Gender Equality" on January 19th were provided. In the trainings organized for children, instructors used simplified language and games appropriate for children.

In 2017 and 2018, Yeşim Textile continued organizing various events within the scope of the November 25th International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women. Furthermore, in 2017, Yeşim Textile upheld its support for the "Orange the World" campaign, which was launched by the United Nations in order to draw attention to violence against women on a global scale. As a symbolic gesture of support, Yeşim Textile staff donned orange scarves. Executive managers and employees wrote messages on the subject, which were communicated both within the firm and through social media channels.

In July 2018, Yeşim Textile launched yet another model project. Through the 15 days/120 h of training, 800 people (211 women and 589 men) received "Gender Equality and Non-violent Communication" training which amounted to 2150 h in total. This training, which was specifically organized for the white- and blue-collar personnel in the shop floor, was also offered to the executive team. During the training, the primary aim was to raise the awareness and increase the knowledge of male employees regarding gender inequality. The three3-week training program consisted of three different education modules that encompassed all employees. For male employees, day-long trainings were organized. In two2/three3-hour seminars, trainings were conducted with the goal of raising awareness and consciousness among all employees. Within the scope of the training program, participants learned about discrimination, equality of women and men, social repercussions of

inequality, sexist approaches, causes of violence, and non-violent communication. Through workshops and seminars, the program also offered awareness-raising trainings regarding violence against women and children and abuse that has been a current topic of discussion in Turkey. Proposed solutions were also discussed.

Yeşim Textile embraces the "human first" principle and, since its establishment, continues to provide the necessary support and outreach to its female employees and maintain gender equality as a center- focus. Yeşim Textile has also worked to expand its years-long gender equality practices to the subcontractor companies they've partnered with. As part of this effort, in September 2018, briefings were organized for the subcontractor firms' executives. In these meetings, presentations on gender equality and women's employment were delivered.

#### **Case 3: Sabancı University**

Sabancı University (SU) was the first and only university that joined the BADV project with the full backing of the Rector and the General Secretary.

As soon as the Rector wholeheartedly accepted the invitation to join the Project, he appointed one of the vice-rectors as the owner of the policy development process and requested that an inclusive task force be formed. The committee consisted of one faculty member from each of the four faculties, a representative from the School of Languages, the Legal Counsel of the University, a psychologist from the Center for Individual and Academic Development, and the director of Human Resources department. The Committee also included a representative from the administrative staff as well as a students representative. Two vice-rectors were able to frequently join the meetings during the policy development process.

At the beginning of the development process, the Committee, after some deliberation, decided that the policy should cover not only the employees, but also the students as they are not exempted from being subject or witness to domestic violence. Moreover, the fact that the majority of students live on campus charges SU with the responsibility to care for their well-being. During these meetings, the Committee also made the decision to encompass sub-contractors, such as cleaning and catering services, whose employees work on the campus alongside SU faculty and staff.

Led by the guidelines provided by the Business Against Domestic Violence Project, Project activities included internal awareness-raising campaigns and training for managers. The resulting policy was complemented by the procedure, **Methods and Measures to Prevent Domestic Violence**.

Such a committent to preventing gender-based violence in the University is built upon two of its existing strengths. First, the Project and its underlying research was undertaken by its own Corporate Governance Forum. Second, SU already had a culture of diversity, anti-violence, and anti-discrimination and had also previously pioneered adaptations of "Preventing and Providing Support against Sexual Harassment" policies within the higher education sector in Turkey. Its Gender and Women's Studies Center of Excellence has a long history of engaging with society to prevent gender-based violence and discrimination. This culture was reflected in the gender diversity in the university governance system. Indeed, two of the three vice-rectors and three of the four deans were women during the Project.

## Appendix C Sabancı University Policy Documents

### Sabancı University Domestic Violence Prevention and Support Statement

Sabanci University strives to provide an egalitarian, healthy, safe and affirmative learning, living and working environment for all students and employees. Therefore, Sabanci University does not tolerate domestic violence and encourages all students and employees who are subject to domestic violence to take action to stop such behavior. The university activates support mechanisms to enable its students and employees to recognize domestic violence, keep violence away from their lives, and overcome its negative effects.

This document defines domestic violence and explains Sabancı University's principles and support mechanisms against domestic violence. By issuing this document, Sabancı University pledges to consider all allegations of domestic violence, ensure the victim's safety on campus, and take the steps necessary to meet the psychological needs of individuals suffering from domestic violence, including making support mechanisms available.

First and foremost, Sabancı University defines family in its widest scope and includes all types of extended- family relations that an individual regards close and considers family regardless of whether a marital relationship exists or has existed in the past, or whether there is a spouse or parent—child relationship between the parties. Violence is defined as all types of controlling, threatening or oppressive behavior that causes the victim to suffer physical, sexual, economic or psychological harm. Based on the Istanbul Convention and the definition made by the Office of the Prime Minister General Directorate of Women's Status, Sabancı University defines all types of violence, whether directly suffered or witnessed, within all types of close relationships as Domestic Violence.

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#### 1. Scope

The principles and practices in this document apply to all university members, students, faculty and administrative personnel. Sabanci University guides its third-party service providers to implement Domestic Violence policies and practices of their own similar to what is found in this document.

# 2. Definitions and Explanations2.1. Definitions About Domestic Violence

#### **Domestic Violence**:

According to the Istanbul Convention (August 2014), "domestic violence" means all acts of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence that occur within the family or domestic unit or between former or current spouses or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim.

The Office of the Prime Minister General Directorate of Women's Status defines domestic violence as violence committed by one spouse to another, by parents to children or to other relatives living in the same residence, or by relatives living in the same residence to other individuals, or by one spouse to another even if the two spouses are separated willingly or by court order.

Sabanci University defines family in its widest scope and includes all types of extended-family relations that an individual regards close and considers family regardless of whether a marital relationship exists or has existed in the past, or whether there is a spouse or parent–child relationship between the parties. Violence is defined as all types of controlling, threatening or oppressive behavior that causes the victim to suffer physical, sexual, economic or psychological harm. Based on the two definitions above, Sabanci University defines all types of violence, whether directly suffered or witnessed, within all types of close relationships as Domestic Violence.

Victim: A person who is subject to violent behavior in close relationships.

Perpetrator: A person who exerts violent behavior in close relationships.

**Witness**: Persons who are present in a violent setting and witness violence despite not being victims themselves.

#### 2.2. Types of Violence

Physical Violence: Physical violence is acts of violence that cause bodily harm to the victim. Examples include shoving, raising a hand as if to hit, slapping or kicking, threatening or assaulting with sharp or piercing objects, torture, causing the victim to live in unsanitary conditions, and preventing victim's access to medical services. One of the most prevalent forms of physical violence targets women and is perpetrated by their current, separated or divorced husband, or their relatives. Since physical violence may not always leave visual evidence or cause apparent injury, it may be difficult to recognize. Psychological Violence: All types of violent behavior or attitudes that exert emotional pressure on the individual and cause psychological harm are considered physical violence. Psychological violence includes shouting, profanity, threats, insults, belittling, controlling an individual's relationships or appearance based on claims of jealousy, or prohibiting an individual from leaving the house or developing themselves.

Sexual Violence: Sexual violence is forcing an individual to sexual intercourse in times, places or ways that the individual does not consent to, even if the parties are married. Messages or suggestions of a sexual or disturbing nature conveyed verbally, in writing or by electronic means are considered sexual violence.

Economic Violence: Economic violence includes acts that restrict or oppress the victim in an economic way, such as forcing to work or preventing from working, depriving them of their own money, or taking action without asking their opinion in matters that are of economic importance to the family.

# 2.3. Definitions in the Sabancı University Domestic Violence Prevention and Support Statement

**Committee**: The Committee is composed of 11 members: a member each from faculties and School of Languages, legal counsel, a psychologist from CIAD, one administrative employee representative, the directors of Human Resources, Procurement and Support Services, and Security divisions, and one student. The Committee plans and monitors awareness campaigns against domestic violence, defines the framework for the measures and methods to be applied to cases, and follows cases through to completion. Details about the organization and work of the Committee are explained in the SU Policy on Methods and Measures to Prevent Domestic Violence.

# **3.** Working Principles **3.1.** Confidentiality:

Sabanci University guarantees that the entire domestic violence process will respect the privacy of victims, perpetrators and applicants through all stages. Persons involved in the reporting and/or investigation processes are required to maintain confidentiality and respect the dignity of all persons involved in the process.

#### 3.2. Voluntariness:

Members of the university who believe that they are a victim to domestic violence are encouraged to contact their supervisor, faculty dean and/or a Committee member they trust. They will be informed about support mechanisms, rights, and procedures to be implemented against domestic violence. However, the victim will always have sole discretion in whether they wish to resort to any of these mechanisms. Application and further processes must be voluntary.

#### 4. Statements and Documents

Victims of domestic violence may be reluctant to seek help since domestic violence is often viewed as a matter of family privacy, is difficult to prove, and there is a risk for the victim to encounter even more domestic violence. Therefore, when no explicit evidence exists, Sabanci University will act on the statement of the victim or witness and activate the related support processes. Persons who believe that they are subjected to domestic violence are encouraged to apply to the Committee even if they are unsure about whether the occurrence constitutes domestic violence. However, since a lack of evidence may be interpreted in favor of the alleged perpetrator in administrative or legal investigation procedures, the victims of domestic violence are strongly encouraged to collect various types of evidence (audio and video recordings, witness statements, etc.) to be used in investigations provided that doing so is within legal means. For example, saving notes or messages sent by the perpetrator, obtaining a physician's report to document physical assault, or keeping a record of steps taken and their consequences may be useful.

#### 5. Intentional Misstatement

By issuing this document, Sabancı University seeks to prevent abuse of the domestic violence support mechanism as well. If there are suspicions that the applicant has provided false information or made deliberate misstatements during the process, the Committee will initiate a disciplinary procedure to uncover the truth. Therefore, this document also serves as a warning by Sabancı University to refrain from abusing the domestic violence support mechanisms available and not resort to allegations of domestic violence to resolve personal issues.

Protecting the Rights of Applicants:

- The Committee is responsible for maintaining the confidentiality of all information and documents submitted by applicants.
- The Committee is responsible for providing all mechanisms of support (security-related, psychological, procedural or legal) to the extent available, and directing applicants to other appropriate resources or processes.
- If the applicant is also the victim, the Committee will take measures to prevent various types of retaliation against the applicant within the responsibilities of the university.
- If the applicant is not the victim but a witness or some other person who is aware of a domestic violence situation, all procedures must be voluntary and respect the privacy of the applicant.

Name of Policy	Methods and Measures to Prevent Domestic Violence		. Sabancı . Universitesi	
Policy Number	IPO-A510-	02V01		
Effective Date		Revision Date		
Originator/Owner	Rectorate	Approved by	BT/Board of Trustees	
Purpose	<ul> <li>Develop an institutional culture against domestic violence in Sabanci University</li> <li>Create awareness on domestic violence</li> <li>Provide legal, medical, psychological and security support to students and employees subjected to domestic violence, and direct them to available resources or mechanisms as appropriate</li> <li>Provide a roadmap to administrators and academic personnel about the support mechanisms to be activated and steps to be taken when encountering a case of domestic violence</li> </ul>			
Scope	This policy defines the organization and duties of the Domestic Violence Prevention and Support Committee, and the methods and measures to be implemented in domestic violence cases This policy defines policies and measures applicable to all SU students, academic and administrative personnel, and service providers			
Principles	Sabanci University seeks to create awareness about domestic violence and handle any reported cases effectively in accordance with the Sabanci University Domestic Violence Prevention and Support Statement			
Sources	<ul> <li>Istanbul Convention (Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence) and Law numbered 6284</li> <li>Turkish Criminal Code</li> <li>Civil Code</li> <li>Turkish Labor Law</li> <li>Domestic Violence Intervention Handbook by the Office of the Prime Minister General Directorate on Women's Status</li> <li>Council for Higher Education Law numbered 2547</li> <li>All related legislation</li> </ul>			
Definitions	<ul> <li>An related registation</li> <li>Domestic Violence: Sabanci University defines family in its widest scope and includes all types of extended-family relations that an individual regards close and considers family regardless of whether a marital relationship exists or has existed in the past, or whether there is a spouse or parent-child relationship between the parties and regardless of gender identity and sexual orientation. Violence is defined as all types of controlling, threatening or oppressive behavior that causes the victim to suffer physical, sexual, economic or psychological harm. Based on the two definitions above, Sabanci University defines all types of violence, whether directly suffered or witnessed, within all types of close relationships as Domestic Violence</li> <li>Victim: A person who is subject to violent behavior in close relationships</li> <li>Witness: Persons who are present in a violent setting and witness violence despite not being victims themselves</li> <li>Committee: Domestic Violence Prevention and Support Committee</li> </ul>			

	Applicant: Persons who are directly or indirectly subjected to or witness domestic violence, or learn that a SU member suffers from or exerts domestic violence may apply. All university members, students, faculty and administrative personnel may apply. Moreover, non-SU members may also apply to the Committee if the victim or perpetrator of domestic violence is a Sabanci University member		
Abbreviations	SU: Sabancı University		
	HR: Human Resources Division		
	<b>PSS:</b> SU Procurement and Support Services Division		
	CIAD: SU Center for Individual and Academic Development		
Rules	Committee:		
	All efforts related to the Domestic Violence Prevention and Support Policy within SU are directed by the Domestic Violence Prevention and Support Committee – Committee organization:		
	<ul> <li>The Committee is composed of 12 members: a member each from faculties and School of Languages and SU Gender and Women's Studies Center of Excellence, legal counsel, a psychologist from CIAD, one administrative employee representative, the directors of Human Resources, Procurement and Support Services, and Security divisions, and one student</li> <li>Members volunteer to be on the Committee and are appointed by the President for a term of three years</li> </ul>		
	• Committee members agree to sign an agreement to protect the privacy and		
	confidentiality of all information they may learn, and agree to resign from the Committee and face sanctions should they commit an act or maintain an attitude		
	that may be considered domestic violence		
	• Committee members shall receive appropriate training after they are appointed. Committee training is an ongoing process that evolves according to needs		
	– Duties of the Committee:		
	• The Committee plans training and awareness campaigns, reviews them on ar annual basis and adjusts them as necessary		
	• Defines the methods and practices to be implemented in case of an application reviews them at least once a year and adjusts as necessary		
	• Reviews the Sabanci University Domestic Violence Prevention and Support		
	Statement at least once a year and revises as necessary		
	• Provides support on a case-by-case basis		
	- Committee Coordination:		
	The coordinator of the Committee will be an expert psychologist from CIAD,		
	who will also be a Committee member, and report directly to the President. The		
	coordinator will fulfill the following duties:		
	• Oversee the selection and appointment of Committee members		
	• Organize trainings on the subject, particularly for Committee members		
	• Implement and follow up on actions determined by the Committee to create		
	awareness • Perpend to messages sent to the xxx@schangiuniy.edu empil address		
	<ul> <li>Respond to messages sent to the xxx@sabanciuniv.edu email address</li> <li>Monitor the use of the online Domestic Violence Information Request Form</li> <li>Organiza regular matings and part application counseling sessions</li> </ul>		
	• Organize regular meetings and post-application counseling sessions		
	<ul> <li>Maintain archives</li> <li>Submit a report to the President on the work of the Committee at least once a</li> </ul>		
	year		

1. Awareness and Information Campaigns
• The Committee creates opportunities for sharing information and creating
awareness on the Sabancı University domestic violence policy, how the process
is invoked when necessary, and the possible sanctions as a consequence of
confirmed violence allegations
• The Committee is required to make an annual plan that includes information
meetings and promotion campaigns as well as written and visual materials
• In order to identify domestic violence and encourage all SU members to act
upon this information, the Committee ensures that all SU members, particularly
administrators and faculty members, receive basic training on the subject
2. Applications, appropriate methods and practices
2.1. Application:
Persons who believe that they are directly or indirectly subjected to or witness
domestic violence may apply even if they are unsure about whether the
occurrence constitutes domestic violence
Concerned individuals may apply via:
Domestic Violence Prevention and Support Committee generic email address:
xxx@sabanciuniv.edu
(Only one Committee member has access to this account)
Online Application Form
• Any member of the Domestic Violence Prevention and Support Committee
• Dean or division director to whom the individual reports
• Any expert psychologist in the CIAD Psychotherapy and Psychological
Services Division
Information to be provided by Applicants:
• The applicant may be explicit about the nature of violence or simply state that
there is a case of violence and request a session
• The applicant will not be required to present proof of domestic violence
• If the applicant chooses to continue with the process after learning about the
options available to them, the name and contact information of the perpetrator
may be needed to take the recommended steps
Points to consider before application:
• The applicant agrees to read Sabanci University Domestic Violence Preventior
and Support Statement
• The applicant agrees that SU Committee against domestic violence may be
obligated to take measures necessary to address potential violations of the
Sabanci University Domestic Violence Prevention and Support Statement
The applicant agrees to keep her/his application confidential     Application pariod:
Application period:
• There is no set period for applying to the Committee
• If the life of the applicant is in peril, the Committee shall be informed
immediately and emergency services will be notified to respond to the situation
• Persons who receive the application will inform the applicant of the Sabanci
University Domestic Violence Prevention and Support Statement, support
mechanisms, disciplinary process and judicial options. Once the applicant
approves the method to be used, the application will be forwarded to the process
implementer and the Committee to begin the process
2.2. Reporting Domestic Violence:
• All SU members who believe that a SU student or employee is subject to
domestic violence may report the case to the Committee to learn more about the
issue and how the Committee works
• In this case, the Committee will inform the applicant in order to help them
encourage the victim to apply to the Committee and seek support
• The Committee will not take any action without the knowledge and approval of
 the victim (continue
Continue

2.3. Post-application procedure:	
• After an application is received by the Committee, th	
in for a session within two days to listen to the applic	. 0
understanding of the issue, and inform the applicant of	*
<ul> <li>The CIAD psychologist, the member of the Commit</li> </ul>	U
applicant's department, and the Committee member to	
(if any) are expected to attend this meeting. If the appli- the matter with all Committee members, the first sessi	
the CIAD psychologist or the representative of the app and confidentiality are paramount during sessions. Ho wishes to keep contact limited to specific members, th	blicant's division. Priva wever, if the applicant ney will be informed th
the related SU divisions will be contacted and informa- with the consent of the applicant in order to enable the	
process and invoke support mechanisms	
• The Committee will encourage the applicant to receiv	e support as needed. T
applicant will be informed about options including offic warnings, measures to protect the applicant, and support The rest of the process will be carried out according t	cial complaints and vert
applicant and to the extent requested by the applicant	
2.4. Procedure and measures to be implemented in	case of a student
application:	
• Provide security as a priority if needed (the followir	ng are examples and m
vary according to the specific situation)	- •
– Designate parking spaces	
- Accompany the applicant to their car or other transp	port location
- Screen phone calls and blocking the perpetrator's m	
directory	*
- Enforce restraining orders if available (requires a co	ourt order and submissi
of all relevant information to Security)	
• Refer the applicant to the Health Center if needed;	
• Inform the applicant of institutions to apply to when	being subjected to
violence or under risk;	
• Refer them to other resources (shelter, legal counsel	, etc.) as needed;
• Provide psycho-social support (CIAD Psychotherapy	
Support Division provides full support to students on	
• If the academic standing of the student needs attention providing academic counseling;	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
<ul> <li>Inform the applicant about measures that may be implicant.</li> </ul>	emented if the perpetra
is a SU member.	emented if the perpetit
• CIAD will implement or ensure the implementation	of steps approved by
student after their application.	or stops upproved by
2.5. Procedure and measures to be implemented in	case of an employee
application:	cuse of an employee
• Provide security as a priority if needed (the followir	ng are examples and m
vary according to the specific situation)	is the examples and in
<ul> <li>Designate parking spaces</li> </ul>	
<ul> <li>Accompany the applicant to their car or other transp</li> </ul>	port location - Screen
phone calls and blocking the perpetrator's number in	
<ul> <li>Enforce restraining orders if available (requires a cou</li> </ul>	
all relevant information to Security)	
• Assign the employee to a more secure location for v	vork
<ul> <li>Assign the employee to a more secure location for v</li> <li>Provide the employee with the leaves necessary to he</li> </ul>	
personal protection, find a new home, receive counseling	

(continued)

	<ul> <li>Provide the employee with a flexible schedule if needed, providing unpaid leave or allowing the employee to separate from the university temporarily with rehiring guarantee (the employee will be informed of their rights and this route will only be available with the employee's consent)</li> <li>Review the employee's performance criteria with their division manager to reduce their performance concerns</li> <li>Refer them to the workplace physician if necessary</li> <li>Inform the applicant of institutions to apply to when being subjected to violence or under risk</li> <li>Refer them to other resources (shelter, legal counsel, etc.) as needed</li> <li>Provide support for increasing workplace security of the applicant</li> <li>Psycho-social support. (CIAD Psychotherapy and Psychological Support Division conducts initial sessions with applicants for this purpose, and refers them to external counselors if necessary.)</li> <li>HR will implement or ensure the implementation of steps approved by the student after their application.</li> <li><b>2.6. Institutions that Victims or Potential Victims May Be Referred to for Help</b></li> <li>Medical institutions</li> <li>Hospitals, medical centers or family practices (for initial response ifnecessary, and obtaining a physician's report documenting violence);</li> <li>Police or military police precincts;</li> <li>Social Services Offices;</li> <li>Counseling services;</li> <li>Women's support Centers operated by municipalities</li> <li>Prosecutor's offices;</li> <li>Women's NGOs;</li> <li>Judicial Assistance Councils and Women's Support Centers of Bar Associations</li> <li>Domestic Violence helpline (0212 656 9696 / 0549 656 9696)</li> <li>Mor Cati Women's Shelter Foundation (0212 292 5231-32)</li> </ul>			
	<ul> <li>If the perpetrator of a complaint is a SU member, the process for a verbalwarning may be initiated with the approval of the victim</li> <li>The purpose of the verbal warning process is to reassure the applicant that they are protected, and to inform the perpetrator that the issue of domestic violence has been brought up with the institution and is under scrutiny. The warning has no official capacity</li> </ul>			
	<ul> <li>3. Practices for service providers:</li> <li>SU encourages all service providers to develop a policy and a range of effective measures to protect their employees against domestic violence. This is guaranteed by inclusion in contracts. PSS is responsible for coordinating this process</li> </ul>			
	• SU supports each of its service providers in developing policies and measures against domestic violence, or in improving existing measures. This includes sharing SU's own policies and implementation guides as well as providing guidance. Representatives of service providers will be invited to trainings given by SU <b>4. Legal Framework:</b> If the perpetrator is a SU member, the disciplinary process will be maintained			
	within a legal framework			
Related Procedures, Forms	<ul> <li>Sabancı University Domestic Violence Prevention and Support Statement</li> <li>Committee Members</li> <li>Committee Member Confidentiality Statement Application form</li> </ul>			

## Appendix D Key Contributors to the BADV Project

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© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2020 M. Ararat (ed.), *Business Against Intimate Partner Violence*, Accounting, Finance, Sustainability, Governance & Fraud: Theory and Application, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-32-9652-7 Göknil Yaşar (Accounting) Mariam Öcal (Public Relations) Melsa Ararat (Project Director) Özlem Sumer Büyükabacı (Junior Expert) Sevda Alkan (Project Manager) Zeynep Temimhan (Junior Expert)

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