

Journal of Scientific Perspectives

Volume 5, Supplement Issue 2021: pp. 93-107

2. International Understanding the Violence Congress

E - ISSN: 2587-3008

URL: <https://journals.gen.tr/jsp>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26900/jsp.5.5.1>

Research Article

HIDDEN AND MULTIPLE VICTIMIZATION: FORCED MARRIAGE IN TURKEY

Zeynep REVA *

* LL.M. / Ph.D.(c), İstanbul Medeniyet University, Department of Medical Law,
Turkey, e-mail: z_reva@yahoo.com
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0719-2175>

Received: 16 March 2021; Accepted: 01 April 2021

ABSTRACT

Aim: Forced marriages are the marriages in which one or both spouses do not give consent to the marriage. Violence, threats, or any other form of coercion is involved to actualize the marriages and cause multiple victimization. Victims of forced marriages may be women, men, girls and boys. The subject of the victimization may be all types of violence. This study aims to evaluate and to raise the awareness of the professionals who work in the field, and to suggest solutions to prevent the forced marriages.

Materials and Methods: In the study, a total of 296 people (66% women and 34% men), who work in the fields in Mersin, Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa and Istanbul provinces where the risk factor is high, were surveyed; and workshops were organised with them. The survey results were analysed by using the SPSS 20 statistical program.

Results: The survey was applied to the professionals working in the field. Only 46% of participants correctly answered the question about the age of marriage with parental consent. 10% of the participants stated that they look positively to the marriage of those under the age of 18. 9 out of 100 people working in the field do not see child marriage as a type of forced marriage. 32% of the employees in the field specified that they do not know where to apply in case of the danger of forced marriage.

Conclusion: The main factors lead to forced marriage may be specified as lack of education, customs and traditions, family honour, economic reasons, migration, social and family pressure on parents, and domestic violence. Forced marriages have significant negative impacts especially for young women. Trainings of the professionals will be the first step of solving the problem. The next step will be defining forced marriage as a criminal offence in Turkey.

Keywords: Forced marriage, berdel, taygeldi, levirat, sorarat, child marriage.

INTRODUCTION

Forced marriages are situations where one or both parties are persuaded for marriage against their will under intense pressure and violence. It is a violation of the right to marry.

The reasons are listed as traditions, family dignity, the desire to control the behaviour of the woman, economic reasons, migration, social and domestic pressure on parents. A marriage under coercive conditions is a phenomenon where the likelihood of all kinds of violence, including physical, emotional, economic and sexual, is very high. It has severe, negative effects, especially for young women. In addition to their emotional and sexual effects, living with a person whom they are married against their will and sharing the same bed, lack of the right to education and work, economic dependence on men, the emergence of chronic psychosomatic diseases and suicide or suicide attempt may occur in many cases. It is important to educate individuals and society about the right not to marry, which is a natural extension of the most basic human rights, and to make legal arrangements to prevent forced marriages.

This study aims to increase the awareness levels of the employees in the field about forced marriages, which are even named in person, and to develop solutions to prevent forced marriages.

1. LITERATURE

1.1. General concepts

1.1.1. Definition of Forced Marriage

Family has an important place in society from birth to death. The establishment of the family, which forms the basis of social life, is mostly through marriage. (Sezen, 2005; Coşkun, 2004). The right to marry is one of the most fundamental rights defined in both international and national texts.

Marriages in which one or both parties are persuaded against their will under intense pressure and violence or using force are defined as forced marriages. Forced marriages are not an expression of cultural or traditional diversity, but a form of violence and sexual violence for the family. If a person (who is usually a young woman or girl) or a young woman resists marriage, that person is subjected to physical, psychological and social pressure and forced into marriage. This creates unhappy individuals, unhappy families and unhappy societies. Forced marriages are human rights violations, violence against women, domestic violence and illegal.

1.1.2. Victims of the Forced Marriages?

Forced marriage is a problem to be encountered all over the world, not a problem specific to one country or culture. Since it was established in 2005, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office has handled cases relating to over 90 countries across Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe and North America. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2018).

When it is looked from gender perspective; women are faced to this problem more than men. According to a report, in 2017, the majority of cases 930 (77.8%) involved women; 256 cases (21.4%) involved males. These proportions are in line with previous years. When it is looked from age perspective; children and young persons are faced to this problem more than older persons. According to the report, of the cases, that Foreign and Commonwealth Office provided support to; 355 cases (29.7%) involved victims below 18 years of age; and 353 cases (29.5%) involved victims aged 18-25. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2018).

1.1.3. Types of Forced Marriage

It is possible to categorize forced marriages in our country as follows. (Law, 1962; Balaman, 2002; TGNA Commission Report, 2011, Reva and Polat 2019)

a) Taygeldi marriage: It is known also as "with mother and daughter" or "with inside and outside" Marriage of two widows having children from different genders in company with the marriage of children of them (Balaman, 2002; Yasa, 1962). It is not observed in the west. It is specific to Islamic countries. In the event that both widows have children in marriage age or in early age from different genders and in equal number, then the real or symbolic marriage of widows and children is called as taygeldi marriage.

b) Marriage with brother-in-law (Levirat): It refers the marriage of brother of a deceased elder brother with the wife of his elder brother. It is frequently seen in Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia. The customary power that is compulsory to comply in Eastern Anatolia and South-eastern Anatolia makes pressure in direction to get married with the younger brother but absolutely not the elder brother of the deceased person. The elder brother is deemed as the elder brother of the bride so it is deemed that they are not eligible to get married with each other. This kind of marriage is not much encountered in our western regions.

The law referred it as "Atypical form of marriage"; if the brother is married, it is colloquially referred as "co-wife" or "with inside and outside with partner". Only religious marriage is solemnized and the born child is registered in the civil registry of the first wife. (Yasa, 1962; Poyraz Tacoğlu, 2011)

This marriage is realized with the choice of the family not the choice of the individuals to get married with. The purpose is to preserve the integrity of the family and to prevent the children to be abandoned and suppressed. The married woman has joined to that family and must not leave it anymore.

c) Marriage with sister-in-law (Sorarat): It is a special cultural tradition. The marriage of widowman with the sister of his ex-wife. It is tried to be rationalized with the consideration that the aunt selected as stepmother will be more tolerant to the orphaned children. (Balaman, 2002)

d) Blood Money: It is a kind of marriage where daughters are granted in company with materials assets against blood money to the families that have blood feud between them. It is formed by the custom as it is the case in levirat. It is encountered more frequently in regions of Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia like other enforced marriages. (Balaman, 2002). There is not any consent of the marrying individuals. Marrying against blood money is a primitive form of marriage based on lack of education. The only positive aspect of such marriages is the fact that they terminate blood feuds. (Sezen, 2005)

e) Marriage with Bride wealth: Bride wealth refers to the money paid by the young man to get married to the family of the girl. It can be granted in gold, house, garden, field and animal as well as it can be paid in cash money. It is commonly performed in rural parts of the Regions of Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia. (Balaman, 2002)

f) Berder (berdel) Marriage: It is known as "Kepir" in Hakkari, "Performing Exchange" in Denizli-Aydın and "Berdel" in Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia. It is the exchange of sisters by two men in marriage age from one to the other. Generally it is performed because of being able to pay bride wealth (for poor families) or in order to further reinforce the relations like sheikhdom and landlord status for ones who are from higher socioeconomic level. It is done with the purpose to ensure the efficiency in family and the control over children. (Balaman, 2002)

g) Abduction: Abduction is committed in events that families object a marriage. Claiming bride wealth is also a factor in this. (Balaman, 2002)

h) Marriage with co-wife: The man whose wife is infertile or cannot deliver a son is made to marry again and then the man lives with multiple women usually in same home. It is commonly performed in the Regions of Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia. (Balaman, 2002)

i) Marriage for Revenge: Some families having blood feud between them use this means in order to tarnish the opposite family's honour and to damage their reputation. (Balaman, 2002)

j) Betrothed in the cradle: Friends, fellows, neighbours or relatives who love each other very much perform engagement of their children when they are in cradle by tying notching (mark, cloth) to cradle and thus promise that their babies will marry each other (Balaman, 2002)

k) Child Marriage:

According to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), everyone under the age of 18 is a child. Child marriage is the marriage of a child to an adult or another child. Marriage also has psychological negative effects on the physiological development of children. Marriage interrupts the educational rights of children, causes them to be exposed to sexual, physical and mental violence and causes them to be under a burden that they cannot handle instead of living their childhood. "Child brides" is not a preferred terminology, because these two words are actually words that express two beautiful concepts. However, when used together, they represent a terrible concept. For this reason, the preferred terms are "children forced into marriage at childhood" (Polat, 2019) or "child marriage" instead of "child bride". The word "marriage" is not mentioned in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. It is thought that it is accepted naturally that individuals who are defined as "children" cannot get married. Marriage of a child is a violation of almost all articles of the CRC.

1.2. Reasons for Forced Marriage

When the reasons of forced marriages are examined, it is seen that many factors play a role. The main reasons underlying forced marriages and child marriages are lack of education, customs, traditions, moral laws and tribal factor, control of free behaviour of women, domestic violence, economic reasons, rape and family dignity, social and domestic pressure and migration.

1.3. Effects of Forced Marriage

The effects of forced marriage are especially severe for young women and girls. Sexual intercourse during forced marriage is perceived as a series of rapes. In many cases, girls or young women are forced to leave their schools or vocational education. As a result, women become dependent on men and are completely at the mercy of men financially. Failure to finish school or receive vocational training means the restriction of the same freedom. In forced marriages, many women get depressed and harm themselves. In addition, they are at high risk of suicide or suffer from chronic psychosomatic diseases. (Ministerium Frauen Gesundheit, 2017)

Evaluating the effects of forced marriages separately in terms of victims, parents, environment and society is important for understanding the phenomenon. (<http://www.forcedmarriages.ca/resources-for-service-providers/tools/>) (*Chart 1*)

Table 1: Possible Effects of Forced Marriage

In terms of Victim	In terms of Parents	In terms of Environment	In terms of Society
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Domestic Violence •Physical, emotional, economic and /or sexual abuse •Continuous pressure on possible immigration or finance •Family separation •Isolation •Stigmatization by environment •Trauma, depression, anxiety, self-harm and/or suicide 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Alienation from children and grandchildren, withdrawal from them •Increase in domestic divorces •Increased isolation in old age 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Stigmatization of communities where forced marriages are recorded •Increased homophobia •Nervous family relationships and broken families •Increased violence in the community •Increased need for counseling services and services for women victims of domestic violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Difficulty in social cohesion and contention between biased groups •Increased violence •Increased health costs

1.4. Legal Dimension of Forced Marriage:

Forced marriage is regulated as a separate crime in some European countries such as England, Belgium, Norway and Germany (Parrot and Cummings; 2008, Atun and Atun; 2018) and Canada (<https://travel.gc.ca/assistance/emergency-info/forced-marriage>). (Table 2)

Table 2: Forced Marriage in Comparative Law

Country	Legislation	Sanction
United Kingdom.	Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act Section 20 Article 121, 122	According to the UK Laws enacted in 2014, forcing a person to marry constitutes a crime in England, Wales and Scotland, and perpetrators of this crime can be sentenced to up to 7 years in prison. With a new arrangement made in 2017, amendments have been introduced to ensure the confidentiality of their identities in order to make it easier for forced marriage victims to report this crime. It is also prohibited to publish the identities of forced marriage victims in the media and social media channels such as Facebook and Twitter.
Canada	Article 293 of Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act	According to the Canadian laws of Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act), anyone who assists a person who forces and/or forces a person to marry is sentenced to up to 5 years in prison. Likewise, anyone who marries a person under the age of 16 and/or participates in this marriage ceremony knowing that one of them is under the age of 16 is sentenced to up to 5 years in prison.
Germany	Amendment of the German Penal Code October 10, 2013 - article 240, 237	According to the amendment made in 2013 in the German Criminal Code (Strafgesetzbuch-STGB), anyone who forces a person to marry is sentenced to anything between 6 months or 5 years in prison.
Saudi Arabia	Instructions sent to courts by the Ministry of Justice of Saudi Arabia (http://aawsat.2020)	Saudi Arabia officially banned all marriages under the age of 18. It has been stated that criminal proceedings will be applied to such persons who get married. According to the news in Şarkul Avsat, the instruction sent to the courts by the Ministry of Justice of Saudi Arabia stated that any marriage application to be made to someone under the age of 18 should be referred to a special court. The instruction came after a number of amendments to the Child Protection Act, adopted by the Kingdom's Council of Council for the Protection of Children, which aims to ban child marriages under the age of 15 completely and to lay down new rules between the ages of 16 and 18. Saudi Arabia's Justice Minister Velid Samani said sanctions would be imposed on marriage officials who do not comply with the new regulation.

1.5. Status of Forced Marriage in the World

Researches conducted by the World Bank and the United Nations show that there is a direct correlation between early marriages, especially among girls, and the level of development of the country and the poverty of the family. (Çakmak, 2009)

Girls who are married as children have a lot of health problems in pregnancy and childbirth compared to women who get married in their 20s. Deaths due to pregnancy or birth occur very frequently in girls between the ages of 15-19 and 70,000 girls die each year due to pregnancy or giving birth. In addition, the babies they give birth to die either due to miscarriage or within the first 1 month after birth.

According to the data updated by UNICEF in March 2018, Niger has the highest child marriage rate in the world at 76%, and the rate of children aged 15 and older is 28%. Niger, which ranks first in child marriages, is followed by the Central African Republic, Chad, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Mali, South Sudan and Guinea respectively. In the top 8 of this list, which includes 197 countries, the place in each of these principles is above 50% of those who get married at an early age. With the rate of 15%, our country ranks at 86th and the rate of children aged 15 and older is 1% for our country (UNICEF, 2018). 1 girl is getting married every 3 seconds in the world (Coşkun, 2016).

1.6. Status of Forced Marriage in Turkey

There are more than ten types of forced marriages, some not even named in our country. The fact that they are named proves how common these marriages are. There are no official statistics on forced marriages, which are common especially in Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia Regions, which makes it difficult to reveal how big the problem is. Forced marriages have been regulated as a separate crime in some countries such as England, Canada, and Germany, but no separate crime type and criminal sanction definition have been made in this regard in our country.

Since forced marriages are not reflected in the statistics, they do not show the whole picture of the crime and the magnitude of this problem, which has extremely important effects. The importance and size of this problem, which is approached with the assumption that everything will be solved when you put your head on the same pillow, is obvious and the basic building block of society is based on unhealthy foundations. Statistics do not contain data on forced marriages because there are no responsible authorities or emergency lines that monitor this situation.

However, there are some statistics on child marriages, which are perhaps the most important and common type of forced marriages. Although these statistics do not reveal the full reality and there are informal child marriages that are not reflected in the statistics by staying hidden, the current data provide information about the general table. There has been a traditional practice in our country for years. Especially in Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia regions, girls are married to young children or adults when they are 12-13 years old. Both these marriages are not carried out with the wedding ceremony and official marriage, but with an imam marriage. Marriage of girls at an early age means that they are imprisoned in their homes at an early age when they need to go to school and literally have to play a never-ending "playing game". Girls who marry under the pressure and coercion of their families and society in their childhood are under the burden of motherhood before experiencing their childhood and are especially psychologically worn out. These children, who give birth before reaching full biological maturity, raise themselves while raising their babies. Since their mothers are illiterate, inexperienced and immature, those babies pay the bill when they grow up. In other

words, this trauma not only remains in the child but also reflects on their babies and continues from generation to generation. (Polat, 2019; Polat&Reva, 2019)

Although early marriages have existed in our country for many years, they are not considered as a “problem” by the majority of the society. It is seen as one of the most important sources of legitimacy of marriage is social reconciliation and these marriages take place mostly within the framework of this reconciliation. The patriarchal and traditional social structure normalized and legitimized marriages at an early age. (TGNA Commission Report, 2009)

The main reasons underlying the marriages of girls in our country at childhood are; lack of education, moral laws and tribal factor, misinterpretation of religious information, economic reasons, trying to avoid domestic violence and marrying the child to the rapist with the idea of restoring her honour. These reasons reveal how appalling the painting is. The child who has been raped is condemned to experience the strongest form of mental, physical and sexual violence by being told to restore the family honour and being married to her attacker.

According to Article 124 of the Turkish Civil Code; individuals can get married at the age of 18 without parental permission, if they have parental permission, they can get married at the age of 17 and even at the age of 16 with the permission obtained from the court.

According to the statistics of Turkish Statistical Institute 2018 (TurkStat, April 2019), 553.202 marriages were conducted in 2018, 1.029 of these marriages were male and 20.779 of them were female. In other words, girls are married 20 times more than boys.

According to Turkish Statistical Institute 2019 statistics (TurkStat, April 2020); the most common province of child marriage is Ağrı and the least common province is Tunceli. 9 of the top 10 provinces with the highest number of child marriages are in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia Region. While the rate of official marriages of girls in the 16-17 age group was 5.8% in 2014, this rate decreased to 3.1% in 2019. When this ratio is examined by provinces, it is seen that Ağrı province ranks highest in female marriage with 13.2% in 2019. This province is followed by Muş with 13.0% and Kars with 10.6%. When the ranking by provinces is examined, it is seen that 9 out of the 10 provinces in the top ranking are in the east and southeast and one remaining province is Niğde. The provinces with the lowest rate of female marriage among total marriages were Tunceli with 0.2%, Bayburt and Rize with 0.7%. The provinces with the highest child marriage rates are located in Eastern Anatolia and South-eastern Anatolia. **(Table 3)**

Table 3: TurkStat Child Statistics:

Rank	Province	Total number of marriage	Number of girl child marriage	Proportion of girl child marriage in total child marriages
Rank	Total	541 424	17 047	3.1
1	Ağrı	3 905	517	13.2
2	Muş	2 886	376	13.0
3	Kars	1 694	180	10.6
4	Bitlis	2 271	237	10.4
5	Kilis	1 108	110	9.9
6	Van	8 024	688	8.6
7	Gaziantep	15 049	1 245	8.3
8	Niğde	2 522	203	8.0
9	Iğdır	1 370	104	7.6
10	Siirt	2 086	153	7.3
.....
77	İstanbul	99 858	1 050	1.1
78	Trabzon	4 842	38	0.8
79	Rize	1 884	14	0.7
80	Bayburt	434	3	0.7
81	Tunceli	426	1	0.2

Child marriage statistics are officially published for children between the ages of 16-17, these figures do not include child marriage data before the age of 16 and informal child marriages, thus child marriage figures are actually much higher.

According to the 2017 data of the Ministry of Justice (Ministry of Justice Statistics, 2017); the number of cases filed in Family Courts with a request for marriage permit is 8,581 and 7,384 of the cases were accepted in whole or in part; the region with the highest number of these cases is South-eastern Anatolia region in Turkey. Early marriages are a problem that prevents the exercise of human rights, reduces the status of women and takes away the fundamental rights of children, especially education. These marriages are an area that must be fought in Turkey aiming at gender equality. (TGNA Commission Report, 2009)

The issue was put on the agenda in the Report of the Sub-Committee on Child Marriages, Psychological Violence on Women Due to Child Gender, Bride Price, and Traditional Marriages, established under the Commission on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in March 2011 (TGNA Commission Report, 2011) and in the Reports on the Examination of Early Marriages of the same commission, however, important steps were not taken in this regard and adequate measures could not be taken.

It is also worth mentioning a topic that already causes controversy. It has been reflected in the press that the work on the second of the packages aimed to be issued within the scope of the Judicial Reform Strategy Document announced in May continues, that a total of 5 or 6 packages are to be issued for the arrangement of approximately 160 articles, and that the regulations stipulate that “the age difference between the child and the person is not more than 10 and that the punishment is postponed in case of marriage”. (DW, 2019). This regulation, which is a violation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which is an international agreement that is above the laws, will cause children who are married to the rapist to be further victimized. It is absolutely necessary to take a step back in this regard.

2. METHODOLOGY

In the study, a field study was conducted with a total of 296 people, 66% female and 34% male, working in the field in Mersin, Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa and Istanbul provinces with high risk factors in terms of various forced marriage types (**Table 4**). Field study results have been analysed by using SPSS 20 statistical program.

Table 4: Participants demographics and descriptive

Age	(n)	(%)
18-25 Yaş	132	44.6%
26-40 Yaş	126	42.6%
41-50 Yaş	26	8.8%
51-60 Yaş	7	2.4%
61-üstü	5	1.7%
Toplam	296	100.0%

Provinces Where Participants Live

Province	(n)	(%)
Diyarbakır	176	60%
Mersin	66	22%
İstanbul	42	14%
Şanlıurfa	12	4%

GENDER OF PARTICIPANTS

Gender	(n)	(%)
Kadın	196	66%
Erkek	99	34%

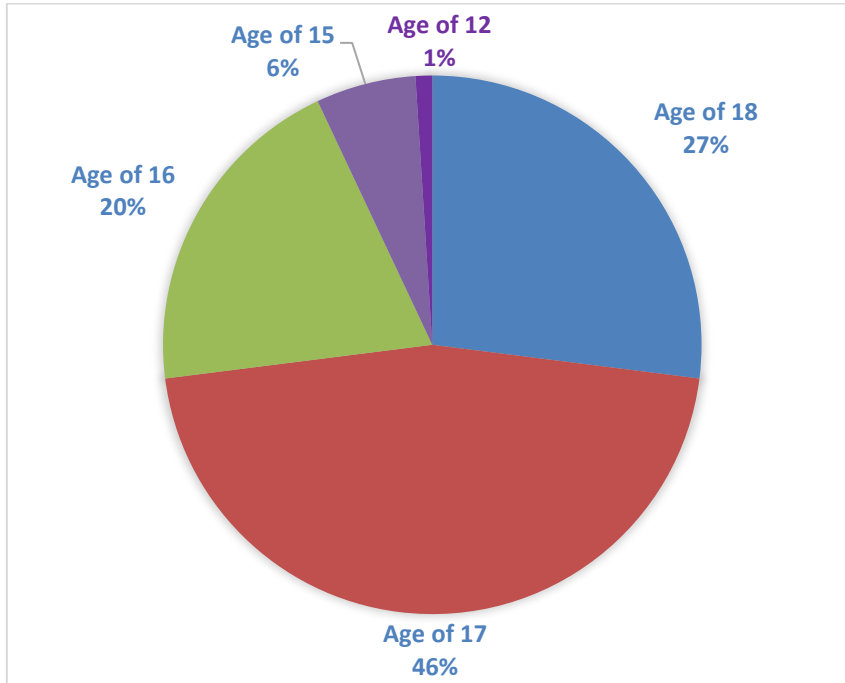
3. FINDINGS

3.1. Field Study Findings

The field work was carried out with professionals working in the field such as psychologists, guidance teachers, educators, physicians, lawyers and social workers.

a) Only 46% of the participants answered the age of marriage with family approvals correctly (17). While 27% of professionals working in the field are 18 years old, 20% of them are 16 years old, 6% of them are 15 years old, 1% of them are 12 years old. (**Table 5**)

Table 5: Awareness of Marriage Age with Family Approval

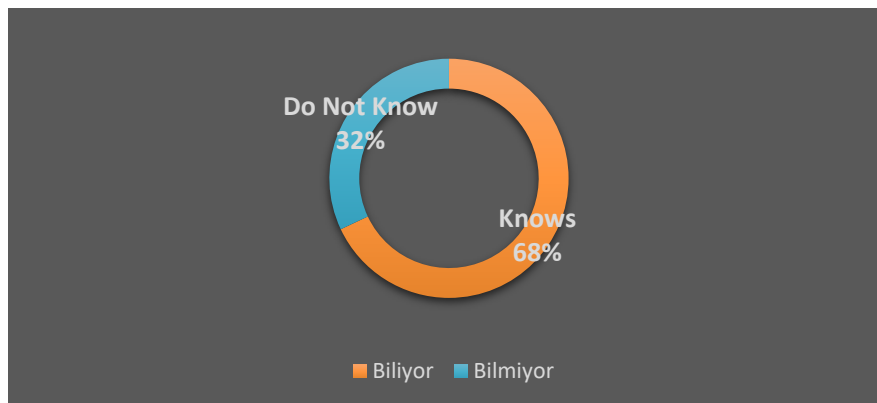


b) 10% of the professionals working in the field stated that they approve of the marriage of those under the age of 18. 9 out of 100 people working in the field do not see child marriage as forced marriage.

c) 35% of the professionals who participated in the survey stated that they did not know about the taygeldi marriage.

d) 32% (n.95) of the persons working in the field stated that they did not know where to apply in case of forced marriage danger and 68% (n.201) stated that they knew where to apply in case of forced marriage danger. (Table 6) 1 out of every 3 professionals working in the field does not know where to apply in case of forced marriage danger.

Table 6: Awareness of Where to Apply in case of Forced Marriage Danger



e) While 31% (n.92) of those working in the field did not know the Alo 183 line, approximately 10% (n.31) of the professionals who participated in the survey answered 911, which was not even a valid line in our principle in case of forced marriage danger.

3.2. Results of Workshop Meetings:

The results of the workshop conducted in Diyarbakır within the scope of the Zero Tolerance to Forced Marriages project have revealed that the ages of 16-17 years for girls in the region, especially in rural areas of the region, are already perceived by the public as normal marriage age. Again, the same study revealed that girls were sent to primary school, which is only compulsory and fined if they are not fulfilled, and that they were married as a child with an excuse that; they should not stay at home when they reach the age of 13-14; they should marry someone without getting a bad reputation and without eloping with someone. The workshop interviews revealed that each region, each province and even each district had different dynamics and different forced marriage scenarios and that a risk map should be drawn up by performing a social tissue analysis specific to the subject.

For instance;

- In Mersin, second wife marriages, which are the subject of refugees in particular, stand out. So much so that men threaten their spouses by saying, "Watch your step, I will bring home a Syrian wife" and such dialogues are frequently encountered in daily life. The increase in the number of files applied to Mersin University Forensic Medicine Department with the aim of raising the age, especially the increase in the number of girls and Syrian girls, reveals that Syrian girls are subject to age raising requests to get married.
- It has also been frequently expressed in the workshop that the marriage of 16-year-old girls is considered normal in Diyarbakır, but 12-year-old marriages are seen as child marriage. In fact, a teacher in Diyarbakır explained that a successful 15-year-old student was taken from school by her father because she had reached the age of marriage, that the teacher tried to convince the father for her to continue with school, but the father was not convinced, that they solved the issue by talking to his veterinarian friend who took care of the cattle of the father, and that the veterinarian threatened the father by saying that if he did not allow his daughter to go to school, he would not take care of his animals. If a child is not married and sent to school only

when the health or vaccination of cattle becomes involved, this is an example of how worthless girls are.

- Field workers who participated in the workshop in Şanlıurfa gave examples of berdel marriages from their daily lives, which reveals the prevalence of berdel marriages in Şanlıurfa. Şanlıurfa region is a completely different picture that shows that the right to marry girls is primarily with the children of their uncles, but if they do not want it, girls can marry others. Şanlıurfa also has forced marriages, especially if girls are not married to others in order not to lose land domination or vice versa, if it is desired to gain dominance in different lands, such as giving girls to the landlords.

As can be seen; even these 3 provinces are subject to different types of forced marriages within themselves. However, unfortunately, there is a type of forced marriage that is encountered in all three provinces and even in our entire country: Child marriages. Especially the desire to marry girls by stepping into adolescence at an early age and even at the age of 12-13 preserves its legitimacy in general, especially in the east and southeast of our country. In fact, girls who are 16-17 years old can be regarded as an old maid.

All these survey results showed that professionals working in the field were not sufficiently knowledgeable about forced marriages and that training sessions on raising awareness were needed.

CONCLUSION AND SOLUTION RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Solution Recommendations as General

As stated in the report of the Sub-Committee on Psychological Violence on Women Due to Child Gender, Bride Price, and Traditional Marriages (TGNA Commission Report, 2011), "consent" is not in question in forced marriages that prevent, reduce or suppress the use of human rights, especially by women and girls. In these marriages, which develop in line with the decisions and preferences of the parents and guardians, the rate of domestic violence against women and children is high. Another problem area in our country is the understanding that women are seen as a commodity, especially in socio-economically backward regions. With this understanding, women who are used to make money are victims of traditional marriages such as bride price, berdel, which is the exchange of women, consanguineous marriage and early marriage. As poverty rates increase, these marriage models increase in parallel. What is even more desperate is to make money by marrying girls. This is definitely a human trafficking. As a traditional marriage, practices that are accepted as normal by some parts of the society such as forced marriages, male child preference, bride price constitute a serious pressure not only on the psychological health of women and children but also on their physical and social health. The increase in risky pregnancy rates in our country also causes an increase in maternal-infant mortality rates. On the other hand, as a result of the pressure to give birth to male children, many and frequent pregnancies and marriages at an early age place heavy burdens on women's bodies. These results show that "early marriage" , "forced marriage and engagement", "bride price", "berdel" and "second wife" are traditional practices that are against the law and are within the scope of human rights crimes against women. The social structure that controls the body and sexuality of women maintains discrimination and inequalities towards women through traditions and culture.

Our suggestions, which we think will be important in combating forced marriages that prevent, reduce and suppress the use of human rights, especially by women and girls, are as follows: (**Table 7**)

Table 7: Solution Recommendations

aa)	The situation of women, who make up half of the population, play key roles in the family and economic life but have low social status due to socio-cultural reasons in terms of access to resources, control of resources and participation in decisions, should be strengthened compared to men; gender problems should be eliminated at the level of individuals, institutions, regions and throughout the country, and basic requirements should be fulfilled for the realization of “gender equality” including men.
bb)	Mechanisms to empower women need to be mobilized and supported at all levels. In addition, providing/maintaining the education of girls is an effective approach in preventing forced marriages and empowering women.
cc)	It should be ensured that the governor, district governor, community leaders especially in the rural areas should act sensitively on issues such as male child demand pressure, traditional marriages, bride price.
dd)	Implementation of laws on issues such as polygamy, early marriage, lack of official marriage, not sending girls to school, not registering in the population should be carefully monitored.
ee)	The training sessions that emphasize the negative effects of forced marriage and that the marriage should take place by choosing the people to marry should be disseminated to all sections of the population and to all regions of the country.
ff)	By increasing the awareness of health professionals on the subject, it should be ensured that they contact the stakeholders of the subject if forced marriage is encountered in the service process.
gg)	In particular, studies should be carried out to promote the rights and social support that women and girls can receive in case of forced marriage, and these studies should be disseminated by mukhtars up to the neighbourhood level. Efforts to empower women and girls and increase their participation in public life and employment should be stepped up.
hh)	Short films, advertisements and viral videos that emphasize that forced marriages are a violation of human rights and that marriage should be the choice of the people to marry should be included in written, visual and auditory media and also social media. In addition, messages should be given within the framework of social responsibility in the series and films watched by the majority.
ii)	Initiatives and "We do not sell wedding dresses for children" campaigns should be launched to ensure that wedding dress stores do not sell wedding dresses for children.
jj)	The importance of the subject should be emphasized and awareness should be raised in the meetings to be held by ensuring the participation of actors (scientists, politicians, artists, writers, journalists, etc.) who are seen as role models in the society at national and local level with interactive meetings.
kk) 1	Awareness/sensitivity regarding women's problems and gender equality should be created in the media.
ll)	Legal arrangements should be made to impose criminal sanctions on forced marriages (for example, the person (s) found to have made berdel marriage, received the bride price and pressured the woman with the request of a male child), and if the consent of the individual is not obtained in the marriage, the forced marriage should be regarded as a crime and subject to punishment.
mm)	In order to invalidate marriages and traditional marriages established in exchange for bride price, such marriages should be considered superstitious by accepting that such marriages have been established with weakness of will with an amendment to the Turkish Civil Code.

2. Solution Recommendations Specific to Child Marriages

a) According to Article 1 of the CRC, everyone under the age of 18 is a child, legal regulations regarding the age of marriage should be made. Accordingly, it is necessary to introduce regulations on the illegal acceptance of child marriages and the legal criminal liability of those who force them to do so and to make necessary amendments to the Turkish Civil Code, the Turkish Criminal Code and the Child Protection Law.

b) Considering that not all child marriages are done legally, awareness training sessions that emphasize the damages caused by child marriage in the fight against child marriages should be provided by all institutions (Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policies, Directorate of National Education, Religious Affairs, non-governmental organizations, etc.) that will spread to a wide base, especially in Eastern and South-eastern regions. For example, a sermon in which the Presidency of Religious Affairs will not tolerate the abuse of children and children's marriages, will provide access to an important segment.

c) Combating child marriages is an issue that should be addressed by the highest institutions of the state and it is extremely important to take preventive measures in this regard, to consider child marriages illegal, to establish effective supervision mechanisms and to prepare public messages and public announcements emphasizing the damages caused by child marriages.

d) Awareness training sessions should also be conducted for citizens of countries with different traditions and legal regulations in countries where foreign immigration is received, emphasizing that this is not legal in our country even if marriage at a younger age is legal in their own countries where the rules in our country are based.

e) It is necessary to develop child protection systems and to ensure the confidentiality and security of those who report child marriages against all kinds of threats and violence. For example, many teachers whose students are taken from school and married cannot be sufficiently active in this regard due to threats and violence.

f) In child marriages escalated to the legal dimension, child victims may experience problems, fear and take steps back in judicial processes. It is important to develop a child-friendly justice system and to have the protection of legal professionals and social workers who specialize in children without being exposed to secondary traumas.

g) Finally, it is extremely important that children are educated in person, that is, that they are children and their families have no right to force them to marry, otherwise there are institutions and mechanisms that can help them. For this reason, it is necessary to include this issue in the primary school curriculum and/or to organize child-friendly training sessions in schools by developing joint projects with the Ministry of National Education.

REFERENCES

- ATUN, Y, ATUN, A. (2018). The unfounded mass burials of the so-called Armenian Genocide. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Education Research*, 4(4), 571-579. <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/552789> (Last Accessed: 07.07.2019)
- BALAMAN, AR. (2002). "Marriage Kinship Types", *Publications of Ministry of Culture of Turkish Republic*, Ankara, 44-45,
- COŞKUN AM, ŞENTURAN L, ÇAYIR G, YAKIT E. (2016) Social sensitivity development about the problem of childbrides. *International Journal of Human Sciences*, 13:1107-1122
- ÇAKMAK, D. (2009) Child brides in Turkey, The First Law of Youth Symposium on State-Personal Security in Rule of Law. (Türkiye’de Çocuk Gelinler, Birinci Hukukun Gençleri Sempozyumu-Hukuk Devletinde Kişisel Güvenlik)
- DW (2019) <https://www.dw.com/tr/ikinci-yarg%C4%B1-paketindek%C3%BC%C3%A7%C3%BCk-ya%C5%9Ftaki-evliliklere-tart%C4%B1%C5%9Fmal%C4%B1%C3%A7%C3%B6z%C3%BCm/a-51030095> (Last accessed on 07.07.2019)
- <http://www.forcedmarriages.ca/resources-for-service-providers/tools/> (Last accessed on 07.07.2019)
- <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2014/12/contents/enacted> (Last Accessed:: 29.12.2019)
- <https://aawsat.com/turkish/home/article/2050346/suudi-arabistanda-%C3%A7ocuk-evlili%C4%9Fi-yasakland%C4%B1> (Last accessed on 29.12.2019)
- <https://openparliament.ca/bills/41-2/S-7/> (Last accessed on 29.12.2019)
- https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_stgb/englisch_stgb.html (Last accessed on 29.12.2019)
- KADEM (2014) Workshop Report on Fight against Early Marriages and Forced Marriages in Turkey, <http://kadem.org.tr/erken-yasta-ve-zorla-evliliklere-karsi-mucadele-calistay-raporu/> (Last accessed on 07.07.2019)
- MINISTERIUM FRAUEN GESUNDHEIT. (2017), Federal Ministry of Health and Women of Austria, Traditions and Violence Against Women - Forced Marriage Report, Vienna. (Avusturya Federal Sağlık ve Kadın Bakanlığı’nın Gelenek ve Kadınlara Şiddet – Zoraki Evlilik Raporu, Viyana 2017)
- MINISTRY OF JUSTICE STATISTICS (2017), http://www.adliscil.adalet.gov.tr/istatistik_2017/istatistik_2017.pdf (Last Accessed: 07.07.2019)
- PARROT A, N. CUMMINGS (2008). Sexual Enslavement of Girls and Women. Worldwide, Westport, CT: Praeger, 1; 65.
- POYRAZ TACOĞLU T. (2011) The Reasons of Traditional Marriage Types Performed in Turkey and The Effect of . The Effect of Traditions on Marriages, *METU Journal of Social Sciences Research*, 2(4), 114-143. *Türkiye’de Gerçekleştirilen Geleneksel Evlilik Çeşitlerinin Nedenleri ve Evlilikler Üzerinde Törenin Etkisi”. ODTÜ Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2(4), 114-143.
- POLAT, O. (2019) Child Abuse in All Dimensions, Seçkin Publishing, Ankara. *Tüm Boyutlarıyla Çocuk İstismarı-2, Seçkin Yayıncılık, Ankara.*

- POLAT, O & REVA, Z. (2019) Legal Dimension of Child Marriages In Turkey: Compared With The Eastern Europe And Middle East Countries, *International Journal Of Research-Granthaalayah* (Vol.7, No. 4), s.338-354. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.2667712
- REVA, Z, POLAT, O. (2019) Forced marriages as human rights violation. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Education Research*, 5 (1), 69-77. DOI: 10.24289/ijsser.502652)
- SEZEN L. (2005) "Türkiye’de Evlenme Biçimleri", *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Sayı 27, Prof. Dr. Şinasi Tekin Özel Sayısı, 185-195.
- TEZCAN S, COŞKUN Y. (2004) The Change of The First Marriage Age of Women in the Last Quarter of the 20th Century in Turkey and Characteristics of Marriages Today, *Journal of Population*, C 26, 1: 15. "Türkiye’de 20. Yüzyılın Son Çeyreğinde Kadınlarda İlk Evlenme Yaşı Değişimi ve Günümüz Evlilik Özellikleri", *Nüfusbilim Dergisi*, C. 26, Sy. 1, 2004, s. 15.
- TGNA, Committee on Equality of Opportunity for Women and Men of Turkish Parliamentary / The Grand National Assembly of Turkey (2009) Report on Evaluation of Early Marriages. https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/kefe/docs/komisyon_rapor.pdf (Last accessed on 22.12.2019)
- TGNA, Committee on Equality of Opportunity for Women and Men of Turkish Parliamentary / The Grand National Assembly of Turkey (2011) Sub-Commission Report on Psychological Violence Against Women Due to Child Gender, Bride Wealth, and Traditional Marriages. *TBMM Kadın Erkek Fırsat Eşitliği Komisyonu - Çocuk Cinsiyeti Nedeniyle Kadın Üzerinde Oluşturulan Psikolojik Şiddet, Başlık Parası, ve Geleneksel Evlilikler Hakkında Alt Komisyonu Raporu, Mart 2011’de hazırladığı Raporu (TBMM Komisyon Raporu, 2011.*
- TURKISH CIVIL CODE (2001) <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.4721.doc> (Last accessed on 07.07.2019)
- TURKSTAT (April 2020) Chil Statistics, , No: 30708, 17 April 2020.
- UNICEF, Mart 2018. <http://www.unicef.org.tr/basinmerkezidetay.aspx?id=32844> (Last accessed on 27.12.2019)
- YASA İ. (1962) "Taygeldi Family", *Journal of Faculty of Political Sciences of Ankara University*, Issue: 17. *Taygeldi Ailesi, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi, Ankara, Sayı: 17.*