

ATTITUDES TOWARD MARITAL VIOLENCE: INDIVIDUAL AND  
SITUATIONAL FACTORS

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **ATTITUDES TOWARD MARITAL VIOLENCE: INDIVIDUAL AND SITUATIONAL FACTORS**

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The present study aimed at investigating the relationship between factors that are inherent in the perceiver, inherent in the situation; attitudes toward marital violence, attributions of blame in a violent incident, and judgments on what the victim should do after a violent incident. Attitudes are assessed via three beliefs that the violence can be justified, the husband is not responsible from the violence, and the blame of the violence can be attributed to the wife. Factors inherent in the perceiver (named individual factors), which are thought to be important, were defined as patriarchal and traditional beliefs about marriage and the family, hostile and benevolent sexism, beliefs about normative approval of violence, and gender. Factors inherent in the situation (named situational factors) were existence of (perceived) provocation in a violent incident, severity of the violence, and employment status of the wife and the husband.

327 METU students (176 female, 151 male) had filled out a questionnaire, in which a violent episode between a husband and a wife was described. The scenario contained manipulations on the situational factors. Other constructs were assessed via Likert type scales. Analyses revealed that the sample had held negative views of marital violence, but tend to disagree with immediate precautions like calling the police after a violent episode. Both situational and societal factors had differential effects on the dependent measures, patriarchy and hostile sexism was found to be especially related with the beliefs about wife beating whereas severity and provocation was strongly related with the attributions of blame. Existence of children had decreased the agreement with reactions that would end up the marriage. Suggestions for future research, and limitations of the study are discussed in addition to the findings.

Keywords: Marital Violence, Attitudes, Hostile and Benevolent Sexism, Patriarchy, Beliefs about Wife Beating

## ÖZ

### AİLE İÇİ ŞİDDETE İLİŞKİN TUTUMLAR: BİREYSEL VE DURUMA ÖZGÜ FAKTÖRLER

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Bu çalışma, duruma ve algılayan kişiye ait özelliklerin evlilikte kadına uygulanan şiddet hakkındaki tutumlara, böyle bir olaydaki suç atıflarına ve böyle bir olaydan sonra dayaağa maruz kalan kadının ne yapması gerektiğine ilişkin görüşlere etkilerini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Tutumlar, dayaağın haklı çıkarılabileceği, kocanın sorumlu olmadığı ve kadının suçlu olduğu şeklindeki üç inanç ile ölçülmüştür. Önemli olduğu düşünülen kişiye ait özellikler (bireysel etkenler olarak adlandırılacaktır) aile ve evlilik hakkında ataerkil ve geleneksel görüşler, korumacı ve düşmanca cinsiyetçilik, şiddetin toplum tarafından onaylanıp onaylanmadığı hakkındaki düşünceler ve cinsiyet olarak tanımlanmıştır. Duruma ait etkenler ise (algılanan) kışkırtmanın varlığı, şiddetin boyutu, ve eşlerin çalışma durumlarıdır.

176'sı kadın 151'i erkek toplam 327 ODTÜ öğrencisi, içinde bir kocanın karısını dövdüğü bir senaryo ve bahsedilen değişkenleri ölçmek için Likert tipi ölçekler bulunan anketleri doldurmuşlardır. Örneklemin

genelinin ailede kadına uygulanan şiddete karşı olumsuz tutumlara sahip olduğu, fakat şiddet içeren olaydan hemen sonra polis çağırarak gibi tepkilere katılmadıkları gözlenmiştir. Hem bireysel etkenlerin hem de duruma ait etkenlerin bağımlı değişkenler üzerinde farklı etkileri olduğu bulunmuştur. Özellikle ataerkil görüşlerin ve düşmanca cinsiyetçiliğin ailede kadına uygulanan şiddet hakkındaki inanışlar üzerinde, olaydaki şiddetin boyutu ve (algılanan) kışkırtmanın varlığının ise özellikle şiddet olayında kocaya atfedilen suç üzerinde etkili olduğu bulunmuştur. Çocukların varlığı kadının şiddet içeren olaydan sonra evliliği bitirebilecek tepkilerini onaylama derecesini düşürmüştür. Bulguların yanısıra çalışmanın sınırlamaları ve gelecek araştırmalar için öneriler tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Evlilikte Şiddet, Tutumlar, Düşmanca ve Korumacı Cinsiyetçilik, Ataerkillik, Kadına karşı Şiddete ilişkin İnanışlar

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZ.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. A Short Historical Summary of Psychological Inquiry on Marital Violence.....	5
1.2. Prevalence and Severity of the Problem.....	6
1.2.1. Consequences for Victims.....	7
1.2.2. The Assailants.....	7
1.2.3. Asymmetry Regarding Gender and Consequences for the Society.....	8
1.3. Prevention.....	9
1.4. Why Attitudes?.....	11
1.5. Beliefs and Myths about Wife Beating.....	12
1.6. Social Psychological Factors under Scrutiny.....	14
1.6.1. Individual Factors.....	14
1.6.1.1. Patriarchy.....	14
1.6.1.2. Traditional Views.....	15
1.6.1.3. Sexism.....	15
1.6.1.4. Normative Approval of Violence.....	17
1.6.1.4.1. Beyond Attitudes.....	18

1.6.1.4.2. Estimates of Occurrence.....	19
1.6.1.5. Gender .....	19
1.6.2. Situational Factors.....	20
1.6.2.1. Provocation .....	20
1.6.2.2. Severity .....	21
1.6.2.3. Characteristics of the Wife .....	21
1.6.2.4. Characteristics of the Husband .....	22
1.6.2.5. Children.....	22
1.7. The Purpose and The Hypotheses of the Study .....	23
1.7.1. Individual Factors .....	24
1.7.2. Situational Factors.....	24
2. METHOD .....	26
2.1. Participants .....	25
2.2. Procedure .....	26
2.3. The Instrument.....	27
2.3.1. The Manipulation Vignette.....	27
2.3.2. Normative Approval of Violence .....	28
2.3.3. Traditional Views about Marriage .....	28
2.3.4. Patriarchal Beliefs.....	29
2.3.5. Patriarchy in the Family of Origin.....	29
2.3.6. Sexism.....	30
2.3.7. Dependent Measures .....	31
2.3.7.1. Questions Regarding What the Victim Should Do after the Violent Incident .....	31
2.3.7.2. Estimates of Occurrence in Turkish Society.....	31
2.3.7.3. Attributions of Responsibility and Blame .....	31
2.3.7.4. Beliefs About Wife Beating.....	32
3. RESULTS .....	34
3.1. Overview of Analyses .....	34
3.2. Overview of the Sample.....	35



3.3. Individual Factors.....	37
3.3.1. Regression between Individual Factors and Attitudes toward Marital Violence .....	37
3.3.2. Regressions Between Individual Factors and Agreement with What the Victim Should Do After the Violent Incident.....	39
3.3.2.1. Regression for Agreement with Pro-Victim Reactions .....	39
3.3.2.2. Regression for Agreement with Pro-unity Reactions .....	41
3.3.3. Gender and Attitudes towards Marital Violence .....	41
3.4. Situational Factors .....	43
3.4.1. Effects of Situational Factors on Three Beliefs about Wife Beating, and Blame Attributed to the Wife and the Husband .....	43
3.4.2. Interactions between Situational Factors in Subsample of Females.....	44
3.4.3. Effects of Situational Factors and Gender on Judgments about What the Victim Should do.....	47
3.4.4. Effect of Children on Judgments About What the Victim Should Do .....	52
4. DISCUSSION.....	54
4.1. Discussion of Statistical Findings.....	54
4.1.1. The Characteristics of the Sample.....	54
4.1.2. Discussion of Inferential Analyses .....	56
4.1.2.1. Individual Factors and Attitudes toward Marital Violence.....	56
4.1.2.2. Situational Factors, Beliefs about Wife Beating, and Blame Attributed to the Husband and the Wife.....	58

4.1.2.3. Societal Factors and Opinions on What the Victim Should Do.....	60
4.1.2.4. Situational Factors and Opinions on What the Victim Should Do.....	61
4.1.2.5. Children and Opinions on What the Victim Should Do.....	64
4.2. Limitations of the Current Study.....	65
4.3. Significance of the Current Study and Suggestions for Future Research .....	66
REFERENCES .....	68
APPENDICES.....	77

## LIST OF TABLES

### TABLE

1. Variables Investigated in the Study.....	33
2. Correlations between the Variables .....	34
3. Standard Multiple Regression of Traditional Beliefs, Patriarchal Values, Patriarchal Structure of the Family of Origin, Normative Approval of Violence, Hostile (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS), and Gender on Attitudes towards Wife Beating .....	36
4. Standard Multiple Regression of Traditional Beliefs, Patriarchal Values, Patriarchal Structure of the Family of Origin, Normative Approval of Violence, Hostile (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS), and Gender on Agreement with pro-victim Reactions .....	38
5. Standard Multiple Regression of Traditional Beliefs, Patriarchal Values, Patriarchal Structure of the Family of Origin, Normative Approval of Violence, Hostile (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS), and Gender on Agreement with the Pro-unity Reactions (Pro-Unity) .....	40
6. Mean Agreement with the Reactions of the Victim as a Function of Provocation .....	45
7. Mean Agreement with the Reactions of the Victim as a Function of Severity .....	46
8. Mean Agreement with the Reactions of the Victim as a Function of Gender .....	47

9. Mean Agreement with What the Victim Should Do When the  
Couple Does not Have any Children and When They Have Two  
Children ..... 50

## LIST OF FIGURES

### FIGURE

1. Blame Attributed to the Husband as a Function of Severity and Employment Status of the Husband in the Female Subsample ..... 43
2. Blame Attributed to the Wife as a Function of Provocation and Employment Status of her in the Female Subsample..... 44
3. Mean Agreement with the proposition “Victim Should Seek Help from Elder Relatives” as a Function of Employment Status of the Wife and Gender of the Respondent ..... 48
4. Mean Agreement with the proposition “Victim Should Apologize from her Husband” as a Function of Employment Status of the Wife and Gender of the Respondent ..... 49

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

From early childhood on, most of us probably have been taught that one of the most important things in one's life is the family that one has. Family is the place where a child becomes an individual, a member of the society. Family is where people find affection, trust, and love. Family is where society finds a foundation and future. The importance of the family, perhaps, stems from basically the two notions summarized in the sentences above. It is important for individuals emotionally and important for both individuals and societies functionally. How the family functions is a sign of how the society functions, and therefore, it is not surprising that more than many institutions (i.e. Prime Ministry of Turkish Republic) and social structures (i.e. religions), which are concerned about the order and the functioning of the society, are closely interested in how family should be and how the children should be raised so that individuals are raised who will be able to carry the society to its future.

For individuals, on the other hand, family has indispensable importance, not for the sake of the society, but for a much more humane reason. Other than physical survival, family is where an individual as a child finds strong emotional bonds, relief from fear, trust, and caring. Family is the first one of the social rings that surrounds the individual, thus the strongest one. It is where individuals learn what "social" is.

These two conceptualizations of the family are together a reflection of reality in which both individual well being and societal order (manifested in an

urge for order in the family) are important for societies. Most structured aspects of the societies (like legal systems, religions, and norms) have always had much or less to say about what had better be going on inside the family, regulating the relationship between spouses, and between parents and children (Gelles, 1997; Hughes, 1999; Maidment, 1985). This regulation of what to do and how to do it in the family, in accordance with the important aspects of the family summarized above, is concerned about primarily the proper functioning of the family and the well being of the individual. However, until recently, many societies had considered the order in the family, thus the order in the society, to be more important than the well being of the individuals. As Gelles (1997) presents in his chapter “Historical Legacy – Contemporary Approval” about intimate violence, harsh treatment to children mostly by the fathers in the name of discipline is evident in many cultures throughout the history as a good example of which side weighs more for many societies. Another example, and also still a problem that needs attention, is spousal violence in the family, carried out by husbands. It is believed that spousal violence is one of the means bestowed to husbands (an extreme one) to ensure the prescribed order in the family. The dilemma here lies in the clash of two priorities of the society: well being of the individual and the order in the family and in the society. This study is primarily about one topic where this dilemma manifests itself: how marital violence is seen, what beliefs are hold about it, and what antecedents cause these beliefs.

The order of the family, which many societies had developed, was founded on a division of labor that men were in charge of providing physical material (which includes defending the area, which provides the physical material, from other families or seizing new areas) to the family whereas women were responsible primarily from raising children (Goode, 1970; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a; T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 2000). In this order, the men were/are also the guards of the order perhaps because of their greater physical strength, namely the leader of the family (Goldberg,

1999). We now name this order as patriarchy, in which males possess the power, both to decide on the destiny of the family and the destiny of the society (Walby, 1990). As a figure of patriarch, men had the right to “guide” other members of the family (and as a matter of fact, members of any given group –a band of hunters, an army or a society- as strong historical male figures exhibit) to the desired goal, whatever it may be. This role as a superior decision maker and guard had created a segregation between males and females, in which females are the subordinate gender even when they undertake the role of the food provider (Bhopal, 1997; Garabaghi, 1983).

Probably one of the most primary concerns of the patriarchs was ensuring the continuity of their names (interchangeable with genes) (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982b), and this concern was met with a solution, in which the patriarch had to guarantee that his partner will not have any babies from other patriarchs (Buss, 1995), an act perhaps most commonly labeled as sin and crime by most societies throughout the eras (Russell, 1957). Marriage, which tied two individuals with a bond declared in the testimony of witnesses, the community, and most of the time the divinity (James, 1965), had formed the institutional basis of family as an indivisible unit, in which fidelity of women was among the highest priorities. This suspicion of raising another man’s baby must have led men take over the role of a leader and a guard quite seriously, both in the level of families and the society.

Surely, this depiction of family is not representing the whole reality. On the other hand, family is still a place where children are cared for; many spouses have at least a kind of intimacy in-between; and mutual attraction, or perhaps love lead to marriage (Hortaçsu, 1999). Apart from being a social contract for legitimately raising children, marriage is still a blessed and a happy event in the private sphere of life for most of the individuals. Although modern western view that marriage is or should be a result of mutual attraction and intimacy has quiet recently become a norm, the importance attached to harmonious marriages and love myths ending in ever-happy



marriages through different cultures, and happy families seem to prove that marriage is not only a patriarchal institution, but also a safe haven. The cold and callous conceptualization of family and society based on patriarchal control does not negate the fact that there is love, caring, and trust inside the families. Moreover, twentieth century has witnessed a change in the relative importance attached to order and well being of individuals in the direction of the latter (this change owes much to industrialization and urbanization, and is evident in many societies as Goode (1970) presents). This change increased the importance attached to being happy, not only content, in a marriage for individuals, both men and women. At least for some portions of some societies, strong patriarchs became a figure of past generations. The meaning of harmony or the way it is accomplished has shifted from wife obeying the husband and being a good mother and wife, husband considering the needs of the wife and children to two individuals negotiating to regulate each other's behavior. The institutional aspects of the family and marriage began to be underrepresented in the conceptualization, and an idealized form of marriage and family is constructed (Russell, 1957).

This optimistic view of marriage, together with the long historical tradition of associating marriage with the divinity have prevented and even prohibited the society from taking a closer look what has really been going on inside the families. It has usually been thought that marriage and the family was beyond the realm of societal action because it is a private and sacred area (Hughes, 1999).

However, recent research indicated that families are not so safe and loving (Bacigalupe, 2000; Dobash et al., 1982; Howe, 1997; Post, 2000; United Nations, 1996, reported in Walker, 1999). Although the western culture idealized marriage to be based on mutual love and affection, data indicates that many marriages, and thus families are quite away from the way they are thought of.

## **1.1 A Short Historical Summary of Psychological Inquiry on Marital Violence**

After the involvement of many women in the labor force in Europe and America, women began to realize that they could also do as well as men, and even better than them on many aspects of the life. The instances of women who did not want to stay at home and live lives dependent on their fathers or husbands increased radically during the 20<sup>th</sup> century and especially in the western countries, women became an undeniable part of the public life (Roberts, 1984). The departure of women from what was once the only available life style had brought problems within. Men and other women had difficult time in comprehending and appreciating a woman that was neither a wife nor a mother. The traditional place for women was the home, where she could serve as a good wife and a good mother. However, with increasing involvement in the public life and apparently with more recent conceptualizations such as “human rights”, the public opinion has begun to change in the direction that women can be and are something more than wives and mothers; they are persons as much as a man can be as evident in United Nations’ “Convention to End All Forms of Discrimination Against Women” (CEDAW).

With identification of women as separate individuals apart from their families and/or husbands, began a suspicion (especially by women themselves) that women might not be treated as equals of men, and this suspicion carried on to fields of scientific inquiry such as psychology and sociology (Straus, 1998). The feminist movement carrying within the idea of practiced inequality with men stimulated substantial amount of research and revealed how a subtle and hidden discrimination occurred at many levels of the society against women (Tavris, 1992). However, along with the fairy tale genre, it was still believed that family and marriage were places where former lovers lived happily, although some problems could arise. Beating of a wife

was perhaps seen as an extraordinary event, which probably occurred among those who were not well educated, poor, or had some alcohol problems or extremely stressful work conditions. It must have been thought that wife beating was an extreme case of male violence, and the perpetrators were perhaps suffering severe psychological problems (Muehlenhard, & Kimes, 1999; and Lion, 1977, cited in Ptacek, 1989). It was not until 1970s, when sociologist William Goode had startled the scientific community about uses of force in the family to resolve conflict (1970); scholarly interest in the phenomenon of marital violence had begun. Soon after, it was revealed that violence could not be neglected both because of its prevalence and consequences for the communities (Hague & Wilson, 2000; Strauss & Gelles, 1986).

## **1.2 Prevalence and Severity of the Problem**

To speak with numbers, it was claimed that one third of women living in the United States would be exposed to physical violence at least once by their spouses (Strauss, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980), the incident rates are not more relieving in other countries, and in Turkey (Bacigalupe, 2000; Bosch, 2000; İlkaracan & Gülçür, 1996; Post, 2000; United Nations, 1996, cited in Walker, 1999). İlkaracan and Gülçür (1996) report that PİAR found in 1988 that 75% of married women in Turkey are beaten by their husbands whereas this rate was found as 63% by Arıkan (1993). In a study by Rittersberger-Tılıç and Kalaycıoğlu (2000), 19 percent of their sample in Ankara reports husband-to-wife physical violence. Prime Ministry Family Research Institution (T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu) (2000) reports this proportion as 25.2%, based on a study with a representative sample of Turkey. Examining the phenomenon further, researchers found that ordinary husbands also battered their wives, regardless of income, education, or social status (Gelles, 1997; T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 2000).

### **1.2.1. Consequences for Victims**

Physical consequences of being beaten could vary from bruises to serious injuries, and even death (Abbot & Williamson, 1999; Velikanova & Wessell, 1996). However, even if there is not a physical damage done to the victims of wife abuse, many suffer from extreme levels of psychological stress (Abbot & Williamson, 1999; Haj-Yahia, 2000a; Oral, Binici, Büyükçelik, & Yazar, 1997). Being beaten is enough humiliating and terrorizing and being exposed to such a humiliation and terror by the person one has married to must be even more stressful and terrorizing. Many victims lose their trust to other people and males since the attack comes from the very inside, from a spouse whom one considers to be a loved one. For many victims, the concept of home as a sanctuary begins to change to a place where she should watch over her and her husband's behaviors in order to avoid making the husband angry and receiving further assault (Kelly, 1998; Giles-Sims, 1998). For others, the relationship goes into a series of cycles, in which apologies and affection follows violent episodes, and these affectionate, normal periods discourage the victim from considering the violent episodes as consistent components of the relationship that would necessitate more serious precautions (Hughes, 1999; Walker, 1999). Furthermore, marital violence is associated with other important aspects of societal life such as parenting (Levendosky, 2000), adolescent aggression (Szyndrowski, 1999), and has devastating effects on children who are exposed to marital violence at home (see Wolak & Finkelhor, 1998 for a review)

### **1.2.2. The Assailants**

As Ptacek reports (1998), many assailants claim to be unconscious because of an uncontrollable fury or to be stoned by alcohol when harming their wives, blame difficult economic conditions or their personalities as

having an uncontrollable anger. However, their accounts reveal that violence is used continuously in order to solve conflict by the perpetrators, therefore although it may be resorted to by husbands during times of unconscious fury or after alcohol consumption as they claim, it is apparent that the perpetrators accept and use it as a way of resolving conflict and getting their wives obey (İlkkaracan & Gülçür, 1996; Ptacek, 1998).

### **1.2.3. Asymmetry Regarding Gender and Consequences for the Society**

This aspect of the phenomenon gives a clue about the nature and consequences of marital violence: it is asymmetrical with regard to the gender of the victim and the assailant (Rittersberger-Tılıç & Kalaycıoğlu, 2000). If the victim is a male, in many cases, the wife aims to inflict serious damage and even death since either it is self-defense during being beaten or a planned murder since it is claimed to be the only way of ending the relationship. However, when wife is the victim, the husband usually exerts physical force to discipline, punish, or silence the wife (Hamberger & Lohr, 1997; Saunders, 1988). This common aspect, together with other forms of control of men over their wives reveals an underlying process underneath the phenomena that women are seen and treated differently by the society as compared to men (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Harris & Cook, 1994). As mentioned above, until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, women were not seen as separate individuals from their homes, husbands, parents, or children. A woman had the value of being a good wife and a good mother, and these two identities clearly defined and restricted what a woman could become. Although the situation is clearly different in some parts of the world for some societies, classes and individuals, especially in the western societies, the influence of the male dominated world is still evident in most aspects of both public and private life (Goldberg, 1999; Goode, 1970; and Turkish Social Science Association, 1985).

Therefore, although physical and psychological consequences of being beaten in the marriage are not to be underestimated, they are not the most severe consequences of the phenomenon. Worst seems to be the perpetuation of a male dominated system where women had better live as wives and mothers, and obey what males order them, especially the ones with whom they live closely. This system gives the husband the right to rule in the family and in the society, to maintain the order even by disciplining the wife using physical means (Babcock, Waltz, Jacobson, & Gottman, 1993; Erchak & Rosenfeld, 1994). It cherishes the women who live up to the standards as loyal and sacrificing mothers while degrades those who are not that willing to spend most of their lives serving selflessly to their husbands and children. It puts the female individual as subordinate to and dependent on the male, restricts what a woman can be and can do, thus enables such extreme and violent problem solving strategies when a conflict arises. Therefore, although the problem of marital violence can be treated as an individual phenomenon with the primary focus on the victims and couples, the solution seems to require inclusion of a more societal orientation.

### **1.3. Prevention**

On the societal level, there seems to be two different but interrelated ways of preventing marital violence from taking place. The first one, which shall be named as physical precautions, deals with the punishment of the perpetrators, regulations in the civil law and its practice; and protection of battered wives. Most countries now had endorsed this kind of physical precautions (Finn, 2000; Hamby, 1998). Especially in the west, wives facing marital violence can sue their husbands, can apply for court order to prevent themselves and their children being exposed to the husband, and can get their husbands arrested. Furthermore, there are increasing numbers of women shelters in which victims of spouse abuse can live for longer

durations. The situation is not much different in Turkey, too (İlkkaracan & Gülçür, 1996). However, one of the most common problems encountered by those who experienced marital violence remains to be the practice of those laws and precautions by officers and law practitioners (Coulter & Kuehnle, 1999; Maidment, 1985). Although the law seems to be sufficient to cope with the problem of marital violence, its practice seems to suffer from the inadequate approach of many male officers (Coulter & Kuehnle, 1999; Buzawa & Austin, 1993; Post, 2000). Most of the perpetrators, especially in Turkey, leave to their homes and wives with a few advices that beating one's wife is not a good thing, he should think about his children if any, and if the incident happens again he would face more severe treatment by the police officers (İlkkaracan & Gülçür, 1996). Furthermore, until recently, in Turkey, police officers did not have the right to interfere with the perpetrator unless one of the family members explicitly request help (personal experience, T.C. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü, 1998). Even if the incident is reflected to official inquiry, still the solution is not easily achieved since most of the time, the families, the relatives, and common friends interfere and try to make peace between the wife and the husband claiming that the family should not be subject to such humiliating experiences as courts and arrests, that they should think about their children, which brings us to the second set of precautions, public awareness and opinion on the issue.

It was already mentioned that most of the physical and legal precautions prove to be inefficient by the practice of separate individuals, forming a failure for the system to acknowledge and solve this extremely important problem (Bakken, 1998). The reactions of individuals to this phenomenon, which takes place in the private realm of life, thus should be known and acted upon to arrive at a solution. As the failure of the legal precautions indicates, the solution lies in the individuals', and societies'

opinion on the issue. Therefore, it is apparent that attitudes towards the issue are of crucial importance.

#### **1.4. Why Attitudes?**

During the decades of research on attitudes, the most common question asked about the attitudes could be about how to interpret and use attitudes to facilitate or prevent behaviors (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Oskamp, 1977; Sherif & Sherif, 1967). Recent theories on attitudes imply that in order to explain and predict behavior with the help of attitudes, more than “who says what to whom in what context” need to be explored. The theory of reasoned action by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), and the theory of planned behavior by Ajzen (1991) successfully demonstrate the conceptual links between attitudes and behavior. Relating to the issue at hand, two components of attitude-intention-behavior relationship are thought to be important.

Firstly, attitudes, in one way or another, influence the intention to engage in a certain behavior. Therefore, the solution of this societal problem should inform about how one’s attitudes towards marital violence influence engaging in certain behaviors when one witnesses an incident of marital violence. Will the stance be disapproving or accepting the behavior? Will health-care professionals, police officers, prosecutors, judges, moreover, families, friends and acquaintances react sufficiently negative to discourage the action? Since what others think is important for an individual and can be decisive on whether someone will or will not do something, examining and changing the attitudes of ordinary people shall prove useful in bringing a solution to the problem. Although the debate about attitude-behavior consistency implies that sometimes attitudes are not sufficient in explaining behavior, it is clear that under some circumstances it does influence behavior, therefore just making people intervene when faced with an incident of



domestic violence, and decreasing the probability of a husband beating his wife would worth the effort to examine the attitudes towards the issue.

Second, and perhaps the more important, attitudes toward marital violence determines how a society in general reacts to marital violence. Since the problem is rooted in the way the relationship between men and women is formulated in the society, the solution must also include public opinion change about the issue. Beliefs about wife beating play a crucial role in understanding why the problem is persistent even though it is mostly condemned. Furthermore, a sufficient negativity in the public opinion against marital violence may enable the key individuals in the system such as ministers, state officers, police officers get set in motion and more seriously consider the means of solution to this inhumane practice in marriages. To summarize, exploring the attitudes toward marital violence will prove useful threefold: to understand and act on the individuals so that they may intervene in a possible case of domestic violence, to ease the process of preventing or intervening the action by acting on the attitudes of individuals who hold crucial positions in those processes, and to raise public awareness. Therefore, it is important to understand and predict what social psychological influences determine the negativity or positivity of the attitudes one holds toward marital violence.

### **1.5. Beliefs and Myths about Wife Beating**

There are a series of misconceptions about violence inflicted on a wife by her husband. As mentioned earlier, limiting the problem to families where the husband has severe psychological problems, engaging in alcohol abuse, or difficult financial conditions is one of them. Relieving the husband from the responsibility of the violent act by assuming loss of consciousness, extreme levels of stress, or violent nature or men is one of the beliefs that both decreases the probability of practicing the physical precautions and limits the

phenomenon to “abnormal” or “other” families (Brownie & Herbert, 1997; Yick & Agyabani-Siewert, 1997).

Another belief, which perhaps has more serious consequences, is justifying the act as acceptable because of something the wife did. The champion of these justifications is perhaps having sexual intercourse with someone other than the husband, which even some women finds an acceptable circumstance to physically punish a woman (Haj-Yahia, 1998a; Ulu & Sakallı Uğurlu, 2002). This belief reflects the notion that men, who are close to them, under some circumstances, may in deed punish women and this can remain acceptable (T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2000).

Similar to justifying violence, there is another belief, which again causes underestimating the problem: blaming the wife for being beaten. This belief mainly blames the wife either for not knowing how to deal with the husband and avoid him (as a proper wife would do) or doing something that would drive him mad (Kwiatkowska, 1998; Sorensen, 1998). These two beliefs about the acceptance of wife beating clearly converges with the patriarchal view of women, what they should and should not do. However, as compared to some other conceptions (evident in some Turkish proverbs) like beating is necessary for a happy marriage or beating makes the woman more beautiful, these beliefs accept beating is wrong, yet justifiable (T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2000). Especially these three beliefs about marital violence capture the essence of the issue: undesirable, but sometimes acceptable. Therefore, instead of trying to assess acceptance of husband violence directly with questions like “Do you approve a husband beating his wife?” it seems reasonable to assess especially these three beliefs, which do not overtly, but more subtly support violence across situations.

## **1.6. Social Psychological Factors under Scrutiny**

### **1.6.1. Individual Factors**

The first set of factors that are considered to affect one's attitudes towards the issue is manifestations of societal influences in the belief systems of the individuals. These factors set the stage for the reaction of an individual to an incidence of violence, and the reactions to marital violence at a conceptual level. This first set, in this study, includes patriarchy, traditionalism, sexism, perceived normative approval of violence, and gender.

#### **1.6.1.1. Patriarchy**

Considered as the main source of violence against women by many scholars (especially feminist theorists) (Dobash et al., 1992; Strauss, 1998), patriarchy as manifested in the views about marriage and the family is conceptualized in this study as one of the primary factors that causes acceptance of husband violence, in congruence with the findings of a number of studies. The ideology asserts itself from the basic unit of the society, the family, thus guarantees its survival and perpetuation through generations (Goldberg, 1999; Homer, Leonard, & Taylor, 1985). In Turkey, as well, families are founded on a patriarchal basis (İmamoğlu & Yasak, 1997; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982b; Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberg-Tılıç, 2000; Kuyaş, 1982). Perhaps a child learns what a marriage is about; what roles wife and husband, moreover men and women take over; and how should a marriage be like first in his/her own family (Falchikov, 1996). If the family one lives in adheres to the patriarchal conception of family, the likelihood of the person's beliefs about family being patriarchal will increase. Since as a system, patriarchy bestows the right to regulate, guide, and guard the behaviors of women to their patriarchs (husbands or fathers); and this regulation may involve the use of physical force, it is reasonable to argue that a person who

holds patriarchal beliefs about family will be less restrictive in the use of violence against women. As a support for this view, the relationship between patriarchal beliefs about marriage and more positive attitudes toward wife beating has been documented in a number of studies (Haj-Yahia, 1998b; Sakalli, 2001).

#### **1.6.1.2. Traditional Views**

Traditional views concerning the family and the marriage are seen as the link carrying patriarchy to attitudes towards wife beating. Patriarchy is part of the traditional marriage (Kandiyoti, 1982); therefore those who value the traditional way of marriage are also considered to value patriarchy. Traditional views about marriage and family are also those of patriarchy since those who stick to the status quo inherit the understanding in which women are not separate entities in the public sphere of life, and being a good mother and a wife should be the ultimate purpose for women (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982b; Kandiyoti, 1982). Tradition, for example, usually prohibits premarital sex, especially for females, as an extension of patriarchal control over women (İlkkaracan, 2003). Although traditional views seem to be inseparable from those of patriarchy, they also include beliefs about a number of aspects of life, other than power relationship between genders. However, these beliefs are influenced by patriarchy, as well, since as a whole, the tradition is mainly a product of patriarchal system. Therefore, be it directly related to the subordination of women or not, adherence to traditional beliefs, which carry the tone of patriarchy, will bring adherence to patriarchal values, thus a positivity toward marital violence.

#### **1.6.1.3. Sexism**

Sexism had been conceptualized as a prejudice, which was composed of negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviors toward women (Glick, &

Fiske, 1996), and the sexists as persons who favor men over women. This approach may prove sufficient in competitive settings such as work place, but does not capture the overall quality of how a male dominated ideology discriminates against women. The essence is that women are not always disliked. They are very well liked and admired if they behave properly as a woman would and should behave.

This criterion of fulfilling the female sex-roles is important in understanding the nature of sexism as Glick and Fiske (1996) conceptualized in their theory of Ambivalent Sexism. The ambivalence lies in the intimate interconnectedness of the discriminator and the discriminated, especially important and apparent in the phenomenon at hand. The male dominated ideology cherishes women, has an innate urge to protect them and need them as both intimate love objects and loyal child-bearers, at the same time it holds a mistrust and suspicion since they have been seen as seducers, resident of evil, immoral and immature (Arsel, 1988), and since they can defy their men, withdrawing from their ascribed status. Men need women, want women, and love women as mothers, wives, and mistresses. On the other hand they fear women, degrade them, and want to control them. This ambivalence is put forward in the theory of Ambivalent Sexism as it consists of three components of paternalism, gender differentiation, and sexual intimacy that cut through two dimensions, benevolent and hostile sexism.

Both dimensions assume a dominance of males over females, manifested in positive and negative qualities of the three components. Sexual intimacy gives way to a desire to see women as intimate love objects while it also carries the suspicion of infidelity and a risk of sexual manipulation by women. Gender differentiation leads to admiration of women for their superior qualities like morality, pacifism, and affectivity whereas it also carries the tone of degrading them as incompetent. Paternalism sees women as in need of protection on the one hand, and on the other hand it keeps the right to decide what is right or wrong for women, even when this decision is against their own

will, and the right to discipline or punish them, for correctional purposes, of course.

The theoretical relationship between ambivalent sexism and marital violence is thought of special importance since both depends on an intimate relationship between sexes and subordination of women to men. Furthermore, the practice of physical force on the wife is mostly assumed and accepted under conditions in which women disobeys the husband, does not remain faithful to the husband, and fails to fulfill the roles as a mother and a wife (Haj-Yahia, 1998a; Ptacek, 1989); conditions in which women are no longer protected by the benevolent aspect of sexism, but punished by its hostility (Glick et al., 2002). This conditionality of protection that men provide to women is captured well in the theory of ambivalent sexism, and helps clarify the societal causes of marital violence. Furthermore, violence directed toward wives seems to be a crucial event where protection offered by benevolent sexism clashes with hostile sexism.

Empirically, sexism, as conceptualized by Glick and Fiske, has been found to be among the predictors of attitudes towards marital violence in Turkish and Brazilian samples (Glick et al., 2002). Especially hostile sexism was a strong predictor, after age, education, and benevolent sexism were controlled for. Moreover, hostility towards women, as reported by Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995), is a predictor of acceptance for another violent action towards women, rape.

#### **1.6.1.4. Normative Approval of Violence**

Previous studies (Haj-Yahia, 1998c; Sakallı-Uğurlu and Ulu, in press; Sakallı, 2001), and the pilot study of this thesis found that Turkish college students usually held negative attitudes towards wife beating. Other informal interviews with a non-student sample also revealed a negativity towards the issue on the part of the sample, however a belief that the majority of the

society approved wife beating “I personally do not approve, but you know it is what usually happens in our society” was a common remark. Acceptance of violence as a part of family life seems to be related with the perception of acceptance by the society (T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 2000). Although generalization could be a matter of debate, it seems variables other than negative attitudes towards the issue influence the formalization and the solution of the problem. This belief, be it true or not, may be an important determinant of the problem. Justification of any violent act may be easier given the normative approval of the society.

#### **1.6.1.4.1. Beyond Attitudes**

Attitudes toward the issue may not be the sole determinant of the failure that societies experience in bringing the issue to an end. An alternative viewpoint may be that people hold mostly negative attitudes but still do not act to reach at a solution (Stalans, 1996). The reason for this may be that the issue is too private to deal with and what a direct course of action such as legal accusations or arrest will probably ruin (the marriage and/or the family) is seen more important than the (seemingly) reversible situation a wife encounters that is thought could be healed. Still holding a negative view, it may be thought that calling police, if for instance, would be a worse solution than asking help from the elder relatives. For example, Sakallı-Uğurlu and Ulu (in press) found that nearly 40% of a sample (both university student and non-student) strongly disagreed or disagreed with divorce as a solution if the husband beats his wife. Therefore, it is needed to assess and compare what people think about the consequences of legally and physically interfering with the phenomenon alongside the variables that influence attitudes toward marital violence.

#### **1.6.1.4.2. Estimates of Occurrence**

Another element in the problem is what people think about its severity. If the problem is not seen as serious, affecting many families in the society, it will be more difficult to convince the public that the problem needs an immediate solution. Even if the society mostly hold a negativity toward the issue, it will be difficult to reach at a solution if the problem is not given due importance. Therefore, estimates of occurrence as an indicator of importance given to the problem are needed to be assessed.

#### **1.6.1.5. Gender**

Gender can be considered empirically as the most solid basis of difference in attitudes toward marital violence. Liehman and Santilli (1996) found that males blamed the victim more while Falchikov (1996) found more negative attitudes toward women and greater acceptance of violence toward them in a sample of Scottish adolescents. In a Turkish sample Sakallı (2001) found males justified beating of a wife more, blamed the wife more, and held the husband less responsible. As the patriarchal ideology gives the superordinate status to males, as women may already suffer from this ideology and its practice, and as they may identify and sympathize more with the victims, and they are the discriminated group, the victims, it is not surprising that women hold more negativity towards the issue. As some newspapers describe the phenomenon as “War against Women” (Howe, 1997), it is reasonable to argue that victims of this war will differ in their reactions from the perpetrators of this war. Furthermore, in the study by T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu (2000), it was found that 14,6% of men was convinced that violence “is and should be a tool” inside the family (p. 105). However, gender differences were found to be based on non-gender related factors such as power (see Unger & Crawford, 1992 for an



introductory summary of the findings about power related differences between two sexes), and attitudes (see Tavris, 1992 for in-depth analysis of gender-related differences) in previous studies. One question about attitudes toward marital violence is that whether gender plays a unique role in determining the positivity or negativity of attitudes. As previous studies indicate, males and females differ in adopting traditional and patriarchal views as well as attitudes (Falchikov, 1996; Sakalli, 2001), and it may be the case that gender differences in attitudes towards marital violence are due to these differences.

### **1.6.2. Situational Factors**

The second set of factors, which act as modifiers, determine the acceptability of violence for each situation. These situational factors, such as the severity of the violent act for a given “misbehavior” of the wife play an important role to decide whether the act falls within the acceptability region of the perceiver. Even wife’s demandingness may be a reason for violence (Hortaçsu et al. 2003), However, perceptions of appropriateness for violence (and the form of violence) differs for different occasions (Haj-Yahia, 1998a). For example, slapping may not be acceptable for not delivering meal but killing may be acceptable for infidelity. These factors contribute to the multi-faceted nature of the phenomenon as they interact both with each other and with previously mentioned set of factors.

#### **1.6.2.1. Provocation**

Former research indicates that people hold the attacker, the husband, less responsible for his behavior, and held a more negative view of the wife if the wife provoked the husband during a violent episode (Kristiansen & Giulletti, 1990; Pierce & Harris, 1993). Provocation is seen as a part of a

broader category, that is violating gender role norms. Women are expected to be compliant and passive (Deaux, & Lewis, 1984; Tavris, 1992), and perhaps this holds more for their husbands. Deviating this norm may reduce the sympathy for the victim, thus leading to a readiness to justify the use of violence. Disrespect and disobedience were found to be among the most referred possible causes by both men and women in a study by Rittersberger-Tılıç and Kalaycıoğlu (1999), and were perceived as deserving violence in a study by Sakallı-Uğurlu (2002). Provocation is likely to be perceived as disrespect and disobedience, and furthermore, it may legitimize the use violence as a way of “fighting back”.

#### **1.6.2.2. Severity**

Explicit descriptions of injuries after a violent episode was found to be associated with rating the incident as more serious, reporting more likelihood of calling the police, perceiving the husbands as having less right to use violence, seeing the husband less justified, and rating the episode more violent (Pierce & Harris, 1993). The explicit descriptions may help realize the severity of the battering situation. Perhaps describing the violent episode further, and increasing the dose of violence in the incident will not allow the respondents to ignore the violence as an acceptable consequence of a quarrel. Furthermore, the threat to the well being of an individual will exceed the acceptable limits of bringing order to the family.

#### **1.6.2.3. Characteristics of the Wife**

Having a job, on the part of the wife, is the characteristic under scrutiny in this study. Previous research indicates that women who violate the feminine roles are viewed more negatively than those who conform to them even as victims of violence (Harrison & Esqueda, 2000). However, the

occupation characteristic of the wife is not thought to add negativity to the participants' responses. 73% of the participants in the study by T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu (2000) disagreed with the proposition that women should not work. Therefore, it is expected that participants will not perceive the wife more negatively for having a job, but rather they will perceive a housewife more negatively for not fulfilling the wife role even though she had the time to perform household tasks. A wife with a job will perhaps be excused by the participants, since breadwinning is always seen valuable (İmamoğlu, 1992), for contributing to the marriage by working outside, but a housewife will be perceived as opposing to the role she had committed to by not performing the duties.

#### **1.6.2.4. Characteristics of the Husband**

The crucial characteristic about the husband, parallel with the wife, seems to be the fulfillment of traditional male roles, a breadwinner and ruler of the family. Men are expected to be breadwinners, and failure in this area is seen as more important than homemaking or than a failure of a woman in breadwinning (İmamoğlu, 1992). The fulfillment of this role may be seen enough for the men's share in the marriage, thus bestowing the right to demand from the wife being a "good" wife. When the husband is perceived as having this right, it would be enough justification to regulate the behaviors of his wife even when this regulation involves violence.

#### **1.6.2.5. Children**

Children are the most valued aspect of a family, especially in our culture (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a). Moreover, children may be the keyword in differentiating between "marriage" and "family". As mentioned earlier, children who will carry the lineage of the parents, especially the father, is the primary purpose of marriage. Existence of children will perhaps render the marriage

more valuable and will increase the importance given to it. This increase in importance will be reflected in the urge of the society to protect it, even if some problems (like violence) arise.

### **1.7. The Purpose and Research Questions of the Study**

The ultimate purpose of this study is to shed light on the complex nature of attitudes toward wife beating. This complexity stems from mainly two conflicting views, both about family, and about women. As put forth before, family is thought to be subject to an ambivalence of views concerning well being of the individual and the order and functioning in the family. Women, as documented in the studies of Glick and Fiske (1996; Glick et al., 2000), are also subject to ambivalent thoughts. Therefore, the interaction of these views and their moderation by the situational variables may help clarify the issue.

Furthermore, as stated earlier, the overall negativity or positivity of the public may not be influential in the solution of the problem. Although there may be sufficient negativity toward the issue, it may remain uninfluential when faced with the break up of the family. Even the victims may state that sometimes violence may not be a reason to end a marriage and they are concerned about the future of their children (T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 2000). This study takes one step further and other than the victims, it tries to assess the opinions of the perceivers on what should be done if a violent episode occurs in the family. These opinions are considered to be indicative of the conflict that the society experience when faced with marital violence, which is between protecting the individual and protecting the family.

To sum up, this study aims at assessing the influence of patriarchal beliefs and traditional views about marriage and family, hostile and benevolent sexism, and situational set of variables on three beliefs about wife beating, blame attributed to husband and wife, and agreement on what

should be done after a violent episode. The research questions are as follows:

### **1.7.1. Individual Factors**

1) How well do patriarchal beliefs, traditional views, sexism (especially hostile sexism), patriarchal structure of the family of origin, opinions on normative approval of violence in Turkish society, and gender predict (a) attitudes towards marital violence (assessed via three beliefs about wife beating that it can be justified, husband is not responsible and the wife asked for it), and (b) judgments about what the victim should do after a violent episode? Which of the predictors are the most important ones?

2) Does being male or female constitute a genuine influence on attitudes after patriarchal beliefs, traditional views, and sexism are controlled for?

### **1.7.2. Situational Factors**

1) Do existence of (perceived) provocation, severity of the violence, employment of the wife and the husband have an effect on blaming the victim and attributing responsibility to her and holding the husband responsible and guilty?

2) Do situational factors influence the responses concerning what should a battered wife do? If, for instance, the incident was less severe, or there was a provocation, do the respondents agree with doing nothing or wanting help from relatives but not with calling the police? Similarly, does a respondent who opposes patriarchal beliefs agree with calling the police instead of apologizing from the husband, regardless of severity or provocation? The interactive nature of these factors hinders the possibility of listing each question for each combination. Data and analyses will reveal at least some of the interactions between two sets of factors and what the

respondents will think a battered wife should or should not do. These analyses will also give a clue about how will society react when confronted with a choice, in which well being of the individual opposes unity of the family.

3) Do situational factors interact differently in males and females?

4) Does adding the information of children to the family decrease agreement with reactions of the victim that will damage the unity of the family whereas increase agreement with reactions protecting the unity?

## CHAPTER 2

### METHOD

#### 2.1. Participants

176 female, 151 male Middle East Technical University students between 17 and 33 years old ( $M = 20.9$ ,  $SD = 2.11$ ) had participated in the study. 2.4% of them rated the income level of their families as low, 35.5% as middle-low, 54.4% as middle-high, and 2.1% as high. 33.6% of the participants' mothers were primary or secondary school graduate, 24.8% had a high school degree, 32.7% were university graduates, and 2.4% had a graduate degree. 20.2% of the participants' fathers had a primary or secondary school degree, 21.7% had a high school degree, 44.3% were university graduates, and 8.3% had graduate degrees.

44.6% of the mothers were unemployed and 50.5% of them were employed while 90.8% of the fathers were employed as compared to 3.7% unemployed. 5.8% of the respondents reported they have witnessed, inferred, or told that their mothers used physical violence on their fathers while the percentage is 25.1 for fathers.

#### 2.2. Procedure

The participants were mostly contacted with the permission of instructors in course hours, gaining bonus points for that course. Some others filled out were contacted in the campus and voluntarily filled out the questionnaire. Participants were informed about the aim of the study and the

nature of the questions before they filled out the questionnaire. They were asked to respond to a number of questions after reading a scenario depicting a violent episode between a husband and a wife

### **2.3. The Instrument**

The instrument package consisted of the manipulation vignette; scales measuring opinions about what the battered wife should do after the incident and normative approval of Turkish society considering wife beating; scales about traditional views and patriarchal beliefs about marriage, hostile and benevolent sexism; and questions about the family background of the participant in terms of education of the mother and the father, employment status of the mother, power relationship in the family, and history of violence.

#### **2.3.1. The Manipulation Vignette**

The vignette was designed to manipulate the occupational status of the wife and the husband, the provocation, and the severity of the violent episode. The vignette reads as follows:

“Zeynep hanım and Ahmet bey is a married couple. Both of them are working ([the occupation manipulation]: one of them are working, one of them are unemployed; or both of them are unemployed). One day when Ahmet bey came home, he noticed that Zeynep hanım was not home and there was no food at home for dinner. When Zeynep hanım came home he told her that she should pay more attention to her house and husband. They began to argue ([provocation manipulation]: Zeynep hanım left for the kitchen yelling “God damn you! You are a miserable excuse for a man”). When Zeynep hanım left to kitchen, Ahmet bey followed her, turned Zeynep hanım to himself and slapped her in the face ([severity manipulation]: and kicked her in the stomach as she fell to the ground).



With four manipulations, 16 forms of the vignette are prepared. Each 16 form of the manipulation vignette is given in Appendix A.

As a manipulation check for employment, two items aiming to assess where “Ahmet bey” and “Zeynep hanım” could be coming from; and as a manipulation check for provocation two items aiming to assess the degree to which the husband was provoked and the victim provoked him were added right after the vignette. Provocation manipulation was taken from a study by Kristiansen and Giuletti (1990).

### **2.3.2. Normative Approval of Violence**

The items “To what extent do you think our culture approves beating of a wife” and “To what extent do you think our society tolerates beating of a wife” are used to assess the beliefs of the respondents about the normative approval of violence by the Turkish culture. Participants responded to these questions using a Likert scale between 1(not at all) and 6 (completely).

### **2.3.3. Traditional Views about Marriage**

Traditional views about marriage and the family are assessed via a 12-item scale adapted by Sakallı Ugurlu from a study by Hojat et al. (2000), which contained judgments about importance of virginity for women, premarital sexuality, sexual education, and divorce (Appendix B). The responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree); higher scores indicating more adherence to traditional views. There were 3 reverse items. The factor structure of the scale revealed two factors. First factor, explaining 45.5% of the variance, had an eigen value of 5.46 and consisted of items about virginity and premarital sexuality. The second factor, explaining 11% of the variance, had an eigen value of 1.32 and consisted of items about divorce and sexual education for young people. The scale was used as a whole, and the alpha reliability of the whole scale was found to be .73.

#### **2.3.4. Patriarchal Beliefs**

Patriarchal beliefs concerning marriage were assessed via a 21-item scale, which combined 9-item Burt's Sex Role Stereotyping Scale (Burt, 1980) with newly constructed items concerning the power relationship within the marriage such as "Men are strong, therefore they can make their wives do the things they want" (Appendix C). The responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree); higher scores indicating more adherence to patriarchal beliefs. In previous studies, Burt's Sex Role Stereotyping scale was found to have an alpha reliability of .80 for the English version (Burt, 1980), and .82 for Arabic version (Haj-Yahia, 1998b), and .83 for Turkish version (Beydođan, 2001). Factor analysis for the combined scale revealed two factors with eigen values exceeding 1. The first factor, explaining 38.6% of the variance, had an eigen value of 8.1 and consisted of items about women defying the authority of men and men having the right to correct his wife's behavior. The second factor, explaining 8% of the variance, had an eigen value of 1.7 and consisted of items about employment of wives and power of wives within the family. The scale was used as a whole, and the alpha reliability of the whole scale was found to be .84.

#### **2.3.5. Patriarchy in the Family of Origin**

There are four items aimed at assessing the family backgrounds of the participants: "Who has (had) the control of money in your family of origin?", "Who gives (used to give) important financial decisions in your family of origin?", "What is the education level of the mother?", and "Have you ever witnessed, been told or inferred that your father used physical violence on your mother?" The first two items are preferred, instead of directly trying to assess the power relationship between the husband and the wife in the family of origin, primarily because financial decisions are considered to be a good

indicator of distribution of power in the family, yet still less susceptible to social desirability. These 4 items are used to form an index of patriarchal structure of the family of origin (min = 1, max = 12; higher scores indicating more patriarchal structure in the family).

### **2.3.6. Sexism**

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), which was adapted to Turkish by Sakallı-Uğurlu (2002), was used to assess sexist views. Possible responses ranged between 1 (strongly disagree) and 6 (strongly agree) where higher scores indicate more ambivalence for the whole scale and higher adherence to sexist views in each two of the subscales (Hostile Sexism, HS, and Benevolent Sexism, BS). Each subscale consists of eleven items partitioned according to the theoretically assumed foundations of hostile and benevolent sexism. Although benevolent sexism was found to confirm its theoretical background in previous studies, the factor structure of the hostile sexism subscale points a one-dimensional construct. The English version of the overall inventory was found to have an alpha reliability between .83 and .92 in a number of studies whereas HS subscale was found to have an alpha between .80 and .92; and BS between .73 and .85. The Turkish version was found to have a test-retest reliability of .87 whereas its factor structure converged with the original version (Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2002). In this study, the factor analyses of two subscales confirmed previous studies for HS, which yielded a single factor (eigen value 5.33) explaining 49% of the variance. BS confirmed its theoretical structure when forced to 3 factors, last factor showing an eigen value of .972. The inventory has an established reliability both within and between cultures (Glick & Fisk, 1996; Glick et al., 2000, Glick et al., 2002), and in this sample alpha reliability was found to be .88 for Ambivalent Sexism Inventory as a whole, .89 for HS, and .84 for BS. Items are presented in Appendix D.

### **2.3.7. Dependent Measures**

#### **2.3.7.1. Questions Regarding What the Victim Should Do after the Violent Incident**

These questions aim at assessing the participants' opinions about what "Zeynep hanım" should do after the incident. Probable responses range from 1 to 6 for each reaction of the victim: immediately calling the police, applying court for a divorce, asking help from elder relatives, doing nothing, leaving the house immediately, and apologizing from her husband.

The opinions of participants on this issue are considered to be important since they determine what participants value more: unity of the family in spite of violence, or rights of an individual even when it opposes values concerning family and marriage. Participants are also asked to reply the same questions in case of the couple has two children to further challenge the negative opinions concerning wife beating since a family with children is even more sacred than a marriage without children.

#### **2.3.7.2. Estimates of Occurrence in Turkish Society**

Participants are asked to guess on forced choices the percentage of the families in Turkey in which domestic violence takes place. Six choices were given and they ranged from "less than 10%" to "more than 90%".

#### **2.3.7.3. Attributions of Responsibility and Blame**

The two pairs of items developed by Kristiansen & Giulletti (1990) have been used to assess the degree of blame attributed to the victim versus the abuser. ("How much does the blame for man's actions rest solely on the man [woman]?" and "How much do you consider the assault to be the fault of the

man [woman]?). The responses ranged between 1 (not at all) to 6 (completely).

#### **2.3.7.4. Beliefs About Wife Beating**

Three beliefs about wife beating are assessed in this study as indicators of attitudes towards marital violence. The first two (justifying wife beating and denying husbands' responsibility) are measured by two subscales of the Inventory of Beliefs About Wife Beating (IBWB) developed by Saunders, Lynch, Grayson, & Linz (1987), Justifying Wife Beating (JUWB), and Holding Violent Husband Responsible (HVHR). Both subscales were reported to exhibit unidimensional constructs. JUWB was reported to have an alpha reliability of .82 for its original English version and .91 for Arabic version whereas HVHR exhibited an alpha of .68 for the English version and .81 for the Arabic version.

The last belief, blaming the wife for violence against her, was assessed by a 10-item scale developed by Haj-Yahia (1998b), which is named after the belief it aims to assess (BLWI). This scale was found to exhibit a unidimensional construct and have an alpha reliability of .86.

All three scales were translated from English by Sakallı Uğurlu; JUWB and HVHR were translated from original versions whereas the English version of BLWI was prepared by its developer Haj-Yahia for publishing purposes.

In this study, JUWB and HVHR were found to have single factor solutions with alpha reliabilities .82 and .66, respectively. BLWI had differed from its original version in terms of its factor structure, yielding a second factor (eigen value 1.41) with two items distinguished by mentioning duties toward children. The alpha reliability for this sample was found to be .85.

For each three beliefs, participants were asked to respond to propositions on a six point Likert-type scale between 1 (strongly disagree)

and 6 (strongly agree) where higher scores indicates more adherence to the particular belief (Appendix E).

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESULTS**

#### **3.1. Overview of Analyses**

Firstly, a series of regressions were conducted to test the predictive values of individual factors on attributions of blame, three beliefs about wife beating as indicators of attitudes toward wife beating and agreement with what the victim should do.

Additional analyses of variance and covariance were carried out to test the effects of gender alone, and after controlling for patriarchal beliefs, traditional views; and hostile and benevolent sexism.

Situational set of factors, except the existence of children, were subjected to a multivariate analysis of variance to test the effects of these factors on attributions of blame and guilt, agreement with the reactions of the victim, beliefs about wife beating; and interaction effects.

The same analysis was carried out in male and female subsamples to assess whether situational factors interact differently in males and females.

T-test was employed to test the difference observed in agreement with the reactions of the victim when there is no children and there are two children.

### 3.2. Overview of the Sample

The sample in this study exhibited a strong negativity to wife beating. On other variables, however, means were closer to neutral. Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations of variables investigated in the study for the whole sample, males, and females, and Table 2 presents the correlations between the variables.

**Table 1.** Variables Investigated in the Study.

	Male		Female		Overall	
	M	<u>SD</u>	M	<u>SD</u>	M	<u>SD</u>
Patriarchal beliefs	3.32	.89	2.26	.66	2.79	.94
Traditional views	2.82	1.17	2.04	.85	2.43	1.08
Hostile sexism	3.57	.92	2.73	.85	3.15	.97
Benevolent sexism	3.26	.91	3.20	1.05	3.23	.99
Patriarchy in the family	7.24	2.97	6.05	2.61	6.65	2.84
Normative approval of violence	3.03	1.26	3.48	1.41	3.25	1.34
Estimates of occurrence	3.13	1.11	3.64	1.06	3.39	1.11
<b>Beliefs about wife beating</b>						
Justifying wife beating	2.08	1.11	1.29	.53	1.69	.94
Holding husbands responsible	2.14	.91	1.49	.71	1.82	.87
Blaming the wife	2.23	.87	1.60	.50	1.92	.77
<b>Agreement with the reactions of the victim</b>						
Call the police	2.06	1.43	2.82	1.70	2.44	1.62
Apply for divorce	2.64	1.57	3.99	1.67	3.32	1.66
Seek help from elder relatives	3.71	1.63	2.90	1.60	3.31	1.66
Do nothing	1.96	1.51	1.37	1.13	1.67	1.35
Leave the house	2.79	1.63	3.60	1.78	3.20	1.76
Apologize from her husband	1.98	1.29	1.34	.97	1.66	1.17
<b>Blame attributed in the vignette</b>						
Blame attributed to the husband	4.43	1.25	5.18	.86	4.81	1.12
Blame attributed to the wife	2.52	1.27	1.91	1.06	2.22	1.20



**Table 2.** Correlations between the Variables.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Traditional beliefs (1)	.58*										
Patriarchy (2)	.70*	.77*									
HS (3)	.54*	.44*	.66*								
BS (4)	.25*	.38*	.42*	.36*							
Normative (5)	-.10	-.18*	-.18*	-.01	-.05						
Family patriarchy (6)	-.23*	-.11	-.17*	-.13***	-.06	.02					
Gender (7)	.47*	.36*	.56*	.43*	.03	-.07	-.20*				
Agreement with pro-victim reactions (8)	-.46**	-.50*	.54*	.31*	.13*	.09	.08	.34*			
Agreement with pro-unity reactions (9)	.41**	.37*	.47*	.30*	.16*	-.04	-.20	.40*	-.29**		
Blame attributed to the husband (10)	-.48**	-.33**	-.38**	-.37**	-.05	-.01	-.23	-.33**	.44**	-.27**	
Blame attributed to the wife (11)	.45**	.29**	.35**	.35**	.13***	.01	.15***	.25**	-.42**	.28**	-.72**

\*p < .001  
 \*\*p < .01  
 \*\*\*p < .05



### 3.3. Individual Factors

Prior to analyses, a linear combination of three beliefs about wife beating was formed, and accepted as an indicator of attitudes ( $M = 1.78$ ,  $SD = .74$ ). Together with patriarchal beliefs, traditional views, hostile and benevolent sexism, patriarchal structure of the family of origin and normative approval of violence in the marriage, this combined attitude variable was subjected to various examinations for accuracy of data entry, missing values, and fit to the assumptions of multivariate statistics. Missing values were replaced with the series' means and three multivariate outliers were identified and excluded using a  $p < .001$  criterion for Mahalanobis distance. To improve pairwise linearity and reduce the extreme skewness and kurtosis, attitude toward wife beating was logarithmically transformed (min = .00, max = .66) while patriarchal beliefs and traditional views had undergone a square root transformation (min = 1.09, max = 2.30, and min = 1, max = 2.27, respectively).

#### 3.3.1. Regression between Individual Factors and Attitudes toward Marital Violence

A standard multiple regression was performed between attitudes toward marital violence as the dependent variable and patriarchal beliefs, traditional views, hostile and benevolent sexism, patriarchal structure in the family of origin, beliefs about normative approval of violence, and gender.

Table 3 presents the unstandardized regression coefficients ( $B$ ), the standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ), the semi-partial correlations ( $sr_i^2$ ), and  $R^2$  after entry of all seven predictors.

$R$  for regression was significantly different from zero, ( $R = .716$ ,  $F(7, 301) = 48.55$   $p < .001$ ). Traditional views ( $sr^2 = .09$ ), patriarchal beliefs ( $sr^2 = .20$ ), hostile sexism ( $sr^2 = .11$ ), and patriarchal structure in the family of origin

( $sr^2 = -.10$ ) contributed significantly to the prediction of attitudes towards wife beating. The model explained 53% (51.9% adjusted) of the variability in attitudes toward marital violence.

**Table 3.** Standard Multiple Regression of Traditional Views, Patriarchal Beliefs, Patriarchal Structure of the Family of Origin, Normative Approval of Violence, Hostile (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS), and Gender on Attitudes towards Wife Beating.

Predictors	<u>B</u>	<u>β</u>	$sr^2$	
Traditional views	.07	.15	.09*	
Patriarchy	.25	.44	.20***	
HS	.03	.16	.11**	
BS	-.006	-.04	-.03	$R^2 = .53$
Normative	-.02	.02	.01	Adjusted $R^2 = .52$
Family patriarchy	-.002	-.10	-.10*	$R = .73$
Gender	.03	.08	.06	

\*\*\* $p < .001$

\*\* $p < .01$

\* $p < .05$

### **3.3.2. Regressions Between Individual Factors and Agreement with What the Victim Should Do After the Violent Incident**

Prior to the analyses, two dependent variables are formed for reactions of the victim. First dependent variable combined “calling the police”, “ applying court for divorce”, and “leaving the house immediately”, as a pro-victim reaction. The second dependent variable combined “seeking help from elder relatives”, “doing nothing”, and “apologizing from the husband”, as a pro-unity variable. These combinations also normalized the distribution of cases to responses in both pro-victim propositions and pro-unity propositions.

#### **3.3.2.1. Regression for Agreement with Pro-Victim Reactions**

A standard multiple regression was performed between pro-victim agreement with the reactions as the dependent variable and patriarchal beliefs, traditional views, hostile and benevolent sexism, patriarchal structure in the family of origin, beliefs about normative approval of violence, and gender.

Table 4 displays the unstandardized regression coefficients ( $B$ ), the standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ), the semi-partial correlations ( $sr_i^2$ ), and  $R^2$  after entry of all seven predictors.

$R$  for regression was significantly different from zero, ( $R = .579$ ,  $F(7, 301) = 21.73$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Traditional views ( $sr^2 = -.12$ ), patriarchal beliefs ( $sr^2 = -.21$ ), and benevolent sexism ( $sr^2 = .11$ ) contributed significantly to the prediction of pro-victim agreement with the reactions. The model explained 33.6% (32% adjusted) of the variability in pro-victim agreement with the reactions.

**Table 4.** Standard Multiple Regression of Traditional Views, Patriarchal Beliefs, Patriarchal Structure of the Family of Origin, Normative Approval of Violence, Hostile (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS), and Gender on Agreement with pro-victim Reactions.

Predictors	<u>B</u>	<u>β</u>	sr <sup>2</sup>
Traditional views	-.84	-.20	-.12**
Patriarchy	-2.33	-.46	-.21***
HS	.10	.07	.05
BS	.15	.11	.11*
Normative Family patriarchy	-.04	-.04	-.04
Gender	-.18	-.06	-.05

R<sup>2</sup> = .33  
Adjusted R<sup>2</sup> = .32  
R = .58

\*\*\*p<.001

\*\*p < .01

\*p < .05

### 3.3.2.2. Regression for Agreement with Pro-unity Reactions

A standard multiple regression was performed between pro-unity agreement with the reactions as the dependent variable and patriarchal beliefs, traditional views, hostile and benevolent sexism, patriarchal structure in the family of origin, beliefs about normative approval of violence, and gender.

Table 5 displays the unstandardized regression coefficients ( $B$ ), the standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ), the semi-partial correlations ( $sr_i^2$ ), and  $R^2$  after entry of all seven predictors.

$R$  for regression was significantly different from zero, ( $R = .507$ ,  $F(7, 301) = 14.87$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Patriarchal beliefs ( $sr^2 = .14$ ), patriarchal structure in the family of origin ( $sr^2 = -.10$ ), and gender ( $sr^2 = -.15$ ) contributed significantly to the prediction of pro-victim agreement with the reactions. The model explained 25.7% (24% adjusted) of the variability in pro-victim agreement with the reactions.

### 3.3.3. Gender and Attitudes towards Marital Violence

An analysis of variance was conducted to test the effect of gender on attitudes towards marital violence. The effect of gender was found to be significant ( $F(1, 326) = 89.5$ ,  $p < .001$ ) with males holding more positive attitudes ( $M = 2.15$ ,  $SD = .05$ ) than females ( $M = 1.46$ ,  $SD = .05$ ). However, an additional analysis of covariance for the effect of gender on attitudes towards marital violence after the scores of two sexes were adjusted for patriarchal beliefs, traditional views, hostile sexism, and benevolent sexism as covariates revealed no significant effect of being male or female ( $F(1, 305) = 1.83$ ,  $p = 1.18$ )

**Table 5.** Standard Multiple Regression of Traditional Views, Patriarchal Beliefs, Patriarchal Structure of the Family of Origin, Normative Approval of Violence, Hostile (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS), and Gender on Agreement with the Pro-unity Reactions (Pro-Unity).

Variables	<u>B</u>	<u>β</u>	<u>sr<sup>2</sup></u>
Traditional views	.19	.08	.05
Patriarchy	.92	.30	.14**
HS	-.03	-.03	-.02
BS	.001	.01	.01
Normative Family patriarchy	.03	.06	.05
Gender	-.14	-.10	-.10*
	.33	.19	.15**

R<sup>2</sup> = .26

Adjusted R<sup>2</sup> = .24

SD R = .51

\*\*\*p<.001

\*\*p < .01

\*p < .05

### 3.4. Situational Factors

The analyses of the manipulation checks indicate that the respondents thought the husband was provoked more and the victim provoked the husband more when there was a provocation manipulation. Concerning employment manipulations, more than 80 percent of the respondents indicated that both the husband and wife were coming from work when they were employed.

#### 3.4.1. Effects of Situational Factors on Three Beliefs about Wife Beating, and Blame Attributed to the Wife and the Husband

A 2 (provocation vs. no provocation) X 2 (severe vs. less severe) X 2 (employed husband vs. unemployed husband) X 2 (employed wife vs. unemployed wife) between-subjects MANOVA was carried out on five dependent variables: blame attributed to the husband, blame attributed to the wife, justifying wife beating, holding violent husband responsible, and blaming the wife.

With the use of Wilk's criterion, the combined DVs were significantly affected by employment status of the husband ( $F(5, 305) = 2.25, p < .05$ ), provocation ( $F(5, 305) = 8.17, p < .001$ ), and severity ( $F(5, 305) = 4.19, p < .001$ ) but not by employment of the wife and any interaction of IVs.

However, a univariate analyses revealed an effect of employment status of the wife on the blame attributed to the husband, in which the husband was blamed more ( $M = 4.96, SD = .09$ ) when the wife was employed than she was unemployed ( $M = 4.70, SD = .09$ ) (univariate  $F(1, 324) = 4.99, p < .05$ ),  $\eta^2 = .02$ .

Employment status of the husband had a significant effect on both blame attributed to himself where he was blamed more when unemployed ( $M = 4.95, SD = .09$ ) than he was employed ( $M = 4.71, SD = .09$ ) (univariate  $F$



(1, 324) = 4.39,  $p < .05$ ),  $\eta^2 = .02$ ; and blame attributed to the wife where she was blamed more when the husband is employed ( $M = 2.38$ ,  $SD = .09$ ) than he is unemployed ( $M = 2.01$ ,  $SD = .09$ ) (univariate  $F(1, 324) = 8.17$ ,  $p < .01$ ),  $\eta^2 = .03$ ).

The effect of severity was again on the blame attributed to the husband where he was blamed more when the act involves slapping and hitting ( $M = 4.97$ ,  $SD = .09$ ) than only slapping ( $M = 4.69$ ,  $SD = .09$ ) (univariate  $F(1, 324) = 5.79$ ,  $p < .05$ ),  $\eta^2 = .02$ ; and on the blame attributed to the wife where she was blamed more on an incident that involves only slapping ( $M = 2.40$ ,  $SD = .09$ ) than involving both slapping and kicking ( $M = 1.98$ ,  $SD = .09$ ) (univariate  $F(1, 324) = 11.91$ ,  $p < .001$ ),  $\eta^2 = .04$ .

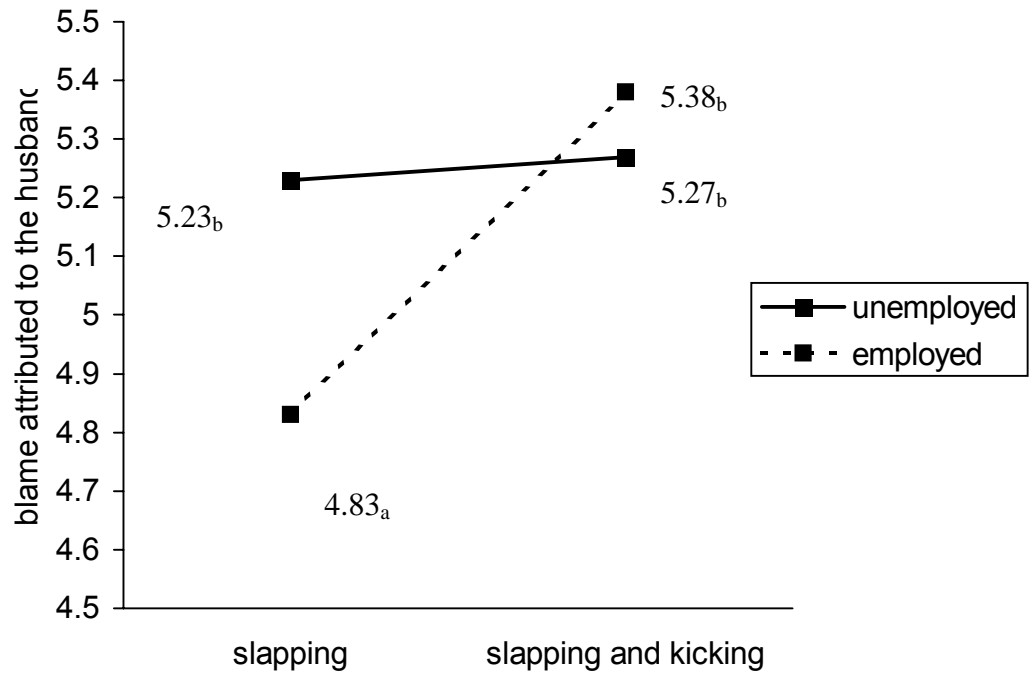
Provocation had an effect on the blame attributed to the husband (univariate  $F(1, 324) = 20.22$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .06$ ) where he was blamed more in no provocation condition ( $M = 5.10$ ,  $SD = .09$ ) than in provocation condition ( $M = 4.57$ ,  $SD = .09$ ); and on the blame attributed to the wife (univariate  $F(1, 324) = 31.7$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .09$ ) where she was blamed more in provocation condition ( $M = 2.55$ ,  $SD = .09$ ) than in no provocation condition ( $M = 1.84$ ,  $SD = .09$ ).

### **3.4.2. Interactions between Situational Factors in Subsample of Females**

On the contrary of expectations, overall analyses failed to reveal any interaction effect. However, further analyses conducted after splitting the sample into two by means of gender uncovered interesting interactions. Although there was no significant interaction effect for manipulated variables in the male subsample, in the female subsample, there was a significant interaction effect of severity and employment status of the husband on the blame attributed to him ( $F(1, 174) = 4.548$ ,  $p < .05$ ), in which he was not attributed more blame with increasing severity when unemployed whereas an

increase in severity met substantial amount of increase when he is employed. Furthermore, this increase began well below the unemployed condition when severity is low, surpassing it on high severity condition. Means and the interaction are presented visually in Figure 1.

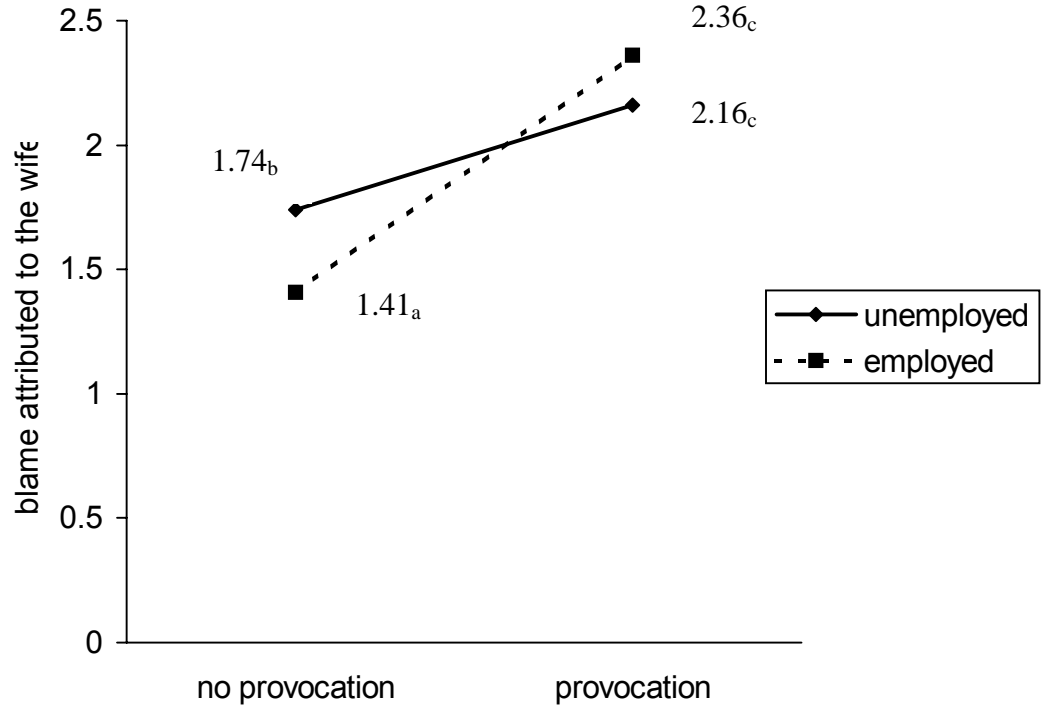
An interaction of provocation and employment status of the wife on blame attributed to her was found as well, for female subsample ( $F(1, 174) = 4.189, p < .05$ ). While the blame attributed to her when she was employed was less than the blame when she was unemployed in no provocation condition, employed wife was reacted with more blame when there was provocation as compared to when she was unemployed although attributions of blame increased with provocation in both employment conditions (Figure 2).



(1 = not at all, 6 = completely)

Note: means that do not share the same subscript differ at  $p < .05$

**Figure 1.** Blame Attributed to the Husband as a Function of Severity and Employment Status of the Husband in the Female Subsample.



(1 = not at all, 6 = completely)

Note: means that do not share the same subscript differ at  $p < .05$

**Figure 2.** Blame Attributed to the Wife as a Function of Provocation and Employment Status of her in the Female Subsample.

### 3.4.3. Effects of Situational Factors and Gender on Judgments about What the Victim Should Do

Another 2 (provocation vs. no provocation) X 2 (severe vs. less severe) X 2 (employed husband vs. unemployed husband) X 2 (employed wife vs. unemployed wife) X 2 (male vs. female) between-subjects MANOVA on judgments about what the victim should do after the incident serving as DVs revealed a significant effect of employment status of the husband ( $F(6, 290) =$

2.28,  $p < .05$ ), provocation ( $F(6, 290) = 2.56, p < .05$ ), severity ( $F(6, 290) = 10.88, p < .001$ ), gender ( $F(6, 290) = 16.07, p < .001$ ), and an interaction of employment status of the husband and gender ( $F(6, 290) = 3.98, p < .001$ ) on the combination of DVs using Wilk's criteria.

Univariate analyses revealed an effect of employment status of the husband on agreeing more with the proposition that the victim should apply for divorce (mean agreement 3.16 ( $SD = .14$ ) when the husband is employed, and mean agreement 3.57 ( $SD = .14$ ) when he is unemployed) (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 5.96, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$ ).

Provocation had an effect on agreeing with the victim should do nothing (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 8.23, p < .01, \eta^2 = .03$ ), and on agreeing with the victim should apologize (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 6.9, p < .01, \eta^2 = .023$ ). The means are presented in Table 6.

**Table 6.** Mean Agreement with the Reactions of the Victim as a Function of Provocation.

Reaction	Provocation		No provocation	
	M	<u>SD</u>	M	<u>SD</u>
Do nothing	1.84	.10	1.44	.10
Apologize from the husband	1.79	.09	1.48	.09

Note: (higher scores indicate more agreement)

Severity had an effect on agreeing with the victim should immediately call the police (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 28.61, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$ ); apply for divorce (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 34.26, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10$ ); seek help of elder relatives (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 23.13, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$ ), and leave the

home immediately (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 11.02, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$ ). The means are presented in Table 7.

**Table 7.** Mean Agreement with the Reactions of the Victim as a Function of Severity.

Reaction	Severity			
	Severe		Less severe	
	M	<u>SD</u>	M	<u>SD</u>
Call the police	2.93	.12	2.01	.12
Apply for divorce	3.86	.13	2.87	.13
Seek help from elder relatives	3.68	.13	2.87	.13
Leave the home	3.55	.14	2.91	.14

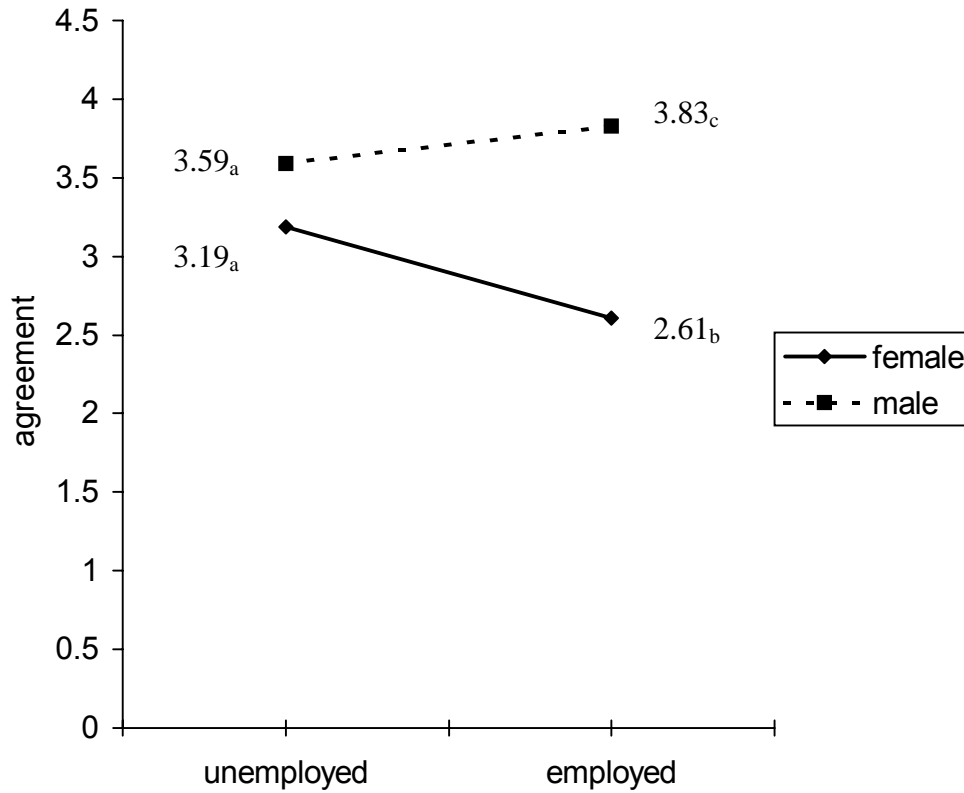
Note: (higher scores indicate more agreement)

Gender had an effect on agreeing with the victim should immediately call the police (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 20.42, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$ ); apply for divorce (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 60.03, p < .001, \eta^2 = .17$ ); seek help from elder relatives (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 22.73, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$ ); do nothing (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 17.53, p < .001, \eta^2 = .06$ ); immediately leave the house (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 18.89, p < .001, \eta^2 = .06$ ); and apologize from her husband (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 26.56, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$ ). The mean agreement for each reaction is presented in Table 8.

**Table 8.** Mean Agreement with the Reactions of the Victim as a Function of Gender.

Reaction	Gender			
	Female		Male	
	M	<u>SD</u>	M	<u>SD</u>
Call the police	2.83	.12	2.06	.13
Apply for divorce	3.99	.12	2.64	.13
Seek help from elder relatives	2.90	.12	3.72	.13
Do nothing	1.37	.10	1.96	.11
Leave the home	3.61	.13	2.79	.14
Apologize from the husband	1.34	.09	1.98	.09

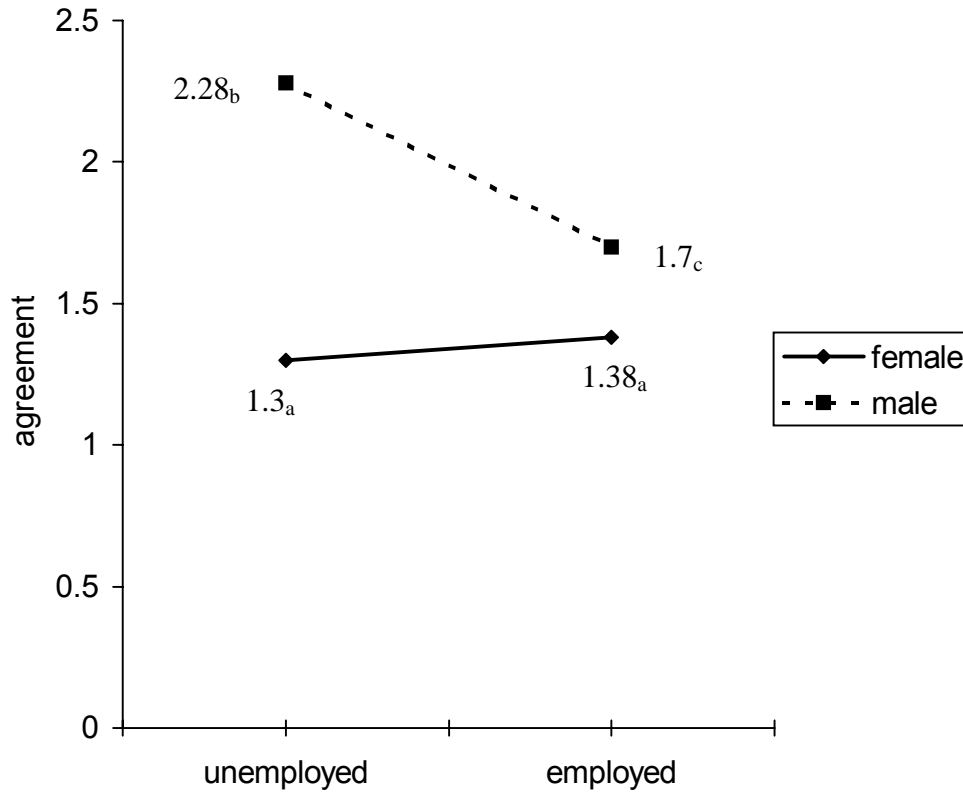
There was a significant interaction of employment status of the wife and the gender of the respondent on agreement with the victim should seek help from elder relatives (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 6.03, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$ ), and apologize from her husband (univariate  $F(1, 295) = 6.99, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$ ) (Figure 3 and Figure 4, respectively).



Note: means that do not share the same subscript differ at  $p < .05$

**Figure 3.** Mean Agreement with the proposition “Victim Should Seek Help from Elder Relatives” as a Function of Employment Status of the Wife and Gender of the Respondent.





Note: means that do not share the same subscript differ at  $p < .05$

**Figure 4.** Mean Agreement with the proposition “Victim Should Apologize from her Husband” as a Function of Employment Status of the Wife and Gender of the Respondent.

#### 3.4.4. Effect of Children on Judgments About What the Victim Should Do

The results of the t tests revealed that except apologizing from her husband and doing nothing, responses given to what the victim should do differed significantly in the case the couple had two children. Participants agreed more on “She should seek help of elder relatives” ( $t(320) = -6.750, p <$

.001) and less on “She should call the police” ( $t(324) = 5.064, p < .001$ ), “She should apply to court for divorce” ( $t(324) = 7.597, p < .001$ ), and “She should leave the house immediately” ( $t(318) = 9.577, p < .001$ ). Mean agreement for each item in conditions of two children and no children are given in Table 9.

**Table 9.** Mean Agreement with What the Victim Should Do When the Couple Does not Have any Children and When They Have Two Children.

Reaction	No children		Two children	
	M	<u>SD</u>	M	<u>SD</u>
Call police	2.47	1.63	2.26	1.60
Apply for divorce	3.36	1.76	3.03	1.77
Seek help from elder relatives	3.28	1.66	3.60	1.67
Immediately leave the house	3.23	1.76	2.67	1.67

(1 = do not agree at all, 6 = completely agree)

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **DISCUSSION**

The present study aimed at assessing the relationship between attitudes toward marital violence and two sets of factors. The first set was formulized as inherent in the attitude holder whereas the second set contained changes in the attitude object. Besides, the judgments on what the victim should do were investigated as indicators of ambivalence toward the issue. The results of the statistical analyses were presented in Chapter 3. In this chapter, the findings will be discussed in addition to the limitations of the study, contribution to the field of marital violence research, and suggestions for future research.

#### **4.1. Discussion of Statistical Findings**

##### **4.1.1. The Characteristics of the Sample**

First of all, it was found that METU students, in general, held quite negative views concerning marital violence. This finding is consistent with a previous study with the same population (Sakallı, 2001). The blame attributed to the wife and the husband favored the victim, as well. Moreover, the estimates of occurrence of wife beating in Turkish culture were high (the mean estimation was approximately 50%), much more than the reported frequency of physical violence in some of the previous studies (25.2% was the percentage of the families that physical violence takes place reported by

T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 2000; and 19% reported by Rittersberg-Tılıç and Kalaycıoğlu, 2000). Although some other studies report this frequency to be about 70% (Arıkan, 1993; İkkaracan and Gülçür, 1996), it seems reasonable to argue that this sample does not underestimate the problem (even if the real frequency is taken as approximately 70%, underestimation remains minute). It can be concluded that this sample, besides holding negative views, thinks that the problem is quite important for Turkish society.

However, as expected, the ambivalence mentioned about the phenomenon seems to manifest itself especially in the frequencies of the responses to the propositions about what the victim should do after a violent incident. Nearly 80% of this sample thought she should definitely or should do something (reversing the proposition she should not do anything) but this something was “definitely” not applying for divorce for 40%, not calling the police for 62%, and not leaving the house for another 40%. Seeking help from elder relatives received some support (44%) as a solution but the responses were equally dispersed to six levels of agreement. The participants were apparently on the victim’s side (nearly 90% opposed that she should apologize from her husband) but they were reluctant to agree with the destruction of the marriage. These findings parallel those of another study by Arıkan (1996), in which most of the people saw continuity of the marriage essential for societal balance (72.4%), and did not want divorce should be encouraged (75.6%), but resorted to if all else fails to save the marriage (92.4%) and divorce is not a source of shame (77.8%).

Furthermore, the equal dispersion of responses to six levels of agreement holds true not only for seeking help from elder relatives but also for leaving the house immediately and applying for divorce. This equal dispersion is thought to lend support for the ambivalent stance of the society toward the issue.

## **4.1.2. Discussion of Inferential Analyses**

### **4.1.2.1. Individual Factors and Attitudes toward Marital Violence**

It was found that traditional views, patriarchal beliefs, hostile sexism, and patriarchal structure in the family of origin contributed significantly to the prediction of attitudes towards wife beating whereas gender, benevolent sexism, and opinions on normative approval of domestic violence in Turkish society did not (Table 4). The predictive power of patriarchal beliefs, traditional views, and hostile sexism was in accordance with expectations, and with previous studies (Glick et al., 2002; Haj-Yahia, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c; Sakallı, 2001). As patriarchal beliefs that a wife should obey her husband and that the husband is the head of the family set the stage for existence of marital violence, coming from a family where the father has authority and power, and adoption of patriarchal beliefs together with hostile sexist views explain an important ratio of holding more positive views about marital violence. It is not surprising that male dominated order creates and perpetuates these beliefs, since it is a means of protecting the continuity of this order. As women are seen as subordinates destined to perform certain duties, guaranteeing that they will remain bound to these duties may necessitate even violent behavior toward them.

The surprising finding was that gender did not contribute significantly to the prediction of attitudes although the two groups differed substantially. This difference was in congruence with previous studies (Falchikov, 1996; Liehman & Santilli, 1996; Sakallı, 2001; Sakallı-Uğurlu & Ulu, in press) but its unique share in the variance was very low, suggesting that these differences are mostly due to the differences in patriarchal beliefs and hostile sexist views. The distribution of sexes to high and low groups on these variables present some support to this view. This may suggest sex is not a unique factor explaining attitudes toward marital violence but differential adoption of

patriarchal ideology and hostility toward women among sexes is. The findings that adoption of patriarchal beliefs and hostile sexist views among women are also associated with more positive attitudes present support to this explanation, as well. Following this rationale, further analysis revealed that when adjusted for patriarchal beliefs, traditional views and sexism, gender differences disappeared. Therefore, it does not seem to be wrong that gender per se is not the decisive factor about attitudes although this phenomenon clearly cuts the population into two as victims and assailants in terms of gender.

Concerning hostile and benevolent sexism, it seems admiration for women and believing in the protection provided to them by patriarchal system is not enough to change the direction of attitudes toward the issue. Knowing about one's admiration for women, and views that women should be protected contribute nearly nothing in explaining acceptance of marital violence while knowing about his/her hostility toward women does. This indicates that the protection provided to women by male dominated ideology proves insufficient, especially when the women defy the norms about being a "good" woman, paralleling the idea behind theory of Ambivalent Sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Moreover, this contention receives support from a study by Hortaçsu et al. (2003) where husband-to-wife physical violence was found to be acceptable by one fourth of the sample for undesirable habits of the wife. Furthermore 74% of women interviewed by Haj-Yahia (2000b) thought that sexual infidelity is a right cause for hitting a wife. This conditionality and limits of protection and admiration is evident in the reports of abusers (Ptacek, 1989), as well.

It is interesting that patriarchal family of origin, by itself, was associated with holding violent husbands less responsible for their actions. As the regression analysis indicates, coming from a patriarchal family has a unique contribution that cannot be attributed to patriarchal beliefs. The liking for one's father may be associated with patriarchal practices, which in turn, may result

in a decrement in holding the husband responsible for violence. More likely, participants coming from more patriarchal families might have observed or assumed a relationship between other factors (i.e. financial difficulties, behavior style of the wife or stress) and the practices of the patriarch. These factors are seen to be causes of conflict in the family by most people and by the victims (T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 2000), as well. Although there may be truth-value in such co-occurrences, it is believed that these are not the causes of violence, but moderators. Coming from a more patriarchal family may increase the likelihood of observing or assuming these co-occurrences, thus decrease the responsibility attributed to the husband.

#### **4.1.2.2. Situational Factors, Beliefs about Wife Beating, and Blame Attributed to the Husband and the Wife.**

First of all, an effect of employment status of the wife on the blame attributed to the husband was found, in which the husband was blamed more when the wife was employed than she was unemployed. This finding supports the view that working outside the house is not violating norms where one third of the employed population is composed of females (Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2003). Although within the norms, employment should not come before family and children even according to the constitution, until recently. Perhaps the importance of this duty excels for those who chose it by not getting employed in the eyes of our sample. The husband was blamed less because the wife seemed to be perceived as accepting the role of a housewife by choosing to stay unemployed, and not fulfilling this role. This may be due to perceiving the wife not fulfilling her share in the marriage, and spending time for leisure activities instead of taking care of the house. The responses given to the question “Where do you think Zeynep Hanım was coming from?” when she was unemployed supports this view. Most of the responses included “Gün”, in which females meet in a house to socialize.

Employment of the husband has also the expected effect. He was blamed more and the wife was blamed less when the husband was unemployed. Perhaps, he was seen as not fulfilling his share of breadwinning (the most important quality of a male, even according to the civil law (articles 152, 186; until recently) and has no right to demand any kind of contribution from his wife, let alone get angry and use violence.

As expected, and consistent with previous findings (Pierce & Harris, 1993) severity had an effect on blame attributed to the husband where he was blamed more when the act involves both slapping and hitting than only slapping, and on the blame attributed to the wife where she was blamed more on an incident that involves only slapping than involving both slapping and kicking. Perhaps, kicking the wife, who has fallen to the floor, was seen out of the boundaries of acceptable punishment, whereas slapping was not. It was more acceptable and perhaps less serious that the wife could be blamed for its occurrence (even victims may think slapping is not a form of violence (T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 2000). This supports the mentioned view that, in case of marital violence, there are boundaries for the use of violence but it is not discarded or prohibited altogether. A slap was not perhaps seen as a serious threat to the individual well being as slapping and kicking, shall it be for a minute act like not preparing dinner.

Provocation had the same effect as severity on the blame attributed to the husband and the wife, but perhaps for other reasons. Firstly, the respondents perhaps held, at least partly, the belief that men cannot control themselves (13%). Therefore, part of the blame must be attributed to this attribute. Second, and perhaps more important, the wife was seen less innocent and more deserving when she calls her husband “a miserable excuse for a man”. It was found in previous studies that the perceivers sympathize less with the victim if she behaves that could be inferred as provocation (Kristiansen & Giuletti, 1990) and the current sample inferred this statement as provocation as responses to the manipulation check implies.



Furthermore, the expression “miserable excuse for a man” was seen as provocation perhaps primarily because it threatens the manhood of the husband. Given that our culture is one of permitting and even encouraging violent acts under some circumstances (Magnarella, 1982), it is reasonable to argue that a provocation will be expected to result in retaliation.

#### **4.1.2.3. Individual Factors and Opinions on What the Victim Should Do**

Firstly, it was found that traditional views, patriarchal beliefs, and benevolent sexism contributed significantly to the prediction of pro-victim agreement with the reactions whereas patriarchal beliefs, patriarchal structure in the family of origin, and gender contributed significantly to the prediction of pro-victim agreement with the reactions.

It seems to be especially important that benevolent sexism is associated with pro-victim responses (calling the police, applying for divorce, and leaving the house immediately). Although benevolent sexism fails to change the acceptance of violence as discussed above, it clearly offers predictive power in supporting the victim when she decides to end the marriage. If these two constructs are worded as following, the relationship would be clearer: the more one thinks women are in need of protection, the more s/he will agree with reactions aimed at protecting her. However, it is difficult to infer whether supporting the victim to end the marriage means supporting her to live by herself as an individual or to seek shelter in another marriage (or in the family of origin) under the protection of another man (husband or father). As the nature of benevolent sexism indicates (Glick & Fiske, 1996), latter seems more probable.

Traditional views and patriarchal beliefs about marriage and the family clearly oppose breaking up of a marriage (Arıkan, 1996). Although these two constructs seem to be closely related, the reasons may be different. Out of

mere speculation, traditional views may be opposing the victim when she decides to end it because of the importance of the family per se while patriarchal beliefs may involve an urge to keep the woman in the marriage, not leaving the husband deprived of the advantages of the marriage, even if he beats his wife. For patriarchy, the family is not important for itself but for its functionality for men.

This speculation receives some support from the analyses of agreement with pro-unity reactions of the victim. Gender had a unique and substantial contribution in predicting agreement with pro-unity reactions of the wife, not explainable by traditionalism or patriarchal beliefs. Further analyses indicate that males supported pro-unity reactions more than women. While household tasks receive little attention from men and they are not expected to do housework (İmamoğlu, 1992), they perhaps accept the need of someone doing housework even that someone is faced with violence.

#### **4.1.2.4. Situational Factors and Opinions on What the Victim Should Do**

It was found that the participants agreed more with the proposition that the victim should apply for divorce when the husband was employed than he was unemployed. This finding may be a resulting out of pity for the husband perhaps because he failed at the most important aspect of life for a man. On the other hand, a man is perceived as more capable of looking after himself after the divorce, at least on dimensions other than household tasks, and it is believed that one of the most important problems a divorced man faces would be housework (Arıkan, 1996). The participants may have thought that the husband would not be able to look after himself (and would not be able to hire someone) when he was unemployed.

Interestingly, an effect for the employment status of the wife did not emerge on agreement with any of the reactions. This may partly be due to

perceiving a wife primarily as a housewife and employment information may not reach significance in evaluating the incident. Although the respondents had comprehended the victim was employed as the manipulation check indicates, it seems they did not see this information relevant to what she should do after a violent incident.

Provocation had an effect on agreement with two of the pro-unity reactions: doing nothing, and apologizing from the husband. This relationship perhaps reflects an antipathy toward the victim, rather than a unity orientation. As Pierce and Harris report (1993), the victim is liked less and the assailant is liked more when there is provocation. They argue that this “general affective evaluation” (p. 784) leads to assigning more responsibility to the victim in a violent incident. Perhaps doing nothing and apologizing from the husband received support because of this assigned responsibility to the wife when she was perceived to provoke the husband.

Increasing severity, on the other hand, has met with considerable increase in agreement with pro-victim reactions (calling the police, leaving the house, and applying for divorce). As expected, the protection of individual well being weighed more when the threat was greater. The participants agreed mostly with applying for divorce, and least with calling the police, perhaps as an indication of the mentioned ambivalence to marital violence. As discussed earlier, breaking up of a family by divorce is subject to the same ambivalence, as well. Severity seems to resolve this ambivalence toward family and individual well being as evident also in the responses to the proposition “She should call the police”. 120 out of 163 respondents expressed that the victim should not or should definitely not call the police when the incident involved only slapping whereas 83 out of 164 respond expressed this when the incident involved kicking also. There are perhaps certain limits for protecting the order and unity of the family, and increasing severity has exceeded that limit. Violence has met a strong opposition, even

for the price of perhaps irreversible action that would end the marriage, but only when this limit is exceeded.

Gender had an effect on agreement with each one of the propositions. It is not surprising that females agreed more with pro-victim propositions since they are more likely to sympathize with the victim (Pierce & Harris, 1993), more likely to suffer from the patriarchal ideology whereas males are the apparent perpetrators of their subordination. A parallel finding was reported by Sakallı-Uğurlu and Ulu (in press) for a sample drawn from a larger population in Ankara. Pierce and Harris argue that women primarily engage in emotional evaluation of the violent incident and can invoke more empathy whereas Arıkan (1993) argues adoption of patriarchal values by males render them more prone to accepting violence against women. Given the lack of unique contribution of gender in predicting attitudes toward marital violence, this study lends support to differential adoption of patriarchy by sexes. Perhaps both explanations are valid since females do not support patriarchal views much and men may be less able to sympathize with a victim.

Although more interactions were expected, the only interaction effect was observed between employment status of the wife and gender of the respondent on agreement with the proposition that the victim should seek help from elder relatives, and should apologize from her husband. The agreement with the proposition that the victim should seek help from elder relatives met with a decrease when she is employed on the part of females, but with no change on the part of males. This can be explained, perhaps, by more faith in the independent women by females. Employment is associated with more efficacy and status in the family in urban settings (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1986), and as generations pass Turkish women seem to be more inclined to pursue careers (Kandiyoti, 1982) thus the victim is not in need to seek help to settle the conflict inside the family or to protect her rights when she is employed. Males may be sharing this view as their agreement with the proposition that the victim should apologize from her husband has met with a

substantial decrease when the wife is employed whereas women's responses remained the same. Females think it is always unacceptable to apologize after having been hit but males think this is also conditional. If the wife is unemployed, males may think it would be better for the wife to remain in the marriage since she does not have the financial means to look after herself.

#### **4.1.2.5. Children and Opinions on What the Victim Should Do**

The effect of children on judgments of the respondents concerning what the victim should do was in accordance with the expectations. Agreement with pro-victim reactions (calling the police, applying for divorce, and leaving the house) has undergone a substantial decrease when existence of children is mentioned. This finding lends support to the view formulated in Chapter 1 that the stance of the society to marital violence is determined by two factors, value given to the individual well-being, and value given to the family. As the value of the family increases, the value given to the individual can be sacrificed for continuity of the family. This decrease in responses is considered as the proof of conflict of priorities a society is faced with in the case of marital violence. This finding contradicts Arkan (1996), in which majority of the participants stated a couple with children can divorce. However, it is believed that this contradiction is superficial since the same sample stated divorce as a last resort when all else fails. They may be responding to the items about divorce of a couple with children with a mindset predominantly influenced by this view, thus taking those items for a marriage in which all else failed. This mindset may be enforced by the items "Children can live with one of the divorced parents if they would be more in peace" as opposed to "The children should live with their parents even if they continuously quarrel".

## 4.2. Limitations of the Current Study

The first problem, as it is usually with student samples, is one of generalizability. Although previous studies by Sakallı-Uğurlu & Ulu (in press), and Glick et al. (2002) report similar patterns, at least for sexism and support for patriarchy, for student and non-student samples, there is not enough empirical evidence that this similarity also holds for other factors. However, theoretical relationships together with empirical support in this study seem to indicate a similarity of associations for especially individual factors and attitudes toward marital violence for non-student population. Furthermore, given the fact that non-student sample in these previous studies held more positive attitudes about marital violence, more support for patriarchy, and more adherence to traditional views, it would be reasonable to argue that they will demonstrate similar patterns, especially concerning the judgments on what the victim should do. Although the hypotheses and findings of this study are not directly compatible with previous studies (especially concerning agreement with what the victim should do), some items about break-up of the marriage because of violence reveal that more representative samples value unity of the family more. This may either mean the ambivalence experienced by this sample is a result of more egalitarian views about marriage and value of the individual, limiting the generalizability of the findings, or the ambivalence will also be higher since ambivalence about women and value given to them is higher, as well. To conclude, against all odds, there seems to be little reason to conclude that these findings are not generalizable at all.

The length of the questionnaire is perhaps another weakness of the study. The urge to obtain as much information as possible has perhaps hindered the associations between the manipulations and the beliefs about wife beating. As only first set of dependent variables (attributions of blame and guilt, and judgments on what the victim should do) immediately follow the manipulation vignette, and as there is a quite deal of reading material

between the manipulations and second set of dependent measures (beliefs about wife beating), the participants may not even have remembered the manipulations when they respond to these scales. The order of the scales could be manipulated to prevent this effect.

Another problem is about drawing causal inferences for individual factors. Since these factors are assessed as is, and not manipulated, it is hard to talk about their causal effects on the dependent measures.

Lastly, although the study aimed at assessing the judgments on the reactions of the victim, participants were forced to respond to predetermined propositions. There may well be other dimensions that are evaluated in the reactions of a victim, which may be overlooked by this set of reactions. The predetermined dimension was pro-unity – pro-victim dimension, however, another dimension could be immediacy. Participants agreed less with reactions that are given right after the incident. They may be reluctant to support quick and decisive reactions such as calling the police. Although this may, again, stem from the value attached to the family leading to a judgment that decisions about it must be thought about deeply before acting.

#### **4.3. Significance of the Current Study and Suggestions for Future Research**

Differing from previous studies on attitudes toward marital violence, this study aims at empirically assessing the causes that hinder the negativity of the society toward the issue from arriving at a solution. It was known that society holds generally negative attitudes toward wife beating (Haj-Yahia, 1998c; Falchikov, N., 1996; Sakalli, 2001) and inferred that this negativity is not sufficient because the problem resides in a sacred and private area of life. However, this study, by formulating the problem as a conflict between two priorities of the society, gave way to empirical assessment of this conflict, leading to ambivalence. Furthermore, although failed to achieve a

comprehensive set of relationships between situational factors and Individual factors, this study aimed at assessing the interactive nature of the phenomenon, not only within Individual and situational factors, but also between these two sets.

As mentioned in the previous section, a sample representative of Turkish society ought to be employed. Concerning the importance of the problem, a generalizable estimation of the society's attitudes is worthy of scientific investigation. Although a previous study by Sakallı Uğurlu, & Ulu (in press) assessed a representative Ankara sample, more research is needed to establish convergence in the estimates and determinants of attitudes.

Sampling shall be based on predetermined constructs in future studies for causal inference. Groups with extreme levels of patriarchal beliefs or families, which exhibit a patriarchal structure, may be studied as well as manipulating the aforementioned societal constructs via salience or forced agreement like making the participants defend a pro-patriarchal position.

Future studies shall also focus on different aspects of the phenomenon, as trying to obtain as much information as possible brings problems of internal validity within. Controlled experiments may help understanding the causal relationships of each construct with attitudes.

As this study demonstrates, not only positivity or negativity of attitudes influence the reactions to marital violence. The prices that the societies are willing to pay (even if this price may seem to include weakening the family structure) needs to be assessed more closely.



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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A**

#### **THE MANIPULATION VIGNETTE**

1) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. İkisi de çalışmaktadır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar (employed man, employed woman, no provocation, less severe).

2) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. İkisi de çalışmaktadır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar ve yere düşen Zeynep hanımın karnını tekmeler (employed man, employed woman, no provocation, severe).

3) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. İkisi de çalışmaktadır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya

başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken “Allah belanı versin. Sen de erkek misin!” der ve Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar (employed man, employed woman, provocation, less severe).

4) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. İkisi de çalışmaktadır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken “Allah belanı versin. Sen de erkek misin!” der ve Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar ve yere düşen Zeynep hanımın karnını tekmeler (employed man, employed woman, provocation, severe).

5) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. Ahmet bey işsiz, Zeynep hanım ise çalışmaktadır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar (unemployed man, employed woman, no provocation, less severe).

6) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. Ahmet bey işsiz, Zeynep hanım ise çalışmaktadır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar ve yere düşen Zeynep hanımın karnını tekmeler (unemployed man, employed woman, no provocation, severe).

7) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. Ahmet bey işsiz, Zeynep hanım ise çalışmaktadır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken “Allah belanı versin. Sen de erkek misin!” der ve Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar (unemployed man, employed woman, provocation, less severe).

8) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. Ahmet bey işsiz, Zeynep hanım ise çalışmaktadır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken “Allah belanı versin. Sen de erkek misin!” der ve Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar ve yere düşen Zeynep hanımın karnını tekmeler (unemployed man, employed woman, provocation, severe).

9) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. Ahmet bey çalışmakta, Zeynep hanım ise ev kadınıdır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar (employed man, unemployed woman, no provocation, less severe).

10) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. Ahmet bey çalışmakta, Zeynep hanım ise ev kadınıdır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi

göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar ve yere düşen Zeynep hanımın karnını tekmeler (employed man, unemployed woman, no provocation, severe).

11) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. Ahmet bey çalışmakta, Zeynep hanım ise ev kadınıdır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken “Allah belanı versin. Sen de erkek misin!” der ve Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar (employed man, unemployed woman, provocation, less severe).

12) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. Ahmet bey çalışmakta, Zeynep hanım ise ev kadınıdır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken “Allah belanı versin. Sen de erkek misin!” der ve Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar ve yere düşen Zeynep hanımın karnını tekmeler (employed man, unemployed woman, provocation, severe).

13) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. Ahmet bey işsiz, Zeynep hanım ise ev kadınıdır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa

giderken Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar (unemployed man, unemployed woman, no provocation, less severe).

14) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. Ahmet bey işsiz, Zeynep hanım ise ev kadınıdır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar ve yere düşen Zeynep hanımın karnını tekmeler (unemployed man, unemployed woman, no provocation, severe).

15) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. Ahmet bey işsiz, Zeynep hanım ise ev kadınıdır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken “Allah belanı versin. Sen de erkek misin!” der ve Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar (unemployed man, unemployed woman, provocation, less severe).

16) Zeynep hanım ve Ahmet bey evli bir çifttir. Ahmet bey işsiz, Zeynep hanım ise ev kadınıdır. Bir gün Ahmet bey eve geldiğinde Zeynep Hanımın evde olmadığını ve akşam yemeği için evde bir şey olmadığını fark eder. Zeynep hanım eve gelince ona evine ve kocasına daha çok ilgi göstermesi gerektiğini söyler. Tartışmaya başlarlar. Zeynep hanım mutfağa giderken “Allah belanı versin. Sen de erkek misin!” der ve Ahmet bey arkasından gidip onu kendine doğru çevirip bir tokat atar ve yere düşen Zeynep hanımın karnını tekmeler (unemployed man, unemployed woman, provocation, severe).

## **APPENDIX B.**

### **TRADITIONAL BELIEFS ABOUT MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY**

- 1) Evlilik öncesi çiftlerin birlikte yaşamalarına karşıyım.
- 2) Gençlere doğum kontrolü öğretilmelidir.
- 3) Evlilik öncesi cinsellik yaşayan kızlara kötü gözle bakarım.
- 4) Okullarda cinsellik eğitime gerek yoktur.
- 5) Boşanma daha kolay hale getirilmelidir.
- 6) Evlilik öncesi cinsel ilişkiye karşıyım.
- 7) Erkeklerin bakire kızlarla evlenmek istemelerine olumlu bakıyorum.
- 8) Evlilik öncesi cinsel ilişkide bulunmak erkekler için kabul edilebilir ama kızlar için kabul edilemez.
- 9) Eğer bir erkek, genç bir kıyı hamile bırakırsa onunla evlenmelidir.
- 10) Ebeveynler, geçinemeseler bile çocuklarının iyiliğı için birlikte yaşamalıdır.
- 11) Gençler, evlenmeden aile ocağından ayrılıp tek başına yaşayabilirler.
- 12) Kadınlar kendilerini evlenecekleri erkeğıe saklamalıdır.

## **APPENDIX C.**

### **PATRIARCHAL BELIEFS ABOUT MARRIAGE**

- 1) Bir kadın toplum içinde kocasına ters düşecek davranışları asla yapmamalıdır.
- 2) Kadınlar kocalarına karşı saygıda kusur etmezlerse aile içinde sorun çıkmaz.
- 3) Evlenmek ve aile kurmak istemeyen kadında bir sorun var demektir.
- 4) Erkekler güçlüdür, bu nedenle eşlerine istediklerini yaptırabilirler.
- 5) Kadınların kariyer sahibi olması kabul edilebilir, fakat evlilik ve aile önce gelmelidir.
- 6) Kadının kocasına karşı yaptırım gücü olmalıdır.
- 7) Bir kasının sarhoş olması, bir erkeğin sarhoş olmasından daha kötü görünür.
- 8) Kadının çalışması aile düzenini olumsuz yönde etkiler.
- 9) Kadınların istediklerini elde etmek için doğrudan sormak yerine kadınsı cazibelerini kullanmaları daha iyidir.
- 10) Erkek, karısının yanlış davranışlarını düzeltmesi için onu uyarabilir.
- 11) Kadın herhangi bir konuda kocasına danışmadan karar vermemelidir.
- 12) Bir kadının bara tek başına gitmesinde yanlış bir şey yoktur.
- 13) Kadın kocasının otoritesini sarsacak davranışlardan kaçınmalıdır.
- 14) Evlendiğinde kadının bakire olması önemlidir.
- 15) Aile yapısını korumak için evin reisi erkek olmalıdır.
- 16) Kadın kocasının onayını almadan bir iş bulup çalışmamalıdır.



- 17) Bir erkek, yanında bulunan kadının başka bir erkek tarafından taciz edilmesi durumunda pasif kalmamalıdır.
- 18) Erkekler eşlerine karşı yaptırım gücüne sahip olmalıdır.
- 19) Çocuklarına bakmak ve ev işleri ile uğraşmak kadınların en önemli görevleridir.
- 20) Dışarı çıktığında kadının masrafları ödemesi normaldir.
- 21) Kadın, kocasını yanlış davranışlarını düzeltmesi için uyaramaz.

## **APPENDIX D.**

### **AMBIVALENT SEXISM INVENTORY**

- 1) Ne kadar başarılı olursa olsun bir kadının sevgisine sahip olmadıkça bir erkek gerçek anlamda bütün bir insan olamaz.
- 2) Gerçekte birçok kadın "eşitlik" arıyoruz maskesi altında işe alınmalarda kendilerinin kayırılması gibi özel muameleler arıyorlar.
- 3) Bir felaket durumunda kadınlar erkeklerden önce kurtarılmalıdır.
- 4) Birçok kadın masum söz veya davranışları cinsel ayrımcılık olarak yorumlamaktadır.
- 5) Kadınlar çok çabuk alınırlar.
- 6) Karşı cinsten biri ile romantik ilişki olmaksızın insanlar hayatta gerçekten mutlu olamazlar.
- 7) Feministler gerçekte kadınların erkeklerden daha fazla güce sahip olmalarını istemektedirler.
- 8) Birçok kadın çok az erkekte olan bir saflığa sahiptir.
- 9) Kadınlar erkekler tarafından el üstünde tutulmalı ve korunmalıdır.
- 10) Birçok kadın erkeklerin kendileri için yaptıklarına tamamen minnettar olmamaktadırlar.
- 11) Kadınlar erkekler üzerinde kontrolü sağlayarak güç kazanmak hevesindedirler.
- 12) Her erkeğin hayatında hayran olduğu bir kadın olmalıdır.
- 13) Erkekler kadınsız eksiktirler.
- 14) Kadınlar işyerlerindeki problemleri abartmaktadırlar.

- 15) Bir kadın bir erkeğin bağılılığını kazandıktan sonra genellikle o erkeğe sıkı bir yular takmaya çalışır.
- 16) Adaletli bir yarışmada kadınlar erkeklere karşı kaybettikleri zaman tipik olarak kendilerinin ayrımcılığa maruz kaldıklarından yakınır.
- 17) İyi bir kadın erkeği tarafından yüceltilmelidir.
- 18) Erkeklere cinsel yönden yaklaşılabilir olduklarını gösterircesine şakalar yapıp daha sonra erkeklerin tekliflerini reddetmekten zevk alan birçok kadın vardır.
- 19) Kadınlar erkeklerden daha yüksek ahlaki duyarlılığa sahip olma eğilimindedirler.
- 20) Erkekler hayatlarındaki kadın için mali yardım sağlamak için kendi rahatlarını gönüllü olarak feda etmelidirler.
- 21) Feministler erkeklere makul olmayan istekler sunmaktadırlar.
- 22) Kadınlar erkeklerden daha ince bir kültür anlayışına ve zevkine sahiptirler.

## **APPENDIX E.**

### **JUWB, HVHR, AND BLWI**

#### **JUSTIFYING WIFE BEATING**

- 1) Kendisiyle yaptığı anlaşmaları bozsa bile, bir kocanın karısını dövmeye hakkı yoktur.
- 2) Eğer bir kadın kocasının erkekliğine meydan okursa, kocasının onu dövmeye hakkı vardır.
- 3) Devamlı olarak kocasının zayıf yanlarını hatırlatan kadın dayak yemeyi hak ediyordur.
- 4) Kocasına yalan söyleyen kadın dövülmeyi hak eder.
- 5) Cinsel açıdan kocasına sadık olmayan kadın dövülmeyi hak eder.
- 6) Kocaları tarafından dövülmek bazı kadınlara iyi gelir.
- 7) Kocanın karısına ara sıra attığı dayak evliliğin yürümesine yardımcı olur.
- 8) Bir erkeğin karısını dövmesine hiç bir mazeret bulunamaz.
- 9) Kocasıyla cinsel ilişkiye girmeyi devamlı olarak reddeden bir kadın dayak istiyor demektir.
- 10) Eğer kocasının anne babasına ve kardeşlerine gereken saygıyı göstermiyorsa, kocanın karısını dövmeye hakkı vardır.
- 11) Eğer akrabalarına saygı göstermiyorsa kocanın karısını dövmeye hakkı vardır.
- 12) Arkadaşlarının önünde kendisini aşağılarsa kocanın karısını dövmeye hakkı vardır.

- 13)Kocasına sürekli olarak karşı çıkan ve onun sözünü dinlemeyen kadın dayak istiyordur.
- 14)Kocasının beklentilerini sürekli olarak boşa çıkaran kadın dövülmeyi hak eder.

### **HOLDING VIOLENT HUSBANDS RESPONSIBLE**

- 1) Karısını döven ve onu devamlı istismar eden kocalar her zaman bu davranışlarından sorumlu tutulmalıdırlar.
- 2) Karısını döven bir erkek bu davranışından sorumludur çünkü karısı ne yaparsa yapmış olsun erkek kendisini kontrol etmelidir.
- 3) Erkekler kendilerini kontrol edemezler. Bu yüzden şiddet gösteren kocalar bu davranışları yüzünden sorumlu tutulamazlar.
- 4) Şiddet gösteren bir koca bu davranışından tamamiyle sorumlu değildir çünkü bunun sebepleri karısı ve günlük hayat koşullarıdır.

### **BLAMING THE WIFE FOR VIOLENCE AGAINST HER**

- 1) Eğer bir erkek karısını döverse bu genelde karısının hatalı davranışı yüzündendir.
- 2) Çok konuşan ve kocasını devamlı eleştiren bir kadın dövülmek istiyordur.
- 3) Bazen kadınlar bilinçli olarak kocalarını kızdırmak için kışkırtırlar ve dayak yerler.
- 4) Çoğu durumda kadının kocasına ve çocuklarına karşı davranışları dayak yemesinin sebebidir.

- 5) Bir çok durumda koca, karısını çok para harcamak veya evi ve çocukları ihmal etmek gibi hatalı davranışlarından dolayı döver.
- 6) Dayak yemiş bir kadın bu durumdan tamamen kendisi sorumludur çünkü mutlaka kocasını rahtsız edip kızdıracak bir şey yapmıştır.
- 7) Dayak yemiş bir kadın bu durumdan tamamen kendisi sorumludur çünkü mutlaka kocasına dırdır edip durmuştur.
- 8) Eğer dövülmüş olan kadın sınırlarını bilip kocasından kaçınabilseydi kesinlikle dayak yemezdi.
- 9) Çoğu durumda dayak yiyen kadınlar bu durumdan tamamen kendileri sorumludurlar.
- 10) Dayak yiyen kadınlar bu durumdan sorumludurlar çünkü bunun olmasını istemişlerdir.