

A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF WOMEN CRIMINALS IN THE
DENİZLİ OPEN PRISON

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ABSTRACT

A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF FEMALE CRIMINALS IN THE DENİZLİ OPEN PRISON

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This study, through a questionnaire and in-depth interviews, aims to to make a sociological analysis of female criminals in the Denizli Open Prison, including their demographic characteristics, family structures, committed crimes and the factors that led to their criminal acts. The questionnaire, composed of 57 questions, has been evaluated in the SPSS program, and in-depth interviews were done with 6 female criminals for a detailed analysis of why the female criminals committed crimes and the factors that led to their behavior. In the study, the concept of crime is accepted as a social fact. The educational backgrounds, ages, families and sub-cultures of the women have been examined and the dynamics of female criminality in Turkey have been cross-examined within the limits of sampling. In the course of the study, it was found that concepts of honor, domestic violence and patriarchal structure have been key concepts of female criminality, and female criminality in Turkey can be understood in terms of these phenomena.

Keywords: Crime, Female criminals, Domestic violence, Family honor, Honor, Killings, Turkey

ÖZ

DENİZLİ AÇIK CEZAEVİNDEKİ KADIN SUÇLULARIN SOSYOLOJİK BİR ANALİZİ

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Bu çalışma yapılan anket ve derinlemesine mülakatlar aracılığıyla Denizli Açık Cezaevinde bulunan kadın suçluların demografik özellikleri, aile yapıları, işledikleri suçları ve suç işlemelerine neden olan faktörler hakkında sosyolojik bir analiz yapmayı amaçlamaktadır. 57 sorudan oluşan anket formu SPSS Programında değerlendirilmiş, kadın suçluların neden suç işledikleri ve suç işlemelerine sebep olan faktörlerin daha detaylı bir analizi için 6 tane kadın mahkûmla derinlemesine mülakat yapılmıştır. Çalışmada, suç kavramının sosyal bir olgu olduğu kabul edilip, kadın suçluların eğitim durumları, yaşları, aileleri, yetiştikleri alt kültürler irdelenmiş ve örnekleme sınırlı kalınarak Türkiye’deki kadın suçluluğunun dinamikleri sorgulanmıştır. Çalışma sonucunda, Türkiye’de kadın suçluluğu için namus, aile içi şiddet ve patriarki gibi kavramların anahtar kavramlar olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Türkiye’deki kadın suçluluğu ancak bu fenomenlerin bağlamında anlaşılabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suç, Kadın suçlular, Aile içi şiddet, Aile namusu, Namus cinayetleri, Türkiye

To My Grandmother

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the most serious problems in today's world is crime, and this is also true in Turkey. Turkey has its own particular conditions with criminality as a cultural, social, and economic reality. But together with the increasing complexity of human society and the effects of industrialization and globalization, crime in its different forms has become one of the major problems of contemporary societies. The rate of organized crime, international terror, female and juvenile delinquency and other forms of crime increase parallel to industrialization, globalization, and urbanization and immigration, which can be accepted as the result of industrialization and globalization.

In any daily newspaper, published in anywhere in the world or in Turkey, one can find a significant proportion of space devoted to reports of murder, theft, and other crimes. Alongside this dramatic increase of the global crime rate, crime has also become a major socio-economic problem in Turkey in recent years. For Turkey as a developing country, industrialization and urbanization, derived from migration due to industrialization, have become fields that should be extensively studied.

Recently in Turkey, inequality of income distribution, unemployment and asymmetric power relations in the social structure are on the rise due to the transformations in the broader world. In connection with this reality, some groups become particularly disadvantaged, such as the poor or immigrants. These groups tend to commit crimes much more often than other people. Theft and burglary, not surprisingly, are carried out mainly by people in the poorer segments of the population. Moreover, women and children become much more at risk because they are more sensitive to external forces as a part of the disadvantaged groups within society, as mentioned above. For this reason, the aim of this study is to examine female delinquency.

In the course of industrialization and globalization, it becomes too difficult to explore the complicated relations between the factors involved in the disintegration of social structures and the increase of violent events and crime rates, abuse of women and children, terrorist and anarchic crimes and the increase of

female and juvenile delinquency. The very meaning of the term “crime” becomes much more complex due to the rapid changes in modern social structures.

Changes in a society demand accompanying changes in the ways social order is maintained. If institutions, which are components of society, cannot fulfill these demands, anomie may occur in the society. Anomie may not always be visible; on the contrary, it is often hidden in modern society. Crime is the part of the concealed anomic environment that has become apparent. The fact that the speed of the income level structure has been established before the cultural structure creates a milieu of conflict, and this leads to an increase in the crime rate. As various factors, such as education, poverty and moral laws, are added to the picture, the understanding of crime grows even more complicated.

In this thesis, the main argument is that there is a direct relation between criminal behavior and social factors such as education, income, the standard of life, and family structure, and therefore, crime can be learned and imitated. Also, this criminal tendency has a relation to the state of economic deprivation which often inspires the feeling of fearlessness necessary to commit the crime. The disadvantaged groups, such as the poor, have low social control mechanisms due to the fact that people who are socially and economically deprived feel that they have nothing to lose. In the disadvantaged groups, both women and children easily become vulnerable toward the criminal behaviors because of their sensitive positions to environmental interferences and social conditions.

In attempting to explain social conditions, researchers generally seek a simple explanation for a given problem. For example, poverty is accepted as the mother of delinquency. This type of reasoning asserts that poverty causes delinquency. In this sense, economic depressions bring more juvenile delinquency problems. With this type of thinking, the problem has been reduced to the simple explanation that poor people’s children commit more delinquent acts than the children of people better situated. For example, prior to the Great Depression of the 1930s, it was assumed that depressions always increased delinquency. But in investigations during 1930 through 1938, it was found that delinquency did not increase during the “hard time” of the Great Depression. Actually, the amount of delinquency among young children decreased during that period. In the research of Gluecks, which examined the careers of 500 delinquent and 500 non-delinquent boys, it is shown that the main differences between two groups was not

discrepancies in the economic standings of boys, but rather in the composition of their home lives (Leonard, 1953: 644). Poverty and poor surroundings can be accepted as the social background of a boy, but one cannot say absolutely that poverty is the cause of delinquency. For this reason, in this study, crime is explained in relation to a combination of many factors and social conditions, because a singular explanation, like that above, both oversimplifies the problem and increases the risk of making mistakes. For this reason, in this study, direct statements and reductionism are avoided. Especially considering the complicated nature of crime, it is quite difficult to rely on causative reductionism. Furthermore, when the diversification of the subcultures of Turkey and the effects of the mentioned subcultures on the life styles of people are considered, it will appear crucial for an individual to give meaning to crime in terms of the social structure within which he lives, to acknowledge the factors that makes an individual commit a crime and to evaluate the unique case wholly.

In this sense, the main problem of this study is the nature of the female offenders in Turkey. Especially with regard to rapid social and economic changes in Turkey, women and children have become much more at risk because they are more sensitive to external forces as a part of disadvantaged groups within the wider society. Women who are uneducated, unemployed or lacking social and physical resources are more likely to commit crimes. Understanding female criminality in Turkey requires a comprehensive analysis of the cultural interpretations. In particular, the fact that the phenomenon of honor is structured over women is a key foundational stone in the acknowledgement of female criminality. Women can be both victim and criminal with regards to their honor. For this reason, women criminalities with regard to environmental and sub-cultural determinants construct the focal point of this thesis.

One of the basic aims of the study is to discuss female offenders in Turkey who are incarcerated at the Denizli Open Prison and to understand the dimensions of female criminality. Related to this basic aim, this study intends to answer the following questions:

- What are the demographic characteristics of female offenders with respect to their socio-economic origins?
- What are the demographic characteristics of the families of female offenders?
- What are the social conditions of their families?
- Why did they commit a crime?
- Which factors pushed individuals to criminal behavior?
- What kind of crimes do female offenders most commonly commit?
- Do they have relatives or acquaintances who are offenders?

The main limitation of the study is that the present sampling consists of 60 respondents from the Denizli Open Prison. Therefore, the results obtained here cannot be generalized to Turkey at the national level. Another limitation of the study is that it is based on particularly sociological theories of crime, such as learning, subculture and social control, because the crime is assumed to be a social fact in the thesis. However, due to the great number of the crime theories in existence, the limitation of theories becomes inevitable.

Another limitation is that the factors contributing to criminal behavior were restricted to age, income, education and gender. Many factors can be accepted as predictors of criminal behavior, but they must be restricted to be analyzed effectively. The final limitation is in accordance with the methodology. The questionnaire and the in-depth interviews are the research techniques of the study because of the limitations of the official research guidelines.

The present study consists of six parts. Chapter One, the introduction, has examined the problem of study, the aims of study, the organization of study, and the limitations of study. This chapter aimed to provide general information about study. Chapter Two examines the concept of crime and crime theories. The biological, physiological and sociological theories of crime are discussed. This section especially looks at sociological theories about crime in relation to the main assumption of the study, which suggests that there is a direct correlation between criminal behavior and social factors. Chapter Three analyzes women and crime. In

this section, approaches to crime are disputed, considering gender and studies on female delinquency in Turkey and the world. Chapter Four focuses on the methodology of this study and the findings. In this context, attention is given to research techniques of study, the process of the area search and the difficulties in this process. Then, in Chapter Five, the demographics of respondents are examined. The findings about the families, migration patterns and the factors for committing crime are analyzed. In the conclusion, Chapter Six, I review the theories of crime, the process and findings of this study and the matter of crime in Turkey.

The number of female offenders has increased rapidly worldwide, and particularly in Turkey. The growing number of female offenders increases the need to recognize women in prison as a distinct group with distinctive needs (Loucks, 2004: 142). The concept of crime is complex, and female criminality is in a complicated structure that manifests itself with varied characteristics in different countries.

Acknowledging the existence of female criminality in Turkey also requires the collective analyzing and acknowledging of the local subcultures and other social factors, such as the phenomenon of honor. Within this framework, the female criminality in Turkey should be evaluated within its own climate. The fact that the female criminality in Turkey presents regional differences when analyzed on the basis of west-centric theories has been taken as the main point of view during this study. The low literacy rate among women, the fact that they are forced to marry at very early ages and the frequency of honor crimes can only the unique nature of female criminality in Turkey. The main argument of this thesis is that female criminality is a social process. Either it is learned or, in consideration of social norms, it takes shape in accordance with the individual's social structure and can be understood as a result of learning-based interpretations. Due to these facts, it is quite difficult to talk about a single type of female criminal in Turkey. This is why, during the study, an emphasis was placed on understanding the different interpretations provided by the women, who hold different educational statuses and come from different subcultures, including the different interpretations regarding various concepts, including the concept of honor. It is impossible to understand the issue of female criminality without understanding these varied interpretations and the social milieu to which the women belong.

This study is functional in the sense of being an endeavor to understand the original structure and dynamics of female offense in Turkey, and in particular of the female inmates of the Denizli Open Prison. Putting forth the reasons for and dimensions of female offense for consideration in studies such as this will be significant for the development of precautions and new opportunities for women.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. 1. Description of Crime and Deviance

Understanding female criminality depends primarily on the understanding of the concept of crime. Should one want to understand what crime is, one must first investigate is the meaning of “deviance.” Society is composed of a variety of elements that are the parts of a harmonious whole. Within these elements there are mutual relations and influence. The integration between the components is provided by the social values, rules and regulations. These rules and values are functional for the continuity of the society due to their ability to put external pressure on the constituent groups. Perfect harmony and wholeness is a goal in the society. However, many times the individuals act in opposition to the normative structure of the society. According to the sociological view, acting in opposition to the normative structure of the society is called deviation. The limits and the measurements of the deviated behavior are determined by the customs, traditions, rules of religion and laws, so that the response varies due to the nature of the particular deviated behavior. For instance, the sanction against a deviated behavior might be legally determined by the law; on the hand, the sanction of the oral rules is not outlined in written legal codes.

“Deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender” (Becker, 1963: 9). In other words, no act is deviant in itself; it only becomes deviant when it is defined as deviant. In this sense, deviant behavior can be defined as a violation of the norms of a group or society. For this reason, alienation from the norms of society and its expression in action are the main issues of criminology (Cullingford, 1999: 2). In this sense, criminology can be defined as the body of knowledge about crime as a social phenomenon, which includes the process of making laws and breaking law, and reactions toward the breaking of laws. Criminology’s objectives are to develop a body of general types of knowledge about the process of law, crime and treatment and prevention (Adler, 1991:15).

All deviated behavior is not evaluated as crime. For example, there are some acts that are deviated from traditions, customs and rules of morality, and these are not considered to be crimes legally and technically (Dönmezer, 1981:59). The concept of deviation is used for all norm violations, while the concept of crime is exclusively used for the behavior that is prohibited by law. "Deviation is closely related with social problems in social systems. Some social problems occur as a result of deviation; however, some are just the deviation itself but it should not be forgotten that not all deviations are social problems; and many social problems may include social deviations" (İçli, 1994:2-3). The relation between crime and deviation cannot be ignored; however, some different and specific definitions have been formulated to define the concept of crime:

- *"Crime has been the concern of people since they have been human beings. Ancient Greek philosophers were interested in the reasons of crime: For Plato the resources of the crime are passions, seeking for pleasure and ignorance. On the other hand, despite the fact that he knew that the criminals have become criminals due to environmental factors and also to their tendency, Aristotle had been willing to give hard penalties as they are the enemies of society"* (Demirbaş, 2001:52).
- *"Aristotle claimed that poverty led to revolution and crime. For Hypocrites the criminal is mentally ill. Hypocrites, like Plato, were one of the first who felt about the anthropology of crime that for both of them there had been a relation between the shape of the body and character. In the medieval era, Thomas Aquinas mentioned the reasons for crime as the passions of human beings and poverty as an important factor. Luther, Calvin, Thomas More, Voltaire and others had a common view about the economic reasons for crime"* (Demirbaş, 2001:53).
- *"In law, the terms of 'crime' and 'criminal' have exact meanings. But in criminology their meanings are not as constant as in law. For criminology, the act defined as crime presents a voluntary social activity which has special properties. To define any act as crime, this act should be penalized by the rule maker. The question here is why law defines one act as crime and the other not"* (Dönmezer, 1994:45).

In spite of the relative definitions, crime is a fact that exists and will exist in the future in all societies. Throughout time, the definition, form, frequency and limits of crime varies from one society to another due to the social, economic and political changes and transformations of human history. If a general separation is done based on different typologies of societies, there are different kinds of crimes in traditional societies and in complex, modern societies. As the societies become more complex, new forms of crime appear. According to this, crime is a fact that gains relative meanings and forms that are directly related to the social changes. The importance in the definition of crime is the measurement used in the explanation.

“Recent socio-cultural sciences define the acts of human beings named as crime as a deviation from the social norms. A criminal is the person who is not able to have a balance between the social norms and individualistic forces. In addition to this, a separation should be made between the act of crime and general deviated activity. Though it is linked to the deviated character, the behavior mentioned as crime is the result of the historical forces and appears in law” (Dönmezer, 1994: 47).

In conclusion, crime is an action that damages the society. It is a technical subject and a legal construction (Adler, 1991: 2003). Crime begins with the offensive behaviors directed toward the laws of the community and ends as the offense achieved as its goal. This is why crime is a concept that constitutes the foundation of the Criminal Law. The wrongdoer is punished as a crime is committed and a criminal law is structured so as to prevent the committing of crimes (Dönmezer, 1981).

2.2 General Criminological Theories

In this section of the study, the development of criminological theories will be explored. However, the breadth of the subject forces some limitations. The sociological theories have been dealt with within a broader framework. They have been classified into three main categories: Theories of social structure, theories of social process and conflict theories. Among the sociological theories examined under the given main topics, learning, subculture and social control theories have been more functional with relation to the thesis. For this reason, the mentioned theories have been dealt with in a more detailed way than the others.

Explanations for criminal behavior are as old as the types of behavior themselves. Debate and discussion about why people break rules have been popular in general society and scholarly circles throughout history. Most people have their own opinions about the most likely causes of such behavior; these opinions are all likely to contain some elements of “truth” without being complete explanations. For this reason, we need to know that many different theoretical approaches and explanations may help explain main forms of criminal behaviors, and that there is no “ultimate explanation” waiting to be discovered (Marsh, 2006: 92).

At one time, crime theories were rather pure and abstract, with few practical implications, but that is no longer the case. For that reason, to generally evaluate the crime in both the world and in Turkey, crime theories are supported by statistics of both state institutions and non-governmental organizations. For example, almost all criminologists today use a legalistic rather than normative definition of crime. A legalistic definition of crime takes as its starting point the statutory definitions contained in the penal code, legal statutes or ordinances. A crime is a crime because the law says so. In this sense, there are concerns about *overcriminalization* (too many laws) and *undercriminalization* (not enough laws), but at least on the surface, a legalistic approach seems practical. It is also advantageous to a normative definition, which sees crime as a violation of norms; although there are times when criminology can shed light on norms and norm violators (Jones, 1987: 76).

Every criminological theory contains a set of assumptions (about human nature, social structure, and the principles of causation, to name a few), a description of the phenomena to be explained (in other words, the facts a theory must fit), and an explanation, or prediction, of those phenomena. The assumptions are also called *meta-theoretical issues*, and deal with debates like those over free will versus determinism, or consensus versus conflict. The description is a statistical profile, figure, diagram, or table of numbers representing the patterns, trends, and correlations of the type of crime taken as an exemplar (most appropriate example) of all crime. The explanation is a set of variables (things that can be tweaked or changed) arranged in some kind of causal order so that they have statistical and meaningful significance. Criminological theories are primarily concerned with etiology, the study of causes or reasons for crime, but occasionally also have important things to say about actors in the criminal justice system, such as police, attorneys, correctional personnel, and victims (Cullen, 1999: 152).

Although there are many theories that could be considered, the exploration will be limited to the theories below because of the construction of this thesis. The theories below will be detailed and extended with new theories during the course of the thesis, but generally the concept of crime is analyzed as a social fact. For this reason, the thesis focuses on sociological theories more than others. However, other theories have been mentioned in short, in order to provide a comparative basis for other theories.

Classical jurisprudence appeared during the Enlightenment and was further developed by penal reformers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The penal reformers wanted to build a fair and legitimate criminal justice system based on equality (Marsh, 2006: 92). For this reason, one can say that classical criminology grew out of a reaction against the barbaric system of law, justice and punishment that was in existence before 1789. It sought an emphasis on free will and human rationality.

The Classical School was not interested in studying criminals, but rather studied the law-making and legal processes and focused on the relationship between crime, justice and punishment. Crime, they believed, was an activity engaged in out of total free will; individuals weighed the consequences of their actions. Classical theory emphasized a legal definition of crime rather than what defined criminal behavior. Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham, Enlightenment philosophers, were the important agents of the Classical School.

Classical theory attempted to achieve administrative uniformity; a scale of punishments proportionate to the objective harm caused by the offense; and deterrence, not retribution. A social contract is an agreement between the individual and society which is in everyone's interest. To break the contract, and in so doing, break the laws of society, demonstrates free will and choice; but it is also a failure to meet one's responsibilities, which must be answered by appropriate punishment on behalf of society, in order to discourage others from similar offenses (Marshall, 1994: 99). Classical criminology is based upon the concept of deterrence. In deterrence theory, punishment is given so that other members of society who might be contemplating similar acts become aware of the risk of suffering the same punishment (Hunter and Dantzker, 2005: 30).

Cesare Beccaria suggested that an individual had a "social contract" with society in which he or she was bound to society by consent and vice versa. In other words, to escape war or chaos, individuals gave up their liberty and established a contractual society. The contractual society created criminal laws and punished offenders. Individuals are free to make their own choices to act. For Beccaria, the human being was generally a rational being who tried to avoid pain and seek pleasure (Lilly, 2002: 14).

Beccaria suggested three types of crime that warranted punishment (Schmallegger, 1999: 159):

- 1) Crimes that threatened the existence of the state. These must be punished with the death penalty.
- 2) Crimes that injured citizens or their property. Property offenses must be punished by payment of monetary fines. Crimes that caused personal injuries required corporal punishment.
- 3) Crimes that damaged the social order.

Beccaria was the first to emphasize that the prevention of future crime was more important than exacting revenge. His views impacted the criminal justice systems of France, Russia, Austria and Prussia. Equality and due process are other concepts of the Classical School. Equality means that the punishment for an offense should be same regardless of a person's position in society. Race, class, religion, gender and ideology are not to influence the administration of justice. Every individual who is charged with violating a criminal law must be accorded the full protection of the law during the legal process (Hunter and Dantzker, 2005: 28-30).

In summary, the basic points of the Classical School are:

- Individuals are free to make their own choices to act.
- People are liable to avoid pain.
- Punishment should be used as a deterrent to criminal behavior.

Punishment should be based upon the seriousness of the crime. An important school following classical criminology was the Positivist School, which began in the late 1800s. The Positivist School was composed of Italians, whose approaches differed to an extent, but all of whom agreed that the emphasis in the study of crime should be on the scientific treatment of the criminal (Reid, 1982: 62). First, positivists wanted scientific proof that qualities within the individual caused crime. They primarily focused on the mind and body of the criminal and neglected social factors external of the individual, which later became the focus of sociological explanations of crime (Lilly, 2002: 16). Positivists, unlike the classical reformers, attempted to explain the world around them. They saw behavior as determined by biological, psychological and social traits. They focused on a deterministic view of the world, on criminal behavior instead of legal issues, and the prevention of crime through the treatment (or reformation) of offenders.

“Determinism” means that the factors beyond a person’s control determine behavior. A man or woman is not a self-determining agent. In this sense, determinism is the opposite of the “free will” that underlies the classical school. If a person acts on his or her free will, it means that he or she made a rational decision to do something, but in determinism, biological and cultural factors determine the individual’s behavior (Hunter and Dantzker, 2005: 28-34).

Cesare Lombroso was the leader of the Positivist School and “the father of the modern criminology.” Lombroso emphasized the biological causes of crime and described himself as a slave to facts. He supported his theory with references to Darwin’s evolutionary and revolutionary thought: “Some men were closer to their primitive ancestors than others” (Savitz, 1972, vii).

In his work, *On Criminal Man*, he asserts that criminals are born as such and their criminal behavior is the result of primitive urges. Anti-social tendencies of criminals are the result of their psychological and physical organization, which differ from that of normal individuals (Lombroso, 1972: 4-5). For Lombroso, criminals have relatively underdeveloped brain, and this shortcoming makes them incapable of conforming to the rules. Moreover, the shape and size of the criminal’s head, asymmetry of the face, large jaws and cheekbones, unusually large or small ears, abnormal teeth and long arms can be accepted as the features of a person marked for crime (Hunter and Dantzker, 2005: 35).

Lombroso classified criminals into four categories (Wolfgang, 1973: 252):

- 1) Born criminals: Criminals who have atavistic characteristics.
- 2) Insane criminals: Criminals who include idiots, alcoholics, paranoiacs.
- 3) Occasional criminals: Criminals who are explained primarily by opportunity. People commit crimes because they possess innate traits that propel them in that direction.
- 4) Criminals of passion: Criminals who commit crime because of an “irresistible force” such as anger, love, honor.

Lombroso’s assumptions have been highly controversial for a long time. In my opinion, Lombroso did not think that these features themselves created criminal behavior; rather, he accepted them as an indicator of crime. On the other hand, in the fourth and fifth editions of *On Criminal Man*, he gave more attention to environmental explanations, including climate, rainfall, sex, marriage customs and

the structure of government. But he never precisely completed the idea of the existence of a “born criminal” type; he most often is accepted as the person who explained crime through biological explanations (Lilly, 2002: 16). But positivist criminology also contributes many sociological perspectives to criminology: socio-economic and cultural conditions which may or may not propel individuals into criminal behavior (Walklate, 2003: 19).

In summary, the basic points of the Positivist School are (McLaughlin, 2001: 213):

- The Positivist School denies the role of human consciousness and meaning in social activity.
- It assumes that society has an underlying consensus that crime is a key violation.
- The Positivist School presents an overly deterministic view of human action.
- The Positivist School equates crime with under-socialization of social disorganization.

The Positivist School maintains its impact on contemporary criminological studies. Since the 1970s, works about the role genetic structures play in determining behavioral patterns are a good example of the impact of the Positivist School.

The theories of the 19th and the early 20th century were related more to the human body than the human mind. Furthermore, during this period, studies were also conducted that assumed crime had a psychological aspect, as well. The psychological theories of crime associate criminality with particular types of personality, much like biological criminology. Some have suggested that in a minority of individuals, an amoral, or psychopathic, personality develops. The psycho-criminologists accept psychopaths as emotionless characters who delight in violence for its own sake (Giddens, 1998: 175).

It was first physicians and then psychologists that conducted the first studies in this field. All theories presented in this field and the ones that analyze the effect of the mental processes, especially over deviated behaviors, are theories of psychology (İçli, 1994: 47). The main argument of these theories is that criminal behavior is the characteristic of mental anomalies, since they consider all human behaviors to be functions of some mental processes.

The works of James C. Prichard can be considered the first psychological theories connected with crime. In his works, Prichard has tried to explain crime via a concept called moral insanity, referring to a form of insanity resulting from other mental disorders. Another author who tries to explain crime in the light of psychological approaches is Henry Maudsley. Maudsley argues that criminality is hereditary and that criminals are slow-learning individuals with attention deficits. Freud, on the other hand, tried to explain crime in terms of personality segmentation and dissimulation (İçli, 1994: 48-49).

The psychological theories have some limitations; at best, they explain only some aspects of crime. While some criminals may possess personality characteristics distinct from the remainder of the population, it is highly improbable that the majority of criminals do. There are all kinds of crimes, and it is implausible to suppose that those who commit them share some specific psychological characteristics. For Pfuhl, some deviation is caused by mental illness or personality defects. But mental illnesses or personality defects are not much more common among deviants than among other people (Pfuhl, 1970: 48).

Another view about crime is biological criminology, which has been around since the 19th century and is still popular for many today. Some of the first attempts to explain crime were essentially biological in character. Biology provides the key for explaining human behavior.

Between the mid-18th century and mid-20th centuries, scientists made various classifications arguing that anatomy is the main indicator of behaviors. In all Positivist approaches, the anatomic features are the most common issues adopted for explaining the behavioral deviation. Biological theories are mainly classified in two categories: ideas that crime is based on structural disorders and ideas that crime is based on anatomic structure (İçli, 1994: 52-53). Many studies have been made by scholars such as Lombroso, Hooton and Kretschmer, to find out whether certain body types are more prone to deviant behavior than others.

The first systematic study within this field was the work of Franz Gall, spanning 20 years and including the generalizations reached upon the examination of head shapes of prisoners and mentally handicapped people. Another important scholar of the field is Cesare Lombroso. However, Lombroso will not be referred to in detail in this section as he was discussed in the explanation of positivist criminology.

Lombroso suggests that 40 percent of criminals were “born criminals” with atavistic features. They commit crime because of their biology. Other criminals are simply occasional; their crimes are circumstantial and they do not have atavistic features (Fultcher and Scott, 1999: 154). “Crime and the Man,” a study by Ernest Hooton, resulted in a reawakening of interest toward biological theories that had lost ground after the post-Lombroso period. According to Hooton, criminals are imperfect both in biological and social terms and their physical and mental activities are conducted at low levels of performance. Furthermore, like other positivists and scholars that adopt the biological approach, Hooton argues that all of the mentioned characteristics are hereditary (Siegel, 1988: 125).

In his study, Shelton identifies three basic body types: endomorph (round, soft, fat), mesomorph (muscular, athletic) and ectomorph (thin, bony). For Shelton, delinquents and alcoholics are generally mesomorph (Horton and Hurt, 1984: 171). Sheldon builds this assumption upon a field study based on the comparison of 200 male children in a juvenile delinquent center and 4000 male college children. It was observed that the male children that had committed various crimes had mental and physiological disabilities and had manic depressive and paranoiac tendencies (McCaghy, 1985: 24).

Another biological theory is the double-Y-chromosomes proposal. This theory suggests that men who have an extra Y chromosome display a tendency toward criminal behavior. Some scholars point out that certain chemicals and drugs can cause delinquency (Siegel, 1988: 131).

Such biological theories have some methodological gaps. The process of classifying subjects into several body types does not have adequate methodological safeguards against unconscious bias. Fundamentally, there will be never adequate sample for generalizing someone as a delinquent. As mentioned before, this study will not discuss the psychological and biological theories in detail, because it considers that crime is, in principle, a social phenomenon.

2.2.1 Theories of Social Structure

The most known theory in this field is Durkheim's theory. Durkheim explains crime as a universal component of a culture and human nature. It becomes inescapable when simple societies transform into urbanized societies, because shared norms in simple societies begin to vanish with the transition to urbanized or modern societies. The actions of people in different sectors conflict in modern societies. Solidarity becomes weak and the system becomes troubled. Finally, society falls into anomie (Adler, 1991: 120).

Modern society is characterized by increasing individualism, by autonomy of thought and action, but this autonomy requires greater interdependency in the division of labor and increased complexity within the collective consciousness: liberty itself is the product of regulation. In this process economic crisis can occur, either dramatic increase in prosperity or disasters, and anomie may become the normal state of being. Due to the anomic state, crime rates begin to increase (Durkheim, 1984: 254). Crime becomes unavoidable as a shift towards a more complex social structure takes place in accordance with the rise in the differences within the society. As the needs of individuals are different, the methods applied to satisfy these needs will differ as well, and sometimes conflicts appear accordingly (Siegel, 1988: 159). Moreover, another factor that makes crime inevitable is the fact that it is impossible for each person to be equally conscious and have the same moral values. This is because home life, heredity and social impacts differ among individuals. There might be individuals that deviate from the collective consciousness due to this difference, and this deviation can result in crime. This is why Durkheim considers crime as the output of existing norms. Crime is functional in giving the meaning of truth to something wrong and is necessary for change. Durkheim considers that the existence of crime is important because it guarantees that social structure is not strict and thus is open to change. If each individual in a society behaves in the same manner, negative traits could be adopted by everyone, progress would be eliminated and independent thinking would disappear. According to Durkheim, crime can be both functional and dysfunctional, because financial damages can lead to social dissociation. On the other hand, deviations strengthen societal synergy. It makes individuals come together against crime (İçli, 1994: 69-70).

Durkheim explains the transition from primitive society to modern society as a transition toward a complex division of labor. According to Durkheim, the evolution of the legal structure constitutes another aspect of this transition. Punitive legal systems dominate the societies dominated by mechanical solidarity. In punitive law, the only aim is to punish the individual for his behaviors. In the modern societies where organic solidarity takes place, on the other hand, corrective law is dominant. The aim is to rehabilitate the individual (Kösemiş, 1971: 44). The gradual complexity of the division of labor, individuals' occupational specialization and the concordant insubstitutability of individuals requires such a situation. The continuation of the system depends on the continuation of the components. For this reason, it is more important to chasten a faulty component than to remove it entirely.

In addition, Durkheim mentions three forms of deviation in explaining the phenomenon of crime (İçli, 1994: 71):

- 1) Biological deviation: These deviations arise due to genetic and situational factors.
- 2) Functional deviation: These deviations arise so as to show a reaction against the society. The individual is labeled as deviated as he represents the collective institution.
- 3) Skewed deviation: Deviated individuals of this kind are not properly socialized in an ill society. There are two reasons for this situation: anomie and egoism. The concept of anomie refers to the lack of social regulations, while the concept of egoism refers to individual desires.

Merton is another representative of the theoreticians that explain crime with the concept of social structure. While scholars such as Cloward, Ohlin and Cohen predominantly focus on children and gang criminality, Merton tries to explain child criminality in both adults and children and establishes a medium-scale theory influenced by theoreticians like Thomas and Park. The main point of departure for Merton is how deviated behavior comes along in accordance with the differentiation in the social structure. He questions how some societal structures lead to discordant behaviors for some individuals, while leading to concordant behavior for others.

Merton benefited from Durkheim's concept of anomie. However, Merton used the concept to show the disagreement between cultural goals and legal manners. The lack of integration which occurs between the wills of culture and the necessities of social structure causes anomie. In this process, disagreement constitutes the frustration and also the tension (Merton, 1957: 134). Society encourages all its members to aspire to wealth and social position, yet the approved ways of reaching these goals enable only a few to succeed. Unrealistic hopes and expectations are not simply natural, but are socially constructed and promoted. In this sense, structural problems, including crime, are at the heart of the means-ends disjunction. The U.S. culture and the ideology of the "American Dream" encourage lofty expectations among individuals, but society cannot provide them with equal access to legal opportunities, and anomie occurs (Passas, 2000: 18). For example, the youth who has average abilities and no special opportunities has very little chance of becoming rich and famous. He can only use illegal means to reach his ends.

According to Merton, when many people turn from approved to disapproved means of seeking success, deviance becomes widespread. Merton determines several responses to the goals-means choices (Merton, 1957: 140-145):

- 1) *Conformity*: This adaptation is the most common in the society. Conformists accept both the goals condoned by society and institutionalized means of seeking them.
- 2) *Innovation*: Innovators accept condoned goals but few legitimate means to achieve those goals. They can attain their goal through robbery, embezzlement or other such criminal acts.
- 3) *Ritualism*: Ritualists ignore or forget former goals and dedicate themselves to their current lifestyle. The rituals and ceremonies are followed but the original meanings have been lost.
- 4) *Retreatism*: Retreatists abandon both conventional goals and also the means to reach conventional goals. They are generally nonproductive persons such as alcoholics and drug addicts.
- 5) *Rebellion*: Individuals reject conventional goals and means and create their own goals and their own means by protesting or by revolutionary activity.

Consequently, means-ends discrepancies are caused by a strong cultural emphasis on monetary or material success for all members of society, in spite of the fact that many of them do not have a chance to reach such goals. Socially distant comparative referents are constantly introduced through the school, family, politics, workplace, media, advertising, and even religion. Regardless of their social background and the social capital available to them, members of society are encouraged to desire more than they have. Consequently, those members who fail to meet such comparative and normative standards are likely to experience relative deprivation and frustration. This strain, combined with the culturally induced overemphasis on goals and the concomitant underemphasis on the proper methods, makes for deviance of various types. The deviance is an individual search for a solution to these structural problems (Passas, 2000: 18). Merton evaluates the fact of high crime rates among lower classes within this framework. The crime rate is high among these individuals because members of the lower economic classes lack the tools and backgrounds necessary to achieve their goals.

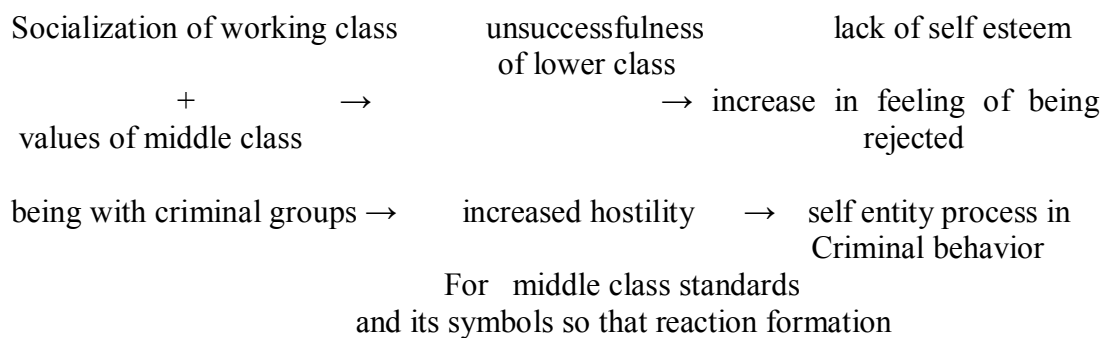
Merton elaborates further on the function of the family in creating the anomie. He particularly accuses the parents in lower class families of teaching illegal methods of achieving goals to their children. These families, in fact, transmit their own unsuccessfulness to their children (İçli, 1994: 76).

The anomie theories established by Merton and Durkheim provide a basis for subculture theories, which is the last theory type to be mentioned in this section.

According to Siegel, the groups that are similar in terms of defense and needs, that share similar values and that live together can be considered as subculture groups. These groups do not wholly reject the mainstream culture, but only some among them adopt it (Siegel, 1988: 170). The point of departure for the subculture theories is that some of the subcultures existing within the society approve of crime or share standards of judgments that may provide a basis for crime. The honor crimes in Turkey can be considered under the concept of “subculture.” Such subcultures develop group-specific behaviors in time and can grow to consider crime as normal and participate in criminal behavior. However, the point that should be emphasized here is that crime cannot be generalized for all subcultures. Furthermore, the subcultures that have a tendency towards criminal behavior show differences in terms of standard of judgments.

Subculture theories are predominantly composed of field studies focusing on young criminal males. Tracher's study, focusing on youth gangs in Chicago, is an example of such studies. The most important research conducted in this field is that of Cohen. In research related to criminal children, conducted in 1955, Cohen focused on the features of social structures that lead to crime. According to Cohen, the parents are the source of the problems that children face throughout their lives. Cohen considers the American slum regions as contradictory with the overall, mainstream culture, as subcultures there encourage criminal behavior. He differs from Merton about determination of created subcultures. Cohen determines subculture as the existence of effective interaction among actors that have similar adaptation problems (Reid, 1982: 119), as subcultures do not socialize their children enough to fit in the upper class. These children, who cannot succeed in legal channels, form their own crime-inclined subclass. Moreover, education is not important for the parents of these children, and thus they grow up lacking various skills and experience disappointment in their competition with other children. They protest especially against the property of individuals living in other, wealthier regions of the city (Ritzer, 1990: 166).

Cohen believes that delinquent children tend to resort to "reaction formation" to cope with disappointment. The process of reaction formation among delinquent boys occurs as follows (İçli, 1994:79):



The works of Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess emphasize social ecology. Theories of social ecology can be accepted as another part of the theories of social structure. They also suggest that there is a relationship between the individual and his environment (İçli, 1994: 89).

2.2.2 Theories of Social Process

The first theory of social process is the learned deviance theory. Learned deviance theory has a significant place within the social theories for explaining crime. This particular study and research, which tries to emphasize the relation between female delinquency and the possibility of crime as a learned behavior, is also important for its achieved empirical evidences.

In this study, a meaningful relation has been found between female delinquency and the possibility crime as a learned behavior. This fact led the author to re-question learning theory and differential association.

The sociological literature suggests a variety of ways in which family variables affect delinquency. For example, strain theories position the family as an important determinant of social class, and thereby a determinant of the likelihood of delinquency. In control theories, families are an important source of bonding, by which youths are directed toward conformity and away from delinquency (Jensen and Rojek, 1992: 154). However, it should be kept in mind that if crime is a normalized phenomenon for that family, the chance of controlling delinquency disappears. Social learning theory suggests that families are important in shaping attitudes of children, including deviant behavior. It is easy to understand how the family would have a considerable impact on delinquency, because the family has been accepted as the most crucial institution in our society for the socialization of children. Social learning theory is “radically different” from the cognitive developmental approach because it stresses the role of affective learning processes rather than abstract reasoning and it locates the individual in a context of environmental influence (Cohn and White, 1990: 40).

At this point, Albert Bandura’s book of 1977, *Social Learning*, primarily guides the understanding of social learning theory. For Bandura, observational learning is the best way of learning because humans can conceptualize reality symbolically, learn from the experience of others and organize, transform, and draw conclusions from experiences (Bandura, 1986: 10-13).

Observational learning focuses on modeling or imitation of some observed behavior. Bandura proposed that behaviors are learned by modeling. The person who is accepted as a model provides symbolic representations to the observer.

In *Social Learning Theory*, Bandura offers a model of reciprocal interactions among environmental events, personal factors and behavior, which operate interactively as determinants of each other (Bandura, 1986: 23). Through this reciprocal interaction, a person learns definitions of behaviors as good or bad.

For Bandura, criminal behavior is learned behavior. People learn criminal behavior through interaction with an intimate person. A criminal identity and repetitive crimes develop from a long series of experiences. On the other hand, a single experience may cause a dramatic change in life (Marrison, 1997: 150). This is why, in the field studies conducted, the focus is placed on whether the female criminals have taken as role models the other criminals, if any, in their family or immediate surroundings, and what kind of interaction exists between them. The high rate of criminality among friends and relatives in the sample of the study has been a determinant factor for this thesis being grounded on social learning theory.

Sutherland is another important scholar that provided a basis for this thesis. His theory was originally concerned with how an individual was to experience social learning and how certain forms of action flowed from the dominant forms. In this sense, he questioned the nature of social conflict (Marrison, 1997: 151). As a developing country, Turkey on the one hand tries to keep its traditional structures while, on the other hand, tries to achieve a western form of modernization. This situation leads to a concealed tension. The tension is far stronger in the regions where the traditional patterns are deeply rooted. It seems impossible for women who are surrounded by concepts like honor to escape from the strength of this tension, due to various problems such as insufficient education, economic dependency and the strictness of family structures and moral values adopted in the region in which they live.

In a society that contains a variety of subcultures, some social environments tend to encourage illegal activities, whereas others do not. Individuals become delinquent through association with people who are already carriers of criminal norms. Criminal behavior is learned within primary groups. This theory is in contrast to the view that psychological differences separate criminals from other people; it considers criminal activities as learned in much the same way as law-abiding ones, and as directed towards the same needs and values. For example, thieves try to make money just like people in orthodox jobs do, but they choose illegal means of doing so. In other words, if one's behavior is seemingly justified,

one avoids the negative feelings that might prevent one from committing the act. If one rationalizes stealing, for example, by saying “It’s okay to steal something from someone who is rich because they can easily replace it,” guilty feelings will not interfere with the act of theft (Giddens, 1998: 176-179).

People who share the same socio-economical conditions prefer living in same environment. Ghettos can be good examples of this preference. Naturally, this situation brings about interaction between common people with common language. In this sense, a crime committed by a child is a normal situation in such an environment where the residents generally accept crime as a normal.

Some research investigates the proposition that social learning variables differ for females and males. For Deschenes and Esbensen’s study about gang membership: perceived guilt for potential delinquency seems to be stronger inhibitor of violence for girls than for boys (Esbensen and, Deschenes 1998: 799-810). Further research on this issue has been done by Fletcher, Darling and Steinberg. In the study titled “Parental monitoring and peer influences on adolescent substance use,” they mention that girls were influenced more than boys by their parents, and boys were influenced more than girls by their peers and parents (Fletcher and Steinberg, 1995: 132).

The learned deviance theory can be functional in explaining female criminality. The phenomenon of crime is more relativistic, especially in countries where traditions and modernity coexist. Moral laws and customs can sometimes be as effective as legal rules in deterring crime. The concept of honor is learned within the family. Especially in rural areas, girls are educated on the sacredness of this issue beginning from the first day of their socialization. The details of this situation change depending on the rise in education and income level in cities. However, as the education level of the women who participated in crime is considered, the possibility of learning from immediate family or close relatives increases.

According to the findings of this study, there are other prisoners in the family of 37 percent of the female criminals included in the sample. Furthermore, 35 percent has a prisoner among immediate acquaintances, apart from the family. This data strengthens the possibility of crime being a learned or modeled behavior. The most common reason for conviction among female prisoners is homicide, in line with the fact that the most common reason for their family members’ and acquaintances’ convictions is homicide, as well.

Another point that may correlate the learned deviance theory with crime is that, in Turkey, the people who migrated to metropolises and established their own neighborhoods developed their own judgment standards and maintained the traditional structure inherited from the rural regions. The place that the latecomer migrant children will feel comfortable and will complete the informal phase of their education will be these neighborhoods, and the children with whom they will communicate comfortably will be the children sharing their origin and standard of values. In other words, for people who have migrated to metropolises, the rural norms and standards of judgments of their families remain, even if they are partially modified. Their course of behaviors and life styles takes shape in accordance with this fundamental learning. The findings section of the study includes evidence that will support this argument.

Edwin Sutherland's theory of differential association was developed in 1947, although ideas about imitation or modeling go back to 1890. Both differential association and social learning theories are based on the assumption that all behavior is learned in close association with others, who may differentially engage in law-abiding or law-breaking behaviors. Meanings and motives are a social accomplishment and they are not established and confirmed by the self in isolation, but also by transmission of norms and ideologies. In certain environments, or subcultures, there are ideologies, norms and behaviors transmitted through interpersonal interactions that may lead individuals or groups into deviant behavior. *Subculture* is the main concept of Sutherland's theory. "Subculture" can be understood to signify any social group that has permanence, closure, and common pursuits. The subculture is not conceived to be utterly distinct from the beliefs held by people at large (Downes and Rock, 1995:73). The main claim of Sutherland's theory could be briefly stated as: both deviant and conformist behaviors are consequences of social learning experiences.

Persons commit crime because they have associated, socially or culturally, more with pro-criminal patterns than with anti-criminal patterns (Messerschmidt, 1995: 424).

The ten main propositions of Sutherland's Differential Association Theory are (Sutherland, 1947: 6-7):

- 1) Criminal behavior is learned. This means that criminal behavior is not inherited.
- 2) Criminal behavior is learned with interaction in the process of communication.
- 3) The chance that a person will participate in systematic criminal behavior is determined by the frequency and consistency of his contacts with other people who display patterns of criminal behavior.
- 4) The main part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups such as family and clan.
- 5) When one learns a criminal behavior, he also learns techniques of committing the crime that are sometimes very complicated and sometimes very simple, and the specific direction of motives, drives and rationalizations.
- 6) Definitions of legal codes as favorable and unfavorable help people learn the specific direction of motives. Cultural codes sometimes conflict with respect to legal codes. The honor crimes in Turkey can be an example of such conflict. Although homicide is a crime as per the legal code, all types of behaviors considered to cast doubt on one's honor should be punished with homicide, as per cultural norms. There exists a conflict between laws and cultural encoding and this conflict comes into existence in the homicides committed. Fear of punishment or the binding nature of laws cannot counteract cultural encodings.
- 7) A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violations of law. People who engage in criminal behavior do so because they are acquainted with that type of behavior. For example, the homicide of multiple girls within the same village or native tribe who engaged in premarital intercourse is a common case.
- 8) Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity. For Reid, Sutherland believed priority to be important because both lawful and unlawful behaviors are learned in childhood and its selective effect continues throughout life. This feature of the theory

implies that the people of different regions have different interpretations. The values learned in childhood remain especially effective throughout the lifetime and all future interpretations develop within the framework of the early learnings. The fact that the parallelism between the standard of judgments of women participants from rural origins living in cities and that of women still living in rural areas makes the theory significant for this study.

- 9) The process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns has same mechanisms as any other learning process.
- 10) While criminal behaviors is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values, since noncriminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values. With this statement, Sutherland rejects the belief that hungry people steal because they are hungry. For him, this belief fails to explain why some people do not steal.

Sutherland's theory is quite helpful in understanding why the female criminals interviewed in this study committed crimes. The female prisoner convicted of a terror crime, described later in detail, was captured as a child and lived in the camp of the terrorist organization throughout her adolescence. All of her interpretations related to crime took shape at this age, built upon what people told her. She saw and experienced activities that might be considered as crime by the majority of society at very early ages. This learning has been deterministic in the crimes she actually committed during her adolescence. Another example that has significance in light of Sutherland's theory is a female prisoner convicted of pick-pocketing, also discussed in detail later. This female prisoner, a member of the ethnic group known as "gypsies" in Turkey and throughout the world, spent her adolescence in a family convicted of various crimes. The family considered some kinds of crimes, such as pick-pocketing and thievery, normal for maintaining their quality of life. During the interview, it was observed that all of the interviewee's interpretations of crime are in line with those of her family.

Sutherland was also concerned with the question of why crime tended to be concentrated among certain groups in society, such as African-Americans, young adult males, or city dwellers. Sutherland answered that question with the concept of *differential social disorganization*. Sutherland's response parallels Merton's concept of anomie. For Sutherland, social organization became more complex and differentiated in the U.S. with the industrial revolution. Relaxation in the uniformity of social control occurred due to the transformation of social structure and organization. Traditional social controls that are exercised by family, local community and religion were increasingly challenged by the rise of economic and political individualism, by social mobility, and by material acquisitiveness. The process of disorganization was exacerbated by waves of immigration and resulted in cultural conflicts between different communities. Crime was one expression of this conflict, as was differential social organization (Messerschmidt, 1995: 427).

The process of industrialization, urbanization and migration in the U.S. and the rise in the crime rate due to the resultant rise in cultural conflicts are in line with the experience of Turkey. The first wave of Turkish migration, between 1950 and 1980, and the second wave, from 1980 and onwards, led to significant transformations in the lives of both early and late migrants.

These modifications can be classified under four headings (Peker, 1999: 177-178):

- 1) The housing accommodations for migrants to the city have changed. Shacks have appeared in urban areas.
- 2) The participation of the migrants in the production process of the city differs from that in rural regions in terms of labor type. Due to conglomerations, wages in urban areas have fallen, and in the labor market, flexible relations gain dominance.
- 3) Immigrants have continued the family-oriented relations of rural life, adding the religious and civic relations to the former. As Peker also mentions, the fact that the rural standard of values was maintained over family and civic relations leads to conflicts with respect to integration into the city, and in cities subcultures maintaining rural norms and values over the civic neighborhoods have remained present. Each of these neighborhoods can be considered as subcultures, since each are the urban symbols of different subcultures. In particular, a correlation

between crime and the mentioned subcultures can be observed. Rural-oriented families seeking to preserve their own values regarding issues like honor often conflict with the standards of judgments adopted in urban areas, and these conflicts can result in crime, depending on the intensity. The rise in the intensity of the conflict can depend on the widening of the generation gap. It is impossible for adolescents who migrated to urban areas at early ages and grew up there to be exactly the same as their rural-oriented families. Or, similarly, it is impossible for an individual who internalized the norms of a rural area to internalize the norms of urban life after a certain age. This kind of conflict, originating within the group and between the group and the outer world, can result in crimes. The findings of this study support this argument.

- 4) A fast-growing class differentiation, due to a wage gap between departure and arrival points, proletarianization and homogeneity of jobs, has appeared. According to Peker, internal migration lost the feature of being a harmonization process after the 1980s and turned into a source of urban tension.

In this process, deviance becomes a form of symbolic resistance to other groups and city life. For example, young men who live in the same district and share common values want to come together to address common problems in the crowded public life. They are exposed to common stereotypes and stigma, subjected to similar controls. They are setting themselves against others, who are used to define who they are, and they are likely to form joint interpretations that are favorable to delinquency (Downes and Rock, 1995:73).

The other theory of social process is social control theory. Control theory assumes that most people conform to the dominant values because of both inner and outer controls. The inner controls are the internalized norms and values one learns. The social rewards for conformity and the punishments for deviation are the outer controls. The bond which ties the individual to conventional society is the focus of social control theory. Hirschi sees four components in this bond (Horton and Hunt, 1984: 177). This theory contends that informal social control is the most effective means for delinquency and crime prevention. The fundamental assumption of the social control theory is that human beings have a natural tendency to engage in antisocial behavior, irrespective of gender. Social bonds to family, school,

community, and conventional value systems act as normative and behavioral constraints, preventing individuals from committing delinquent or criminal acts. By assuming that males and females are similarly predisposed to antisocial behavior, the social control theory contends that the effects of social bonds are comparable across gender, or, specifically, that strong social bonds would inhibit both male and female criminal behavior and those weak social bonds may increase criminal activity in both sexes. The social control theory assumes that social bonds have parallel effects on male and female criminal activities (De Li and MacKenzie, 2003: 278).

- 1) *Involvement*: Involvement refers to one's activities in community institutions such as church, school, and local organizations.
- 2) *Attachment*: Attachment refers to one's sensitivity to the approval of conforming persons.
- 3) *Belief*: Belief refers to the internalized values. The stronger the belief, the lower the likelihood of deviation.
- 4) *Commitment*: Commitment refers to how great the rewards that one gets from conformity.

The probability of deviation decreases due to the increase of involvement in these community institutions. This is an important part of the theory to be correlated with this thesis. For Friday and Hage, when adolescents have meaningful kin, community, educational, and work relationships, they become socialized to the social norms (Friday and Hage, 1976: 347). The education level of the participants of the study is extremely low. This situation has results on two different levels. First, women are deprived from a formal socialization unless they receive education. Second, they are benefitting from a limited socialization under the local learning received from the family or neighborhood. For example, they learn to worry that their honor has been forfeited, and they want to punish themselves for this.

Hirschi suggested that delinquent acts occur when the individual's bond to society is weak or broken (Hirschi, 1969: 16). Marital attachments, job stability and schools are some bonds of social control. The strength of these attachments leads to a reduction in criminal behavior. For example, the external social control over the individuals is limited in cases of not being raised in a family, not attending school

or receiving limited school education, and not being employed in any form or changing jobs frequently.

Social control theory can be helpful in explaining gender differences in delinquency, because parental attachments are commonly thought to be more critical to the development of delinquency in girls than in boys (Uggen and Kruttschnitt, 1998: 340). Gender differences in antisocial tendencies may be formed early in life as a result of different child-rearing practices. Studies examining the development of gender identity suggest that the unchanging core of personality formation is established for both sexes in infancy and early childhood (De Li and MacKenzie, 2003: 279). Female identity formation takes place in an ongoing relationship in which "mothers tend to experience their daughters as more like, and continuous with, themselves." In contrast, "mothers experience their sons as a male opposite," and boys, in identifying themselves as masculine, separate their mothers from themselves. Masculinity is defined through separation and femininity is defined through attachment; male gender identity is threatened by intimacy and female gender identity is threatened by separation. Consequently, males tend to have difficulty with relationships, and females tend to have problems with individualization (Chodorow, 1978: 166-167).

On the other hand, gender differences in attachments have important emotional and behavioral consequences. For example, the primacy of relationships to females is related to higher levels of distress among females than males. Parallel to gender differences in the primacy of relationships, there are also gender differences in employment and job stability. Moreover, despite the dramatic increase of participation of married women in the labor force in the past two decades, women held the majority of part-time and temporary jobs (Uggen and Kruttschnitt, 1998: 340).

The last of the social process theories is the labeling theory. Orthodoxy asked only behavioral and motivational questions about crime: "Why did they do it? What sort of people are they? How can we stop them from doing it again?" Labeling theorists introduced a new relativism into the study of definitional issues, hitherto largely ignored: "Why is a particular rule, the infraction of which constitutes deviance, involved in identifying someone as a deviant and applying the rule to him or her? And what are the consequences of this application, both for the society and the individual?" Edwin Lemert (*Social Pathology*, 1951), Howard S.

Becker (*Outsiders*, 1963) and S. Cohen (*Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, 1972) are the main representatives of this approach (Marshall, 1994: 272).

Labeling theorists interpret deviance not as a set of characteristics of individuals or groups, but as a process of interaction between deviants and non-deviants. In their view, people who represent the forces of law and order, or are able to impose definitions of conventional morality on others, do most of the labeling. The labels that create categories of deviance thus express the power structure of society. The rules in terms of which deviance is defined are framed by the wealthy for the poor, by men for women, by older people for younger people, and by ethnic majorities for minority groups (Giddens, 1998: 178). For example, many children wander into other people's gardens, steal fruit, or play truant. In an affluent neighborhood, these might be regarded by parents, teachers and police alike as innocent pastimes of childhood. In poor areas, they might be seen as evidence of tendencies towards juvenile delinquency.

Once child is labeled a delinquent, he or she is stigmatized as a criminal and is likely to be considered untrustworthy by teachers and prospective employers. The individual then relapses into further criminal behavior, widening the estrangement from orthodox social conventions. Lemert called the initial act of transgression primary deviance. Secondary deviance occurs when the individual comes to accept the label and sees himself as deviant (Giddens, 1998: 180).

The labeling process is extremely important for the life organization of the individual. Individuals who are engaged in primary deviation can still maintain a conventional set of roles and statuses and share the pressures and associations of the normal conformity-reinforcing group. But individuals who are labeled as deviants tend to isolate themselves from these conformity-reinforcing group pressures. Persons so labeled may be dismissed from their jobs, ostracized, imprisoned and forever banned as "criminal." They are also forced into association with other deviants, so that they begin to use deviation as a defense against the conventional society. At the end of this process, the deviation becomes the central focus of one's life reorganization (Horton and Hunt, 1984: 174). Labeling theory is important because it begins from assumptions that no act is intrinsically criminal. Definitions of criminality are established by the powerful, through the formulation of laws and their interpretation by police, courts and correctional institutions.

Recent studies that test labeling theory are conflicting and inconclusive. Most societies, also primary groups, resist expelling the deviant member and seek to bring the person back to conformity. Empirical research shows that, under some conditions, labeling encourages additional deviation, while under other conditions, labeling encourages a return to conformity (Horton and Hunt, 1984: 175).

2.2.3 Social Conflict Theories

Conflict theory emerged around Marxism in the 1960s and 1970s. Conflict theory holds that society is based on conflict groups, such as rich against poor, management against labor, whites against minorities, or men against women, and there is little agreement on basic values. Conflict is the fundamental characteristic of social order. Power and authority are reflections of social, economic and political inequality. Unequal distribution of power, on the other hand, is the only thing that leads to conflict. At the same time, it is also power that defines the phenomenon of crime. Powerful people define what is and is not a crime (Siegel, 1988: 223). Conflict theory in general can be examined under two main topics, namely cultural conflict theory and class conflict theory.

Cultural conflict theory focuses on a number of subcultures (ethnic, religious, national, regional, class) in a society. A large number of subcultures in a society reduce the degree of value consensus. A condition of anomic normlessness is created by the clashing norms of differing subcultures. The norms of the dominant culture become written into law, making criminals out of those sharing a divergent subculture. Theory provides a reasonable explanation for some kinds of deviation for some groups, such as second generation immigrants or racial minorities, but it also poses some restrictions about deviation among the well-born and powerful (Horton and Hunt, 1984: 176). The theory can be quite helpful for understanding the crimes of the groups that have migrated to cities and try to preserve their subculture in their urban shacks.

Class conflict theorists argue that deviation is the outcome of different interests, not different cultural norms in society. In other words, crime is a product of class exploitation. Laws are formed to protect the capitalist order and system. Most crime is property crime and most police work is property protection. For this

reason, deviance will continue as long as inequalities and class exploitation continue.

Although Marx did not write on deviance or crime, his works have been used by students who concentrate on deviance. Marx accepted deviance as a product of social conflict and defended private property as the only significant reason for crime in his essay (McCaghy, 1985: 48).

The analysis of Marx provides a basis for conflict theory. Conflict theory can be summarized as follows: labeling an individual as a criminal directly takes shape as per some interests. The perception of crime and deviation changes as the interest changes. The social institutions of the society apply three main methods to preserve interests. The first is coercion, which is direct. The second and most widely accepted method is reconciliation. Domination is the final method to be applied, and it indicates the absolute power of any group. One of the most fundamental features of the theory is that it considers social conflict as a weapon. Whoever manages the law has the power (İçli, 1994: 120).

Dahrendorf and Vold are other representatives of the theory. Dahrendorf suggests that society is an organization in which male-enforced unions come together. These relations are composed of two relationship types: that of rulers and of the ruled. Social conflict is observed in all these relationships, i.e., throughout the society. Another significant contribution to the conflict theory is made by Vold. Vold emphasizes that laws are made by political groups that seek to ensure their own benefits and rights from the government. However, it is not possible to explain all types of crimes merely by applying the assumption of Vold (Siegel, 1988: 224). Mill and Damphoff are among the other conflict theoreticians that question social and economic bonds of crime, taking their departure from the coalition between business, finance, media and industry leaders.

CHAPTER III

WOMEN AND CRIME

3.1 Approaches to Female Criminality

The demographic characteristic of sex has also been at the center of much criminological inquiry. There is virtually universal agreement on the general pattern: Males are disproportionately involved in crime as both victims and offenders, especially for the more serious, violent offenses. There are two main assumptions about female criminality. The first assumption is that women are as violent as men, but that this fact has been ignored because of the stereotype of men as violent and women as passive. The second assumption is that women have not been as violent as men in the past, but are increasingly becoming more violent than ever before because of the changes in socialization stemming from women's liberation (Pollock and Davis, 2005: 20-21). For decades, criminologists have speculated about the implications of greater gender equality for the relative involvement of males and females in criminal behavior. One view that has received considerable media attention links higher female rates of offending with more egalitarian gender roles, the so-called "dark side of female liberation" (Steffensmeier and Allan, 1996: 45-50).

The study of crime has also been caught up in the general trend of re-examining gender in correlation with the transformation of women's roles in daily life. In the late 20th century, many societies have been characterized by perceived shifts in women's roles (Harrison, 1983: 86). On the other hand, the female share of criminality has risen in the later 20th century, but self-report studies, victim surveys, observations and other studies broadly tend to confirm the image of crime as a largely male activity. The effect of greater gender equality on the relative offending rates of males and females remains an open question.

Understanding the development process of female criminality in the West depends on the status of the women in society at a given point. The liberation of the women also can be understood in this way. However, since applying such a historical analysis would go far beyond the limits of this study, the process will be examined superficially by applying an overall examination.

The 1920s, the modern age of girls and young men, were perceived at the time as intensely immoral, seemingly without the pressure of circumstances. Intimacy between the sexes during adolescence increased (Thomas, 1969: 84). In the 1930s, women achieved most of their objectives and they had greater initiative than men, in some cases. They become more criminally minded in those years than ever before (Bishop, 1931: 3). In the 1950s women gained access to new professional fields and new social roles, but were not entirely able to get rid of more traditional functions. They still were wives and mothers. Opportunities for crime increased correspondingly as the burden of their social functions increased (Pollock, 1950: 75). In the 1970s, women most often committed female crimes, such as shoplifting and prostitution. They had a taste of financial victory (Adler, 1975: 15). By the 1990s, violence was no longer a male domain. Women have been arrested for violent crimes, such as robbery and aggravated assault, at a higher rate than ever before (Crittenden, 1990: 14).

Although women in Turkey acquired many political and legal rights before western women did, they did not undergo a cultural liberation similar to that experienced in the West. This situation is related to the unique cultural structure of Turkey. The changes in the legal structure cannot force the cultural structure to change at the same pace. For this reason, it will be hard to directly correlate the liberation of women in the West with the female criminality of Turkey. As will be discussed in the subsequent sections of this study, at this point, female criminality in Turkey differs from female criminality in the West. In Turkey, women generally commit crimes as they feel the impact of social influences. One of the most important findings obtained from this study is that females committing homicides due to honor issues are a very common case. In Turkey, women commit homicides to purify their honor, because of jealousy of a fellow wife or because they are exposed to verbal or physical violence. Combined with various factors such as education, poverty and depravity, female criminality in Turkey acquires a unique structure. Because of this, both understanding Western theories and examining the unique social structure in Turkey will enable us to better understand the female criminality in Turkey.

The works on female criminality can be traced back to the late 18th century. Lombroso's book, *Female Offender*, was published in 1895. The book argues that women, as required by their nature, are in fact the defenders of the social order and that the mentioned harmonization forces them to adopt and to be overwhelmed by the social order. It is also argued that women participate in criminal behavior due to some physical incompatibilities. Another argument of Pollak is that, because their lives are limited within the borders of the house, women commit crimes that are difficult to notice and punish, especially prostitution, exhibitionism and abortion (Mannheim, 1965: 701-702).

Another important book published about female criminality after the works of Lombroso is *Sex and Society*, written by W.I. Thomas in 1907. He suggested that any differences in intellectual functioning between the sexes were not a result of brain size, or biological differentials as Lombroso affirmed, but were socially influenced. Thomas divided the sexes into katabolic and anabolic dimensions. For him, men were katabolic, or more rapid consumers of energy, whereas women were anabolic, representing the more constructive part of the metabolic process because they stored energy, as the plants did. All the properties of anabolism and katabolism were indicative of social behavioral differences between the sexes. However, in *The Unadjusted Girl*, published in 1923, Thomas established a break from Lombroso and his own first book. He explored the influences of the social environment on deviant behavior and advanced four basic desires for every human: the desires for security, recognition, new experience and response. Criminality was the desire for new experience. A woman entered prostitution to satisfy a desire for excitement and response (Flowers, 1987: 95).

Works that tried to explain the relationship between women and crime via the socialization and nature of women appeared throughout the 1950s. At the core of these studies lies the fragile, soft and vulnerable nature of women and their limited lives within the borders of the house. During the 1970s and 1980s, the literature on female criminality suffered some changes with an emphasis on dismissing long-standing explanations, exploring economic explanations and studying the criminality of female in relation to the women's movement.

The most well-known works of the 1970s are *Sisters in Crime* by F. Adler and *The Contemporary Woman and Crime* by R.J. Simon. Both books focus on the correlation between the social and economic role of women in the society and female criminality.

Freda Adler was the first writer to claim that when the social status of women provides parity with men, their crime patterns and frequency will more seem like those of their male counterparts. She focused on the association between the startling rise in female criminality and the women's liberation movement and new feminism. She described new feminism as a "consciousness-raising" movement and she predicted that, as women drew closer to men socially, they would become more equal on all counts in criminality as well (Flowers, 1987: 101).

Rita Simon made a contribution to studies of female criminality with a detailed summary of the contemporary women's movement. Simon introduced the potential relation of demographic and labor force variables to female criminality and the impact the women's movement had in altering the treatment of women within the criminal justice system. For Simon, due to the increase of women's participation in labor force, their opportunity to commit certain types of crime also increased. This means that women have no greater store of morality than do men. Both men and women have the same propensities to commit crimes, but opportunities for women had been more limited. When their opportunities to commit crime increased, they committed crimes more often (Simon, 1975: 48). It is believed that the increase in the percentage of burglary and ordinary crimes among female criminality in the 1960s and 1970s supports the theories of Simon and Adler.

Another significant contribution to studies of female criminality was made by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, who examined female criminality within the perspective of environmental and biological criminality. The Gluecks' most important contribution to the field of female criminality is *Five Hundred Delinquent Women*, which was published in 1934. It is a detailed study that criminologists made of 500 Massachusetts delinquent girls, from their childhood through parole. The Gluecks compared their backgrounds, social histories and physical and psychological traits. Their main objective was to determine what factors led to female deviance. They found that female criminality resulted in large part from biological and economic factors and an extremely high percentage of delinquent girls came from abnormally large families, were mentally defective and had been

arrested mainly for sexual behavior. They also found that criminality was likely to be intergenerational (Glueck and Glueck, 1974: 20-23).

Another scholar who believes that sociological factors are determinant when considering female criminality is Pollak. *The Criminality of Women* was published by Pollak to define female criminality during postwar years. Pollak combined data from a comprehensive survey of American, British, French and German literature.

Utilizing the international statistics, Pollak tries to examine whether the criminality rate among women will rise as the social and economic equality between sexes improves, and tries to make an international comparison. However, there are problems with his study. For example, Pollak assumed that the socio-cultural and socioeconomic structure of each country included in the sample was the same. As a result, he concluded that the rise in the rate of the social participation of women resulted in a rise in crimes against property (İçli, 2004: 367).

Pollak was influenced by Lombroso and Freud to conclude that female criminality is primarily sexually motivated. Pollak's second assumption is that the crime rate among women is probably equal to that of men, but that female criminality has a masked or hidden character. For, Pollak, females' crimes are inadequately reflected in the statistics. Pollak agreed with Lombroso that women are particularly addicted to crimes that are easily concealed and rarely reported. He gave an example of exhibition as a crime that frequently occurs among females but is not prosecuted. Pollak claimed that the traditional roles assigned to women by culture are ideal for hiding crimes such as sexual offenses against children, and that women are more deceitful than men in their commission of crimes (Flowers, 1987: 97).

Hagan and colleagues formed the influential power-control theory of delinquency. Power-control theory stipulates that greater equality in the workplace in authority relations for husbands and wives translates into more egalitarian (in contrast with patriarchal) relations in families. More egalitarian family relations, in turn, result in more similar socialization of sons and daughters, similar preferences for risk, and a smaller gender differential in delinquency (Hagan, 1987: 788-80). This is a common situation for both egalitarian and single-parent families. The result of this situation is that the liberty of girls rose among the lower classes while father-dominant families are extremely limited, and thus the rate of participation in crime is quite low for them (İçli, 2004: 368).

Apart from the approaches explaining female criminality through the liberation of women, biological factors and power-control theories, there are theoreticians that try to explain female criminality via the demographic structure of the society and the share of males and females in the population. The works of South and Messner, and Guttentag and Secord, are considered among the studies conducted within this framework.

For South and Messner, there is a relationship between the position of females in society and the sex rate in the population. They had three assumptions:

- 1) In societies with a low percentage of females, females are rarely injured in comparison to societies with a high percentage of females, because they are viewed as more important and valuable.
- 2) In societies with a low percentage of females, sexual harassment of females is punished seriously.
- 3) Since unbalanced distribution of sex rates in a population influences the role and status of females in society, it also affects their own crime rates (Menokan, 1996: 30).

In their study, South and Messner have found a meaningful correlation between the socioeconomic development and the exposure of women to homicide and theft crimes. According to the study of Guttentag and Secord, women are protected more in societies where the percentage of females in the population is low, since their role as mothers and wives are prioritized more highly. On the other hand, in the societies where female population is higher in number, marriage age is low and fertility rate is high, while the education opportunities for women are extremely limited (İçli, 2004: 369).

A significant portion of the theoretical studies on female criminality is devoted to explaining the differences between male and female criminality. The mentioned theories can generally be classified as either those that explain the issues by attributing them to physical factors, or those that explain the issue by examining the sociological and sociological aspects. The point of departure for the physical theory is that men are stronger than women and thus they have a higher tendency to commit crimes. Theoreticians like Pollak, on the other hand, set forward the fact that women and men can work in same occupations as an argument against this. The opponents of the physical theories believe that the differences between women and men with respect to their tendency to commit crimes should be traced in the

social structure and the difference of the social roles that are given to women and men. Theoreticians like Burt, Healy and Bonger, on the other hand, try to explain the difference by associating it with some psychological features. Burt argues that females commit fewer numbers of crimes due to dominant feelings like tenderness, forgiveness and fear. Bonger suggests that women are far psychologically stronger than men, and thus their participation in crime is far lower than that of men. According to Bonger, in the post-World War II period, a small proportion of women have participated in economic crimes due to economic deprivation (İçli, 2004: 370). However, there are also studies arguing that women are far more disconcerting than men and psychological problems are more common in women than in men, and that, due to these reasons, women more commonly feel desperation than men do. The fact that women are more suspicious than men may as well be a factor that might lead to female criminality (Rhône, 1986: 313-315).

Feminist reaction, maintaining that women can commit crimes just like men, that women are taught to be passive and that a rational link between criminality and women can be constructed by releasing women from their social bonds, also makes significant contributions to female criminality literature. With their different reactions, feminist theoreticians like D. Klein, J. Kress and P. Carlen made significant contribution to shaping the feminist criminology.

The popular societal stereotypes of women generally portray female criminals as hysterical, irrational and incapable of being fully responsible for their actions and crimes due to biology and sex. Male criminals have been credited with the faculty of reasoning; women offenders have not (Davies, 1999: 2). In the mid-1970s, Carlen's work also made occasional reference to women offenders acting rationally. Carlen has identified characteristics belonging to female offenders. The main characteristic identified is economic rationality. Women use rationality as a form of escape from economic dependency and economic hardship. In his book, Carlen presents examples of different female crimes (Carlen, 1985: 56). Klein and Kress affirmed that rationality may not be an entirely male preserve. In the study *Etiology of Female Crime*, Klein develops a concept of "legacy of sexism" to explain the way in which boys are "instrumental" whilst girls are "expressive." Klein and Kress criticize the fact that men and boys have always been credited with committing crimes for a whole variety of reasons. In addition to being lead astray,

or being sick or evil, males have also been simultaneously viewed as rational (Davies, 1999: 3).

In the early 1980s, Steffensmeier also paid attention to the question of rationality, but through a gendered lens. He looked at an organization's criminal enterprises in the context of sex-segregation in the underworld. He suggested that rationality refers to the link of means to ends, or the extent to which expeditious means are used to achieve goals, and with specific regards to women. For Steffensmeier, women are less into crime and are relatively less successful because they lack access to organizations and social contacts that would enable them to pursue criminal enterprise more safely and profitably (Steffensmeier, 1983: 1025).

According to Cohen, the reason that women commit fewer crimes than men is that the subculture they belong to is different than that of men. Even when they live in the same village or quarter, the interpretations about the criminality of women and men and the subcultures created by these interpretations are quite different. The faults of women are less tolerated. The education women receive in the society is more repressive than that received by men. The mentioned education continues to be given in the family, neighborhood and at school in different intensities. One of the most determinative factors for women creating their own subcultures with regards to female criminality is the family. Because of this, most of the recently conducted studies focus on the families of female criminals.

Theoreticians like Robins, West and Herjanic, Baunach, Hairston, Jorgensen, Warren and Feinman are focused on the relationship between crime and family. The idea commonly shared in each of the studies is that female criminality cannot be understood without first understanding the impact of the family. The strength of the bond with the family is extremely important in the rehabilitation of children. The research of Kiser, examining the relationships of the female prisoners in Dwight province with their families, supports this theory. Kiser observed that female prisoners in general have broken families and weak family relationships. It was found that 82 percent of the female prisoners are the head of their families and they consider a lack of economic support as a significant motive for their crimes. In nearly all societies, some common bases for female criminality are accepted, that emphasize the difference between female and male criminality (İçli, 2004: 371-374).

Beginning from their early ages, females are conditioned to traditional roles such as getting married and being a mother. This situation does not change, even as their level of education improves and they participate in the labor force. Women are dependent on men in all of the mentioned roles. Consequently, the crimes that females commit will in general be associated with their husbands. The roles of being a mother and a wife restrict them to a limited environment, and motherhood carries forces them to be particularly sensitive and responsible. All of these things are determinative or limiting factors of female criminality. Females prefer to stay away from environments where they could be victims due to their sexual identity, and this keeps them relatively far away from crime. The most important point that determines the difference between male and female criminality is that the socialization process for women is different than that for men. Females are more attached to their surroundings than men are. They prefer to stay away from crime, as they think it would upset their relatives. On the other hand, competition is a more common concept for men. One of the most important factors that make women stay away from crime is social control. The level of pressure that females face in their childhood or adolescence is higher than that faced by males. The final factor that determines the comparative rarity of female criminality is the physical features of females. The criminality rate of males is far higher than females, especially the rate of crimes that require brute force.

There are some assumptions about the differences between female and male criminalities. Females are less often involved in serious offense categories, and they commit less harm. Women's acts of violence, compared to those of men, result in fewer injuries and less serious injuries. Their property crimes usually involve less monetary loss or less property damage. For Shell's survey, the consequences of male violence are generally more serious for the victim in terms of weapon use, injury, and out-of-pocket losses to the victim. Male offenders are more likely than female offenders (28 percent, compared to 15 percent) to have used a weapon, such as a blunt object, knife, or firearm, in the commission of the violent offense. Serious injuries, such as broken bones, being knocked unconscious, concussions, knife wounds or gunshot wounds, are more often seen in the cases of male criminals (Shell, 1999: 3). However, there are also findings that refute the mentioned assumptions on female criminality. In America, the rate

of arrested women for serious crime increased from 1 out of 6.3 to 1 out of 4.8 between 1963 and 2001 (Simon, 2005: 53).

Females are less likely than males to become repeat offenders. Long-term careers in crime are very rare among women. Female offenders, more often than males, operate solo. Three out of four violent female offenders committed simple assault (Shell, 1999: 1). When women do become involved with others in offenses, the group is likely to be small and relatively nonpermanent. And males are overwhelmingly dominant in the more organized and highly lucrative crimes, whether based in the underworld or the “upperworld.” Females are far less likely than males to become involved in delinquent gangs. This distinction is consistent with the tendency for females to operate alone and for males to dominate gangs and criminal subcultures.

Another important assumption regarding female criminality is that females generally commit crimes against people within the household, such as boyfriends and husbands, and they commit crimes in the house or the neighborhood in which they live. However, all of the mentioned arguments are composed of discussions, and it is hard to refute their validity or incorrectness. On the other hand, there are various studies trying to set these differences forth. For example, while white-collar crimes were often seen to be male-specific crime fields, the number of females engaged in white-collar crimes has recently been rising. Sandy Haantz, a research assistant at the National White-Collar Crime Center, reported a pronounced upward progression of female who engage in elite deviance and noted that of the 1,016 federal prisoners incarcerated for white-collar crime in 2000, nearly one in four were female (Haantz, 2002: 125).

The other assumption about female criminality is that females generally commit crimes to protect themselves. They tend to have histories of domestic violence. It has been found that women actively defend themselves when attacked by an intimate partner with knives or other weapons to equalize the power imbalance. In the results of the study of Babcock, Miller and Siard, three quarters of the female criminals were significantly more physically and emotionally abusive towards their partners and 93 percent of them were physically abused themselves, with 58 percent of them being abused by type of weapon during conflict. Meanwhile, 69 percent of the assaults resulted in the male victim receiving some type of injury (Henning and et al, 2006: 358).

The study about the epidemiology of injuries among women after physical assaults includes 3,206 cases that occurred between 1992 and 1995 and suggests that assault victims who were injured may be more likely than those who were not injured to engage in protective behaviors after the event. “The risk for self-protective behaviors was increased by injury” (Thompson and et al, 1999: 236).

However, it might be wrong to reduce female criminality to self-protective behaviors. Using force to protect herself when faced with physical or psychological force is just one aspect of female criminality. Self image, sexual attitudes, family relations, family structure, lack of education, environmental relations, community characteristics, young age of first arrest and lack of social support and control can be accepted as other factors of female criminality. The number of these factors can be extended. In examining female criminality, protective factors should be considered, as well, aside from all other factors. Having protective factors can also keep females relatively removed from criminal behavior.

Protective factors in this context refer to individual or environmental characteristics that reduce the possibility of female criminal offending. Protective factors include an ability to gain positive attention, stable care-giving in a quality relationship with at least one caregiver, larger available social networks, confidence, stimulating environments, emotional support, structure and safety from their environment social supports outside the family. Poor parental skills have been associated with female delinquency, including harsh or inconsistent discipline, conflict, hostility, physical neglect, emotional distance (Mullis and et al, 2004: 210). All of the mentioned factors have been discussed in a subsequent section in a more detailed manner.

3.2 Studies on Female Crime in the World and in Turkey

Increasing criminality rates, and especially the rapidly increasing global rate of female criminality, encouraged scholars to conduct many studies in this field. The female share of crime increased in Britain, up from 1 in 7 in the 1950s to 1 in 6 in 1999. In the USA, the female share of crime increased 32 percent between 1975 and 1995. Arrest rates for girls in the US increased more rapidly than those for boys in the last two decades of the 20th century. Between 1981 and 1998, those rates grew by over 100 percent for all violent crimes, by over 160 percent for aggravated assault and 200 percent for weapons offenses. In England and Wales, 33 percent of female criminality is related to indictable offenses. Among these, theft and handling were the most common activities (59 percent), followed by drugs (12 percent) and violence against the person (9 percent) (Heindensohn, 1997: 495-495). In Britain, the rate of increase of arrested females was greater than the increase for males. Between 1984 and 1994, the numbers of women in federal prisons jumped by 258 percent, compared to 169 percent for men (Chesney Lind, 1997: 146).

The US Federal Bureau of Investigation has noted that arrests of girls for murder were up 64.2 percent, for robbery by 114 percent and for aggravated assault by 42 percent between 1985 and 1994. Only 2.1 percent of girls were arrested for serious crimes in 1985. By 1994, the rate of girls arrested for serious crimes climbed to 3.4 percent (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1995: 222).

During the literature survey, many studies on female criminality were observed, particularly in America. Also in Turkey, sensitivity regarding the subject has increased recently. In accordance with the rising sensitivity, the number of studies conducted related to female criminality has increased. However, since it is impossible to mention all of these studies due to the limits of this thesis, only specific studies will be covered. Studies of female criminals provide important contributions to this literature. The studies in general focus on the relationship between crime and poverty, crime and educational background, crime and oral and physical abuse and crime and family.

One of the studies focusing on the relationship between female criminality and poverty is conducted by Baskin. Baskin interviewed 44 women arrested for robbery. She found that 81 percent of them committed crime for the money. The findings of this current study support the study of Baskin. The female prisoners

sentenced for thievery and pick pocketing stated that they were involved in crime due to poverty and financial problems. These details have been given in future sections. The female participants convicted for the crime of pick pocketing found it legitimate to steal in times of hunger. Another study concerning this subject was conducted by Miller. Miller interviewed 37 robbers (14 women and 23 men). She found that the women's methods and motivations were not the same as men's. Pollock, Mullings and Crouch used a sample of Texas female inmates to examine the differences between violent and nonviolent crime. They found that violent women were more likely to be younger, unemployed with extensive criminal histories, with experiences of domestic violence and sexual disturbances. The work of Siegel and Williams put forward the idea that abuse and familial neglect were related to delinquency. They used a sample of 411 girls who had been in a public hospital for abuse in the 1970s. They then looked at delinquency records. Siegel and Williams found that 20 percent of abused women were arrested as adults (Pollock, 2005: 20-25).

Another point where female criminality in the West differs from female criminality in Turkey is that, while the rate of female involvement in gangs has been rising in the West and America, the participation of women in organized crime gangs still stands at low rates in Turkey. The study conducted concerning the gang membership of females by Esbensen and Winfree in 1998 can provide clues about the reason for this difference. The study underlines that the main motive of gang membership for female participants is to prove that they are not "mere sex objects" (Esbensen and Winfree, 1998: 27-30).

The fact that the concept of family is a stronger institution in Turkey enables the protection of children to continue for longer years. When the fact that the protection of daughters is much higher than that of sons is considered, the interaction of females with the streets is understandably quite low, both during childhood and adolescence. This protected condition keeps females away from gang membership.

A part of the studies conducted concerning female criminality focuses on abuse and female criminality. The research in Scotland (Inspectorates of Prisons and Social Work Services 1998) claimed that the vast majority of women in prison had been direct or indirect victims of physical, sexual or emotional abuse and some of them had experienced a combination of these. In total, 82 percent had suffered

some form of abuse and 66.7 percent were directly aware of the abuse of others who were close to them. Another survey, also related to abuse, was conducted in the USA. It included 13,986 male and female prisoners in the USA and showed lower reported rates of abuse amongst women. However, the reported abuse rates of female prisoners in the research, 43 percent, were almost four times higher than the comparable figure for men (Loucks, 2004: 145).

In general, the studies on female criminality and educational background suggest that female criminals have a limited educational background, they predominantly had to quit education at young ages and they graduated without skills. The females who lack education have a hard time finding jobs. The need to meet financial demands, on the other hand, might be a determinant regarding the rise in female criminality.

The research in Scotland showed that over 90 percent of women in prison had left school at age 16 or under. Three-quarters of them had a history of truancy, and 61 percent of them had no qualifications when they left school (Loucks, 2004: 146). A 1993 study shows the relationship between school experience during early and late adolescence and criminality. School performance has been found to be the best and most stable predictor of adult offending rates. Poor school performance and a weak bond to school will increase the probability of misbehavior in school which, in turn, provokes disciplinary reactions. A higher level of adolescent delinquency and adult offending may be occurring in recent years (Le Blanc and Mac Duff, 1993: 462-465)

Some studies of female criminality also focus on evaluating the statistics so as to make comparisons. Studies of this type aim to set forth the qualitative and quantitative changes in female criminality. The study conducted by Chesney-Lind in 1989 includes this type of analysis. Chesney-Lind found that, between 1960 and 1975, arrests of juvenile female offenders rose 254 percent, which caused concern that the country was experiencing a fundamentally new phenomenon of female crime (Chesney-Lind 1979, 53).

There are also studies targeted at defining a profile with respect to female criminality. The study carried out by Bergsmann can be presented as an example of studies of this type. For Bergsmann, a profile of the typical female offender from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s is as follows: she is described as someone who is relatively young, lives in an urban area in a single-parent home, is a school dropout

who lacks adequate work and social skills, and has been the victim of sexual and/or physical abuse. The female offender of the 1990s continues to be similar in demographic characteristics to the offender of the 1980s. She is still likely to have been sexually or physically abused, to come from a single-parent home, and to lack appropriate social and work-related skills (Bergsmann, 1989: 73). The study on juvenile female criminality carried out by Poe-Yamagata and Butts, comparing the statistics, also includes such comparisons. For their survey, conducted between 1989 and 1993, the number of arrests involving female juveniles increased by 23 percent, compared to an 11 percent increase in the arrests of male juveniles. Between 1989 and 1993, arrests of young males for burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft all decreased (down 6 percent, 1 percent, and 8 percent, respectively), while arrests of young women for these same crimes increased (up 16 percent, 21 percent, and 28 percent, respectively) (Yamagata and Butts, 1996:1- 3).

Although female criminality is not as serious a problem in Turkey as in the West, the numbers of female convicts have been rapidly increasing in Turkey. As can be seen from the table, female criminality in Turkey has seen an unprecedented increase after 1990. In 2000, female criminality had increase by 2.8 fold, and when the female criminality rates of the previous years are examined, this rate of increase cannot be seen in previous times.

Table 1: Numbers of female offenders registered in prisons in recent years in Turkey

Years	Number of arrested female criminals	Population of Turkey
1970	55,695	35,605,100
1975	45,247	40,347,700
1980	31,518	44,734,900
1985	29,443	50,664,400
1990	44,826	56,473,035
2000	98,969	67,803,927

DİE, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 2000 Census

In Turkey, the number of studies carried out with respect to crime and female criminality has risen, especially in the last 20 years. The studies focusing on female criminals are limited within academic studies. The scarcity of longitudinal studies on female criminality in Turkey is due to the limitedness of financial support and difficulty of financial conditions. Furthermore, the fact that female criminality in general appears related to the concepts of honor and traditions carries

female criminality in Turkey to a more private point. In this respect, it is even harder to find samples with which to work. This situation limits the studies conducted on female criminality in quantitative terms.

One of the first studies conducted in relation to crime in Turkey is the study carried out by the Turkish Statistical Institute in 1972. The *Survey on Female and Youth Convicts* shows that female criminals generally commit their crimes between the ages of 22 and 39, predominantly live in city centers and are most commonly convicted of homicide and thievery. Twenty percent of the female convicts had only completed primary school, 30 percent had completed middle school and 12 percent had graduated from high school, while the remaining subjects received no education (İçli, 2004: 374).

One of the important studies conducted on female criminality in the 1980s is the research of Serap Akyol and Diane Sunar, which compared the behavioral patterns and demographic features of male and female murderers. According to the results of the study, the educational background of female murderers has been found to be inferior to that of male murderers. On the other hand, it is found that the educational background of the husbands of the female murderers is superior to that of male criminals. According to the results of the study, 34 percent of the female criminals are housewives (Akyol and Sunar, 1982: 361).

One of the studies carried out on criminals in Turkey with the broadest sample is the study conducted by İçli in 1992 with 2934 prisoners. The study, *Criminals in Turkey: Social, Economic and Demographic Features*, suggests that 7 percent of overall population are criminals. It is seen that the share of the females in total number of criminals is far behind the percentage of males. Sixty-nine percent of the females who committed crime are married and 54 percent of the participants got married upon the choice of their families, while 90 percent of the participants have children. The most common type of crime among females is homicide. The findings of the same study indicate that indecent assault and family conflicts are the major reasons for crime. Family conflicts appear to be the main factor that leads women to deviant behaviors and crime. Various studies also indicate that women who committed suicide did so as a result of family conflicts (İçli, 2004: 374). In line with the studies conducted in the West and in America, female criminals generally commit crimes between the ages of 15 and 34. The study “Domestic Violence against Women and Female Criminality,” conducted by İçli, similarly concludes

that female commit crimes within the same age range. According to the research, the most common murder weapons are fire arms. Females in general commit crimes at home. The females convicted of homicide have usually murdered their husbands or boyfriends and they predominantly live in city centers.

İçli, in his study entitled “Female Criminality in Social Change Process,” argued that female criminality in Turkey increases with age, with the highest percentage occurring between the ages of 30 and 40 and decreasing after that age, and that female convicts are usually married. For İçli, the main reason for this situation is that the majority of women in Turkey are married and that, in line with the fact that the crime rate is higher for women between the ages of 30 and 40, the married female convicts form the majority among all female convicts (İçli, 1998 :13).

The study conducted by Menokan on female convicts in the Sivas and Kocaeli prisons also supports the findings of the studies mentioned above. Menokan found that 37.7 percent of the 67 female convicts that participated in the study are primary school graduates, while 15 percent are literate but are not graduates of primary school. Eighty-eight percent of the participants are married. The most common crime is homicide, as in other studies (Menokan, 1996: 61-65).

One of the sources that provides the most direct and general data about female criminality in Turkey is the censuses. Through these, we have access to very wide data about female criminality, quantitatively. A comparison was made of female convicts between the 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990 and 2000 censuses. First, the number of female convicts was examined. The common point among all censuses is that the average age of female convicts is usually between 22 and 39. These data also support the previous information that has been collected about age in studies on women in Turkey. Women in Turkey usually commit crimes as young adults or during middle-age. Similarly, the education level of female convicts was examined in line with the data gathered from the censuses. Looking at the general mean for all years, the number of primary school graduates ranks first among all educational categories. Ranking second are the women who are literate but are not primary school graduates, and third are the high school graduates. The rate of university graduates is the lowest educational category among the female convicts (DİE 1975, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 2000 Population Censuses).

The rate of married women in the 1975, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, and 2000 censuses are 77.76, 77.97, 68.21, 74,12 and 67,12 percents, respectively. Regarding the marital status of women, the majority of them are married, while divorced women follow in second place. Considering the type of crime committed by women according to the censuses, homicide ranks first in all census years. Theft ranks second (DIE 1975, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 2000 Population Censuses).

CHAPTER IV

DATA COLLECTION AND FINDINGS

4.1 Data collection

4.1.1 Objectives and Scope of This Study

The main aim of the study is to examine the dimensions of female criminality in Turkey. First, the subject was restricted, because the overall breadth of the subject was quite comprehensive. Limited sub-aims have been set: the socioeconomic reasons for female criminality in the Denizli Open Female Prison. The data collection is structured in accordance with these aims.

- What are the demographic characteristics of female offenders with respect to their socio-economic origins?
- What are the demographic characteristics of the families of female criminals?
- What are the social conditions of families with which they live?
- Why they commit crimes?
- Which factors push individuals to criminal behavior?
- What kind of crimes do female offenders generally commit?
- Do they have relatives or acquaintances who are also offenders?

There are 87 female prisoners in the Denizli Open Female Prison. Throughout the study, factors of female delinquency, such as demographic characteristics, personal histories of women, types of crimes committed, reasons for the crimes, the social conditions and quality of life of women's families, and the direct and indirect effects of urban transformation on the family and on female delinquency were examine in a coordinated way.

4.1.2 Research Strategy and its Process

First, the Turkish and foreign literature related to female criminal offenses was examined and then formal data related to crime and female criminality, particularly in Turkey, was researched. After those fundamental readings, work began related to the legal permission process for in-depth interviews of prisoners, and the main frame of the subject was constructed. Primarily, an application petition was submitted to the Ministry of Justice via the prosecution office under which the

prison is administrated. The initial response requested more information about the methods and question formats to be used in the study. A questionnaire was then prepared in light of the fundamental readings and previous studies conducted in Turkey on female criminality, and another application petition was submitted to the Ministry of Justice. Permission for 3-day field research and 1-day pilot study was then received, provided that some questions were removed from the questionnaire. The total period of correspondence with the Ministry of Justice lasted from February 2007 to May 2007.

The shortness of the period in which the study was conducted makes the pilot study important. The information gathered and the observations made during the pilot study were important in terms of determining the appropriate interview technique and to establish acquaintances with the prisoners. During the pilot study, a first interview was made with the prison's director and related information regarding the daily activities of prisoners and the common type of crimes committed was gathered. In the next step, two female prison officers were interviewed. The prison officers provided helpful information about the vulnerable points of the female prisoners, resulting from their spending long hours together, and explained the subjects about which the female prisoners would hesitate to give information, or the way they generally feel about some other questions. During the implementation of the questionnaires, these advance conversations helped gain the trust of the female prisoners. On the day of the research, dinner was eaten in the dining hall of the prison and general speeches were made, so as to ensure a trusting environment before the study was conducted. The questions were examined in advance with a female prisoner and two prison officers, and the questions that might have been discomforting were revised. The open prison was observed, except for the dormitories, and the relationship between the female prisoners was observed.

Open prisons comparatively have a more comfortable environment than closed prisons. This is the main reason why an open prison was selected for area research instead of a closed prison. It was thought that there would have been many suitable places for questionnaire and in-depth interviews. Indeed, female criminals were also relieved to be able to answer questions in their own familiar life spaces, such as the prison garden or dining hall. Female prisoners were able to play volleyball in the prison garden, comfortably walk in the prison corridors and chat with each other in the garden. The only thing that separated the female prisoners

from the external world was the main entrance. However, since nearly all of the female prisoners were moved here in the last two years of their punishment period, no attempt to escape was recorded. The most striking detail to be noticed in the garden is the presence of children. Three children between the ages of 2 and 4 live in the prison with their incarcerated mothers. It is observed that the whole prison family takes care of the children together. In the prison, there is a classroom where reading and writing is taught, a painting room used for leisure activities and another room where tailoring courses are given. Within the period spent in the prison, the ornament exhibition, including the works of the prisoners done during their courses, was seen. The communication among the female prisoners is quite strong. In general, statements regarding elder sister/younger sister relationships were commonly observed. The female prisoners were dining in the central dining hall all together, and the group on duty was cooking the meal for that day.

After this pilot study, the framework of the thesis study was constituted. Time was rather limited in the sense of providing a trusting atmosphere for the application the other techniques. Because of this, it was decided that the most appropriate techniques would be the questionnaire and in-depth interview. In this way, the limitations of both studies were eliminated by using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

The distinction between qualitative and quantitative data cannot be sharply drawn. Quantitative data are those that include the use of numbers to measure the extent of social characteristics and their trends over time. On the other hand, qualitative data are those that refer far more directly to the meanings that actions have for people (Fulcher and Scott, 1999: 75). Quantitative methodology in general is related to positivist epistemology and its fundamental aim is to collect data. On the other hand, qualitative methodology is related to interpretative epistemology. Emphasize made on the interpretations is prioritized. Accordingly, each methodology employs unique techniques.

Research techniques are the tools that enable all aspects of the social life, from past to present, to be applied for individuals on a macro basis. Data collection is the core of all studies, whether it is descriptive, explanatory or apprehensive. As data cannot be collected without a theory, a theory cannot be developed without data. As also mentioned above, qualitative and quantitative methods have differentiating aspects. While quantitative techniques consider the social

characteristics as resources, qualitative techniques consider them as topics. Qualitative techniques believe in the possibility of the objective as they provide the opportunity to measure and quantify the data. On the other hand, quantitative techniques act in the opposite manner. Finally, while qualitative techniques suggest that there is a distance between the researcher and the subject, quantitative techniques examine the opposite of this idea (Çelebi, 2004: 228-229). For this research, the questionnaire was adopted as a quantitative technique and in-depth interviews were adopted as a qualitative technique.

Questionnaires have some advantages and disadvantages. All affect the process of data collection. First of all, questionnaires are often the easiest and fastest way of reaching large numbers of people, so they allow more valid generalizations to be made, because information is standardized and can be processed easily (Fulcher and Scott, 1999: 75). The short period of legal permission for this research made it clear that a questionnaire would provide most detailed and fast information about the prison. But the questionnaire has also some disadvantages. The respondent feels that the information will be used against him or her, or that it is an invasion of privacy. The respondent is sophisticated, gets many questionnaires and knows what the investigator wants to hear (Bailey, 1994:107). The effects of these two disadvantages were constantly felt during this study. As the study was conducted in a prison, the participants had concerns regarding how the gathered information gathered would be used. However, the friendships built during the pilot study proved critical in eliminating this concern. Another problem was that the participants, as they have participated in other academic studies or studies conducted by other institutions, answered some of the questions without applying sufficient thought, or sought to give answers in line with the previous requests. Since the educational background of the participants was quite poor, they had a hard time understanding or answering some questions. Sometimes, as Bailey also emphasizes, the respondent is afraid that her responses will reveal a lack of education or that she will appear stupid (Bailey, 1994: 108). For this reason, the participants are thanked frequently and encouraged.

4.1.3 Choice of Sample

All female prisoners in Turkey constitute the population of the study, and the female prisoners in the Denizli Open Prison constitute the sample of the study. Sixty of the 87 incarcerated women agreed to answer the questionnaire. First, the 87 women were grouped into fours, and then they were asked to commit to join the study, group by group, in a room for leisure. Each was asked about the study, but only 60 agreed to participate, and only after they were told that no names would be collected during the study. They were particularly worried that information about their private lives might be distributed. Each of the women was assured about that the information gathered would be held confidential. The questionnaire was distributed to groups of 5 women at a time in a room for leisure activities. Two illiterate two women and a woman who did not know Turkish were helped.

The questionnaire consists of 57 questions; of these, 7 are open-ended and 15 questions are designed to examine the demographic features of the respondents. Other questions are related to the personal history of the women offenders and the social conditions and quality of life of their families, the effects of urban transformation on their lives, and their crimes and why they committed those crimes.

The age, education level, income and family history of women are the main independent variables of the present study. It tries to construct a relational meaning between other data and the educational background of the female offenders and their parents, and the questions whether they still live in their original places of origin, whether or not they are employed, and whether or not there are other offenders in their family.

The application of the questionnaire was completed in the first two days. However, the information gathered constitutes of broad data, lacking details. Although it provides broad data on various topics such as the crime types, the demographic features and the family lives of the female prisoners, the questionnaire has limited abilities, especially in setting forth the motive of the participants in committing crimes. This study attempted to overcome that limitation by means of the in-depth interviews.

In-depth interviewing is a technique that enables researchers to examine and wholly understand the core, rather than the surface, of many events, processes and relationships existing in the social world. Examining the meanings and intentions that cannot be observed directly and that only become apparent after a certain period of time, in-depth interview techniques can outline the way that individuals construct their worlds, the way they understand the external world and the way that they evaluate the social environment that encompasses them. It may be useful in understanding the conditions to which the individual is exposed in an in-depth manner (Kümbetoğlu, 2005: 72). It was thought that the in-depth interview technique might be helpful in obtaining more detailed and in-depth information. The advantages of the in-depth interview technique made significant contributions to this study.

One major advantage of the in-depth interview is that interviewers can ask more specific questions and repeat them when respondents misunderstand. Different questions are appropriate for different respondents. Interviews make it possible for the interviewer to decide what questions are appropriate. Interviewers record spontaneous answers and nonverbal behavior (Bailey, 1994:174). During the interviews, questions were repeated often for the participant who could not speak or understand Turkish well, and this technique made the questions clear. During the interviews, the discomfort of the female criminals was recognized by examining their nonverbal behaviors and some questions were asked again in a softer way.

Six respondents were selected for in-depth interviews. The main determinant in the selection was to detect the reasons why female prisoners committed a variety of crimes and the events that were a priori in their committing the crimes. Before fieldwork, certain types of crime, such as defense of family honor, honor killing, terrorist crime, crime of incest and crime of passion, were given priority for the in-depth interviews, because it was thought that they were good representations of female criminality. Another determinant was whether it was possible to interview the female prisoners who agreed to participate in an interview. After a long period of negotiations, the only terror convict was interviewed, so as to acknowledge differences and special cases. Another interview was conducted with a female prisoner who murdered her husband after detecting a domestic incest affair, as it was thought that this case would be significant for the study. So as make a comparison, a female prisoner who was convicted for forgery of documents, a type

of white-collar crime, and who had a superior educational background and a higher level of income, was also interviewed. Another factor prioritized during the selection of interviewees was the desire to interview female criminals from different geographical regions. In this way, a correlation between subculture and crime was constructed. Another female prisoner interviewed had been convicted for pick pocketing. She came from a family with a high rate of criminality. Furthermore, in-depth interviews with two female criminals who had both murdered their husbands, but for different reasons, were interviewed, so as to draw a comparison.

The interviews lasted approximately one hour each and were held in a private room. Before the interviews, long speeches were made, explaining that the names would be kept confidential, and the prisoners were convinced that the main aim of the study was not to accuse them but, on the contrary, to examine the reasons that made them commit their crimes. In particular, it was explained, questions about their life story, educational background, their husbands and living conditions, whether they were regretful or not and questions about their future concerns would be asked, and inferences regarding the main factors that drove them toward crime would be made.

The in-depth interviews were recorded with pseudonyms and approximate ages to conceal the identities of the participants. Some small modifications were made to personal details, without changing the core of the stories. The first interview was conducted with the prisoner convicted for joining a terrorist organization. She is an important example, as the only woman in the prison convicted for a terror crime. Her limited ability in speaking Turkish was the fundamental problem faced during the interview. Second, three women convicted of murdering their husbands were interviewed. The in-depth interview conducted with the female prisoner who killed her husband because he engaged in an incestuous affair with his daughter was especially challenging. Since the issue is sensitive, frequent breaks were taken and the interview was continued only once the participant felt better. With respect for the privacy of the participant, some details were not touched upon at all.

In the conclusion, the data obtained from questionnaire forms and in-depth interviews are reviewed in accordance to the theoretical framework of the study. The data analyses have been made with frequency distribution procedures. The analyses have been made with the SPSS packet program. In examining the

particular details of Denizli Open Prison, it has been attempted to draw an analogy to nationwide female offenses in Turkey.

The most important limitation faced during the implementation part of the study was the limitedness of the time spent in the prison, as the result of the limitation in the official permission obtained. In accordance with this, in-depth interviews and observations were limited, as well. Another limitation faced was that female prisoners had some concerns and hesitated to answer some questions, both in the questionnaire and in-depth interviews, due to the sensitive nature of the issues. The questionnaire was read aloud to the female prisoners that did not speak Turkish and the answers were marked for them. This situation extended the time that had to be allocated for the questionnaire. The fact that studies of this type have frequently been conducted in the prison resulted in boredom among the participants and made them give overly brief answers. However, frequent warnings were given to avoid this problem.

4.2 Research Findings

4.2.1 Demographics of respondents

Demographic factors (sex, age, income) are highly relevant to crime at both the individual and macro levels of analysis. Evidence consistently indicates that young people, males and members of disadvantaged minorities are at comparatively high risk of becoming offenders and victims, at least with respect to the common "street" crimes (Messener, 1999: 27-41). There are many studies about the factors of crime. For example, Braithwaite presents 12 facts about crime (Walklate, 2003: 7):

- 1) Crime is committed generally by males.
- 2) Crime is committed generally by people between the ages of 15 and 25.
- 3) Crime is committed generally by unmarried people.
- 4) Crime is committed generally by people who live in large cities.
- 5) Crime is committed generally by people who have experienced high residential mobility.
- 6) Crime is committed less often by young people who are strongly attached to their school.

- 7) Crime is committed less often by young people who have high educational and occupational aspirations.
- 8) Crime is committed less often by young people who are strongly attached to their parents.
- 9) Crime is committed more often by young people who have interaction with criminals.
- 10) Crime is committed more often by young people who do poorly at school.
- 11) Crime is committed less often by people who believe strongly in complying with the law.
- 12) For both men and women, being unemployed or belonging to an oppressed racial minority increases rates of offending for all types of crime, apart from those for whom opportunities are systematically less available to the poor.

These facts can be described as common-sense knowledge about crime. However, these social facts cannot explain every individual criminal, but these factors allow criminology to locate itself in the domain of the social rather than in the domain of psychology. For this reason, the facts mentioned above were examined in this thesis.

The general understanding of the relationship between age and crime is that crime rates are highest among adolescents. But this traditional view has been replaced by developmental theories, which suggest that different factors may have different effects on offenders of different ages. Hirschi and Gottfredson suggest that the age-crime relationship is invariant with respect to social characteristics (gender, income). For them, this relationship cannot be explained by the standard factors identified in sociological theories of criminality. Briefly, age must be looked at in the context of poverty, family, racism and education. For example, thievery, robbery, narcotic use and street crimes are mostly committed by juveniles. However, the crimes that require more professionalism, such as check fraud and other financial crimes, are committed in later ages.

One of the reasons for high crime rates among the youth demographic is that young people in this age group face some problems of socialization. The conflict between their own truths and social norms arises in the shape of deviant behavior. In the period when they depart from their families and become open to external

effects, young people's tendency to crime, especially by the way of the influence of friends, is an expected result. When people experience positive emotions, such as the love and acceptance that adolescents often feel with groups of their peers, they overlook the possibility of negative consequences of their actions. Therefore, group offenses are widespread among juveniles. Probably, the young adult who wants to be loved by others prefers that love over proper behavior. The lack of empathy in the family has been extensively blamed for juvenile crime.

New studies demonstrate that abusive parenting, poor parenting practices, disorganized families, neighborhood environments, parental conflict and erratic, harsh discipline have been accepted as contributors of juvenile crime. As well, criminal behavior may be attractive to children who grow up in neighborhoods with high unemployment rates and poverty (National Research Council Staff, 2000: 15).

Easterlin's *cohort theory* is another theory about age-related crimes which was very successful in describing the influence of family on the existence of delinquent behavior. Easterlin hypothesizes that members of large family (cohorts) likely receive less social control in childhood and adolescence because of the size of cohort. The restricted social control increases the possibility of delinquent behavior. Another important debate about age focuses on the persistence of the antisocial behavior over the life span. For this theory, misbehavior in childhood is one of the most important predictors of adult deviance (National Research Council Staff, 2000: 15).

According to Steffenmeier and Allan, one of the reasons for crime committed in early ages is unemployment. Unemployment is particularly a determinant on the increase of the rate of property crimes or theft (Steffensmeier and Allan, 1991: 41). In underdeveloped countries, there are studies asserting that the crime rates have increased as the result of combination of unemployment and poverty.

The physical characteristics of young people are also conducive to committing crime actively. The quantitative and qualitative increase of the opportunities that could be lost in later ages and the small gains achieved from crime does not seem to be enough to decrease the crime rate. On the other hand, young people lack the life experience needed to estimate the probability of negative outcomes of their behaviors.

Over the past years, there has been an appreciable increase in all kinds of crime among young people, and in particular, narcotic use, drunkenness, substance abuse and street crimes. Hence, many studies have focused on juvenile crime around the world. For example, the research on juvenile offenders in Russia found that most young people tend to be defenseless against the influence of crime because of the state of anxiety the experience, dominated by feeling of danger. In that study, the most “dangerous” age has been between 15 and 16.

The other finding of the Russian study is that when the adolescent experiences troubles in the family, he or she generally prefers to leave home and go to the streets (Popov, 1999: 68-75). This finding is important because of the relationship between where young people live and where they commit crime. Sixty-four percent of young offenders commit street crime.

The main distinctive quality of juvenile crime is that, for most part, crime among young people involves groups rather than individuals. In the study mentioned above, two-thirds of young offenders stated that they had participated in criminal actions together with friends (Popov, 1999: 68-75).

Table 2: Demographics of respondents

Variable	N	%	Variable	N
Age			Total income of parents (in new Turkish liras)	
18-24	8	13.3	less than 300 thousand	9
25-34	16	26.7	between 300 - 500 thousand	16
35-44	14	23.3	between 500 thousand - 1 million	12
45 and older	19	31.7	1 million and above	6
Birth Place			5	1
City	21	35.0	What was your mother's vocation?	
Township	18	30.00	laborer	3
Village	21	35.00	agricultural laborer	3
Marital Status			official	2
Single	8	13.3	own business	3
Married	22	36.7	housewife	46
Divorced	11	18.3	unemployed	1
Widowed	19	31.7	retired	1
Do you have any children?			marginal	1
Yes	46	76.7	What is your vocation?	
No	13	21.7	laborer	8
			agricultural laborer	5
Do you have sisters or brothers?			official	1
No	1	1.7	own business	6
1-2	9	15.0	housewife	25
2-4	16	26.7	unemployed	2

5-6	12	20.0	student	1
5 and above	19	31.7	marginal	2
How many households do you have?			What was your father's vocation?	
One - Three	21	35.0	laborer	14
Four - Seven	29	48.3	agricultural laborer	18
Eight and above	8	13.3	official	3
What is your educational level?			own business	15
not literate	7	11.7	unemployed	1
literate, not graduated from primary school	3	5.0	retired	5
graduated from primary school	25	41.7	marginal	4
graduated from secondary school or equivalent vocational school	11	18.3	What is your husband's vocation?	
graduated from high school or equivalent vocational school	9	15.0	laborer	5
graduated from university or college	4	6.7	agricultural laborer	4
Educational Level of Your Mother?			official	3
not literate	36	60.0	own business	10
literate, not graduated from primary school	3	5.0	retired	1
graduated from primary school	18	30.0	other	1
graduated from secondary school or equivalent vocational school	2	3.3		
graduated from university or college	1	1.7		
Educational Level of Your Father?				
not literate	13	21.7		
literate, not graduated from primary school	13	21.7		
graduated from primary school	26	43.3		
graduated from secondary school or equivalent vocational school	3	5.0		
graduated from high school or equivalent vocational school	3	5.0		
graduated from university or college	2	3.3		

A study done in 1987 in America showed that 46.5 percent of the registered crimes were committed by people under 25 years old (Palmer and Humphrey, 1990: 101). In the USA, generally, the rate of crimes against property reaches the maximum point among people who are 16 years old, and crime against life reaches the maximum level among people who are 18 years old. While the rate of incarceration of young people between 15 and 18 years old is 25 percent, the rate decreases to 1 percent in the ages above 65 (İçli, 1994: 228). In Turkey, between

the years 1989 and 1991, a study done of 2934 offenders of all kinds of crime mentioned that they were mostly between the ages of 15 and 34.

The relationship between age and crime was mentioned above. The general assumption about the age phenomenon is that young and middle-aged people engage in crime more frequently than older people. Also, female prison populations are generally young throughout the world. For example in Scotland, two-thirds are under the age of 30, and a fifth are under the age of 21 (Loucks, 2004: 142).

The age range of female criminals between 1975 and 2000 in Turkey, examined through the statistics of the Ministry of Justice, indicates that the crime rate increases after the age 22, slightly decreases between the ages 30 and 45 and decreases significantly after the age 49.

The findings of this current study point to the reverse of these general assumptions. The highest crime rate is seen in the age group of 45 and above. But because people with only two years left to serve of their prison sentence are moved to open prisons in Turkey and this study was conducted in an open prison, this finding is only natural. The second most observed age group is the age group of 25 to 34, with 26.7 percent. The fact that this age group, which represents the young adults, ranks as second in percentage distribution supports the above theories regarding the relationship between age and crime.

There is a proportional closeness between the places of birth of the participations. Thirty-five percent of them were born in provinces, 30 percent in districts and 35 percent in villages. However, considering the possibility that the women that were born in provinces have families with rural origins, the participants were asked whether they are originally from the places of their current residence. According to the findings, 38 percent of them came to their current places of residence through migration. The people that arrive through migration most probably migrated from rural to urban areas.

The study conducted by Leevy to determine the demographic structure of female convicts in the USA between 1942 and 1952 surveyed 1800 women and also found a meaningful relationship between place of habitation and crime.

The urban community produced more female criminals than did the rural community. Ninety-two percent of the female criminals suggested that they had been living in the city when they were convicted (Leonard, 1953: 643).

In this study, 36.7 percent of the female convicts were married, while 31 percent are widowed, 13.3 percent are single and 18.3 percent are divorced. One of the most significant points noticed during the study was that the participants who were convicted for having killed their husbands have difficulties in defining their marital status. They oscillate between “widowed” and “married” options. An examination of the records of the prison reveals that among the female convicts that participated in the survey who were convicted for murder charges, three-fourths of them are in prison for murdering their husbands. Women in Turkey can be said to be killing the people in their household, though with limitations in Denizli Open Prison. This situation can be understood in light of the fact that the lives of the participants were limited within their houses because of their low educational level and the fact that they did not work before their arrest.

In Leevy’s study, mentioned above, a relationship between marital status and crime was detected. Among female criminals convicted of murder, 82.4 percent were married at the time of their conviction. Female criminals murdered men in 67.4 percent of cases, while 32 percent killed women and children (Leonard, 1953: 643).

Considering the number of siblings the female convicts of this sample have and the quantitative size of their families, the majority of them came from large families. It was found that 31.7 percent of the participants have five or more siblings, while 20 percent have between 5 and 6, and 26.7 percent have 2 to 4 siblings. The percentage of the participants that have few siblings, and thus have the highest probability of coming from core families, with 1 or 2 siblings, is the lowest among all groups. The number of siblings has a direct impact on the socialization process of a child. While the presence of older sisters or brothers who can set a positive example to the child is an advantage, the presence of a high number of siblings limits the time the child spends with the parent and the sharing of resources. In families with high number of children and particularly in rural areas, the children have less chance to take adult people as their role model and have insufficient interaction with their parents, with additional factors such as parents’ working in the fields.

Another negative consequence of having many children within the family is that the limited income, earned only by the father, leads to economic hardships within crowded families and to a decrease in the income per children. When low educational level of families is added to this, the control of children becomes harder for the parents (İçli, 1994: 244)

A large number of children in a family is a strong predictor of crime. Farrington and West found that a boy who had four or more siblings by his tenth birthday had a doubled risk of being convicted as a juvenile. Fifty-eight percent of boys from large families were convicted up to the age thirty-two (Farrington and West, 1973: 31).

There are other reasons why a large family may increase the risk of a child's committing crime, in addition to the reasons mentioned above. As the number of children increases, the frustration and conflicts between members of the family increases. For Reiss and Farrington, large families include more children with birth disorders due to short gaps between the births. They suggested that children with birth disorders tend to be delinquent more often (Reiss and Farrington: 1991: 386). However, this cannot be the only explanation for the link between the size of family and a child's offending.

Regarding the numerical size of the families of female convicts in this study, the majority of them were seen to have families with 4 to 7 people. The percentage of the participants that have 8 or more members in their family and display large family characteristics is the lowest among all groups (13.3 percent). The participants that were observed to come from large families in the previous table chose to have fewer children in their own families. The majority of participants have one or two children. The number of female convicts that have four or more children is very low. However, it is important to keep in mind the question of whether the women chose this small family size willingly or whether they simply did not have the opportunity to have more children after they were incarcerated.

Crime is associated with poor school performance, truancy and leaving school at a young age (National Research Council Staff, 2000: 9). Juvenile offenders are generally less successful in school or more likely to leave school early than their peers. Children with lower academic achievement are more likely to offend, more likely to offend frequently and more likely to commit more serious crimes (Weatherbun, 2001: 1). When they leave school early, they meet many

problems, such as unemployment, lack of skills and lack of meaningful employment. Similarly, the ability of communication, social interaction and learning of social norms cannot be developed sufficiently.

The school is a social system in which an assigned series of relationships determines the students' behaviors. Students learn systemic interaction in the school. If they drop out of school, they may be deprived of systemic interaction. Systemic interaction has three different aspects (Horton and Hunt, 1984: 296):

- 1) The relation between insiders and outsiders
- 2) The relation between different kinds of insiders
- 3) The relation between insiders in the same positions

Education plays a considerable role in the process of socialization. The primary socialization is provided by the family. Both Durkheim and Parsons suggest that education plays a key role in secondary socialization. Children are turned into members of society by socializing them into the common values of that society (Fulcher and Scott, 1999:231). When children learn the reasons for moral behavior in school, they can behave morally. In this process, social rules become part of self-discipline. If children do not develop their own self-discipline, they are more likely commit crime in the future.

According to the study conducted by Yavuzer in 1981 in Ankara, İzmir and Elazığ Children's Correctional Houses, 52.8 percent of the children that have committed crimes have failed in school at least once in their lifetimes (Yavuzer, 1981: 154)

It should be remembered that another relationship may exist between female criminality and education. High educational levels of women may also provide advantages when committing some crimes. For example, the study conducted by Leevy with 1800 female convicts in the USA found meaningful relationships between some types of crime and education.

Educational status of female criminals has a close relation to the crimes committed, especially with such crimes as embezzlement and bad check writing; 82.4 percent of such crimes were committed by those with formal educational training. Only 5 percent of the female criminals have completed college. The median grade completion for all female criminals was about the 7th grade or 6th grade. Most of their crimes were murder, vagrancy, petty larceny and theft of food or clothing (Leonard, 1953: 643). The study also had similar findings. One

interviewed female convict, who used to work as a pharmacist and had a graduate degree, was convicted for document fraud. In the whole sample, the rate of women who were convicted of white-collar crimes was very low compared to the other types of crime. The former pharmacist is meaningful example of the relationship between white collar crime and education level.

When the educational level of the female convicts from this study is examined, it is found to be low. While 11.7 percent of the participants are illiterate, 5 percent are literate but not primary school graduates. The percentage of female convicts that have graduated from secondary school is 18.3 percent and the rate of high school graduates is 15 percent. The rate of university graduates is only 6.7 percent. The education of women is still a problem in Turkey. Although the rate of female literacy has been increasing, the rate of secondary and high school graduates among women is still very limited. The increase in the rate of university graduate women is not as high as expected. University education depends on income level to a large extent, which is a different characteristic than secondary and high school education. Therefore, studying in a university is dependent on many variables.

The failure of girls to continue their education is usually due to factors other than themselves. Economic conditions and how the education of girls is perceived in the environment from which they come are variables that shape this process. Other than these variables, another factor of possible importance for the education of girls is the education level of the parents, as the parents with high education levels are expected to be more sensitive about the education of their children. It is more probable that the parents with high education levels accept and support the necessity of girls having education.

The educational level of the parents is very important for teaching the child right values and behavior patterns. The education level of the parents of female convicts reveals some interesting findings. Sixty percent of the female convicts' mothers are illiterate, while 30 percent have only primary education. Only one convict has a mother that was a university graduate. Considering that girls usually spend time with their mothers in their childhood and adolescence, and that they take their mothers as their role model, these percentages are quite concerning.

Considering the education level of the participants' fathers, the picture seems to be different. The percentage of illiterate fathers among the inmates' families is about one-third of the percentage of illiterate mothers. This situation can be interpreted as showing that the literacy level of women is far behind the literacy level of men in Turkey. Moreover, the majority of the female convicts' fathers are primary school graduates. The percentage of high school and university graduates among fathers does not exceed 10 percent in total. Overall, we can say that the education level of participants' mothers and fathers is not high and that they predominantly consist of illiterate people and primary school graduates.

Another important indicator for understanding the socio-economic origins of female convicts is the income of the household in which they lived together with their parents. In this regard, the participants were asked the current equivalent of the total income of their parents at that time. To this question, 15 percent of the participants responded that the income of their parents was less than 300,000 YTL, 26.7 percent between 300,000 and 500,000, and 20 percent between 500,000 and 1 million. The percentage of convicts whose families received more than 1 million was 10 percent. In line with these data, we can say that the majority of female convicts come from low-income families, with limitations in the sample.

The numbers of studies which suggest that there are correlations between crime and poverty have increased rapidly; particularly, there are intense links between crime and unemployment. Fagan summarizes four different approaches. The first one is economic. The second one is social control, in the sense that work provides social bonds for the individual. Thus, an employed individual would not break the norms of society and his living environment. A third approach focuses on the sense of strain felt by the unemployed. When an individual is out of work, he generally feels dissatisfied. The fourth explanation is the labeling theory. For this theory, unemployment can become an actual cause of crime, when one is made to feel anomie through stigmatic labels (Cullingford, 1999: 3).

Poverty deprives people of all kinds of vital interactions (Cullingford, 1999: 5). In addition to the lack of financial resources, poverty manifests itself in a lack of educational opportunities, lack of satisfactory employment options and poor housing. Unsatisfactory living conditions have restrictive effects on the development of a child. Firstly, unsatisfactory living conditions are particularly stressful during pregnancy. Maternal stress negatively affects fetal development.

Many physiological problems, especially neurological ones, may occur in this process. As well, restrictive living conditions may cause slow development and behavioral disturbances of children. In this sense, while there is not a direct cause, the conditions arising out of poverty may increase the risk of deviance.

Knowing the professions of the parents of female convicts, who generally come from low-income and poorly educated families, is important for understanding their socio-economic origins. As indicated above, 60 percent of the female convicts' mothers are illiterate and 30 percent are only primary school graduates. As the women with low educational levels cannot be expected to work in jobs that require professional specialization, they can be expected to work predominantly in certain fields.

As can also be seen from the table, 76.7 percent of the participants' mothers are housewives. Five percent are workers, and 5 percent work in professions that do not require special skills, such as farming. A meaningful correlation was found between the professions of female convicts and the professions of their mothers. There are a number of studies that consider the relationship between the work of mothers and the relationship of their children with crime, through a number of different aspects. For example, a study aiming to examine the relationship between mothers working and whether their children are engaged in crime was conducted in New York in 1970 with 1000 children, 500 of them having working mothers and 500 having unemployed mothers. The findings indicate that working mothers have difficulties supervising their children from time to time. However, the number of children who have committed crimes, who have working mothers that are able to supervise their children, from the number of children that have committed crimes, with mothers that work in jobs with low incomes and do not have the time to supervise their children adequately (Wolfgang and Savitz, 1970 : 496).

The majority of women interviewed were housewives, similar to their mothers. As their highest education level is either primary or secondary school, they will have difficulties, like their mothers, because of being unskilled. Besides, in Turkey, since the work of women is usually subject to their husbands' approval among low education and low-income families, the education level and the views of their husbands in this regard are significant for the working of women.

The second most common profession among the women is laborer. This fact can also be related to the education level of women. The female convicts with low education levels can be expected to have worked in jobs that do not require high education or skill before they were convicted. With their limited skills, it is only possible to work as unskilled laborers in sectors that require physical work and in sectors that are more suitable for female labor, such as textiles. However, there is also a relation between profession and crime, because work plays a variety of roles in the lives of potential criminal offenders. Clearly, work is a source of income. As such, more or better work would reduce the interest in seeking out illegitimate sources of income (Piehl, 2003: 2).

Another striking point in the table is the low rate of women who used to work as civil servants before being convicted. The women who worked as farmers have a significant rate among all professional groups.

It is easier to draw conclusions about the socio-economic origins of female convicts when we look at the professions of their fathers. Among all the professional groups, the highest rate is farmers, at 30 percent. Again with limitations in the sample, we can say that one-third of the female convicts come from rural places. This rate is not clear and may be higher, considering that people from other professional groups may also be settled in rural places. The second highest percentage among professional groups belongs to the self-employed, at 25 percent, and the third is workers, at 23.3 percent. Considering the education level of the participants' fathers, it is clear that the majority of them are either farmers or workers. The meaningful relation between the professions of female convicts and the professions of their mothers was not found between their professions and the professions of their fathers.

The last data to be examined in this section is the profession of the husbands of female convicts. Sixty percent of female convicts did not respond to the question. This is due to two reasons. First of all, there are single women among the female convicts, and second, three-fourths of the women who were convicted for murder were convicted for murdering their husbands. Therefore, they usually avoided responding to questions about their husbands. The most common answer among the participants that responded to the question was self-employment. Workers rank as second and farmers rank third.

4.2.2 Families and childhood of respondents

In this part of the study, the findings that can be related with the crimes they have committed are connected to some theories elaborated in the theoretical framework regarding the basic characteristics of female convicts and their childhoods. The basic aim is to examine what kind of families the female convicts in the sample come from, what their childhood was like and their stories of migration, within the limitations of the survey items, and to relate these factors to the crimes they have committed. The main reason for underlining the importance of the family is the high significance of family in the child's socialization and development.

At this point, it is important to know with whom the female convicts spent their childhood to understand their socialization processes. As can be seen from the table, 91.7 percent of the female convicts in the sample spent their childhood with their parents and siblings. The percentage of participants that were raised by their close relatives is very low. The fact that 91.7 percent of the participants were raised by their parents may facilitate the analysis of the relationship between family and crime.

Socialization first occurs in the family. Socialization includes the acceptance of values, standards and customs of society, as well as the ability to function in an adaptive way in the society. These values, standards and customs are not simply transmitted from one generation to the other, but also formed by each generation. Children are eager to acquire and act in accordance with the rules, standards and actions of the society with which they identify (Grusec and Davidov, 2006: 284). Families play important roles in providing suitable models, which include socially acceptable behaviors for their children. For this reason, their potentialities of modeling are significant in the sense of education, income level, social status and personality.

Table 3: Families and childhood of respondents		
Variable	N	%
Who did you spend your childhood with?		
with mother, father, brothers and sisters	55	91.7
with grandmother and grandfather	1	1.7
with uncles and aunts	3	5.0
with distant relatives	1	1.7
Did you have what you wanted in your childhood and youth?		
Yes	25	41.7
No	34	56.7
Did your parents give you enough pocket money in your childhood and youth?		
Yes	33	55.0
No	27	45.0
Did you have to leave your education uncompleted?		
Yes	44	73.3
No	12	20.0
Did you experience economic difficulties while you were living with your parents?		
We were living within our income	32	53.3
We were experiencing difficulties	26	43.3
other	2	3.3
How was your relationship with your parents?		
I got along well with my mother	6	10.0
I got along well with my father	4	6.7
I could not get along well with them	5	8.3
I got along well with them both	38	63.3
I could not get along well with my mother	1	1.7
I could not get along well with my father	6	10.0
Was your social circle wide in your childhood years?		
Yes	48	80.0
No	11	18.3
Who were your closest friends while you were a child?		
friends from same district	24	40.0
friends from same school	22	36.7
other	13	21.7

The above questions were included in the survey to understand the impact of the professions of female convicts' parents, and thus their income, on the living conditions of female convicts during their childhood.

When asked whether they were able to have anything they wanted in their childhood, 60 percent of the women that participated in the study said, "No." It is normal that the female convicts who generally come from low-income families experienced some limitations regarding their purchasing power, in line with their

income. However, 55 percent of the participants also said that they got enough pocket money from their families. The children who cannot meet some of their basic needs have a higher tendency to engage in crime in later years. Many people want to maximize living conditions by committing crimes when they are young, given the openness to risks of injury, punishment and their consequences (Piehl, 2003: 4).

One of the most apparent effects of the income level of families on the childhood of female convicts is the hardships in survival and, related to that, the conflicts in the family. Limited income and the subsequently limited financial opportunities provided have been discussed. In this part, the impact of the low level of income on the psychological states of the children will be elaborated. For example, 43.3 percent of the participants reported that they had financial difficulties and 30 percent said that the hardships in survival led to tense discussions within the family during their childhood.

When the relationship between the monthly income of female convicts' families and the tense discussions taking place is examined, a meaningful relationship was found between these two variables. The highest rate among those who responded that economic hardships led to uncomfortable discussions within the family was the group of female convicts whose families had less than 300,000 YTL incomes, at 44.4 percent. This rate decreases as the income level increases. It is 43.8 percent among the families with monthly income between 300,000 and 500,000 YTL, 16.7 percent among families with monthly income between 500,000 and 1 million, and 16.7 percent among families with income more than 1 million.

More recent reviews maintain the importance of family factors in juvenile delinquency (Smith and Stern, 1997: 383). Family factors are important predictors of offending, including poor parental child management techniques, low intelligence and educational attainment of family and separation of family. There are studies indicating that the individuals who had a happy childhood and close relationships with their parents are less inclined towards crime than the children who are unhappy and have difficulties communicating with their parents. Children who grow up with a lack of warmth and support, whose parents lack behavior management skills and whose lives are characterized by conflict, will more likely be delinquent, whereas a supportive family can protect children from a damaging external environment (Farrington, 2002: 670).

In this study, the childhood relationships between the female convicts and their families were examined. It was found that 63.3 percent of the participants had good relationships with both their mothers and their fathers. A striking point in the table was that the rate of those who could not get along with their fathers was higher than the rate of those who could not get along with their mothers. Considering that the participants are women and about one-third of them come from rural places, their having better relationships with their mothers can be expected.

There is a meaningful correlation between with whom the participants spent their childhood and their relationships with their parents. The participants that spent their childhood with their parents have the highest rate of good relationships with both their mothers and their fathers. A similar situation is also true in the reverse. The participants that spent their childhood with their aunts, uncles or other relatives have the highest rate of not getting along well with their parents in their childhood. In this regard, we can say that sharing space and time is important for children to establish good relations with their parents. Moreover, the good relationships between the children and their parents will positively affect their decision to take their parents as role model.

Friends from childhood and youth are an important part of the socialization of the child, following the socialization within the family. There are a number of studies indicating the relationship between the children's being anti-social and committing crime. The common point among the studies that argue that children who cannot make friends because of their personality or due to other factors may be inclined towards crime is the following:

Offending is part of a larger syndrome of antisocial behavior, which begins in childhood and tends to persist into adulthood. The antisocial child tends to become the antisocial teenager and then the antisocial adult (Farrington, 2002: 659).

4.2.3 Crime in the family and migration

The findings that will be analyzed in this section will be examined in two categories. The first will question the inclination towards crime in the family or among close relatives, and whether the family members have bad habits. The second will deal with where the female convicts in the sample used to live before they were convicted, and whether they have migrated or not. The reason for the inclusion of questions about migration in the study is that constant change of place and lack of feelings of belonging to one place, as well as the failure to establish close friendships, may have an indirect relationship with crime because of the adverse effects of such factors on child development.

As the relationship between the model setting and learning theories and crime was already elaborated in the theoretical part of the study, in this chapter we will discuss whether the data support these theories or not. For this reason, we will examine the addictions of family members, their inclination towards suicide and whether they were convicted for any crime or not. When the addictions in the families of the participants are analyzed, the most frequent addiction seen is alcoholism.

Twenty-one percent of the participants indicated that they have alcoholics in their families. The drug and gambling addictions, however, are less frequent. But as drug use is a crime under the law, it is highly possible that the participants did not tell about their drug addicted relatives. Considering the rate of participants that failed to respond to the question, this probability is even higher.

While the rate of female convicts in the sample group that have a family member that gambles is 6.3 percent, the rate of participants that have a family member that attempted to commit suicide is 13.3 percent. But the high rate of those who failed to respond to this question may indicate that this rate may be higher and that the participants may have wanted to hide suicide, which is prohibited by Islam and is usually seen as failure by society.

One of the aims of the study was to propose the fact that crime can be learned as a social behavior. Therefore, it is very important to note whether the female convicts had someone in their family or in their close environment from whom to learn about the phenomenon of crime. For social learning theories, all behavior, particularly deviant, is learned in close associations with others who may

manifest criminal behaviors. Association with delinquent persons led to modeling of misbehavior (Peterson, 2002: 62-65). Particularly, the family provides the major contexts within which all of the social learning variables function as part of the learning process (Cohn and White, 1990: 18).

Table 4: Crime in the family and migration

Variable	N	%
Alcohol addiction in the family?		
Yes	13	21.7
No	33	55.0
Drug addiction in the family?		
Yes	5	8.3
No	41	68.3
Gambling addiction in the family?		
Yes	4	6.7
No	42	70.0
Is there anybody in the family who committed suicide?		
Yes	8	13.3
No	39	65.0
Is there anybody in your family who commits crime?		
Yes	22	36.7
No	37	61.7
The place you lived before entering prison?		
City	29	48.3
Township	16	26.7
Village	14	23.3
Are you native there?		
Yes	34	56.7
No	23	38.3
When did you migrate?		
my family had migrated before I was born	8	13.3
we migrated when I was a child	3	5.0
we migrated when I was a young adult	4	6.7
other	9	15.0
Your reason to migrate?		
to find job	5	8.3
with the hope of a better life	7	11.7
to join relatives	5	8.3
blood revenge	2	3.3
Other	4	6.7
What kind of difficulties did you have after you had migrated?		
unemployment	6	10.0
financial difficulties	7	11.7
conflicts in the family	2	3.3
I did not have any difficulty	6	10.0

Among the female convicts that participated in the study, 36.7 percent have relatives that have committed any crime. Around 60 percent of these people did not want to tell what crime their relative was convicted for. Among the participants that responded to the question, murder was the most common crime. In a similar manner, the most common crime among the female convicts themselves was murder.

Having a convicted father, mother, brother, or sister are important predictors of a child's own convictions. In the research about the concentration of offending in families, it was suggested that 63 per-cent of children who have convicted fathers were themselves convicted. Same-sex relationships were stronger predictors than opposite-sex relationships, and older siblings were stronger predictors than younger siblings. For the Pittsburg Youth Study, the child's delinquency was predicted by the convictions of fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts and grandparents. Forty-three percent of convicted people had also had a convicted family member. Another study, at Cambridge University, put forward the idea that having a convicted parent or a delinquent older sibling was also the best predictor, after poor parental supervision, of a child's delinquency (Farrington, 2002: 671).

There are many explanations for why offending tends to be transmitted from one generation to the next. In the sense of learning theory, a child can learn delinquent behavior by modeling his delinquent family. Besides, risk factors such as poverty may be transmitted from one generation to the next. For West and Farrington, poor parental supervision may be the causal chain between criminal parents and a child's offending (West and Farrington, 1977: 117).

On the other hand, genetic heritage may also be determinant on a child's offending. Grove found examples of childhood conduct disorder in 41 percent of cases and adult antisocially personality in 28 percent of cases in his study about the concordance of identical twins reared together and identical twins reared apart. Lastly, official bias against criminal families may be determinant on the transmission of offending (Farrington, 2002: 671). According to the labeling theory, the children with a member of their families convicted for a crime have a higher possibility of being subject to a second labeling through the labeling of their families. These children are regarded as more familiar with crime when compared to other children, within this line of argument.

Another group which the female convicts can take as a model regarding crime is their close acquaintances, following their families. Thirty-five percent of the female convicts had people they know convicted for a crime, and again many participants refrained from telling for which crime these people were convicted, but murder was the most commonly reported crime.

Forty percent of female convicts in the sample stated that they had was an immediate family member who was convicted and 35 percent said they had a close relative who was convicted, which makes us think that crime can be learned. However, at this point, only in line with these data, it would be wrong to argue that the main reason women committed crime was this learning. One of the main arguments of the thesis is that the people who encountered crime in their early ages, during their development process, can be more inclined towards crime and criminal behavior than people who did not have direct or indirect relationships with crime in their early ages. There are a number of studies supporting this argument. However, it would be wrong to make judgments within the limitations of social sciences.

These data gathered support the Sutherland's theory. The study conducted by Orcutt in 1987 regarding marijuana usage in colleges also supports the importance of a relationship with criminal people and familiarity with criminal behavior in close circles to the emergence of criminal behavior, which is one of the main arguments of this study.

Students with positive, neutral, and negative definitions of marijuana usage were asked to estimate how many of their four closest friends smoked marijuana at least once a month. Students who were users of marijuana had at least one marijuana user among their friends (Marrison, 1997: 153).

According to a study conducted by Glueck with 500 male criminals, 1000 criminal children, and 500 criminal women, 84.8 percent of the male criminals, 86.7 percent of the criminal children and 80.7 percent of the criminal women had at least one criminal in their families. Moreover, in some field studies of researchers such as Barker and McCord, the criminal children may display different deviancies, such as alcoholism rather than imitating the family member's crime directly, and usually tend to join crime gangs more readily than other children (İçli, 1994: 240).

About half of the female convicts that participated in the study continue to live in the province in which they lived before they were convicted. However, 38.3 percent of them are not natives in the place they live. Considering the fact that migration in Turkey is from rural to urban places, the rate of female convicts that have arrived in the urban setting via migration can be said to be high. When female convicts were asked when their families migrated, the highest percentage said it occurred before they were born. The second most common answer was that it happened when they were young adults. The third is that they migrated when they were children.

When the female convicts who migrated were asked about the reason for their migration, the majority of them declined to answer. The most common answer provided was that their families sought a better life. Based on this answer, we can infer that 12 percent of the female convicts had bad life conditions before migration. Particularly when the migration from rural to urban places is considered, the main reason of migration is the hope to find a permanent job with job security. Hence it will be possible to create a lifestyle that is different from the survival economy in rural areas.

The fact that 3.3 percent of female convicts migrated because of a blood feud is an indication regarding the existence of blood feuds in Turkey. The fact that a blood feud is related to fear may have led people that came from urban places because of blood feuds to hide their situation and thus contribute to the failure to achieve a more definite finding.

The difficulties experienced by female convicts after they migrated to urban places are significant for the study. The difficulties encountered after migration may be useful in understanding the reasons for the crimes committed by the women. As can be seen from the table, the most important difficulty encountered after migration is economic hardships and unemployment. It is hard for people that have migrated from rural to urban settings with low education levels to find employment in urban places in skilled jobs. Particularly within this group, when the urban conditions are considered, women have more difficulties in finding jobs than men. The men who have migrated and cannot find a paid and insured job can work in the marginal sector as street peddlers. However, for women working in the marginal sector, with strenuous working conditions and without security, it is both dangerous and difficult. Another aspect of the

economic difficulties encountered by women is related to their domestic responsibilities. Meeting the needs of the household with the limited income earned by men is the responsibility of women. Poverty can lead to tension and fights within the family. Another aspect seen frequently among families that have migrated from rural to urban places is hardships in living conditions and the fact that children usually have to drop out of school and start working at young ages, as the income of the father is insufficient. Each of the family members works in uninsured and low-income jobs and tries to integrate into the urban life by the joining of their little incomes. However, this process involves two significant dangers. The low education levels of children lead them to work in marginal and unskilled jobs in the later years of their lives. In this loop, it is possible that people with low education and income levels are more inclined towards crime.

4.2.4 The Factors for Committing Crime and Thoughts of Respondents about the Future

The most common type of crime among the women that participated in the study was murder. With limitations in the sample in Denizli Open Prison, we can say that the victims of female criminals were usually members of their own families or people in their close circles. In line with the prison records and the responses of the women interviewed, it was found that three-fourths of the female convicts murdered their husbands. A similar general tendency can be observed among women that have committed murder in other parts of the world. Research states that when women kill, their victim is usually an intimate person. Women usually kill their partners to defend themselves and their children. When women are in fear for their lives and their children's lives, they may kill their partners. In America, two-thirds of all murders committed by women are against family members and over 40 percent involve intimate partners. Those partners are generally cohabiting couples who are not married or divorced. One impressive finding is that females have higher offending rates (55.72 percent) than the males in cohabiting relations. (Eastman, 2006: 4-6).

Similar findings were also arrived at in the in-depth interviews conducted throughout this study. The majority of female convicts murdered their husbands. Among these couples, the rate of those who were married in religious ceremonies is high. Demanding official civil marriages, or the husband's desire to marry or establish relations with other women, are among the reasons for such murders. A point that needs to be mentioned before discussing other reasons is that a meaningful relationship was found between the types of crime committed by female convicts and whether they had members of their families who have committed crime. This finding provides support for the argument that crime is a learned behavior. For example, 42 percent of the female convicts who were convicted for murder had a relative that was convicted for any crime. One of the best examples of this meaningful relationship is that, among the female convicts that were convicted for theft, three-fourths of them had a family member that was convicted of a crime. The fact that many types of crime, such as pick-pocketing and drug dealership, have recently involved the entire family, including the children, makes this connection even more meaningful. In one of the in-depth interviews, a member of the Roma people, one of the minority ethnic groups in Turkey, was interviewed and information was obtained regarding the learnability of crime within the family and the parents' direction of their children towards crime. These findings are discussed in the next section. However, one point that should be emphasized here is that the findings of this study cannot be generalized for all Roma, and a false conclusion that Roma families can only sustain their livelihood through crime should not be drawn.

Table 5: The Factors for Committing Crime and Thoughts of Respondents about the Future

Variable	N	%
For which crime are you currently serving a sentence?		
pick-pocketing	5	8.3
other	10	16.7
stealing	4	6.7
murder	33	55.0
attempt to murder	3	5.0
using drugs	1	1.7
kidnapping a girl or woman	1	1.7
What is / are the reason or reasons that made you turn to crime?		
for marriage	1	1.7
group of friends	5	8.3
violence in the family	14	23.3
other	9	15.0
for the sake of chastity	12	20.00
because of blood revenge	1	1.7
because of a fight which began when I was drunk	4	6.7
because of money	1	1.7
disagreement about land	1	1.7
because of financial difficulties	4	6.7
poverty	5	8.3
Have you been sentenced more than once?		
Yes	26	43.3
No	34	56.7
What was the reaction of your family to the crime that you committed?		
they absolutely did not approve of the crime that I committed	22	36.7
they supported me, they understood	19	31.7
they were unconcerned with the crime that I had committed	8	13.3
other	9	15.0
What was the reaction of your friends to the crime that you committed?		
they absolutely did not approve the crime that I committed	18	30.0
they supported me, they understood	27	45.0
they were unconcerned with the crime that I had committed	3	5.0
other	10	16.7
After being released from prison, do you think you will continue living at the place where you committed the crime?		
Yes	25	41.7
No	33	55.0

One of the most significant data obtained during the study was about the reason that prompted the female criminals to commit crimes. When the female convicts in Denizli Open Prison were asked what directed them towards committing crime, two very meaningful findings were encountered. The first was related to domestic violence and the second one was honor. As indicated above, one of the

primary reasons that directed women to commit crime was their subjection to violence. As the degree and duration of violence increases, the extent of the women's need to protect themselves also increases. Particularly savage physical violence leads to fear of death and the will to exert violence in self-defense. Women can also murder someone following violence exerted upon their children. One of the female convicts interviewed murdered her husband upon her husband's attempt to kill her children.

Edwing collected data on 100 women who killed their abusive partners. He found that one-third of women killed their abusive partners during the course of a battering incident. The other killings took place sometime after a battering incident (Eastman, 2006: 4-6).

There are differences between male and female perpetrators in terms of the incentives for committing crime. For example, men generally commit homicide of intimate partners with a sense of jealousy and honor. On the other hand, women generally murder their partner with sense of self-defense, from threat of violence.

Flowers suggests that women kill their partners because of "jealousy, adultery substance abuse, stress, mental illness and control issues". Women commit crime due to "self-defense, harassment of subject of victim, psychiatric condition, the need to obtain drugs and money, jealousy" (Flowers, 2002: 60).

Another significant gender difference between male and female criminals is the location of the homicide. Men generally murder away from the shared home. On the other hand, women most often kill their partners in the shared home or the women's own home. Furthermore, men are more likely to kill additional people, such as children, when they kill their partners and are more likely to be involved in advance planning (Eastman, 2006: 7-8).

Violence against women is a universal fact. However, both the violence against women and female criminality can be understood within the unique moral and cultural system of Turkey. The special aspect of female criminality in Turkey differs from in the West because females in Turkey generally commit crimes because of honor. Honor is a two-dimensional concept. The first dimension is imposed externally by society and the second dimension is the internalized doctrines. As seen in the table, 20 percent of women studied have committed crimes because of honor.

For Sirman, members of society who live according to the norms of society can accept the violence necessary for the continuity of values about sex and virginity (Sirman, 2006: 43). The honor killings in the east and southeast regions of Turkey are the most important examples of this.

Honor killing is the extreme point of patriarchal control. According to Pope, honor killings are so expansive in the east because the entire family is responsible for the honor of women, not just the husband. All members of the native tribe accept such murder as legitimate and if it is necessary, they all organize them (Pope, 2006: 111).

The reason for different perceptions of honor between women and men from different regions is gender. For instance, in Turkey's east and Black Sea regions, while the fornication of men is not seen as an event that harms honor, the fornication of women is accepted as a defect on the honor of men.

The general assumption behind this discrimination about gender can be summarized as: In Turkey, a dishonored man is both distrusted and lacks control of the honor of his wife or his love. However, the honor of a woman is just related to her own sexuality (Sirman, 2006: 49).

Subculture and labeling theories can be helpful to understand such a dilemma. The perception of honor can differ due to the gender perception of people living in different subcultures. In Turkey, in the eastern and Black Sea regions, the perception of honor is stricter, because relationships in these regions are based on kinship.

In these communities, production and distribution relations and power and obedience relations are shaped by kinship. People who are relatives provide identities to each other and may shape their behaviors (Sirman, 2006: 47). The labeling may also change depending on the varying perceptions of honor in different regions. As a result of the study, it was seen that women are passive in the eastern and Black Sea regions of Turkey and thus labelings regarding honor are predominantly placed on women. However, the men in the family and the husband are also subject to labeling from the society. Most of the time, these labels are the primary reason for the crimes committed in the name of honor. In communities where women are regarded as passive, the father, brother or husband is considered to be responsible for the damage of the woman's honor. Salvaging the honor is a task that is considered to befall men. In the West, this dualist structure imposed on

men and women gradually disappears. Through the responses given by the people coming from the Aegean and the Marmara regions, we can say that the women in these regions are relatively saved from this passive structure and therefore are held responsible for their own honor. Therefore, the task of “clearing her honor” is a woman’s own responsibility.

Another significant difference determined by the region of origin is the women’s different perceptions of honor in line with the subcultures. These subcultures are also divided into urban and rural subcultures within themselves. A woman living in the Aegean region regards a behavior that is threatening for honor in a different way from a woman that was raised in the east. These perceptions also directly shape the reactions of women. While for some of the participants, threats against their honor were met with serious rage and regarded as incidents that must be punished, the same incidents were, for other participants, events that needed to be reported to the police or disregarded.

Another finding arrived at during the interviews was that the women coming from rural places carried their rural values from their villages to the urban setting. The moral values they internalized did not change much after they came to the urban setting. The attitudes of female convicts who have lived in urban places for many years towards honor and moral issues were in parallel with the attitudes of women who lived in a rural setting before they were convicted. As there were no women coming from rural to urban settings in the sample with a significantly higher level of education than the other female convicts, the relation between education and the transformation of the values internalized could not be questioned.

Another striking reason that directs women toward crime is poverty. Women who could not meet their basic needs indicated that they were inclined towards crimes such as pick-pocketing, theft or prostitution. As indicated in the previous sections, the female convicts with low education levels and no skills stated that they were particularly inclined towards such crimes in large cities. The dominant belief among the women who were convicted of such crimes is that they committed such crimes not because they wanted to but due to the urgency of the need to ensure survival for themselves and for their children.

Based on the question of whether there is a meaningful relationship between crime and education, the relationship between the reasons that direct female convicts towards committing crime and their education levels was examined and a meaningful relationship was found between these two variables. One of the most meaningful findings was that the women who are primary school graduates and illiterate had the highest rate of committing crimes in the name of honor. The primary school graduates are also the group with the highest percentage of other types of crime as well. As can be seen, the overcoming of stereotyped crimes of honor and tradition depend largely upon education. The individuals who learn that there are different realities other than the stereotypes will not accept the inhuman practices of the past. When education is provided equally to all members of the family, this occurs more efficiently.

The study that was conducted between 1989 and 1991 in Turkey with 4000 convicts, which represented 10 percent of all convicts in Turkey, also found that 53 percent of the female convicts, a majority, were married. The marital status group with the highest percentage among male convicts was also the married group (İçli, 1992: 31).

Another finding that is important for this study was whether crime was a recurring phenomenon for female convicts. Forty-three percent of the female convicts said that they committed more than one crime in their lives, while 56 percent said that they had only committed one. It is hard to interpret this data without knowing at what age the participants were convicted and for how many years they were sentenced to prison. For a woman that was convicted for life imprisonment, it is impossible to commit more than one crime. But with the limitations with the sample, the fact that the rate of women who have committed more than one crime is over 40 percent can be interpreted in a way that suggests women can also have a criminal career. Hence, the stereotype that associates crime more with men is being overcome gradually. Women can also participate in more than one crime in an organized and unorganized manner.

The reaction of the participants' families to the crime is significant to show to what extent crime is accepted within society. While 31.7 percent of the participants' families understood the crime the female convicts committed, 36.7 percent of them did not approve of the crime at all. The reaction of the families and their understanding should not be considered independently of social bonds.

For example, it is easier for a family settled in a rural place to accept the behavior of their daughter who has murdered someone to clear her honor. As the majority of the decisions regarding murders in the name of honor are made within the family, it is normal for the families to support the crime committed. Prostitution, murder of husband in some cases, usage and sale of drugs if the other members of the family are not involved with drugs, which are the other crimes that are indicated by the female convicts, are among the crime types that are not approved and accepted within the family.

Another significant factor that has a determining value on whether the families accept or reject the crimes committed is whether the parents or other members of the family have been involved with crime before. It will be hard for a family to accept something new. The inclination of the family towards crime will facilitate their acceptance of the crime and even their support. The support given by friends to female criminals is higher. Forty-five percent of the female convicts that participated in the study indicated that their friends understood the crime they committed. Women are supported more by their friends than their families for the crimes they committed.

The support women receive from their families and people in their close circles of friends is very important both during their service in prison and after they are released. The support women get from their families and close circles regarding the crime they committed is a determining factor on where they will settle after they are released. The women that receive negative reactions and even threats after they committed the crime stated that they will not go back to where they used to live after they are released, and some even think of remove all traces of their past lives. A convict that killed her husband and daughter said that she has received threats during her service in prison and thus she made official requests to change the prison in which she was incarcerated.

Fifty-five percent of the women that participated in the study said that they will not go back to where they used to live after they are released. However, this situation is not solely about the threats received or the support of the family. The women that were convicted of murdering their husbands particularly plan to move to a new city to leave the bad memories behind and make a fresh start.

4.2.5 In-Depth Interviews

With the purposes of understanding the answers to items in the questionnaire and to render the questions more clear, in-depth interviews were deemed necessary. In-depth interviews were conducted with 6 women after applying the questionnaire to 60 convicted females, and questions designed to expand on the findings of the questionnaire were asked. Quota sampling was used to ensure more general conclusions from the study, and convicted females were interviewed from different regions, with different crimes. Real names of the convicted females were kept confidential in this section that and nicknames were used when discussing the findings.

Table 6: Demographics of Female Criminals that Participated in In-depth Interviews

Name	Ayşe Kara	Sinem İçer	Burcu Yılmaz	Hatice Yanık	Latife Çalışkan	Gül Çimen
Age	31 years old	45 years old	45 years old	48 years old	41 years old	22 years old
Education	Literate, not graduated from elementary school	Elementary school graduate	Elementary school graduate	Literate, not graduated from elementary school	Master degree	Illiterate
Marital Status	Single	Widow	Widow	Widow	Single	Married
Birth Place	Tunceli	Trabzon	Diyarbakır	Çorum	İzmir	İzmir
Have a child	None	Three children	Four children	None	None	Two children
Type of crime	Terror crime	Homicide	Homicide	Homicide	White collar crime	Pick-pocketing

Difficulties foreseen by Duverger for in-depth interviews with convicted criminals were encountered one-by-one during these in-depth interviews. The first of these difficulties was the suspicion of the participants that these interviews were carried out to “pump” out information about them or their peers. This problem, according to Duverger, can be defeated by performing the interviews after the conviction and ensuring an environment of confidence. Another difficulty was the trend of the convicted to display their righteousness, giving their answers according to such a trend (Duverger, 2006: 266).

These two basic problems were encountered throughout the interviews. During the interviews, lasting for about 1 ½ hours each, the first half-hour was spent on causal chats to ensure the confidence of the convicted women. During these chats, other subjects were also touched upon, and efforts were made to

ensure a warm environment to put the women at ease. Another difficulty encountered was that women repeated their innocence both at the beginning of the interview and whenever they remembered. All the female convicts thoroughly interviewed gave answers to the effect that they were made to commit the offense, and kept this trend against all the questions. This situation caused time to be lost and diverted from the main objective of the question from time to time, forcing the same questions to be asked again and again.

Ayşe Kara:

The first person interviewed was Ayşe Kara. Kara is 31 years old and was born in Tunceli. She has never married and has 6 siblings. She is the only female convicted of terrorism in Denizli Open Prison. Contrary to the other crimes, this crime of terror is kept secret from others. Other convicted women do not know the real cause of Kara's conviction. Managers of the prison and guards keep her crime secret because of the fear of others harming her. However, it has been observed that women convicted of homicide do not hide their crimes during their stay in prison; to the contrary, they boast of them. This is reminiscent of the people convicted of sexual crimes being punished by other convicts.

The first question directed at Kara was how she joined the terrorist organization. Kara answered this question as follows:

I was taken by force in a raid in the village when I was 12. They threatened my family to make them give me to them. I was not the only child taken away from the village. Other boys and girls were also taken. They told my mother and father that they would not harm us, that they were in the right in this war they started, and they needed support to win. My mother was sorry the most; she was not willing to give me, but I went with them together with the other children.

Kara said that other young girls and children in the group came to the camp that day and afterwards. According to Kara, the main reason to join the organization particularly for young girls is the lack of education in the region. She says that the girls who wished to be educated but were unable to go to school because of their fathers and elder brothers joined the organization with enthusiasm. This is one of the most striking findings obtained in the entire study. Girls join the organization with the purpose of contradicting the norms and moral values in the region. They consider this as a kind of reaction. Some of them were actually deceived with promises of education.

Kara never attended school until she joined the organization. She says that her father did not let her go to school because she is a girl; however, her elder brothers could attend only the primary school because of their poverty, and none of them graduated. Her parents are illiterate. She says that they were given theoretical training for a long time in the camp where she stayed after joining the organization. She was repeatedly taught that the Turkish state was bad, both during that period and also during daily life, and sometimes she was subjected to the physical violence of the males in the organization:

My friends and I were told that the State was bad, but I was unable to understand what "state" was. The State was blamed for the poverty of my family and village. It was said that we could reach our real identities only if the state of the Turkish Republic was pulled down. However, I was still unable to understand what "state" and "freedom" were. My friends that I was close with also did not know.

Kara says that she accepted those days as a children's game at first. Then she realized that it was not a game when she had to use a gun fire it if required in a village they visited:

I understood that what I was living in was not a game when I was told I could shoot the villagers in any bad situation. What made me sorry was the case that maybe that I could shoot children like me.

Kara says that she got used to these acts in a while, and started to harbor anger against the state that she did not know or understand. She says that she was sent to Manisa in her early twenties for duties within the city, and she lived in a house there with other girls. She says that she worked mostly in information transfer. She did not contact her family during this period; this was forbidden. She talks about a feudal structure within the organization:

Orders mostly came from male commanders. Some of our friends were subjected to violence. It was difficult for women to ascend within the organization.

She had to question some issues when she was called back by the organization:

All I knew was that I felt that I did not want to go back and do the same things. I decided to be surrender for this reason. We had easy access to TV since we lived in the city. I was able to follow things particularly from the TV. I learned about the Repentance Law this way. I saw an interview with someone that eventually surrendered after the Repentance Law, and so I surrendered. I could not have heard about this law if I lived in the mountains instead of Manisa.

When Kara was asked if she felt any repentance after her surrender, she answered that she did not regret her surrender it, but she was very afraid that the organization could find her:

I do not repent it that I surrendered. They wanted me to keep it a secret, the cause of my conviction after I came in this prison. And I did so. I attended literacy courses. I am fully literate now. Then I attended dress-making courses. Now I have an occupation, and this makes me happy.

Kara was lastly asked what she wanted to do after discharge, and if she was hopeful about her future. She was far more hopeful than other female convicts interviewed. She says she will settle in the Marmara or Aegean region after she is released and that relevant authorities will assist her with this. She hopes to find a job with the handicraft she acquired in prison. She says being literate makes her self-confident. The only thing that makes Kara unhappy is that she will not be able to contact her family again. She says this is her own choice, since she does not want to put them in danger. She earnestly says that she misses her mother most and is anxious about her. She does not see her parents as guilty. She believes that they had to give her away:

I am not angry at my parents, and not angry in the least at my mother, because she always loved me. Only, they could have protected me if they had more money. They mostly take away the children of families with no education and in great financial difficulties. I wish to work even more for my children if I marry in the future.

Kara says that the period she spent in prison caused her self-image to change and helped her gain self-confidence. She gained confidence through her education and her newly acquired skills:

I owe much to those in the management of the prison. What is most important is, they taught me to read and write. I learned how to be a dressmaker. I have a profession now. I made friends here from other regions. My best friend is from Trabzon. We will see each other after discharge.

When Kara was asked how she could be on good terms with somebody from another region, she answered thus:

Our sufferings made us come together. Our biggest common point was that neither of us could be children. We could not enjoy our childhoods because she married at a very young age, and because I joined the organization. Sometimes we spent hours getting angry at our fathers. Both she and I wanted to go to school very much. Another thing that made us come close was our yearning for our mothers. Her mother did not want her because she committed homicide. And I was unable to see my mother. Sometimes she told me about her memories from her childhood and village, and sometimes I told her about the same. We talked about what we would do after we are discharged from the prison.

It was observed in the interview with Kara that common experiences and similar personal experiences enhance interpersonal communication and bring individuals closer, despite regional differences. Particularly, being repressed by the

norms and patriarchal social structures of their regions make them have similar subjective histories, and make it easier for them to understand each other.

The interview that took the longest time to conduct was Kara's. Although she was literate, she still did not know the Turkish equivalents of some words, and she had difficulties in forming some sentences. She was interviewed after the completion of all the questionnaires and other interviews. The most striking point throughout the interview was that Kara was far more at ease than the other women. Although she kept her crime hidden from other women, she verbalized all she felt without any doubt of confidence.

Sinem İçer:

Sinem İçer is a native of Trabzon, age 45, originally married but now a widow since she killed her husband, graduate of primary school, and mother of 3 children. Her parents are farmers in Trabzon. Although not rich, she was raised without great economic difficulties. Her mother is only literate, and her father is a graduate of primary school. She was not sent to secondary school upon the wish of her father, although she was successful in primary school. The belief that sending girls to school is unnecessary, and even a sin, was dominant in the Black Sea region during İçer's childhood and youth. Only daughters of relations migrating to big cities could break this ban. The memory she remembers with greatest sorrow about those days is that she had to leave school:

I was a very successful student. Each morning I woke up early to take care of animals, and then I went to school very eagerly. Reading was a great passion for me. I was very successful, even better than the boys in the class. I was very sorry, and cried for days, when my father did not allow me to continue after primary school. I was very angry with my father then.

She thinks of her childhood and the days she spent with her family as the best years of her life, although she was out of school:

The years that I felt really peaceful and happy were those years I spent with my mother and father. Everybody was my friend in the village. We played for long hours even after it got dark. All we had to do was finish the tasks our mothers gave us. We were particularly close with the daughters of relatives. Boys were not close friends of ours.

İçer was forced to marry shortly after she was taken from school. She was 15 when she married. Her husband was a youngster working in construction sites in the center of Trabzon, which she did not know very well, although she lived in the

same area. They moved to center of the city after marrying. İcer says she felt very lonely in the city at first, but she got pregnant very soon, and her children, coming in short intervals, became her closest companions and main occupation.

She says that her spouse drank alcohol from the first years of their marriage and treated her violently. She did not reveal this to her family although she suffered the violence for long years. What made her most unhappy was that her children also suffered violence while growing up and they witnessed the violence she suffered. Her husband's alcohol problem caused a turning point in their lives.

When she was asked about the possible causes of her spouse's heavy drinking, it was understood that her spouse suffered violence during his own childhood and that his father also had a drinking problem. Everybody in the village knew his father as alcoholic. However, İcer's father gave her as a bride because the groom's economic situation was good.

One night my brother and my husband started to argue when drinking, and my husband killed my brother with his gun. The children and I were stunned. My little son did not talk for a long time. They arrested my husband. Another pain I had after the death of my brother was that my family did not talk to me. But it was my father who wanted me to marry him. They did not help us when my husband was in prison. I was both sorry for my brother and my children. Only the family of my husband helped us in those days. I worked as a cleaning woman in houses to make a living. My husband was discharged in a few years benefiting from general amnesty.

İcer was asked why her husband killed her brother, and whom did she think was right in that case. The basic reason for the fight, according to İcer, was the sharing of the land in the village. There is a belief in the Black Sea region that daughters do not have the right of inheritance. For this reason, no share was given to İcer from the family's income from nuts. She says that it made her husband angry for a long time, and he frequently talked about it at home. Although he wanted to borrow money from her brother, her brother did not give him money. İcer and husband felt that they did not get what they had a right to.

In fact, we both knew that girls were not given land in that region. But my husband complained about it so much that at last I, too, believed that they had to give me land. But I never thought that things would come to this point. They started to talk about the same issue at the table as they were drinking. My husband talked about his debts to friends. At first my brother pretended not to hear, but then he started to answer and said that girls were not given property. My husband got very angry, went inside and come back with his gun, and we heard a few sounds. My brother died on the spot. Although I was also angry with my brother for not helping us, I never completely forgave my husband for this, and I was always angry inside.

Based on İer's words, it can be said that personal rights of women in Turkey, and particularly those living in rural areas, are determined by their fathers and brothers, and by their husbands afterwards, and they learn what their personal rights are through these persons. In addition, informal and primary relations are dominant in the rural areas of the Black Sea region and in all rural regions in general, instead of the formal relation network, which puts the formal structures like law out of operation. Personal rights of individuals are formed through the bonds of blood relations, outside the frame of laws.

İer's family had to migrate to Istanbul after the discharge of her husband. Pressure from acquaintances and difficulties of her husband to find a job made this migration obligatory. They had serious economic difficulties in Istanbul. The children were the most unhappy. Some people from her husband's family helped to find a place to settle and a job. However, they saw no one except for a few fellow citizens living in the same neighborhood. Her husband started to work in construction sites, but the alcohol problem went on with the same severity. The physical violence she suffered increased with the degree of his alcohol problem.

İer suffered the second trauma when her husband beat her little son one night when he was drunk. İer tells about the night that would be the cause of her conviction as follows:

My husband was drinking in the sitting room, like almost all nights. He was very drunk that night. He put the knife to my little son's throat and threatened us with killing him; all I saw was my brother's face. I remembered a great fear and anger; I do not remember the rest. With the decision of a moment, I killed him with his gun in the bedroom. However, I do not remember any of the details. In the prison there are scenes that come to my mind from time to time.

Both her family and her husband's family supported İer after she was arrested. This, and particularly the support of her husband's family, seemed at first strange to İer. They thought she was right to kill her husband to protect her children. Since her husband was an alcoholic, they were glad that the torture he practiced on his family had come to an end, even by death. Her own family supported her with the belief that she had taken revenge for her brother. İer describes the situation as both happy and unhappy. Her own family looks after her children while she is imprisoned. However, the other family also provides support them.

Support from her family made İçer decide to back to her hometown after she is discharged from prison. She wishes to raise her children under the protection of her family. İçer identifies herself as a widow, and advocates that living as a widow, by herself, contradicts social teachings.

Burcu Yılmaz:

Yılmaz is a female convict, 45 years old, born in Diyarbakır, and originally married. She was convicted for killing her spouse. She was living in a village before the homicide. She has 2 daughters and 2 sons. She is a graduate of primary school. She committed the homicide because her husband forced her daughter into an incestuous relationship. Yılmaz will be discharged soon.

This was the most difficult of the interviews. Yılmaz hesitated about the interview for a long time. This is rather normal, when the sensitivity of the subject is considered. Therefore, Yılmaz was left alone to decide whether or not she would participate. And while participating, she either did not answer some of the questions, or gave limited answers. Therefore, the interview with Yılmaz must be evaluated within this limitedness.

This interview has shown that the subject of incest is something that is feared to the degree that it is not discussed, and although known to exist, it is kept a secret because of the fear and shame of the victims. Therefore, consequences of the grievance become even more serious, and criminals very often walk away.

Although the degree of relation in incest, which means the sexual intercourse between close relatives forbidden by laws or traditions, changes from society to society, it is possible to see prohibitions related to incest in almost all societies. Intercourse between father and daughter, mother and son and between siblings is considered as incestuous in all societies. In some countries, it is viewed as child abuse rather than incest in cases where the child subjected to incestuous intercourse is under 16. The most frequent type of incest is the intercourse between father and daughter. The party that is more powerful in a physical or social sense, like the father or elder brother, forces the other party into intercourse. It is known that such intercourse leaves deep and traumatic scars in the life of the girl child that last for a lifetime (Budak, 2003: 263). The example seen in this study occurred between the

father and the daughter, and was realized by use of the power by the father over his daughter, a one-to-one overlapping with the definition of incest.

The family is an “eastern-origin” family, and the concept of honesty is a rather dominant concept for them. In the interview, data were obtained indicating that this concept of honesty is structured directly on the woman and the body of the woman. Although it was Yılmaz’s daughter who was forced into incest and sexual intercourse, again it was the daughter whom others tried to kill. It was not possible to obtain detailed information about the event because the participant was deeply affected by it, and she was under great stress while talking about it. Yılmaz talked about the period as follows:

My daughter gradually became more harsh and silent after she passed 14. She cried for a long time when I yelled at her for any reason. She frequently beat her younger siblings. She stopped seeing the girls in the village. She did not answer her father when he asked her something, or answered him only when he asked repeatedly. She did not want to stay at home alone. She said she was afraid. Her father did not want her to go to school after primary school. He did not want her to go to school with boys.

Based on what she said, when Yılmaz was asked if she suspected incest, she said she never thought about such a thing, she never guessed such a thing could ever happen. She has no clear idea what incest is. She said that such a thing happened in the village years ago, and the victim was a younger boy in that case, but it was covered before the Military Security Forces learn about it, and remained as a rumor.

She attributed her daughter’s crying fits and shrewdness to puberty. She could not understand her daughter because she was her oldest, and Yılmaz had no other child in puberty. It is particularly interesting that she said the father took the daughter away from school to keep her away from boys. It is also interesting that he sent away proposals of marriage to her daughter as if banishing them.

Yılmaz learned about the case completely by chance. She went to visit her mother in the neighboring village, and stayed there for a few days because of an illness. She found her daughter rather pale and unhappy when she returned back. She talks about next to nothing.

It was as if she was daydreaming. Her eyes were open, but she did not comprehend what I asked her. I wondered if she fell in love. I was afraid she would run away. With this fear, I forced her to talk continuously. I was anxious what I would say to her father if she ran away. On an early evening I asked her again, and I forced her violently when she did not answer; then, when I beat her a little more she started crying and told me everything. I could not believe it, I was both crying and beating. We never talked in the following days; we did not even look at each

other. I was eating myself up inside. I could never ask my husband. I almost ate nothing. It went on like this for days, until I came home and saw what happened. I did not see everything, but I saw him with my own eyes as he squeezed her. I cried silently, I went out to the garden biting my lips; I grabbed the axe; there was no one in the house other than the three of us; I hit him time and time again; I only heard the voice of my daughter, she was crying. But I did not see her face, I did not see their faces, I did not look.

What Yılmaz tells becomes more meaningful in combination with what she experienced afterwards. They received death threats from the family of her husband after she was arrested and everything became known. The honor of her daughter was seen as forfeited and she would need to be killed to recover it. The girl was placed in a hostel for children. Together with attempts to kill the victim girl, Yılmaz's other daughter was also forced to go to relatives living in other villages, and was isolated from the home village. However, the boys are kept by the family of her husband. Such a double structure of honesty, operating on the body of woman, is directly related to the cultural structure. The body seen as unclean must be removed with death. Although the honor of the girls in the family is considered to be forfeited, there is no such labeling on boys.

Another striking point is that Yılmaz is not seen as being in the right because she killed her husband. On the contrary, she is threatened with murder. Her family never visited her and do not support her in prison. What Yılmaz verbalized throughout the interview was this fear. Her punishment will be completed soon, and she does not know where to go when discharged. Both her relatives and fellow villagers turned their backs on her. The basic reasons for coming to Denizli Prison were these threats and the wish to cover her tracks. She wishes to go to a big city. However, her educational status and lack of profession worry her. Authorities of the prison and the social works department were exerting efforts to find a women's shelter for her at the time of the interview.

What worries Yılmaz very deeply is the issue of bringing her children together and what kind of a life her daughter would have afterwards:

I think I will never see my sons again. My husband's family denies what happened to my daughter and says that they do not believe. They tell the same to the villagers. But I do not know to whom they believe. They will not accept me because of their fear even if they believe. All I want is to go out and take my girls. I think she cannot marry in the future.

When Yılmaz was asked if she regretted her act, she said she did not regret, was not afraid of death and was still angry. Even the death of her husband did not

stop her anger. Yılmaz is angry at her experiences afterwards and at the villagers, as well as at her husband. And most of all, she is angry with her own family.

Hatice Yanık:

Hatice Yanık is a 48-year-old female convict, who was married with an unofficial religious marriage before she was convicted, is literate but could not complete primary education and was convicted for murdering her husband. She has lived in the same village for her lifetime. Her mother is illiterate and her father is literate but does not hold a diploma. Her father is a farmer with a decent income. Her mother is also engaged in farming. She lost her biological mother when she was 3; her father got married again and Yanık lived with her step-mother until she got married herself. During the interview, she talked about her step-mother with disdain:

I don't remember the day my step-mother came to the house for the first time but the most clear childhood memory that stayed in my mind regarding her was that she was beating me from the early years of my life. She usually beat me when my father was not at home. When my father saw what happened, he did not interfere, either. I always loved my father a lot. What upset me the most about him was his silence about my step-mother's behavior. Later, when I had step-siblings, I started to get beaten even more. My mother used to punish me for what they did. The physical violence continued when I was a young girl, until I got married. My father started to spend less time with me when I had siblings. I used to get angry at him from time to time but I still loved him a lot.

She had a lonely childhood in general. She had only a few friends. She was entrusted with the house and field work from very early ages. Yanık's step-mother pressured her father for her to get married at an early age, and she got married at 13, when she could be considered only a child. Her husband was 17 years older than her. In the beginning, the facts that her step-mother was gone and she did not experience any physical violence pleased her. However, when she experienced the first instance of physical violence from her husband because she could get pregnant, she believed that that was her destiny. However, while Yanık thought, rather interestingly, that the violence exerted on her by her husband was legitimate, she talked about the violence exerted by her mother with hatred:

My husband used to blame me for not having a child. Not only my husband, but also his family and my family. They used to exert pressure on him for that. So, he was sad and beat me. He beat me sometimes very badly. This went on for years, we both got used to it. We believed that we could not have a child. And it was my fault. So, I thought I deserved it.

Yanık never saw a doctor about infertility. She displays an attitude regarding the issue of not having a baby similar to her attitude about being beaten. The fact that she could not have a baby was a matter of fate for her. Out of the two most evident elements in Yanık's life, one is fatalism and the second was being subjected to violence throughout her life. Not only her husband and her husband's family, but also other villagers insulted her for not having a baby. The other villagers regarded her as a woman with a serious defect, and upset Yanık the most was that the other women used to tell others about it. According to Yanık, the highest amount of pressure on her for being infertile originated from other women, such as her husband's mother, sisters and other women in the village. Particularly her husband's mother used to complain about her to her husband all the time. These complaints were sometimes directly about her not being able to have a baby and sometimes about the house and field work.

My husband's mother used to give me a lot of tasks, as if she wanted to take revenge. She would never let me go see my friends after all the tasks were finished. It was as though they locked me in. Very often they said that they were ashamed of me and thus they did not want me to leave the house. I used to get particularly sad when someone in the village had a baby, or when I knitted baby clothes for my friends. My mother-in-law knitted baby socks from time to time. She said they would be for her grandchildren. I took that as they want to get a second wife for my husband. Every day I was very scared that my husband would get a second wife. When the evening came, I was relieved. Sometimes the women of the village would come to the house and speak with low voices with my mother in law. I used to think then that something bad was going on and that they found a girl for my husband.

Yanık killed her husband not because of his violence but because he married a second wife:

I never thought of killing my husband until that day. Despite all, I loved him for saving me from my step-mother. On a hot day, when I was working in the field around noon, he came over to me. He told me that he married a second wife and his second wife was at home at that time. I was scared from time to time when my husband's mother talked about a second wife but I never thought that my husband would do that, until that day. The first thing that I thought at that moment was that my defect was known by all, and the idea of sharing my husband. I was very angry. A rage that I could not suppress emerged in me. I thought of the nights when I was beaten and never said a word. I thought the others would tease me. I remember hitting him with the swath I was holding.

The reason for Yanık to kill her husband seems to have two dimensions, from what she has said. The first dimension is personal. As a woman, she did not want to share the person she loved. The second dimension was social. The fact that her husband was married to another woman was an acceptance of her defect by the society. As a woman, the idea of being labeled as such seems to be the reason why

Yanık committed this crime. Yanık has always been blamed as the person that could not have a child. The possibility that her husband could be infertile was never considered. Yanık internalized the idea that infertility is a problem with women only, which was common in her village; she never thought that she may not be infertile. Thus, she thought the violence exerted by her husband was justified. Another point is that violence against women is considered justified when the woman is the party with a defect. However, the defect, as a term, is a concept that is shaped socially. And it is shaped independently of the woman.

The most interesting characteristic about Yanık during her interview was that she was very quiet. Her voice was so low that it could not be heard at times. She looked older than she really is. She decided that she will not go back to the village when she gets out of prison. However, she does not know where else to go, although she will be released soon. No one from her family came to visit her during her prison term. Her husband's family sends threats to her through indirect channels. Therefore, she thinks she cannot go back to the same place.

Lastly, when asked whether she was regretful, she said that she was very regretful and she would never do the same thing if she had another chance. She is rather pessimistic about her future. She is concerned about what might happen to her.

Latife Çalışkan

Latife Çalışkan has a different profile than the other women interviewed. She received an education in the pharmacy department of a university and received a Master degree. She was born and raised at the center of İzmir. Her parents are university graduates. She was raised in a good environment and she was wealthy in every stage of her life. She is 41 years old woman and takes good care of herself considering the prison conditions. She never married. She was convicted for document fraud. She is the only woman that can be considered an example of white-collar crime among all the women interviewed, and thus it was important that she be included in the in-depth interviews.

Çalışkan said that her childhood was very beautiful; she studied in a private high school until she started her university education. She was her parents' only child. She completed her university education while staying in her parents' house.

Then she opened her own pharmacy. She never had any financial problems in any part of her life. She also said that she received a lot of attention from her family during her childhood. She had many friends, both male and female, and she travelled to other cities frequently with her friends. When asked why she did not get married, she said:

I was loved so much that being loved and getting attention was a kind of addiction for me. However, I never got the attention I expected from my boyfriends. No love and no level of attention could satisfy me as much as my family's attention and thus I chose not to marry and live with my parents.

Although she is very well-educated and she lived her life in a large city in a family with a high education level, Çalışkan was deceived and tricked into crime, in her own words. Because of a mistake she made while transferring her pharmacy store, the fraud in the prescriptions by the successive owners of the pharmacy got her into trouble. She claimed that she was innocent in this process.

To argue whether Çalışkan was guilty or not would ethically be a very problematic issue. But the following observations can be made. With the limitations with the female criminals in the sample, we can say that the number of white-collar crimes increase as the education level increases among female criminals. Such crimes are usually committed outside the house, do not directly concern family members and are not directed at them. They require a certain level of education. They are based on personal interests rather than social phenomena such as honor.

Because of these characteristics, Çalışkan's story is different from the stories of the other women. She is unique in several ways. Çalışkan got a good education. She has a family with a high education level and she lived her life in a large city. Unlike in the cases of the other women, there is no direct link between the crime she committed and the social environment from which she came. She did not display any regret, contrary to the other female convicts interviewed. She accepts that she made a mistake. Another characteristic that made her different from the other women was that she never saw any disapproval from her family and close relatives because of her crime. Her family visits her regularly every month and she does not have any financial problems in the prison.

After she gets out of prison, she plans to go back to the neighborhood where her family lives in İzmir and deal only with her hobbies. The fact that she is not concerned about what to do after getting out of the prison is related to her high income. The main concern for the female convicts that have been mentioned above

was about the financial problems they will have after prison and the fact that they do not have any jobs. Çalışkan's family's support is one of the most important factors that enable her to go back to the place where she lived.

Based on this example, we can say that women are not usually involved with white-collar crimes in Turkey. Even if women are convicted for such crimes, they are usually not the planners of such crimes but they were made to be involved as a partner in these crimes.

Gül Çimen:

Gül Çimen is 22 years old and does not know how to read and write; she was born and grew up in Izmir and she is married. She is the mother of two children, though she is very young. She comes from the Roma people, an ethnic group in Turkey. She was sentenced for pick-pocketing. Unlike the other women prisoners with whom an in-depth interview was conducted, Çimen has a crime profile which is repeating. She had been in a reformatory for a short term because of the same crime. The criminal participation rate in her family is considerably high. Both her father and her two brothers had been jailed for crimes such as pick-pocketing, stealing and assault. Çimen is a significant example for presenting the ability of crime to be learned and the relationship between crime and subculture. However, it must be emphasized that Çimen's tendency to crime cannot be associated with all Roma people. Making the assertion that all Roma have a tendency to crime would be unethical and nonscientific. Many structural factors, like poverty and a lack of education, also play an important role in Çimen's life. It is important to include all of them in the assessment process. For this reason, the in-depth interview was conducted.

Çimen lives in a Roma district in Izmir. The district has been visited and some observations have been made. The most significant fact about the district is that all residents are Roma. All marriages have been made among Roma; they do not marry outsiders. The other notable point is the prevailing poverty of the district. Old men earn their livelihood with horse carriages. Horses are kept in a section inside the house or in the garden of the house. Almost all the houses are single-floored. The number of the children in families is considerably high. Several generations are living in these houses, which have a few rooms and a single floor. The general view

of the district is a ghetto atmosphere and it has a subculture specific to it. All ceremonies, marriages, deaths, cooperation among families and entertainment take shape around this subculture.

While considering the cooperation in the district, it has been observed that women sell flowers, peddle cloth and women's garments and carry on fortune telling. Most of the young men sell flowers in the city cemetery. Old men are occupied with horse carriages and old women look after the children of the district instead of working. All these works may be categorized as marginal; that is, they are irregular and have little profit and no insurance. They do not require a definite educational level or technical practice. The percentage of people who can read and write is considerably low, both among men and at women. Illiteracy among women is considerably high. Çimen was born in a district very close to this one; she was married at age 14 and then came to this district. The distance between the two districts is very small.

When Çimen was asked how she was married, she said that they loved each other and married when she was 14 and her husband was 15. They established themselves in her husband's family's house after the marriage and they lived together with his parents and two brothers, and also their own children. They still do not have a civil marriage. When it is asked her whether it bothers her to live without civil marriage, this answer was given:

There are many people in the district who married without civil marriage. My grandfather and grandmother are married without civil marriage. There is no divorce among us.

It has been seen that civil marriage is not accepted as an assurance; on the contrary, promises and rules given in the family are more valid. Just like in previous interviews, informal relationship networks of the subculture are valid and determinant in the family and many societies. When Çimen was asked how she earns her livelihood and how much her husband earns, it is understood that they have an irregular income:

Our earnings change from day to day. Some days, no money comes to the home. At these times, we buy something on credit from the grocer or other persons who live in the house buy something to eat for that day. Sometimes our neighbors bring something to eat. However, nobody goes hungry in our district.

When Çimen is asked whether she saves money or has any investments, a similar answer is received. The money earned is shared in the family. The money

is spent jointly. It is spent without any delay, regardless of whether it is more or less. They do not have proprietorship certificate for their house. Most of the children do not attend school. Some of the children are working. Children generally sell flowers or other small items in the bazaar. Some of the boys work on horse carriages, together with their grandfathers. There is almost no one who has insurance or a regular income.

Çimen has never gone to school. Even though she grew up in Izmir, she does not know how to read and write. When asked to tell what she recalls about her childhood, the clearest thing she remembers is that she had lived in poverty but she had a very happy childhood all along.

When I was a child, I loved my father most, but one day they came and took him away from our district. As my mother told us later, my father had committed theft. However, my mother and my brother did not deem it as theft. My father was taking enough for feeding us. He was never taking more. Only enough to feed us. Because of this reason, this was not deemed as a bad thing, according to us. Afterwards, my big brother was taken into prison when my father was also in prison, because of the same crime. In any event, when a crime was committed and they came to our district for a search, they were looking into our house, too. They were thinking that they could find what they looked for in our house. After my father got out of jail, they had searched our house a few times. The children who live in our neighborhood are used to seeing police cars. Even if we guess that they will take somebody away, we do not treat them as enemies. My childhood has passed by seeing that my father and brothers were taken away many times.

Çimen met phenomenon of crime in her early ages and she considers crime as an ordinary thing. Crime can be committed with valid reasons, such as going hungry. Çimen puts crime on a rational basis depending on her own experiences and the repetition of the crime phenomenon in her family. Çimen, as a sample, indicates the basis of subculture theory as: A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to the violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violations of law. Stealing only enough to eat is an acceptable situation against poverty and unemployment in the environment in which she grew up. What Çimen has learned about crime has taken form parallel to her family's and her near surrounding's views of it.

However, Çimen does not accept her own crime. She argues that she was slandered and she did not pick pockets. Arguing her guiltiness or guiltlessness is outside the purpose of this thesis. However, based on what Çimen has said in her interview, a general assessment can be made:

Çimen may be exposed to labeling, depending upon the crime phenomenon prevalent in her family or a general view that Roma are non-workers with a tendency to crime, or she may have gotten involved in crime because she considers crime justifiable under some circumstances. As stated before, the purpose of the thesis is not to examine whether she committed a crime or not. However, depending upon the frequency of crimes committed in Çimen's family and district, it is determined that she is familiar with crime and her learning of crime is based on the principle of committing crime when it is necessary. Theft, it is believed, may be carried out if you are hungry. However, the highness of crime rates in the district cannot be reduced only to such learning. Many factors, such as unemployment and the low educational level of the residents of the district, are also decisive in crime rates. Because these illiterate people have trouble finding qualified jobs, they are living in closed districts in cities, mostly carrying on marginal jobs. Depending upon the structure of the marginal work concept, most of these works are unsafe jobs that are performed outdoors and have little income. Being exposed to the external environment makes the people performing that work open to dangers.

Because Çimen does not accept that she committed a crime, it has not been asked whether she is sorry or not. However, different questions have been asked in order to examine her broader perception about crime. For example, when it is asked whether she will commit crime in any way after she gets out of jail, or in what conditions she may commit crime, her answer was:

If anyone molests me or my daughters on the street, I can commit a crime. Or if my daughters go hungry perhaps I may steal enough to feed them. However, I never do such a thing if we have money. We already manage a bare competence with our earnings.

Emphasis on chastity is also important for Çimen, parallel to previous interviews. As a woman, she considers that resorting to force is correct in problems encountered about chastity. Parallel to her previous answers, she may steal in case her children are hungry. Çimen has said that she may commit crime for these reasons, which she considers justified. Past teachings of Çimen continue to be active in her life.

Çimen is taken as an example here so as to introduce the multi-reason structure of crime. The probability for participation of individuals in crime increases when the teaching ability of the crime is included in the factors such as poverty and lowness of educational level.

4.2 6 Common Points on –In-depth Interviews:

The most important commonality among the respondents is the extent of the chastity phenomenon and patriarchal structure in their lives. Even though the chastity concept is perceived in differing intensities among the regions the women lived in, it is a concept which takes form on woman's body predominantly. Women regard themselves as personally in the center of violations of chastity, which are experienced by themselves or their husbands. This situation is not only about the perceptions of women. Woman's body composes the center of the chastity concept, especially in east and southeast regions, in which patriarchal structure is more prevalent. Although some cases in the study are seen to be different from each other, essentially all of them are reflections of patriarchal structure. In the case of Kara, she was a member of a terror organization. The structure of organization is patriarchal and women do not have any rights or make decisions in the organization. Women are at men's disposal. The case of Yanık is another reflection of patriarchal structure. She and her husband could not have babies, but all people around them, and her husband, blamed only Yanık for not having a child. For this reason, they wanted to get a second wife for her husband, and her husband's violence was seen as legitimate, because of Yanık's alleged defect. Burcu Yılmaz's case is a considerable example of this subject, as well. Even though her daughter was a victim of incest, raped by her father, she was the party regarded as guilty. Sending her to another village shows the desire to send the "dirty" girl (the girl who is not virgin) away. Similarly, Yılmaz is excluded from her family now because of killing her husband, and she is even threatened with death. This situation may be an example of the indecisive structure of the chastity phenomenon and patriarchy.

Another common point among the respondents is that the women prisoners who killed someone because of chastity do not feel guilt or remorse. They consider a crime committed for the sake of chastity justified.

There are also some commonalities among the demographic characteristics of the women. For example, the educational level of all women sentenced for murder is considerably low. However, not continuing their education was always caused by external reasons. None of the women had the right to comment on their own education. The main determinant in leaving school is poverty, as well as the view that it is sinful or immoral for girls to go to school. Even though there are differences among the regions, it was widely not accepted for girls to go to school, especially in countryside.

All of the murderers are sentenced for murdering their husbands. They are middle aged, and all their victims were inside the family. Another common point of these murders is that they were a result of an unplanned and sudden insanity. All of the women committed murder as a result of a sudden temper tantrum, without making any plan. But in all instances, the women have family problems that bothered them psychologically. They have lived with problems in their childhood, even though they are caused by different factors. They could not live their childhoods to the fullest because of poverty or early marriages. This situation may result in a lack of socialization. They had to accept adult responsibilities at young ages. For instance, they have been obliged to be wives and mothers before they had completed their physical and psychological development.

All the women experienced long-term problems, such as long-term exposure to physical violence, ongoing abuse of a child, fear of a fellow wife, or a husband's alcoholism. However, in all incidences, an event has occurred which brings these long-term problems to an end by a murder. These events may be perceived as the "final straw." In Turkey, many women are exposed to physical or oral violence for a long time, and they keep this matter a secret from their friends and families. This situation, which causes emotional depreciation and interruption in their social lives, turns to violence as against their husbands when a breaking point is reached. However, the murders are not planned in advance.

Another shared characteristic in the murders committed by the respondents is that all of them are committed in the family. Women have committed murder with unauthorized guns belonging to their husbands or with tools that they can reach at any time in the house, such as garden tools. Unlike men, women generally commit crimes inside the house, against their close relatives, their husbands or their lovers. They usually commit crime in order to save themselves

or their children. All of the women prisoners interviewed who were sentenced for murdering their husbands were married at an early age, with no say in the matter. Other men in the family determined who they would marry.

It was also seen that the women have very little or no support from their families or their friends after they committed crime. Çalışkan, however, who comes from a family with a high educational level, has not been exposed to such exclusion and has been supported by her family. Because of committing crime, women are generally excluded from and disdained by their families, due to low educational levels in these families in which social norms are very strict. Therefore, after getting out of jail, they do not plan to go back to the place they lived before and they generally do not know what to do. This makes them feel lonely. Therefore, it is very important to make governmental arrangements for providing employment and accommodation for these women whose educational levels are low and who will not be supported by their families after getting out of jail.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The crime phenomenon is becoming a more important problem every day in the world and in Turkey. While the rapid increase in crime rates has been explained with phenomena such as rapid industrialization and urbanization, the crime phenomenon has experienced a transformation within itself in line with technological developments, and the single-cause explanations started to be insufficient. Therefore, a number of disciplines have come together to shed light on the problem through the creation of new crime theories and discussions. However, undoubtedly, the comprehensibility and applicability of the new theories depends on a full understanding of former theories and evaluation of the studies conducted about the issue.

In parallel to the increasing crime rates, female criminality also grew after 1980 and attracted academic attention. The improvements of women's status in work life and private life and the new rights gained led to discussions on the connection between female criminality and liberalization of women. The former discussions on female criminality included many theories that explained the reasons for female criminality in biological, psychological and social terms. The main problem of this thesis is the increasing female criminality rates in Turkey.

However, understanding female criminality both in Turkey and in the world requires understanding the crime phenomenon and crime theories. Female criminality is only meaningful within a context. Throughout the thesis, the literature on the crime concept and female criminality was reviewed and the subject was limited to the socio-economic reasons of female criminality in line with the initial data obtained. Later, new readings were made in line with the purposes determined. The study aimed to determine the socio-economic reasons for female criminality and create a profile regarding female criminals in Turkey, with limitations in the sample.

One of the aims of the study was to discuss female offending in Turkey as seen in the Denizli Open Prison and to understand the dimensions of female criminal offending. Related to this basic aim, this study intends to answer the following questions:

- What are the demographic characteristics of female criminals with respect to their socio-economic origins?
- What are the demographic characteristics of the families of female criminals?
- What are the social conditions of families with which they live?
- Why did they commit crime?
- Which factors pushed individuals to criminal behavior?
- What kind of crimes do female criminals generally commit?
- Do they have relatives or acquaintances who are also offenders?

The introduction of the thesis includes the main problem and limitations of the study, and the literature review starts with the definition of the concepts of “crime” and “deviant.” Throughout the whole thesis, the concepts of crime and criminality were regarded as social phenomena; among the theories selected for the thesis, the ones that explained crime on a social basis were used predominantly. Therefore, the arguments stating that a behavior is a crime because of social norms, rules and doctrines, and that every deviant behavior cannot be accepted without these, were considered more appropriate for the thesis.

Similarly, considering the fact that understanding the theories on female criminality would be more meaningful within the context of all crime theories, the development process of crime theories was examined. When the literature on crime was reviewed, it was seen that the first studies in this field were within the Classical School. Classical theory emphasized a legal definition of crime rather than what defined criminal behavior. Later, the influences of the positivist school were also seen in the discussions on crime. Cesare Lombroso was the leader of the positivist school and “the father of the modern criminology.” Lombroso emphasized the biological causes of crime. Aside from the studies that linked human body and crime in the 19th and 20th centuries, there are also studies that make psychological explanations for crime. The psychological theories have some restrictions because it can at best explain only some aspects of crime.

In the subsequent chapters of the thesis, the crime theories were examined through consideration of the crime theories under the sub-headings of social structure, theories of social process and social conflict theories. Based on the findings gathered with the review and the field analysis, it was found that the theories of learning, sub-culture and social control were the most useful ones for

evaluating the findings of the thesis. Understanding female criminality in Turkey requires understanding certain sub-cultures and the pressures created by these and the beliefs imposed by them on individuals. As a result of the study, it was found that the phenomenon of honor and domestic violence are the two most significant causes of female criminality. Men learn to exert physical and verbal violence upon their wives from their families and the sub- in which they are raised. Long-term subjection to violence among women leads to an outburst and then a counter-attack of violence.

Another factor that leads women to violence is social control. One of the fundamental arguments of the social control theory is that the weakness of links with basic institutions such as family, school and work in an individual facilitates orientation towards crime. This fundamental assumption has been essential for the thesis. As a result of the study with female convicts, it was seen that the participants that had bad relations with their families or the ones that had to leave their education early are more inclined towards crime. Their socialization is incomplete and the social control on them is weaker. This situation leads to difficulties in choosing between the normal and abnormal behaviors among women and leads them to commit crime.

After the theories on crime were examined, the literature on female criminality was reviewed and the approaches to female criminality, sample studies from the world and in Turkey, rates of female criminality in different countries and the changes in these rates were emphasized. The findings in this part of the study indicate that female criminality is gradually becoming more of a social problem. The number of female criminals between 1990 and 2000 increased by 2.8 fold. Women in the world have started to commit white-collar crimes and gang crimes, although they were not involved with such crimes in the past. All these developments led to changes in the assumptions about female criminals. Until the end of 1990s, a general profile was accepted both in the world and in Turkey about female criminals. They were generally considered to be people with little education and no skills, who were subject to physical and psychological violence and have committed crimes against their close relatives, husbands or boyfriends. Both academic studies and the censuses in Turkey confirm this profile with their findings about female criminals. But the profile has changed, particularly in the West and in the USA. The dynamics and aspects of this change

have been discussed in the thesis and will not be repeated here. In Turkey, however, female criminality has its own unique dynamics. The uniqueness of these dynamics do not allow for a corresponding female criminality approach as in the West and a corresponding transformation process in Turkey. Therefore, female criminality in Turkey can only be meaningful when the unique conditions in Turkey are considered with regards to crime theories.

In line with the findings of the academic studies conducted in Turkey and the general population censuses, a preliminary profile regarding female convicts can be drawn. The majority of the female convicts are primary school graduates or only literate, have been convicted for murder or simple theft, have been subjected to violence from their families or husbands and are predominantly young adults or middle-aged. The findings of this study also support this profile.

Following the theories, data collection was included in this study. That section covered the basic methods used in the study, the survey and in-depth interviews process, and the main difficulties encountered during the field study. The research methods were selected as appropriate for the general and sub-purposes of the study. Because of time limitations, a survey was used in the study and in-depth interviews were then used to obtain more detailed information. As the duration of research permitted by the Ministry of Justice was limited to three days, the researcher tried to gain as much detailed information as possible in that short time.

As narrated in the data collection section in detail, the study was conducted in the Denizli Open Female Prison. In the prison, the researcher made observations and held interviews with women over the course of three days. Among 87 female convicts, 60 agreed to fill out the survey. In-depth interviews were held with 6 people and detailed questions were asked about their life stories and the motives for their crimes. The survey was implemented and the in-depth interviews were structured in a way to get answers for the sub-purposes that had been determined in advance. For the in-depth interviews, female convicts were selected that had been convicted of different crimes and came from different socio-economic origins. Hence, the study aimed to reach a wider range of profile regarding female criminality in Turkey. The findings obtained can be assessed as follows, in line with the rank of sub-purposes.

A primary aim of the study was to answer the questions, “What are the demographic characteristics of female criminals with respect to their socio-economic origins? What are the demographic characteristics of the families of female criminals?”

Demographic data about the participants of the study are as follows: Female criminals in Denizli Open Prison are generally middle-aged, married, housewives who graduated from primary school. Their families generally have rural origins. The majority of them came from large families

Another main aim of the thesis was to discuss the reasons for the crimes of female convicts in Turkey, with the help of the sample from Denizli Open Prison. Therefore, three questions included in the “aims” section of the study are related to each other. Why did they commit crimes? Which factors pushed individuals to criminal behavior? What kind of crimes do female criminals generally commit? Answers to all these questions constitute an original side of the study and represent the unique structure of female criminality in Turkey.

According to the findings of the study, one of the major reasons for the crimes committed by female convicts is domestic violence. Domestic violence is a fact which is learned within the family by modeling. In the in-depth interviews, it was seen that female criminals who killed their husbands had been beaten by their husbands and other members of their families, such as mother-in-law, their own parents or older brothers. Interestingly, these people had been also beaten before by different people in their lives. Therefore, domestic violence can be accepted as a key determinant for the existing of violence. Females who have been abused physically and verbally for long years can go mad. For this reason, they can murder their husbands as a result of unplanned and sudden insanity. In the cases of İer, Kara and Yanık, all the women had been beaten by men for many years. They had been victims of domestic violence.

The in-depth interviews also showed that the women who have been subjected to domestic violence, either from their husbands or other members of the family, may commit crimes to protect themselves or because of rage, either while they were subject to violence or as a result of being subjected to violence for a long time. The violence exerted on women has a multi-dimensional character. Sometimes, verbal assaults from their mother-in-laws or other members of the family may leave serious scars on the women. Incidences of incest, either involving

the woman or her children, are an extreme kind of violence and result in crimes like murder to protect herself and her children. In case of İçer, she wanted to protect her sons from their father, who threatened to kill them.

The second most important reason for the crimes committed by women is honor. This is a major point that differentiates female criminality in Turkey from that of the West and the US. While the increasing female criminality in Europe and in the US is explained by the liberalization of women, in Turkey social pressure is a major factor in female criminality. Every region and thus every sub-culture has its own norms regarding women. In line with these norms, women who consider their honor to be damaged may commit crimes in order to clear themselves of blame. One of the fundamental reasons for this situation is that the concept of honor in Turkey is primarily related to the female body. Women consider their own honor harmed even when their husbands cheat on them.

Honor is also learned within the family and sub-culture, like domestic violence. The case of Yılmaz is an extreme example of honor. Although it was Yılmaz's daughter who was forced into incest and sexual intercourse by her father, again it was the daughter whom members of the family tried to kill. Also, Yılmaz was excluded from the family because she killed her husband. In this process, her ex-husband had never been accused of his own crimes.

Throughout the study, it was seen that social control has a significant influence on female criminality. The strictness of this control is directly related to the women's feeling of pressure. It was seen case of Yanık, who was considered responsible for not having a child, being directly blamed and made subject to various types of violence. Learning is also important for the gaining of social norms. In this sense, it can be claimed that social control is also learned, like honor and domestic violence. The weakness of social control can be a determining factor in female criminality, but when it is too much, it can also be a factor pushing women towards crime.

Other factors that are considered significant in female criminality throughout the study are education and learning. These factors are not influential by themselves, but are determining factors of female criminality when they are joined by other factors. In the case of Kara, who was convicted for terror crime, the low level of education in the family left the family members and particularly children open to dangers from outside. Kara had not known anything about terror or state

before she was kidnapped by the terror organization. She had been educated about terror for long years, and then she became a terrorist. However, education cannot be a single factor. As in the example of Çalışkan, who used to work as a pharmacist and was convicted for document fraud, the increase in education level can be a facilitating factor for engagement in white-collar crime. The rate of white collar crime is very low among women with low education levels.

Learning was also seen to be a significant factor in female criminality. The perceptions of female convicts who were raised in social environments where certain types of crime were considered normal under certain circumstances were found to share similar views of crime themselves. For example, a woman raised in a village where murder for honor is considered normal believed that murder is a crime that can be committed when necessary. Or, as found in the in-depth interview with the Roma woman, when crime is committed in the close environment or by a family member, it sets a model for the children and facilitates their committing crime when they get older. The fact that 36.7 percent of the participants had a relative in their family who was convicted for a crime strengthens this argument. However, as indicated before, it is difficult to explain crime with a single reason. A similar situation holds also for female criminality. The thesis included different reasons or factors that can be related to female criminality. However, all these factors can only set the foreground for crime within their own contexts and when they are joined by other factors. It is impossible to make statements such as “a low education level is a reason for female criminality,” or to make generalizations such as “women commit crime only after they learn about it.” The thesis discusses the reasons and factors that may have a determining influence upon female criminality. However, a better understanding of female criminality and more detailed analyses of the issue depends on the increase of studies to be conducted in the field. Increase in the number of such studies will also provide benefits for designing policies aimed to prevent female criminality and some arrangements in this regard. The thesis aimed to make a contribution, although limited, to the literature on female criminality in Turkey, and to understand the unique conditions of female criminality in Turkey. Understanding female criminality requires determining these unique conditions.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ANKET FORMU

Anketi yanıltacak olan katılımcıların dikkatine;

Hazırlanmış olan bu çalışma bir yüksek lisans tezi olup, Denizli İlindeki kadın suçluluğunun sosyo-ekonomik nedenlerini saptamaya yöneliktir. Anketlerin hiçbirinde ad ve soyadınıza yer verilmeyecek ve böylece katılımcıların kimliklerinin saklı tutulması sağlanmış olacaktır. Lütfen yanlarında belirtilmiş olan sorular hariç tüm sorulara tek cevap veriniz. Ankete katılmış olduğunuzdan ve göstermiş olduğuz özenden dolayı her birinize teşekkür ederim.

1- Doğum Yılıınız.....

2-Öğrenim Durumunuz nedir?

- 1) () Okur-yazar değil
- 2) () Okur-yazar, ilkokul mezunu değil
- 3) () İlkokul mezunu
- 4) () Ortaokul ve dengi meslek okulu mezunu
- 5) () Lise veya dengi meslek okulu mezunu
- 6) () Üniversite ya da yüksekokul mezunu
- 7) () Yüksek lisans veya doktora

3- Annenizin öğrenim durumu nedir?

- 1) () Okur-yazar değil
- 2) () Okur-yazar, ilkokul mezunu değil
- 3) () İlkokul mezunu
- 4) () Ortaokul ve dengi meslek okulu mezunu
- 5) () Lise veya dengi meslek okulu mezunu
- 6) () Üniversite ya da yüksekokul mezunu
- 7) () Yüksek lisans veya doktora

4- Babanızın öğrenim durumu nedir?

- 1) () Okur-yazar değil
- 2) () Okur-yazar, ilkokul mezunu değil
- 3) () İlkokul mezunu
- 4) () Ortaokul ve dengi meslek okulu mezunu
- 5) () Lise veya dengi meslek okulu mezunu
- 6) () Üniversite ya da yüksekokul mezunu
- 7) () Yüksek lisans veya doktora

5- Anne babanızın toplam geliri ne kadardır (Bugünkü karşılığını yazınız)?

6- Mesleğiniz nedir?

7.- Ceza infaz kurumuna girmeden önce gelir getiren bir işte çalışıyor muydunuz?

- 1 () Evet 2 () Hayır

8- Eđer alıřıyorsanız alıřmaya ka yařında bařladınız?

- 1 () 16 ve daha ařađı
- 2 () 17-18 yař
- 3 () 19-21 yař
- 4 () 22-25 yař
- 5 () 26-30 yař
- 6 () 31 yař ve st

9- Eđer alıřıyorsanız alıřma hayatınızda sizin isteđiniz dıřında iřten ıkarıldığınız dnemler oldu mu?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

10- Cevabınız evetse bu dnemlerde geiminizi nasıl sađladınız?

- 1 () Ailemin desteđiyle
- 2 () Eřimin kazancı ile
- 3 () Bor alarak
- 4 () Dzenli geliri olmayan gndelik iřlerde alıřarak
- 5 () Yakın arkadařlarımın ya da komřularımın desteđiyle
- 6 () Diđer

11-Dođum yeriniz?

İl..... İle.....
Bucak..... Ky.....

12-Medeni durumunuz nedir?

- 1 () Bekar
- 2 () Evli
- 3 () Dul

13- Evli iseniz eřiniz alıřıyor mu?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

14- Eřinizin mesleđi nedir?

.....

15-Ceza infaz kurumuna girmeden nce yařadığınız yer?

- 1 () İl
- 2 () İle
- 3 () Ky

16- Ceza infaz kurumuna girmeden nce yařadığınız yer řehrin hangi blgesindeydi?

- 1 () Gecekondı
- 2 () řehir Merkezi

17- Soyca yaşadığınız yerin yerlisi misiniz?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır
- 3 () Diğer

18- Eğer yaşadığınız yerin yerlisi değilseniz en son yaşadığınız yere nerden göç ettiniz? (eğer başka bir ilden göç ettiyseniz o ilin adını yanına yazınız lütfen)

- 1 () İl
- 2 () İlçe
- 3 () Köy

19- Ne zaman göç ettiniz?

- 1 () Ben doğmadan önce ailem göç etmiş
- 2 () Ben çocukken göç ettik
- 3 () Benim gençlik yıllarımda göç ettik
- 4 () Ben yetişkin olduktan sonra göç ettik

20- Göç etme sebebiniz nedir?

- 1 () İş bulmak için
- 2 () Daha iyi bir yaşam umudu ile
- 3 () Okumak için
- 4 () Çocukları okutmak için
- 5 () Akrabalarım orada olduğu için
- 6 () Kan davası
- 7 () Diğer.....

21- Göç ettikten sonra ne tür güçlüklerle karşılaştınız?

- 1 () İşsizlik
- 2 () Geçim sıkıntısı
- 3 () Barınma sorunu
- 4 () Aile geçimsizliği
- 5 () Hiç güçlük çekmedim
- 6 () Diğer.....

22- Ailenizle mi yoksa tek başınıza mı göç ettiniz?

- 1 () Ailemin tümüyle
- 2 () Tek başıma
- 3 () Diğer.....

23- Kaç kardeşiniz var?

.....

24- Ailenizde sizden başka suç işleyen akrabanız var mı?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

25- Cevabınız evetse hüküm giydiği veya giydikleri suçun türü nedir?

- 1 () Orman Suçu
- 2 () Hırsızlık
- 3 () Adam Öldürmek
- 4 () Öldürmeye Teşebbüs
- 5 () Müessir Fiil
- 6 () Uyuşturucu Madde a- () İmali b- ()Kullanma c- ()Satışı
- 7 () Kız ve Kadın kaçırma
- 8 () Sövme ve hakaret
- 9 () Ateşli silah kullanımı
- 10 () Cinsel suçlar
- 11 () Yankesicilik
- 12 () Diğer suçlar

26-Daha önce yakın çevrenizden veya bir tanıdığınız suç işledi mi?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

27 Cevabınız evetse hüküm giydiği veya giydikleri suçun türü nedir?

- 1 () Orman Suçu
- 2 () Hırsızlık
- 3 () Adam Öldürmek
- 4 () Öldürmeye Teşebbüs
- 5 () Müessir Fiil
- 6 () Uyuşturucu Madde a- () İmali b- ()Kullanma c- ()Satışı
- 7 () Kız ve Kadın kaçırma
- 8 () Sövme ve hakaret
- 9 () Ateşli silah kullanımı
- 10 () Cinsel suçlar
- 11 () Yankesicilik
- 12 () Diğer suçlar

28- Hangi suçtan ötürü ceza infaz kurumunda bulunmaktasınız?

- 1 () Orman Suçu
- 2 () Hırsızlık
- 3 () Adam Öldürmek
- 4 () Öldürmeye Teşebbüs
- 5 () Müessir Fiil
- 6 () Uyuşturucu Madde a- () İmali b- ()Kullanma c- ()Satışı
- 7 () Kız ve Kadın kaçırma
- 8 () Sövme ve hakaret
- 9 () Ateşli silah kullanımı
- 10 () Cinsel suçlar
- 11 () Yankesicilik
- 12 () Diğer suçlar

29- Birden fazla suç işlediyseniz her biri için bulunduğunuz yaşı söyleyiniz?

1. SuçYaşınız
2. Suç.....Yaşınız
3. Suç.....Yaşınız

30- Sizi suç işlemeye yöneltten sebep veya sebepler nedir? (Birden fazla şıkkı işaretleyebilirsiniz?)

- 1 () evlenmek için
- 2 () Namus uğruna
- 3 () Kan davası nedeniyle
- 4 () Sarhoşken başlayan kavga yüzünden
- 5 () Para alacağı için
- 6 ()Arazi anlaşmazlığından
- 7 () Maddi sıkıntı yüzünden
- 8 () İşsizlik ,
- 9 () Yoksulluk
- 10 () Arkadaş çevresi
- 11 () Aile içi şiddet
- 12 () Diğer.....

31- Ceza infaz kurumundan salıverildikten sonra suç işlediğiniz yerde yaşamaya devam edecek misiniz?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

32- Cevabınız “ Hayır” ise nereye gitmeyi düşünüyorsunuz?

- 1 () Başka bir şehire
- 2 () Başka bir kasabaya
- 3 () Başka bir köye
- 4 () Diğer.....

33- Çocuğunuz var mı?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

34- Cevabınız evetse kaç tane?

- 1 () Bit tane
- 2 () İki tane
- 3 () Üç tane
- 4 () Dört tane
- 5 () Beş ve üstü tane

35- İşlediğiniz suça aile çevrenizin tepkisi ne oldu?

- 1 () İşlediğim suçu kesinlikle onaylamadılar
- 2 () Bana hak verdiler, anlayışla karşıladılar
- 3 () İşlediğim suça kayıtsız kaldılar
- 4 () Diğer.....

36- İşlediğiniz suça arkadaşlarınızın ve komşularınızın tepkisi ne oldu?

- 1 () İşlediğim suçu kesinlikle onaylamadılar
- 2 () Bana hak verdiler, anlayışla karşıladılar
- 3 () İşlediğim suça kayıtsız kaldılar
- 4 () Diğer.....

37- Ceza infaz kurumuna girmeden önce yaşadığınız ev kendinize mi aitti?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

38- Hane halkınız kaç kişi

- 1 () Bir-üç
- 2 () Dört-yedi
- 3 () Sekiz ve üstü

39 –Okul yıllarında nasıl bir öğrenciydiniz?

- 1 () Çok Başarılı
- 2 () Başarılı
- 3 () Vasat
- 4 () Başarısız

40- Öğrenim hayatınızı yarım bırakmak zorunda kaldınız mı?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

41- Okul yıllarınızda herhangi bir sorun yaşadınız mı?

- 1 () Hayır
- 2 () Disipline Verildim
- 3 () Okuldan Uzaklaştırıldım
- 4 () Öğretmenlerimle Münakaşa Ettim
- 5 () Diğer

42- Aileniz okula gitmenizi destekler miydi?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

43- Okul yıllarınızda hem okuyup hem de çalıştınız mı?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

44- Çocukluk yıllarınızda sık sık mahalle yada ev değiştirir miydiniz?

- 1 () Hiç Değiştirmedik
- 2 () Birkaç Kere Değiştirdik
- 3 () Sık Sık Değiştirdik

45-Arkadaş Çevreniz geniş miydi?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

46- Çocukken en yakın arkadaşlarınız ağırlıklı olarak kimlerdi?

- 1 () Aynı mahallede oturduğum arkadaşlarım
- 2 () Aynı okulda okuduğum arkadaşlarım
- 3 () Yakın akrabalarımızın çocukları

47- Çocukluğunuz kimlerle geçti?

- 1 () Anne, baba ve kardeşlerle
- 2 () Büyükanne ve Büyükbabamla
- 3 () Teyze ve Dayılarımla
- 4 () Amca ve Halalarla
- 5 () Uzak Akrabalarım
- 6 () Diğer

48- Annenizin mesleği nedir?

.....

49- Babanızın mesleği nedir?

.....

50- Anne ve babanızla anlaşmanız nasıldı?

- 1 () Annemle iyi anlaşırdık
- 2 () Babamla iyi anlaşırdık
- 3 () Her ikisiyle de anlaşamazdım
- 4 () Her ikisiyle de anlaşırdım
- 5 () Annemle anlaşamazdım
- 6 () Babamla anlaşamazdım

51- Çocukluk ve gençlik yıllarınızda maddi yönden her istediğinize sahip oldunuz mu?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır
- 3 () Genellikle

52- Çocukluk ve gençlik yıllarınızda aileniz size yeterli harçlık verir miydi?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

53- Anne ve babanızla birlikte yaşarken ekonomik sıkıntı çekiyor muydunuz?

- 1 () Gelirimizle rahatça geçiniyorduk
- 2 () Geçinmekte güçlük çekiyorduk
- 3 () Diğer.....

54- Cevabınız evet ise ekonomik sıkıntısı tartışmaya sebep oluyor muydu?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır

55- Ailenizin aylık geliri ihtiyaçlarınızın karşılanmasına yetiyor muydu?

- 1 () Evet
- 2 () Hayır (Hayırsa hangi ihtiyaçlarınızı karşılayamıyordunuz?

.....)

56 -Cezaevine girmeden önce boş vakitlerinizi nasıl değerlendirirdiniz?

- 1 () Televizyon izler, radyo dinlenirim
- 2 () Gazete ve kitap okurdum
- 3 () Kahveye gider, arkadaşlarımla sohbet ederdim
- 4 () Fazla boş vaktim yoktu
- 5 () Diğer.....
- 6 () Hepsi veya birkaçı

57 -Ailenizde varsa aşağıda sıralanan alışkanlıkları ya da rahatsızlığı olan kimseleri söyler

misiniz?

Alışkanlık ve Rahatsızlıklar

EVET HAYIR

İntihara Teşebbüs

.....

Akıl ve Ruh Hastalığı

.....

Alkol Kullanma Alışkanlığı

.....

Uyuşturucu Kullanma Alışkanlığı

.....

Kumar Oynama Alışkanlığı

.....

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

For the attention of the participants of the questionnaire:

The study prepared is a graduate thesis devoted to determining the socioeconomic reasons for female criminality in Denizli Province. Your name and surname will not be included in any part of the questionnaire and thus the identity information of the participants will not be released. Please answer the questions one by one, unless stated otherwise. I thank each of you for your participation and attention.

1- Birth Year:

2- What is your educational background?

- 1) ☐ Illiterate
- 2) ☐ Literate, not graduated from elementary school
- 3) ☐ Elementary school graduate
- 4) ☐ Graduated from middle school or equivalent occupational school
- 5) ☐ Graduated from high school or equivalent occupational school
- 6) ☐ University or higher education graduate
- 7) ☐ Master or doctorate graduate

3- What is the educational background of your mother?

- 1) ☐ Illiterate
- 2) ☐ Literate, not graduated from elementary school
- 3) ☐ Elementary school graduate
- 4) ☐ Graduated from middle school or equivalent occupational school
- 5) ☐ Graduated from high school or equivalent occupational school
- 6) ☐ University or higher education graduate
- 7) ☐ Master or doctorate graduate

4- What is the educational background of your father?

- 1) ☐ Illiterate
- 2) ☐ Literate, not graduated from elementary school
- 3) ☐ Elementary school graduate
- 4) ☐ Graduated from middle school or equivalent occupational school
- 5) ☐ Graduated from high school or equivalent occupational school
- 6) ☐ University or higher education graduate
- 7) ☐ Master or doctorate graduate

5- What is the total income of your parents? (Give the current value)?

6- What is your occupation?

7- Did you have a paid job before you entered the department of correction?

- 1 ☐ Yes 2 ☐ No

8 – If you were employed, how old were you when you started working?

- 1) () 16 and below
- 2) () between 17 and 18
- 3) () between 19 and 21
- 4) () between 22 and 25
- 5) () between 26 and 30
- 6) () 31 and above

9- If you were employed, have you ever been discharged against your will?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

10- If your answer is yes, how did you make a living at that period?

- 1) () With the support of my family
- 2) () By means of my husband's income
- 3) () By borrowing
- 4) () By working in daily jobs without regular payment
- 5) () With the support of close friends and neighbors
- 6) () Other

11- Where was your place of birth?

Province..... District.....
Borough..... Village.....

12- What is your marital status?

- 1) () Single
- 2) () Married
- 3) () Widow

13- If you are married, does your husband have a job?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

14- What is your husband's occupation?

.....

15- Where did you live before entering the department of correction?

- 1) () Province
- 2) () District
- 3) () Village

16- In what segment of the province were you living in before entering the department of correction?

- 1 () Shantytown
- 2 () City center

17- Are you native residents of the region in which you lived last in as family?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () Other.....

18- If you are not native residents of the place where you last lived, from where did you migrate to the place of your last residence? (If you migrated from another province, please give its name.)

- 1) () Province
- 2) () District
- 3) () Village

19- When did you migrate?

- 1) () My family migrated before I was born
- 2) () We migrated when I was a kid
- 3) () We migrated within my adolescence
- 4) () We migrated in my adulthood

20- Why did you migrate?

- 1) () To find a job
- 2) () With the hope of having a better life
- 3) () To receive education
- 4) () To enable my children get education
- 5) () As my relatives live there
- 6) () Blood revenge
- 7) () Other.....

21- What kind of difficulties did you face after you migrated?

- 1) () Unemployment
- 2) () Financial difficulties
- 3) () Accommodation problems
- 4) () In-family problems
- 5) () I didn't face any difficulties
- 6) () Other.....

22- Did you migrate alone or with your family?

- 1) () With the whole family
- 2) () Alone
- 3) () Other.....

23- How many siblings do you have?

.....

24- Are there any other criminals in your family?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

25- If your answer is yes, for which crime they are sentenced?

- 1) () Forest Crime
- 2) () Thievery
- 3) () Committing homicide
- 4) () Attempted homicide
- 5) () Assault and battery
- 6) () Drugs a- () Production b- () Usage c- () Sale
- 7) () Kidnapping girls and women
- 8) () Cursing and assault

- 9) () Using firearms
- 10) () Sexual crimes
- 11) () Pick-pocketing
- 12) () Other crimes

26- Has anyone in your immediate environment or someone you know committed a crime?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

27- If your answer is yes, for which crime were they sentenced?

- 1) () Forest Crime
- 2) () Thievery
- 3) () Committing homicide
- 4) () Attempted homicide
- 5) () Assault and battery
- 6) () Drugs a- () Production b- () Usage c- () Sale
- 7) () Kidnapping girls and women
- 8) () Cursing and assault
- 9) () Using firearms
- 10) () Sexual crimes
- 11) () Pick-pocketing
- 12) () Other crimes

28- For which crime were you sentenced?

- 1) () Forest Crime
- 2) () Thievery
- 3) () Committing homicide
- 4) () Attempted homicide
- 5) () Assault and battery
- 6) () Drugs a- () Production b- () Usage c- () Sale
- 7) () Kidnapping girls and women
- 8) () Cursing and assault
- 9) () Using firearms
- 10) () Sexual crimes
- 11) () Pick-pocketing
- 12) () Other crimes

29- If you have committed more than one crime, please write down how old were you when you committed each crime.

- 1. Crime Your age
- 2. Crime.....Your age
- 3. Crime.....Your age

30- What is/are the reason/reasons that encouraged you to commit crime? You can select more than one option.

- 1 () to get married
- 2 () with honor purposes
- 3 () because of blood revenge
- 4 () because of a fight that began when I was drunk
- 5 () for debts owed to me
- 6 () because of a land dispute
- 7 () because of financial problems
- 8 () unemployment
- 9 () poverty
- 10 () influence of my social circle
- 11 () domestic violence
- 12 () Other.....

31- Will you return to live in the region where you committed the crime after you are released from the department of correction?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

32- If your answer is no, where are you planning to go?

- 1) () To another city
- 2) () To another town
- 3) () To another village
- 4) () Other.....

33- Do you have any children?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

34- If your answer is no, how many children do you have?

- 1) () One
- 2) () Two
- 3) () Three
- 4) () Four
- 5) () Five or more

35- What was the reaction of your parents to the crime you committed?

- 1) () They certainly did not approve it
- 2) () They supported me, they showed tolerance
- 3) () They were unconcerned
- 4) () Other.....

36- What was the reaction of your friends and neighbors to the crime you committed?

- 1) () They certainly did not approve it
- 2) () They supported me, they showed tolerance
- 3) () They were unconcerned
- 4) () Other.....

37- Was the house you lived in before entering the department of correction your own property?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

38- How many people is your household composed of?

- 1) () One to three
- 2) () Four to seven
- 3) () eight or more

39 – In your school years, what type of a student you were?

- 1) () Very successful
- 2) () Successful
- 3) () Average
- 4) () Unsuccessful

40- Did you have to leave your education?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

41- Did you face any troubles during your school life?

- 1) () No
- 2) () I received a disciplinary punishment
- 3) () I was suspended from school
- 4) () I engaged in an argument with my teachers
- 5) () Other

42- Did your family support you for your receiving education?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

43- Did you have a job while you were a student?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

44- When you were a child, did you frequently move from your house or neighborhood?

- 1) () Never
- 2) () We moved several times
- 3) () We moved frequently

45- Did you have a large circle of friends?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

46- Who were predominantly your closest friends when you were a child?

- 1) () My friends in the neighborhood
- 2) () My friends from school
- 3) () The children of our close relatives

47- With whom did you spend your childhood?

- 1) () Parents and siblings
- 2) () Grandparents
- 3) () Aunts and uncles from the mother's side
- 4) () Aunts and uncles from the father's side
- 5) () Distant relatives
- 6) () Other

48- What is the occupation of your mother?

.....

49- What is the occupation of your father?

.....

50- How was your relationship with your parents?

- 1) () I get along well with my mother
- 2) () I get along well with my father
- 3) () I could not get along with any of them
- 4) () I get along well with both of them
- 5) () I couldn't get along well with my mother
- 6) () I couldn't get along well with my father

51- When you were a child, did your financial means sufficiently meet all your needs?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No
- 3) () Generally

52- Did you receive sufficient pocket money from your parents when you were a child?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

53- Did you face financial problems when you were living with your parents?

- 1) () Our income was sufficient enough to pursue an easy living
- 2) () We were having a hard time in making our living
- 3) () Other.....

54- If your answer is yes, were the financial problems leading to arguments?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No

55- Was the monthly income of your family sufficient to meet your needs?

- 1) () Yes
- 2) () No (If no, what kind of needs were you unable to meet?

.....)

56 – What were you doing in your leisure times before you entered prison?

- 1) () Watching television and listening to the radio
- 2) () Reading newspapers and books
- 3) () Going to cafes and chatting with my friends
- 4) () I didn't have much leisure time
- 5) () Other.....
- 6) () All or some of them

57 – Please mark the habits or illnesses if present in your family.

<u>Habits and Illnesses</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
Attempt to suicide
Mental and Psychological Disorder
Drinking Habit
Drug Addictedness
Gambling Habit

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