

FEMALE OFFENDERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENDER AND VIOLENCE
AND THEIR VIOLENCE EXPERIENCES: SINCAN WOMEN'S PRISON

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ABSTRACT

FEMALE OFFENDERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENDER AND VIOLENCE AND THEIR VIOLENCE EXPERIENCES: SINCAN WOMEN'S PRISON

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This study aims at understanding gender discrimination and violence against women in the eyes of female offenders. Besides, underlying reasons for female offender's violent crimes were tried to be explored to see whether there is a relationship between their imprisonment and their violence experiences. In line with these purposes, this study will seek to answer questions such as, who female offenders are, what female offenders' attitudes towards gender based discrimination and gender based violence are, what the main reasons for their imprisonment are, whether there is a causal relationship between their violence experiences and their imprisonment. In order to answer the research questions, a field study was conducted at Ankara Sincan Women's Closed Prison. During the field study, a questionnaire was conducted on 134 female offenders, an in-depth interview was implemented on 22 female offenders convicted of violent crimes, and two focus group studies were conducted on two groups of female offenders. To the study findings, a great deal of female offenders is undereducated and economically dependent on men. Besides many female offenders are coming from oppressive patriarchal families living in poverty. It was found from the study results that female offenders have been reproducing gendered division of labor at home, conservative approach to female sexuality, and socially constructed link between honour and female sexuality. Besides, it is explored that a major part of female offenders stand against wife beating and in parallel with their stand against violence against women, many female offenders are prisoned due to killing their abusers.

Keywords: Female Offenders, prison, gender, violence against women, honour

ÖZ

KADIN MAHKÛMLARIN TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET VE ŞİDDETE YÖNELİK TUTUMLARI VE ŞİDDET DENEYİMLERİ: SİNCAN KADIN CEZAEVİ

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Bu çalışma toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği ve kadına yönelik şiddeti kadın mahkûmların gözünden anlamayı hedeflemektedir. Ayrıca, kadınların şiddet deneyimleri ve mahkûmiyetleri arasında bir ilişki olup olmadığını görebilmek için kadın mahkûmların şiddet suçu işlemelerinin altında yatan nedenler incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu amaçlar doğrultusunda, bu çalışma ile kadın mahkûmların kim oldukları, kadın mahkûmların toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılık ve cinsiyete dayalı şiddete karşı tutumlarının neler olduğu, mahkûmiyetlerinin asıl nedenlerinin neler olduğu ve şiddet deneyimleri ile mahkûmiyetleri arasında bir ilişki olup olmadığı gibi sorulara yanıt aranacaktır. Araştırma sorularını cevaplayabilmek için Ankara Sincan Kadın Kapalı Cezaevi'nde bir saha çalışması yürütülmüştür. Saha çalışması boyunca 134 kadın mahkûm üzerinde anket çalışması, 22 şiddet suçu işlemiş kadın mahkûmla derinlemesine mülakat ve iki grup kadın mahkûmla odak grup çalışması yürütülmüştür. Araştırma bulgularına göre, pek çok kadın mahkûm eğitimsiz ve ekonomik olarak erkeğe bağımlı durumdadır. Ayrıca, kadın mahkûmların çoğu, yoksulluk içinde yaşayan baskıcı ataerkil ailelerden gelmektedir. Bu araştırma sonuçlarından, kadın mahkûmların evdeki cinsiyetçi işbölümünü, kadın cinselliğine muhafazakâr bakış açısını ve namus ve kadın cinselliği arasında sosyal olarak inşa edilen bağı yeniden ürettikleri görülmüştür. Ayrıca, kadın mahkûmların önemli bir bölümünün koca dayacağına karşı çıktığı ve kadına yönelik şiddete karşı duruşları ile paralel olarak pek çok kadın mahkûmun kendine saldıran kişiyi öldürdüğü için hapis yattığı görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın mahkûmlar, cezaevi, toplumsal cinsiyet, kadına yönelik şiddet, namus

To my dead dog Rakı

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Considering the feminist argument claiming that *gender based discrimination* and *gender based violence* are socially constructed and have been reproduced in traditional patriarchal societies, this study aims at understanding gender discrimination and violence against women in the eyes of female offenders. Understanding perspectives of female offenders on gender discrimination and gender-based violence is important in analyzing violence against women, as they somehow violated their gender roles by committing crime, different from women outside the prison. Besides, within the scope of this study, by taking into consideration the feminist argument claiming that female violent crimes are usually arising from their violence experiences, background of female offenders' violent crimes are tried to be analyzed. In parallel with the feminist argument above, another argument of this study is that women are committing violent crimes against their abusers not because they are violent but because they saw this way as a last way out to protect themselves from violence. Based on these arguments, female offenders' - prisoned at Ankara Sincan Women's Closed Prison – attitudes towards gender and sexuality related issues and violence against women were tried to be analyzed through qualitative and quantitative research methods, as well as trying to explore whether there is a relationship between female offenders' violent crimes and their violence experiences.

During the field study, a questionnaire was conducted on 134 female offenders out of total 287 offenders. Besides, an in-depth interview was implemented with 22 female offenders convicted of violent crimes and two focus group discussions were conducted with two different groups of offenders convicted of minor and major crimes.

Although *violence against women* and *female offending* seem to be two separate social problems to be analyzed, recent studies have been asserting the contrary (Totman, 1986; Browne, 1997; Walker, 1984; Saunders, 1988; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2011; 59; Dobash & Dobash, 2000). Besides, in spite of a large number of studies conducted primarily on violence against women outside the prison, there is a lack of research in Turkey on female offenders as victims of violence. Furthermore, limited researches on female offending have focused rather on female offenders' demographic characteristics and socio-cultural and economic factors pushing them into crime. Considering these shortcomings, this study aims at understanding gender related issues and violence against women from the viewpoints of female offenders, as well as exploring their violence experiences, if they faced, and the reasons for their imprisonment due to violent crimes.

Many criminological theories either have ignored women by focusing exclusively on explaining male crime or have ignored gender issue in crime. Calling more attention to male crime than female is probably due to overwhelming domination of men in violent crimes. When women engage in crime, they are perceived as *doubly deviant* as they have not only violated the law but also their gender roles (Marchbank & Letherbay, 2007: 285; Denno, 1994: 86; Miller & Mullins, 2011: 200). Although female violent crime rates are quite lower than male crime rates, societal reactions to women's violent acts are often more punitive. Women, who challenged their traditional gender roles, are viewed as transgressors deserving to be punished.

According to the Ministry of Justice data (2013), in Turkey, the rates of arrested men (26.618) and male convicts (105.548) are much more than those of arrested women (1.325) and female convicts (3.642). Although we may have an idea about female offenders' profile (such as age distribution, educational level, and type of crime) in Turkey through the prison statistics, there is no any specific sociological study

conducted on underlying reasons for female violent crimes, female offenders' experiences as victims of violence, or their attitudes towards violence against women.

When female offending is analyzed, it is seen that women commit crime, especially homicide or injury, mostly in order to protect themselves against perpetrators of violence (Ortaköylü, Taktak, Balcıoğlu, 2004: 13-19). It is asserted that such crimes committed by women, who were subjected to violence, are mostly arising out of a violent reaction and are *not* premeditated (İçli, 1995). Walker (1984) and Saunders (1988) acknowledged the existence of female violence but argued that it was defensive or preventive assault (in Dutton and Nicholls, 2005: 687).

Feminist criminology argues that female and male offending are qualitatively distinct (Steffensmeier and Schwartz, 2004: 116). Many feminist scholars share the idea that women are quite likely to commit violent crimes in intimate relationships in a *defensive or reactive* manner and their victimization by their partners is often prior to their offending (Daly & Maher, 1998: 1-17; Schauer, 2006: 153; Dutton and Nicholls, 2005: 683). This study is based on this feminist argument by trying to understand whether there is a meaningful relation between women's violent crimes and their history of violence.

On the other side, *liberation hypothesis* argues that women's property and occupational crime rates have increased with the *women's liberation movement* (Walsh, 2012: 109). However, this argument seems to support the idea that 'feminism has increased female offending' and this idea can easily been used as an excuse by those who are opposing the women's movement. Moreover, Campbell (2009) disproved this hypothesis by finding that "male/female arrest rates have not varied by more than 5 percentage points over the past 40 years" (Walsh, 2012: 102). On the other side, radical feminists developed *economic marginalization hypothesis* to explain the link between women's liberation and female crime. This hypothesis

argues that the women's movement freed them from the power of men but in the meanwhile increasing divorce rates, illegitimacy, female households, together with continued segregation of women in low paying occupations led many women to live in poverty. Therefore, *feminization of poverty* led many women to engage in economically related offenses such as prostitution, drug sales, and shoplifting to support themselves (Reckdenwald & Parker, 2008 in Walsh, 2012: 102). Marxist feminism also asserts that women's subordinate status may push them to commit crime as tools of supporting themselves economically (Burgess, 2006: 29). During this study, rather than exploring the reason why women engage in *property* crimes through the above arguments, the main reasons for female *violent* crimes were tried to be understood as this study is basically related to violence and violence against women.

In analyzing violence against women, the main reason for determining the target group of this study as female offenders is, in a sense, considering insufficient studies on women convicted of violent crimes, as well as considering evidenced relationship between violence against women and women's use of violence. For this aim, during the field study, while trying to understand female offenders' perspectives on different issues, the main reasons for their imprisonment were questioned as well.

Considering the above arguments claiming that female offenders usually commit violent crimes in response to the male violence, it might be asserted that violence against women, especially intimate partner violence, *doubly victimizes* battered women; by exposing them to male partner violence, which in turn put many battered women in prison, as a result of killing their abusive partners.

In line with the above arguments, this study will seek to answer questions such as, how gender discrimination and women's subordination have been reproduced, who female offenders are, what female offenders' attitudes towards gender based

discrimination and gender based violence are, what the main reasons for their imprisonment are, whether there is any causal relationship between their violence experiences and their imprisonment. In order to find answers to these research questions, gender discrimination and gender-based violence were sociologically analyzed through the literature review to better understand how these social concerns have been reproduced in patriarchal social structures. Besides, attitudes of female offenders, who ‘violated’ their gender roles by committing a crime, towards traditional gender roles and violence against women were analyzed through the field study. Before analyzing their attitudes towards different issues, female offenders’ general characteristics were tried to be explored to understand who they are. Moreover, the underlying reasons putting women (who committed violent crimes) in prison were tried to be understood in order to see whether the main reason for their imprisonment was their history of violence or not.

Chapter 2 presents a theoretical overview and sociological analysis of gender related issues such as, gender and sex, gender and sexuality, gender identity, and gender roles. In this section, gender and sexuality related issues are analyzed from the feminist perspective explaining the roots of gender discrimination. Feminist thought developed the sociological concept that is “gender” to define social differences between men and women and to point out women’s subordination in patriarchal cultures. This approach helps us to see how gender inequalities have been socially constructed by regarding inequalities between women and men into simple biological differences. Feminist scholars also indicate the close link between gender and sexuality and gender and morality, as all have been socially constructed and shaped in parallel with each other. Besides, feminist perspective indicates how traditional naturalist understanding of femininity and masculinity confines women to home by imposing that biological reproduction of women makes them ‘naturally’ suited to childrearing and domestic sphere.

Chapter 3 summarizes how violence against women has been reproduced, prevalence and frequency of intimate partner violence, scope of violence against women, and women's use of violence as a reaction to their abusive partners. Feminist perspective asserts that *gender, power, and patriarchy* are crucial factors in analyzing any form of violence against women and *listening to women's violence experiences* is important to understand violence against women. From this point of view, why gender, power, and patriarchy are important in understanding violence against women is discussed in this section. Besides, how people, who are socialized with violence, learn to see violence as a suitable way to solve problems and how they normalize violence against women through their *socialization* process are also discussed within this chapter.

Chapter 4 gives the methodological framework applied in the research process, the target population of the research, the research process, research techniques applied, and limitations faced during the field study. To achieve the study objectives, quantitative and qualitative research methods were used together since this study aims at understanding and analyzing socio-demographic characteristics, attitudes, perceptions and experiences of female offenders deeply. Therefore, qualitative research methods are basic data collection methods this study is based on. To this aim, questionnaire, in-depth interview, and focus group discussion methods were used together to deepen the collected data. Target population of this study was determined as female offenders prisoned at Ankara Sincan Women Closed Prison. This study is intended to be characterized as a *case study* trying to explore the profile of female offenders and their perspectives to different issues related to this study. Therefore, the main purpose here is not to generalize the results to the population, but to the theory. Although demographic characteristics of female offenders might give an idea about common features of all female offenders in Turkey, female offenders' tendencies regarding gender and violence against women could not be generalized to all female offenders. Therefore, it is not possible to determine the representativeness of this group. During the questionnaire study, no any criteria was determined for the

participants, thus all volunteer female offenders participated in the questionnaire. For the in-depth interviews, female offenders convicted of violent crimes were selected as this study is particularly related to violence. During the in-depth interviews, it was aimed to get detailed information about the main reason for their offenses and their violence experiences. Moreover, two focus group discussions were conducted with two different groups of female offenders. The reason for implementing focus group discussions among female offenders is it was foreseen that women, who could not express themselves during the face-to-face questionnaire and in-depth interview studies, might share their individual opinions together with other female offenders staying at the same wards.

Chapter 5 presents the study findings collected through questionnaire, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions with the related tables. Chapter 6 provides conclusion of the overall study and a few suggestions for possible measures and solutions to the issue addressed are made in this section.

CHAPTER 2

GENDER IDEOLOGIES and GENDER ROLES

“Gender refers to the social division between men and women; masculinity and femininity are thus understood as social attributes rather than natural ones” (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 18).

In order to analyze violence against women, what ‘gender’ means and how gender inequality has been reproduced in patriarchal societies should be understood clearly, because gender plays a crucial role in any analysis of violence against women. Considering the importance of gender in the analysis of women’s battering, in this section, how the concept of gender was developed and relation of gender to other social aspects of life are discussed. As Lombard (2013: 179) argued that because women and men resort and experience violence in distinct ways and because violence has distinct impacts on them, gender factor should be taken into consideration in analyzing the violence against women.

The first wave feminism *identified* the gender by struggling against social inequalities between women and men and the secondary position of women in society, but without developing a specific sociological concept – gender – to be analyzed. However, in focusing on the status of women in relation to men, first wave feminism contributed to identify a *social* division between men and women (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 18-19).

The second wave feminism *defined* the gender through two influential contributions, which developed ‘gender’ as a critical concept. Ann Oakley (1972) argued that gender should be understood as a cultural concern rather than as a simple biological concern. Following her, Gayle Rubin (1975) asserted that the social position of men and women and their hierarchical relationship could not be reduced to biological sex (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 26).

2.1 Gender and Sex

“Sex makes us male or female; gender makes us masculine or feminine. Sex is an ascribed status because a person is born with it, but gender is an achieved status because it must be learned” (Lindsey, 2011: 4).

The distinction between sex and gender is at the core of the sociological analysis of gender. Gender is often confused with sex and thus seen as a biological rather than a social attribute. While ‘sex’ refers to the biological characteristics distinguishing female and male bodies, ‘gender’ refers to socially constructed categories of masculine and feminine and the socially imposed attributes and behaviors, which are assigned to these categories in a context of unequal power relationships (Lindsey, 2011: 4; Acker, 1992: 565; Francis, 2001: 3; Hughes & Kroehler, 2010: 248; Grown, Gupta, and Kes, 2005: 139-140; Lips, 2005: 5; Milestone and Meyer, 2012: 12). Because gender is socially constructed, it is not stable but fluid and subjects to change, whereas sex represents unchanging physical characteristics in human reproduction (Acker, 1992: 565).

This distinction between sex and gender leads sociological theory to question the meaning of *natural* as gender relations are usually regarded as natural rather than as socially constructed and gender roles are tended to be perceived as derived from inherent biological properties. On the other hand, distinctive biological characteristics of women such as getting pregnant, giving birth, and breast-feeding raises the view that women are best suited to childrearing and thus, they should be responsible for other domestic works as well. Sociological analysis of gender claims that these biological factors by themselves do not determine the gender relations but this does not mean that gender relations are in no way related to biology. Transformation of biological differences, rooted in sex, in the social relations is called gender (Wright & Joel, 2011; Lips, 2005: 6). Feminist scholars often argued that gender is related to, but not simply derived from, sex (Messerschmidt, 2013: 49).

2.2 Gender and Sexuality

“From a sociological perspective, gender and sexuality are intimately intertwined: the social construction and significance of one can rarely be understood without considering the other” (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 5).

Gender and sexuality are closely related to other aspects of social life and thus to sociology because both are socially constructed. Therefore, sexuality and gender related issues cannot be understood as only individual and private matters (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 5).

The *traditional naturalist understanding* of masculinity and femininity considers that natural differences are arising from biological reproduction, thus, women are seen as ‘naturally’ suited to childrearing and domesticity by justifying their lesser access to education and paid employment. To such naturalist view, lesbians and gays are seen as against the nature and are thus treated as deviant or immoral in many cultures, due to their ‘unnatural’ sexual desires, often by religious groups and by political groups in favor of traditional values (Rahman & Jackson, 2010: 4).

Within many cultures and religions, to this traditional understanding, there is a *hierarchy of gender*, in which men are regarded as superior to women, especially in the sexual realm. Thus, inequalities between women and men are regarded as natural and inevitable. The sociological approach describes this traditional way of thinking as *essentialist thinking* and one of the contributions of sociological work on gender and sexuality has been to signalize the spread of this essentialist thinking in many aspects of society, often via religion, but also through laws and politics throughout institutions such as education, medicine, and science (Rahman & Jackson, 2010: 4).

Sexuality has a highly complex relation with gender relations in general and gender inequality in particular. Some scholars have argued that one of the main motives for male domination is the concern of *female fertility*. The only way for men to guarantee

that they are really the fathers of their children is to control the bodies of the women who are to be mothers of those children. Therefore, controlling female sexuality and fertility is essential in generating male domination. Sexuality is also related to inequality in gender relations through sexual violence. Sexual violence both outside and inside the marriage is a major feature of male domination in many societies. It both expresses the unequal power relations between men and women and contributes to reinforce this inequality, as women's vulnerability to such violence prevents their easy movement in public spaces (Wright & Joel, 2011).

2.3 Sexuality and Morality

Sexuality and morality have highly different meanings for femininity and masculinity. For women, their respectability has always been closely related to sexuality (Skeggs, 1997). Being 'appropriate' women means being respectable and in order to be regarded as respectable, women have to be sexually innocent, shy or modest. Openly sexual women, for instance, women having more than one sexual partner or emphasizing their sexuality via 'sexy' clothes or behaviors, cannot be respectable women (Benedict, 1992). Therefore, sexual morality is central to women's standing. Asexuality and chastity are key virtues, which indicate respectable femininity, while sexual activity and having multiple sexual partners are immorality, which make women unrespectable. On the other hand, sexual morality is not central to men's standing. Men can have multiple sexual partners and still have a high moral and social standing, which may make them even more masculine (Milestone and Meyer, 2012: 107-108).

2.4 Feminist Challenges to *Essentialist* View of Gender

'One is not born but becomes a woman' is one of the most famous statements in feminist theory, made by philosopher Simone de Beauvoir (1949). Beauvoir's ideas about the reasons for inequalities between women and men influenced the second wave feminist movement developed in the 1970s. Beauvoir's influential contribution

is her assertion that the main factor, which dictates the subordination of women to men inside and outside the home by excluding women from public life, is the *culture*. Since her assertion that is women are not ‘born’ summarizes the radical rejection of biological definitions, this rejection crucially influenced sociological analyses of gender (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 15).

2.4.1 Liberal Feminism

Betty Friedan (1963) strongly argued that middle-class women were trapped into an *ideology* of femininity, which was not related to their biology but had a very close relation to subordinating women as domestic servants. Friedan’s arguments were highly influential on second wave feminism because she illuminated how the ideology of femininity is maintained by social institutions such as the family, religion, schools, and media, although she did not use the term ‘gender’ (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 27).

2.4.2 Radical Feminism

According to feminist understanding, gender is important as it expresses a *hierarchy*, in which men usually dominate women. *Patriarchy*, developed by feminists, such as Kate Millet (1971), refers to this hierarchical system, which oppresses and exploits women and legitimizes male domination (Marchbank & Letherbay, 2007:8-10).

Patriarchy can take two forms: private and public. *Private patriarchy* was a system, in which women were dominated by and financially dependent on men in their family, some not working at all or having to give up their job. After Second World War, all this began to change as women increasingly started to enter into the labor force and many women have become financially independent. These changes have made divorce easier and women could live without support of men. However, Sylvia Walby (1990) argues that this does not mean that patriarchy disappears, but gender relations now take the form of *public patriarchy* (Holmes, 2009: 62). According to

Walby, in public patriarchy, although women are no longer excluded from the public sphere and they have formal access to institutions such as the labor market, politics, or education, they are still controlled indirectly and collectively as they are segregated into low-status and low-paid jobs and into the lower levels of hierarchy (Milestone and Meyer, 2012: 10-11).

Public patriarchy is now the dominant form within developing and modern societies, but private forms of patriarchy continue to exist. Young women are more likely to be affected by public patriarchy, as they are more likely to have an education and a job. Older women, who started their lives under the private patriarchal system, do not have education and work experience to find a job that could make them financially independent, even if they want. Both types of patriarchy have different impacts on different women according to their class, age, and ethnicity (Walby, 1997 in Holmes, 2009: 63-64).

Walby suggests that there are six structures that make up patriarchy: (1) the exploitation of women's labor by their husbands, (2) gender relations within paid work, (3) male violence, (4) patriarchal relations in the state, (5) patriarchal relations in sexuality, and (6) patriarchal relations in cultural institutions (Marchbank & Letherbay, 2007: 10; Milestone and Meyer, 2012: 10-11; Holmes, 2009: 62).

Patriarchal norms, which culturally perpetuate gender relations putting men in dominant and aggressive roles and women in passive and submissive roles, are widely accepted (Lindsey, 2011: 260). As seen in practice clearly, men still have the authority in the family and wives and children are dependent on husbands and fathers and men still have more social, economic, and political power than women in societies around the world (Hughes & Kroehler, 2010: 250).

Radical Feminist Approaches to Sexuality

Sexuality plays a key role in analyses of women's oppression and according to feminists, sexuality is central to women's subordination. The idea of '*men possessing women*' is a key theme in many feminist analyses of sexuality (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 30).

First wave feminists attacked the 'double standard' of morality that stigmatized prostitutes but not their male clients. Second wave feminists took this further, contesting the idea that women's biological capacities for child-bearing determined their social position and developing critical analyses of sexual violence and exploitation and of the ideologies that justified them as inevitable consequences of men's 'natural' sexual desires and needs (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 30).

According to Kate Millet (1971), sexuality was inseparable part of the patriarchy. She saw sexual violence and the sexual objectification of women as a form of patriarchal control, which was based on the ideological construction of masculinity as dominant and femininity as passive and sexually subordinate. Catherine MacKinnon (1996) argued that sexuality should be the focus of any analysis of gender. As socially constructed *heterosexuality* institutionalized male sexual dominance and female sexual submission, sexuality is the cornerstone of gender inequality (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 30-31).

On the other hand, according to Susan Brownmiller (1975), the *sexual violence* committed by men towards women is a manifestation of male power. Moreover, Andrienne Rich (1980) strongly criticized social requirements of heterosexuality, which institutionalized women's sexual and social subordination to men. Andrea Dworkin (1981) also focused on men's exploitation of women's sexuality by emphasizing *pornography*, which was serving to confirm and sustain the 'normality' of women's subordination (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 31).

By including sexuality to their critiques of essentialist legitimization of women's subordination, feminists strongly illuminated that no any gendered relation was 'natural' through linking sexual practices with patriarchal social order and ideological constructions of masculinity and femininity (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 31).

Moreover, feminists' refusal to naturalness of sexuality makes sexuality, like gender, subjected to cultural and historical change through, for example, increasing economic independence of women and decreasing their dependence on marriage. Bringing the issues, such as prostitution and pornography as manifestations of women's subordination, to the public agenda is the evident of politicization of sexual inequality. Besides, rape within the marriage is no longer legal right of husbands in many societies and younger generations have increasingly moved from the idea of passive and subordinate female sexuality. All these valuable developments have been achieved thanks to feminist arguments, but in the meanwhile, within the globalized world, there are counter trends, such as expansion of commercial sex tourism, increasing pornography via new technologies, and increasing sexualization of popular culture (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 31-32).

Nevertheless, it can be asserted that these challenges to essentialism have strongly contributed to the widespread acceptance that sexual violence and exploitation are in part derived from *social* inequalities between men and women (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 32).

2.4.3 Marxist Feminism

Although Marx did not focus especially on the issue of gender, his colleague Engels characterized gender division of labor within the family as *functional* for capitalism. While some Marxist feminists tried to explain gender inequality as an effect of capitalism, others focused on both capitalism and patriarchy as mutually reinforcing social systems (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 37).

According to Heidi Hartmann's (1981) 'dual systems' approach, patriarchy has continued to coexist with capitalism, rather than replaced by it. For her, the main goal of Marxist feminism is to analyze the material basis of patriarchy in men's control over women's labor (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 38).

2.5 The Socialization Paradigm

When sociologists started to argue that individuals are not born but become a woman or a man, they explained the source of this argument through *socialization*. Even before they developed the concept of gender, they saw 'sex roles' as learned rather than an innate characteristic because these roles varied historically and culturally. For socialization theorists, children are not entirely passive in the socialization process; they are active in socializing themselves by learning the roles from the same-sex parent. Therefore, it was generally thought that people *internalized* sex roles so that they could take their places in heterosexual family life by adjusting to feminine and masculine roles (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 158).

In the 1970s, when feminists started to argue about gender, many focused only on the socialization paradigm but from a more critical perspective, thus, they focused on the institutional and informal settings such as the family, the school, the peer group in which socialization took place. However, for Liz Stanley and Sue Wise the socialization model could not explain those who did not conform to 'gender roles', for example, feminists, gay men and lesbians (Stanley and Wise, 1993: 110 in Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 158-159).

2.6 Gender Identity

Gender identity is about how people view themselves as being male or female and is a product of social interaction. Gender identities are constructed within gendered societies, where social pressure on acquiring the "correct" gender is strong (Johnson & Repta, 2012: 24; Hughes & Kroehler, 2010: 248). Gender identity is not a fixed

trait; it is subjected to change over time as it is socially constructed. Simone de Beauvoir's claim that *one is not born but rather becomes a woman* is applicable here (Butler, 1988: 519). This learned behavior generates gender identity and determines gender roles (Lips, 2005: 69).

2.7 Gender Relations

The family is one of the major sites in which gender relations are produced and reproduced. Family is a central place in which children first learn their roles related to their gender. Patriarchy as a historically central form of gender relations was firmly based in male domination inside the families. Gender relations are not formed only within the intimate family relations, they are constructed within the public sphere as well, but the family constitutes the most fundamental arena in which these relations are generated (Wright & Joel, 2011).

Gender relations are hierarchical relations between women and men that tend to subordinate women (Esplen and Bell, 2007: 3). Gender operates relationally by influencing our expectations and understandings of others, and our relations and interactions with them (Johnson & Repta, 2012: 27). "For example, within romantic relationships, ideas about who should initiate the contact, pay for dinner, and drive on dates are all gendered" (Johnson & Repta, 2012: 27).

In order to assess the differences and inequalities between men and women, gender relations are required to be identified, and for this, it is necessary to look at the attribution and organization of roles, responsibilities, resources and values attached to women and men. Gender relations are context specific, unlike biological characteristics of women and men. They differ from country to country but also vary within countries (rural/urban regions) and between households (nuclear/extended) (Crossman, 2011).

Gender relations are not stable; even in traditional cultures, gender relations have been changing as a result of economic, legal, political or environmental conditions. Positive steps to promote gender equality may be taken such as new legal arrangements to reduce gender discrimination; but steps to maintain gender inequality may also be taken such as preventing women from driving in Saudi Arabia. Positive developments in improving gender equality may sometimes cause negative reactions in the society. Men, who perceive these changes as a threat to their traditional roles and their status as household heads, may resort to domestic violence to express their anger and reclaim their masculinity (Crossman, 2011).

Gender relations are reflected and maintained within both private (the family and the marriage) and public spheres (labor market, school, religion), thus, attempts to change gender relations to improve gender equality are often perceived as threats to traditions and culture. Therefore, achieving gender equality may be more difficult than thought, as traditional gender relations, in which women's status is inferior to men's, are often presented as a symbol of cultural identity (Crossman, 2011).

2.8 Gendered Division of Labor at Home and at Work

Gendered division of labor refers to the public-private division, where men and women share paid and unpaid work in order to maintain the household. Paid work refers to work outside the home, in exchange for a wage, while unpaid work includes domestic works and care and maintenance of other family members (Lyonette, 2013: 198). According to the gendered division of labor, husbands are engaged in paid employment to support their families financially, while wives are engaged in the unpaid labor of childcare and other domestic works (Milestone and Meyer, 2012: 99-100).

Until the 1970s, the basic assumption of the marital economic arrangement in middle-class families was that the husband was responsible for the economic support of other family members and the wife was responsible for domestic works (Lips, 2005: 444-445).

Feminism, in 1970s, has fought against the assumption that the man should be the chief breadwinner and the woman should be the homemaker, which significantly disadvantaged women by making them financially dependent on their husbands and by confining them to domestic duties. Therefore, women's participation in education and labor market with better jobs has been at the heart of the feminist struggle (Milestone and Meyer, 2012: 99-100). In fact, even if women have started to move into the paid labor in large numbers and started to share breadwinner role with their husbands, they continue to undertake most of the domestic roles at the same time (Lips, 2005: 444-445).

Feminists have focused on the unequal distribution of tasks between women and men, especially domestic work and childcare, which continue to be primarily undertaken by women, in spite of their increased participation in the labor market (Lyonette, 2013: 199). To Berk (1985), even when wives are in full-time employment, they do the vast majority of housework and child-care tasks. Moreover, both wives and husbands tend to perceive this unequal division of labor as a *fair* arrangement (West and Zimmerman, 1987: 143).

For Eckert and Mc-Connel-Ginet (2003: 34-36) people perceive this division of labor as fair due to the reproductive roles of women. Women, as mothers, are assigned not only to giving birth but also to raising children and to nurturing not only of children but also of other family members. However, reproductive characteristic cannot be the only justification of the gendered division of labor. Women are excluded from many occupations as they are regarded as too weak to perform those certain jobs, even

when that job does not require any strength. Although gendered division of labor has been maintained throughout the world, the content of this division (women's jobs and men's jobs) may vary from one society to another.

In the public-private division, women are expected to meet family members' everyday needs such as cooking, cleaning, and caring for children; on the other hand, men are expected to carry out outdoor tasks such as gardening, taking care of cars, and home repairs. Although nowadays women have increasingly been undertaking various positions in all areas, unequal division of labor at home and gender segregation in certain occupations have considerably been maintained. Although most women have increasingly been participating in paid work outside the home, many of their occupations are *extensions* of their domestic roles. Traditional women's jobs are in service sector often involve nurturing, service, and supportive roles such as, teachers, nurses, secretaries, hostesses (Eckert & Mc-Connel-Ginet, 2003: 34-36), thus many occupations remain heavily dominated by one gender or another (Holmes, 2007: 8).

In summary, despite a significant increase in opportunities for women, the gendered division of labor in the *household* in many societies still relies heavily on the allocation of women to the domestic realm and men to the public realm and in the *labor market* on the allocation of women in low-paid and low status "women's jobs" and men in higher positions within "men's jobs" (West and Zimmerman, 1987: 143). Therefore, the situation of women in the labor market has not improved as much as feminists had hoped for (Milestone and Meyer, 2012: 100).

2.9 Gendered Institutions

Gendered institutions means that "practices, images and ideologies, and distributions of power" are gender based in various sectors of social life. The institutional structures of societies such as "law, politics, religion, the state, the economy, and the

academy areas” are historically developed and still dominated by men and are defined without including women. The only institution, in which women have had a central, although subordinate role, is *the family*. Although women have been increasingly participating into all institutions, men have currently been dominating major institutions (Acker, 1992: 567).

2.10 Gender Ideology and Gender Strategy

Arlie Hochschild (1989) developed *sociology of emotions* by using two concepts: gender ideology and gender strategy. *Gender ideology* “is a set of beliefs about men, women, and relationships”. These beliefs shape cultural ideas about manhood and womanhood. *Gender strategy* is “the attempt to implement this ideology in daily life” (Ptacek, 1997: 112).

Gender ideologies are ideologies of masculinity and femininity. For Connell (1987), there are several types of masculinities and femininities culturally but gender ideology reinforces only traditional type that is *hegemonic*. In hegemonic masculinity, men are associated with strength and power, being ‘naturally’ rational but not necessarily sensible, active, intelligent, ambitious, competitive, and aggressive and the ‘natural’ sphere of men is the public. Male sexuality is associated with only bodily pleasure in seeking sexual gratifications. On the other hand, in hegemonic femininity, women are associated with subordination and meeting men’s desires, being ‘naturally’ kind and skilled in caring children and men, irrational, weak, shy, peaceful, not technically competent and the ‘natural’ sphere of women is the private domain. Female sexuality is closely related with emotions, relationships and commitment (Milestone and Meyer, 2012: 19-21).

2.11 Gender Roles

Men are regarded as superior to women...Men have careers; women have jobs. Men are breadwinners; women are bread bakers. Men are sexual leaders; women are sexual followers. A man's home is his castle. Father knows best (Lindsey, 2011: 237).

Gender role refers to individuals' behaviors appropriate for their sex (Ryle, 2012: 25; Lips, 2005: 69; Johnson & Repta, 2012: 23). Gender roles are ascribed roles, which have been informally learnt by individuals throughout their lives. Besides, gender roles shape and restrict women and men's behaviors, experiences, responsibilities, fields of interest, and choices "from choice of clothing to occupation" (Johnson & Repta, 2012: 23).

Even though individuals seem to be free to respect or reject traditional gender roles, gender roles are a powerful means in affecting many aspects of society. Therefore, men as well as women inevitably internalize stereotypic gender roles (Johnson & Repta, 2012: 23) and women and men reproduce gender roles by conforming to society's expectations. Gender roles have been reproduced not only between but also among women and men, such as between mother and daughter and between father and son.

According to the feminist understanding of gender, gendered roles are reinforcing women's subordination so that women are socialized with subordinate roles by learning to be passive, obedient, and illiterate (Millett, 1971: 26). Within the gendered societies, expected mothers' roles are "nurturing, sacrifice, home-making, and availability" and appropriate fathers' roles are "breadwinner, disciplinarian, home technology expert, and ultimate decision maker" in the household (Lindsey, 2011: 2).

2.11.1 Sociological Perspectives on Gender Roles

Sociologists have attempted to explain gender roles from several theoretical perspectives. *Macro-sociological* analyses of gender roles focus on large-scale social phenomena, such as labor force, educational, and political trends that are gender segregated. *Micro-sociological* perspectives on gender roles focus on small groups such as couples, families, and peer groups in which gender interaction occurs (Lindsey, 2011: 5).

2.11.1.1 Functionalism

“Functionalism assumes that the traditional division of labor of nonoverlapping gender roles within a patriarchal family is the most efficient and least contentious arrangement” (Lindsey, 2011: 209).

Functionalism is a macro-sociological perspective based on the argument that society is composed up of interdependent elements contributing to the stability of the society. Based on this argument, functionalists claim that gender role differences continue to exist because they function to maintain the social stability. Functionalists focused on ‘complementary roles’ performed by women and men, as they contribute to social balance and equilibrium (Lindsey, 2011: 5; Holmes, 2007:4).

According to the functionalist view, within the *preindustrial societies*, social balance was maintained by assigning different tasks to men (hunting) and women (gathering and subsistence farming activities). This gendered division of labor was considered as a functional requirement. Due to women’s biological features such as, pregnancy, childbirth, and nursing, assigning women domestic roles and assigning men responsibility of bringing food to the family were seen functional. However, this gendered division of labor made women dependent on men in terms of food and protection and thus female roles became secondarily important to male roles (Lindsey, 2011: 5-6).

According to the functionalist perspective, functional division of labor has been continuing to exist in *contemporary societies*. Modern social life, in which the private and public spheres are separated, means that someone should stay at home to care for children and someone should be at work to earn money. Parsons, one of the most influential functionalists, saw the family as operating most efficiently with ‘complementary’ division of labor between men and women. To this perspective, women should carry out *expressive roles*, managing the household and raising children while offering them emotional support. Men, on the other hand, would perform *instrumental roles*, being the breadwinner of the family. For Parsons, children are socialized into these different gendered roles. Thus, Parsons emphasized the importance of socialization instead of nature, in explaining women and men’s different positions in society (Lindsey, 2011: 6; Holmes, 2007: 4-5; Rahman & Jackson, 2010: 57; Ryle, 2012: 34).

Functionalism’s contribution to the sociological understandings of social differences between women and men is important, but on the other hand, functionalism has been used as a justification for male dominance. Functionalist perspective on gender roles was criticized, as the breadwinner-housewife model of family is restrictive for many women (Holmes, 2007: 5).

Functionalism’s conservative viewpoint could not account for contemporary families because assigning tasks based on gender in contemporary families became dysfunctional (Lindsey, 2011: 6-7).

2.11.1.2 Conflict Theory

Conflict theory is another macro level analysis of society, which is commonly associated with Marx, focusing on conflicts of interest between two classes (bourgeoisie and workers) due to unequal distribution of power in the capitalist society.

The conflict perspective is, in a sense, a critique of functionalism. Many theorists argue that functionalism is only a justification of inequality between two genders (Farley, 2000: 81). To functionalists, a consensus based on stability is desirable in society, but conflict is undesirable as conflict destroys consensus, thus a radical social change would be dysfunctional for the survival of the society (Farley, 2000: 73).

Engels attempted a Marxist explanation of women's subordination. According to Engels, "the master-slave or exploiter-exploited relationships occurring in broader society between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are translated into the household" (Lindsey, 2011: 7).

To Engels, primitive societies exhibited highly egalitarian gender relations because there was a collective production and communal ownership of property, instead of private property, people consumed what they produced. Engels argued that, the emergence of private property and capitalist mode of production changed the gender relations and resulted in oppression of women; women's domestic labor became unimportant and men's status in the family became crucial, thus the superiority and dominance of husband was unquestioned (Lindsey, 2011: 7; Brewer, 2004: 10- 11). To Engels, liberation from gender oppression, like liberation from class oppression, is possible (Brewer, 2004: 7) only through women's participation in the labor market and when domestic work takes less time of women's daily life (Lindsey, 2011: 8).

Engels' approach to gender relations is important for the liberation of women but conflict theory, in general, has been criticized for its overemphasis on the economic basis of inequality. Besides, women's participation in the labor market, offered by Engels, is not the only solution in overcoming male dominance (Lindsey, 2011: 8). Moreover, as can be seen also today, increasing women's employment does not reduce wage differences between men and women and does not reduce women's domestic responsibilities even when they are employed in full-time jobs.

2.11.1.3 Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism, developed by Cooley, Mead and Blumer, is a micro-level sociological perspective focusing on the symbolic meanings that people develop in the process of social interaction. To interactionists, the meaning of objects, events, and behaviors comes from the meanings people give them, and meanings vary from one group to another.

Symbolic interactionists argue that gender is not an individual property but is learnt and ‘achieved’ in interaction with others, thus gender is socially constructed. Therefore, people are *doing gender* (Fenstermaker and West, 2002 in Lindsey, 2011: 10; Holmes, 2009: 48).

According to the ‘Doing Gender’ theory, proposed by West and Zimmerman (1987: 126), gender is not an individual attribute, but rather a performance of each individual. “Doing gender means creating differences between women and men, differences that are not natural, essential, or biological” (West and Zimmerman, 1987: 137). West and Zimmerman tried to explore how gender is exhibited and how it is seen as ‘natural’, while it is being produced socially. While they agree with the idea that gender is a performance, they argue against the assertion that such a performance is optional; individuals do not have the option of being seen as either male or female (Jaggi, 2011: 3). Gender is still widely perceived as an innate characteristic of individuals and thus traditional gender roles have still been reproduced through interaction.

2.11.1.4 Feminist Sociological Theory

Feminist theory is one of the major contemporary sociological theories, which views society as divided into men and women unequally. Feminist theory struggles for equality between sexes by increasing women’s empowerment. Feminist critiques of gender inequality have emerged in 1970s and feminism provides a bridge between

micro and macro sociological theories by pointing out the powerful impact of gender on relationships (micro-level analysis) and on institutions (macro-level analysis) (Lindsey, 2011; Hughes & Kroehler, 2010).

Feminist perspective conforms to conflict theory in asserting that social inequality is maintained by domination with power in the hands of oppressors and social equality can be provided only when oppressed groups recognize their unequal conditions and challenge the system. But unlike conflict theory focusing on the necessity of social classes and economical elements in order to challenge the capitalist system, feminist perspective focuses on women's oppression in both private (micro-level) and public spheres (macro-level). Feminist theory is in accordance also with symbolic interactionism in emphasizing unequal power relations between men and women from the viewpoint of women, who are dominated by men in many settings (Lindsey, 2011: 12).

Feminist Perspectives on the Family

Feminist scholars have viewed the traditional patriarchal family as a major site for the oppression of women. They asserted that considering patriarchal family as necessary for social stability prevents assigning egalitarian roles to men and women. In spite of differences in various feminist approaches, feminists commonly agree that men dominate while women occupy a subordinate position in the family. According to Marxist feminists, within the *capitalist system*, women are exploited by means of unpaid work they undertake at home. Radical feminists agree with the idea of disadvantaged position of women in the family but they do not see capitalism as the main source of women's oppression; rather they focus only on *patriarchy* as the major instrument of oppression. Feminists view the family as male dominated because in most cases men are the breadwinners and control financial issues at home. Thus, men are decision-makers and benefit from women's domestic work; on the

other hand, women are expected to carry out domestic work as well as meeting emotional, sexual, and physical needs of their husbands and raising children, even when they are in paid employment (Lindsey, 1011: 13-14).

Ann Oakley (1982) argued that even when domestic roles were shared, men were often perceived to be ‘helping’ their wives, choosing the works that they wanted to help with. Thus, women remain responsible for the essential housework and childcare tasks even when they work outside of the home (Marchbank & Letherbay, 2007:188).

While most feminists were concerned with understanding fundamental inequalities between women and men and they share the same goal that is eliminating barriers preventing the gender equality, there are striking differences between feminists in their approaches to the ways to accomplish the same goal.

Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism is mainly focusing on the importance of *equality* between men and women. Liberal feminists view men and women as equal by emphasizing the similarities between them and by arguing that women have the same capacity with men, thus for liberal feminists, women should have the same opportunities and equal rights with men in both public and private spheres (Holmes, 2007: 72-73; Ryle, 2012: 25).

Liberal feminism argues that equality between men and women can be achieved only through legal means and social reforms rather than a revolutionary change, different from Marxist and radical feminism. According to liberal feminists, the sexual division of labor in both public and private spheres needs to be reformed so that women can achieve equality (Lindsey, 2011: 14-15).

Marxist feminism

Marxist feminism asserts that there is a direct causal relationship between the subordination of women and capitalism. Marxist feminists argue that women are oppressed class in the capitalist mode of production, both by their husbands within families and by employers in the labor market (Crossman, 2011).

Marxist feminists focus on the gendered division of labor in analyzing women's position as *paid workers* in the labor market and *unpaid workers* at home. They focus on the relation between the family and the capitalism and they see unpaid domestic labor of women as the main problem (Tong, 2009: 106-107). The widespread idea in the society that 'unpaid labor of women at home is not productive, while paid labor of men outside the home is productive' has been questioned by Marxist feminists. Marxist feminism also questioned employment of women in low-wage and low-status jobs. For Margaret Benston, one of the Marxist feminists, women would continue to be far from the labor market, unless they get free from domestic responsibilities restricting their liberation (Tong, 2009: 108-109). Marxist feminist theory asserts that women have been serving capitalist system by undertaking domestic responsibilities. Some Marxist feminists claim that women's domestic labor should be a paid labor, while others think that this view would confine women to home, thus women would serve capitalism more than before.

Radical Feminism

Radical feminism, different from liberal feminism, asserts that women and men are fundamentally *different*, by emphasizing superior characteristics of women (Taylor et al., 2004 in Ryle, 2012: 25). Radical feminists focus on *patriarchy*, as the main reason for women's subordination, which is the social system of domination over women (Giddens and Sutton, 2012).

For radical feminists, the main reason for women's oppression is patriarchal gender relations, rather than legal systems (unlike liberal feminism) or class conflict (unlike Marxist feminism). While liberal feminism concentrates on the workplace and legal changes, radical feminism emphasizes the patriarchal family as the key site of domination and oppression (Shelton and Agger, 1993, in Lindsey, 2011: 15).

According to radical feminist perspective, male control over women's *sexuality* plays a key factor in women's oppression, sexism is at the center of patriarchal order, and all social institutions reflect this sexism (Dworkin, 1981; Kelly, 1988; MacKinnon, 1982 in Holmes, 2007: 74; Shelton and Agger, 1993, in Lindsey, 2011: 15). For Kate Millet, sexuality, especially sexual violence and sexual objectification of women are at the core of patriarchal control, based upon the ideological construction of masculine sexuality as aggressive and feminine sexually as passive and subordinate (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 30-31).

Susan Brownmiller (1975) also focused on the male sexual violence towards women as a manifestation of male power, while Adrienne Rich (1980) strongly criticized heterosexuality trapping women into sexual and social subordination to men. In many feminist analyses of sexuality, the idea of 'men possessing women' is the central theme that forms the basis of Andrea Dworkin's argument of pornography (1980), which served to maintain men's exploitation of women's sexuality and to sustain the 'normality' of women's subordination (Rahman and Jackson, 2010: 31).

Radical feminists' solution for women's subordination problem is creating separate women-centered institutions relying on women rather men and women-identified society dominated by women's superior characteristics (Lindsey, 2011: 16).

Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminism views both *capitalism* (as Marxist feminists believe) and *patriarchy* (as radical feminists believe) as the source of women's oppression. Socialist feminists view capitalism and patriarchy as interactive in women's subordination and they called this system as *capitalist patriarchy*. Therefore, for socialist feminists, putting an end to women's oppression would possible only by undermining patriarchal capitalism (Tong, 2009: 4).

Iris Marion Young, Heidi Hartmann, and Sylvia Walby, as a group of socialist feminists, seek to draw attention on women's unpaid, underpaid, or low status work. They argue that gender segregation and low pay for women in the labor market can only be explained, if capitalism is examined along with patriarchy, as these two are linked. This patriarchal capitalism is beneficial for both men as individuals who gain from domestic labor of women at home and for employers who gain from cheaper labor of women (Tong, 2009: 5; Marchbank & Letherbay, 2007: 242-243).

In this section, how *gender* as a sociological concept was identified and defined by feminist scholars in struggling against socially constructed differences between women and men is summarized, as well as introducing gender related issues such as distinction between gender and sex and relation between gender and sexuality. Moreover, feminist challenge to the *traditional naturalist understanding* of masculinity and femininity, which asserts that differences between women and men are natural, is given in order to understand how gender differences are socially constructed. How boys and girls internalize their gender identities and gender roles during their socialization process is also presented in this section. Before analyzing gender based violence, all above arguments regarding the social construction of gender as a sociological concept would give us an idea about how gender based violence is legitimized in many traditional patriarchal societies.

CHAPTER 3

GENDER BASED VIOLENCE

“Gender based violence is any act or threat that inflicts physical, sexual, or psychological harm on the basis of a person’s gender” (Esplen and Bell, 2007: 3).

This chapter deals with the focus of this study, which is violence against women by intimate male partners, by presenting the contribution of feminist scholars in understanding the violence as gendered and as a socially constructed concern likewise gender. Considering the importance of gender in any analysis of violence against women, how gender based discrimination has been facilitating and maintaining gender-based violence in many cultures is presented, after summarizing the definition of violence. In order to point out the seriousness of violence against women, prevalence and frequency of especially partner violence is introduced by giving early and recent study results. Moreover, profile of victims and abusers in violence against women is tried to be given and how cultural structure has been reproducing such a violence is summarized in this section.

“Violence against women is not the result of random, individual acts of misconduct, but rather is deeply rooted in structural relationships of inequality between women and men. It cuts across both the public and private spheres” (United Nations, 2006 in Lombard & McMillan, 2013: 9).

3.1 What is Violence?

The major contribution of feminism to defining violence is its assertion that violence is *gendered*. This means, there is a clear gender difference between those who commit violence and those who are exposed to it. This does not mean that women are never perpetrators and men are never victims. Rather, this means that statistics on ‘rape, battering, child sexual abuse, pornography, prostitution, sexual harassment, stalking, sexual murder, and other forms of “personal” violence’ show that the

perpetrators are predominantly men and the victims are mostly women (Price, 2005: 11).

Feminist approaches to the women's battering have also asserted that battering must be understood within the larger context of women's oppression. Physical violence against women is only a part of an entire oppressive control, which includes sexual abuse, physiological abuse, and economic abuse (Adams, 1988b; Douglas, 1992; Ganley, 1981; Schechter and Gary, 1988; Pence and Paymar, 1986 in Ptacek, 1997: 109).

3.2 Importance of Gender in the Analysis of Violence against Women

Both men and women can be the target of violence in general. In fact, men are more frequently exposed to violence than women are. However, the difference is, men are attacked mostly by other men. On the other hand, gendered violence is an assault against persons who are vulnerable due to their gender and sexuality (Marmion, 2006: 145).

Second wave feminists questioned the assumed innate differences that have been used to justify the differences between men and women such as the dichotomous relationship between 'male aggression' and 'female passivity'. Within this framework, and as stated in the previous parts, gender is understood as a social construction and a set of relations between and among women and men and gender refers to a range of socially constructed roles, behaviors, responsibilities and expectations that are ascribed to men and women. Due to their ascribed gender roles, women and men experience life differently. Gender is a key factor in the analysis of violence against women as men and women use and experience violence differently and violence has different impacts on them (Lombard, 2013: 179).

The role of gender is crucial in any analysis of violence against women because gender inequality is rooted in men's violence against women and male violence is a manifestation of male power, thus it can be said that violence is socially constructed as well as gender. As well known, in many societies, women are the main victims and men are the main perpetrators of violence against women. Although not all men are violent, statistics show that men are the main offenders of violence against women, as well as against other men (Lombard & McMillan, 2013: 8).

Connell (2002) also stresses the importance of gender relations and gender order for understanding violence, especially men's violence. For Dragiewicz and Lindgren (2009: 233), considering domestic violence within the context of sex discrimination is crucial in order to approach the issue from a different perspective as a social and political concern rather than only as a private concern of interpersonal relationships (Lombard, 2013: 179).

Hearn (1998) asserts that all violence is gendered regardless of the violence is experienced, perpetrated or witnessed. In the male-dominated society, social construction of masculinity rewards aggression (Connell, 1987, 2005; Brownmiller, 1975) and femininity is constructed through passivity, fear and dependency (Connell, 2005) which reinforce gender stereotypes and violence myths (Soothill and Walby, 1991; Worrall, 2004 in Lombard, 2013: 182). Therefore, gender inequality creates the conditions that allow, or even encourage, the violence against one gender by another (Marmion, 2006: 145).

3.3 Prevalence of Violence against Women

Privacy of the family, the reluctance of police to get involved in family disputes, lack of consistent legal standards, and accepted masculinity norms make it difficult to get accurate statistics on all forms of family violence and abuse (Lindsey, 2001: 260).

Violence against women has been persisting as a widespread social phenomenon in spite of taken new preventive measures, new legal arrangements prohibiting it, and legal ways available to women from the courts.

Violence against women is one of the most prevalent problems all over the world by taking many forms including, but not limited to, domestic violence, sexual violence and rape, physical violence, verbal and psychological abuse, economic abuse, child abuse, sex work, and so called ‘honor’ crimes. All forms of violence have permanent impacts on women of all ages at any stage of their lives without discrimination by race, ethnicity, sexuality, or class (Lombard & McMillan, 2013: 7-9).

Although violence against women has been recognized as a women’s human rights violation to save women from violence, the incidence and prevalence of violence against women - as seen on the Turkish media - show that women’s rights protection have been applied in theory but not applied totally in practice. Moreover, the frequency of violence against women does not actually reflect the real numbers due to hidden cases of violence against women especially domestic violence. According to Amnesty International (2004), “at least one out of three women has been beaten, coerced into sex, or otherwise abused in her lifetime . . . usually the abuser is a member of her own family or someone known to her” (Lombard & McMillan, 2013: 10).

Accurate estimates of the frequency of *intimate partner violence* are more critical due to the nature of the offenses. Many victims are typically silent about their violence experiences because of various reasons: ‘internalized shame, economic dependence, isolation, complications with children, fear of retaliation, religious or familial pressures to keep the family-relationship intact, unresponsiveness and even disbelief from police and other members of the criminal justice system, and until recently, a lack of legal options or alternatives’ (Miller & Wellford, 1997: 18).

3.4 Profile of Victims and Abusers

Although early studies on battering focused on identifying the characteristics of the perpetrators, most experts on batterers agree that there is no specific profile to describe male abusers of intimate violence (Gondolf, 1993; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Hamberger & Hastings, 1991). For instance, feminists argue that the prevalence of such violent crimes is rooted in society's view of women. Accordingly, some scholars asserted that theories of individual pathology are inadequate to understand battering and that the focus should be on the structural and cultural factors (McHugh, 1993). Furthermore, many studies on battering focused on the characteristics of battered women, categorizing them as helpless victims (Harway, 1993). Only recent studies started to focus on social causes of male violence (Koss, 1993: vii in Hansen & Harway, 1997: 166).

To Connors and Harway (1993), examining the power dynamics, which describe the most male-female relationships, may help us to understand the prevalence of intimate partner violence. Different forms of abuse become violent by situations in which women threaten existing power relationships, thus abuse is used as a means for keeping women in subordinate positions (Hansen & Harway, 1997: 166-167).

Dobash and Dobash (1979: 24) described especially battering as a strategy to control men's spouse. Assaultive men are living closely with cultural norms, such as aggressiveness, male dominance, and female subordination, and men are using physical force as a tool to maintain male dominance (Hansen & Harway, 1997: 167).

3.5 Does Socioeconomic Status Matter in Intimate Violence?

"Although it cuts across all demographic groups, wife battering is more prevalent in families with low income and unemployment, isolation from kin and community, and alcohol use" (Gelles and Straus, 1995; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2003; Wexler, 2003 in Lindsey, 2011: 260).

Moore (1997) stresses the relationship between intimate violence and socioeconomic status and asserts that although intimate violence may occur across all social classes, recent studies show that violence is more severe and frequent among spouses with lower socioeconomic status.

Since economic dependence is one of the main factors in keeping women from leaving their abusers, women living in poverty are especially vulnerable to persistent abuse and violence. Under these conditions, children will have a high risk of being exposed to violence either as victim or witness (Fagan & Browne, 1993; Durant et al., 1994; Carlson, 1990; Thornberry, 1994 in Hansen & Harway, 1997: 184).

In addition to recent studies focusing on family income in analyzing the intimate violence, Moore argues that *women* with lower socioeconomic status are more likely to experience violence more severely and more frequently (Cardarelli, 1997: 14). According to Browne (1997: 54), for women, a lack of economic resources may be the major restrictive factor in their ability to change their violent environments or to live in safety.

According to recent studies, women across all social classes throughout the world are victimized sexually, but women, who live in poverty and whose families have been broken seem to be particularly vulnerable (Robin, Chester, Rasmussen, Jaranson, & Goldman, 1997; WHO, 2002 in Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 154).

The most recent and most comprehensive research on violence against women conducted in Turkey indicates that as the educational level increases, the prevalence of partner violence reported by women decreases. While the incidence of reporting physical or sexual violence reported by women who are illiterate or have not graduated from primary education is 56 %, around 27 % of women who have at least high school degree reported physical or sexual violence. However, although educational level seems to be effective on prevalence of violence according to this research results, the proportion of women with higher educational level, who reported

sexual or physical violence (3 out of 10) is considerable (Jansen, Yüksel, Çağatay, 2009: 48). Thus, having higher educational level does not completely protects women from violence in some cases.

On the other side, rather than considering whether women's victimization varies according to their social status, feminists developed *universal risk theory*, which asserts that all women due to their gender are equally likely to be victimized by wife abuse within patriarchal society (Schwartz, 1988: 373 in Moore, 1997: 93; Cardarelli, 1997: 14).

In fact, findings of many studies on intimate partner violence indicate that likelihood of vulnerability to violence is *little* affected by socioeconomic status (Straus et al., 1980; Gelles and Cornell, 1985, Hotaling and Sugarman, 1990 in Moore, 1997: 90). On the other side, some studies on comparison of violent and nonviolent husband groups, explored various factors distinguishing violent husbands from nonviolent husbands, that is, abusive husbands "have lower occupational status, lower income, and lower educational attainment than nonviolent husband comparison groups" (Hotaling and Sugarman, 1986). Based on these findings, "it is not reasonable to conclude that all women are equally at risk of intimate assault" (Moore, 1997: 94). Besides, these findings demonstrate the inadequacy of a universal risk perspective in understanding violence among intimates (Schwartz, 1988). Asserting that all women are equally vulnerable to intimate violence regardless of their social status is not consistent with the existing literature. Furthermore, the most recent research on intimate partner violence indicates that social class and socioeconomic status are crucial factors in the beginning and continuity of intimate violence (Moore, 1997: 95). Although not only socioeconomic status but also other factors, such as individual, societal, cultural factors may contribute to intimate violence, disregarding the impact of socioeconomic status on the onset and persistence of intimate partner violence would be a major mistake (Moore, 1997: 97-98).

In summary, in spite of increasing research studies on wife battering, the issue of whether some women due to their social status are more vulnerable to violence than other women has still been problematic (Okun, 1986; Schwartz, 1988; Straus and Smith, 1990; Fagan, 1993; Zawitz, 1994 in Moore, 1997: 90).

3.6 Cultural Permission to Violence against Women

Violence against women is inevitably a cross-cultural phenomenon. Cultural assumptions about violence against women predominantly place the blame on women as the victim. To the common view, if she had not gone out alone; if she had prepared a hot and delicious meal; if she had not dressed so provocatively, she would not have been battered or raped. In other words, if she had fulfilled her appropriate femininity responsibilities rather than doing the opposite, she would not have suffered. Violence is an expected response to women who violate the gender order; on the other hand, the male offender is excused and even usually rewarded, as he fulfilled appropriate masculinity by disciplining transgressor women (Ferber, Holcomb and Wentling, 2013: 343).

3.7 Gender Violence Myths

“Certain demonstrations of men’s violence are still considered ‘understandable’, ‘defensible’, and ‘honorable’, illustrating the endorsement of some expressions of men’s violence” (Lombard and McMillan, 2013: 8).

Women are still frequently exposed to violence and abuse by male perpetrators in many countries. As well as many other factors, studies show that one of the most important factors contributing to the frequency of gendered violence is *inequality between genders*. Negative stereotypes and myths about the subordinate group have been causing both groups to believe in the inferiority and dependence of weaker group (Marmion, 2006: 145).

Sheffield (1989) identified several justifications of violence against women that she called *gender violence myths* serving to release violent men from feeling guilty. Rape is justified by myths such as “all women want to be raped”, “no woman can be raped if she does not want it”, “she said no but meant yes”; wife battering is often justified with the following myths, “some women need to be beaten to keep her in line”, “she must have provoked it”; sexual harassment is usually justified as “she was seductive”, “she was in a workplace where she did not belong” (Ferber, Holcomb & Wentling, 2013: 343).

3.8 Theoretical Approaches to Intimate Violence

Multiple theories have been used to explain the reasons for male use of domestic violence. However, “many of these theories lack empirical support when examining women, who have been arrested for intimate partner violence” (Conradi, Geffner, Hamberger, and Lawson, 2012: 173). This study attempts to fill this gap by providing data about the reasons for female violent crimes through in-depth interviews with female offenders convicted of violent crimes. The common theoretical approaches to intimate violence are summarized below:

3.8.1 Feminist Theory

From the feminist perspective, the ‘power’ factor offers the best explanation for all forms of domestic violence. Violence is most common in societies in which men hold power over the women and children in the family and least common in societies having high levels of gender equality. Within all societies, egalitarian families have the lowest rate of domestic violence. “The greater the power gap between partners, the greater the risk of violence against women” (Whaley, 2001 in Lindsey, 2011: 262). Almost all male violence against female partner arises from perceived threat against his masculinity and power (Lindsey, 2011: 262).

While there are different feminist theories on violence against women, most of feminist scholars share the idea that men abuse women to maintain their power and control over them. Besides, according to most feminists, gender, power, and patriarchy are key explanatory factors for all forms of violence against women; intimate partner violence should be understood in its context; and it is important to listen to women's experiences to understand violence against them (Bograd, 1988; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Jasinski, 2001 in DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2011: 12).

Feminist analysis asserts that *gender-based inequality* is rooted in domestic abuse and it facilitates and perpetuates domestic violence. For the feminist perspective, *patriarchy* is the leading factor in women's subordination and wife beating is one of the tools for maintaining this subordination (Gelles, 1997: 128-129). Feminist thinking proves its assertion through observed gender inequality in the society by identifying high rates of domestic violence especially in patriarchal societies, high rates of women (rather than men) seeking help from various agencies in response to domestic violence. All data from such studies show that men are the main perpetrators of domestic abuse (Dobash and Dobash, 2004 in Gilchrist, 2013: 162-163).

3.8.2 Social Learning Theory

Several early studies indicated that through modeling, children learn that violence is an appropriate way to resolve conflict in intimate relationships (Straus et al., 1980; Kalmuss, 1984; O'Leary, 1988 in Hansen & Harway, 1997: 184).

This theory views the family background and experiences of the batterer as the basis of the violence. Social learning theory suggests that people become violent or the victim of violence in their intimate relationship, if they grow up in violent families through witnessing violence between their parents or experiencing violence. Thus, intimate partner violence is essentially *learned* behavior. The family is most likely

the first place where people experience violence and violence is usually transferred from generation to generation. While a history of violence increases the risk of being violent in the future, not all victims of violence in their early ages would be violent as an adult (Gelles, 1997: 128-129; Conradi, Geffner, Hamberger, and Lawson, 2012: 174; Miller & Wellford, 1997: 23-24).

The most recent and comprehensive research conducted in Turkey on domestic violence against women concluded that male children, who socialized with the violent behaviors, would perceive violence against women as a normal behavior and would resort violence against their sisters, girlfriends, and wives. On the other side, female children, who also socialized with violence, would accept violence against them as a normal reaction. This socialization process is important in maintaining domestic violence among spouses (Üner, Yüksel, Koç, Ergöçmen and Türkyılmaz, 2009: 189).

Male children are taught to be aggressive and dominant and to be sensitive to threats against their authority and to maintain this authority by using force. They socialized with the skills related to physical force and learnt to use these skills in case of any threat to their dominance (Dobash and Dobash, 2005: 176). Female children, on the other hand, learn that they have no direct control over their lives. Girls learnt from their parents and society that they should be more passive than boys (Walker, 2005: 225).

3.9 The Scope of Violence against Women

Battering is most likely to occur where women challenge their partners about household decisions, and where women are perceived as having failed in their “wifely duties” – refusing sex, serving cold meals, or neglecting the vacuuming. In other words, violence is a reactive performance of masculinity in the face of oppositional performances of femininity (Dobash and Dobash, 1998 in Ferber, Holcomb and Wentling, 2013: 336).

The home, workplace, and outside the home are all crucial sites in which subordinate women are dominated by men and each site historically has been contributing to empowerment of men and disempowerment of women (Ferber, Holcomb & Wentling, 2013: 334). Therefore, it can be said that male control over women is not an individual but collective one and women as a group are subjected to violence by men as a display of male domination in patriarchal society.

“When women are attacked, it is most often by men they know ... women are most often victimized by someone they know” (Catalano, 2004 in Nichols, 2006: 1).

Violence against women is a display of men’s control over women especially women’s sexuality. For Elizabeth Stanko (1985), incest rapes are an assertion of male ‘rights’ of control over powerless female. Young girls especially are subjected to such victimization due to their place in the family and their femaleness that Stanko equates with powerlessness (Ferber, Holcomb & Wentling, 2013: 335).

R. Emerson Dobash and Russell Dobash (1998: 268) identified four interrelated determinant factors of violence against women: men’s sense of ownership and jealousy; men’s expectations from women to fulfill domestic work; men’s sense of the right to punish ‘their’ women for their misconduct; and importance of maintaining their dominant position. All these provocative factors give men the right to express his masculine power through violence. In such a relationship, woman is perceived as transgressor who has challenged her partner’s authority and has violated boundaries of appropriate female behavior. May be “she spoke too long with another man, or sought employment outside the home, contrary to the ‘demands’ of her partner.” Such behaviors of woman are perceived by his partner as a threat against his masculinity and loss of control and if he cannot control ‘his woman’, then he reasserts his dominant and aggressive masculinity by resorting to violence (Ferber, Holcomb & Wentling, 2013: 335).

Many abusers feel a strong need to control the behavior of their partner. The threat of a breakup or divorce threatens that sense of control, while their need for it escalates. When abusers feel that they are losing control, they increase the violence and intimidation (Nichols, 2006: 1).

When women attempt to leave such a violent relationship, their victimization is likely to increase. When women try to develop themselves, when they seek to escape from a violent relationship, they are often exposed to bothering, abuse, or even murder (Browne, 1995; Chaiken, 1998; Tjaden and Thoennes, 1998).

In some cases, even before the relationship between men and women, violence against women may occur upon refusing the man's propositions. In certain cultures, where marriages are not arranged by families, women are more likely to have the option to choose their dating and marriage partners, as well as the option to reject potential partners. However, women's so-called free will in decision making on choosing their intimate partner may conflict with men's honour and their sense of sexual dominance over women. Since men feel that they have the option to choose their partner even without the woman's consent, if their honour is damaged by a refusal, they may retaliate in violent ways (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 156). In some murder cases, as we can see through the media in Turkey, a woman, who rejected having a relationship with a man, may even be killed due to the sense of "if I can't have you, no one can", which implies violent male control over women's sexuality.

3.10 Forms of Violence against Women

De-value of Women

Women's exposure to violence starts even before the birth. In many cultures, female children are seen as less valuable than male children are. One of the major reasons for trivializing girls is considering participation of female children in the family as temporary because when a girl grows up, she is expected to marry at earlier ages and will live with her husband's family, while a boy and his wife will *care for* his parents.

Furthermore, despite recent legal arrangements about married name and inheritance, in many cultures, the family name is still transmitted through male children. Besides, a married woman's position in her husband's family is not usually guaranteed until she gives a birth of a male child (Das Gupta, 1987) as the birth of a girl is seen as a loss within many eastern cultures (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 153).

In Turkey, de-value of female children can be clearly observed within many traditional patriarchal families. Several stereotypes settled in our society can prove the cultural support to the inferiority of girls such as, 'even if the girl is in the member of the household, she is regarded as a stranger', 'mother prides herself on giving birth of male child, while mother beats her chest on giving birth of female child', and 'mothers giving birth of female children become deformed quickly'.

Physical Violence

"Physical force is a technique for maintaining and attempting to regain control in the family and males being heavily socialized in instrumental and aggressive ways are much more likely to utilize force than women" (Whitehurst, 1971: 683 in Dobash and Dobash, 2005: 175-176).

Physical violence is often used by men to punish their wives for real or perceived violation of his rules and to maintain a hierarchical order within the family (Dobash and Dobash, 2005: 176).

The prevalence of violence *in marriage* and between *formerly married couples* has started to be surveyed from the mid-1970s. According to the first national survey, conducted in 1975 in the US, over one out of four married couples reported at least one physical assault among them (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz, 1980) and one out of five all surveyed women reported at least one physical attack by a male partner

(Schulman, 1979). This proportion was much more for women, who were recently separated or divorced (Browne, 1997: 48-49).

Furthermore, according to the last national survey, conducted in Turkey in 2009, the most reported act of physical violence by women is 'being slapped or having something thrown' by their male partners. To the same study, nationwide, 37 % of ever-married women reported that they were subjected to such acts in any period of their lives (Jansen, Yüksel, Çağatay, 2009: 48).

In spite of increasing awareness and legal and social reactions to intimate partner violence, rates of marital violence remain high. According to National Family Violence Survey, conducted in 1985, one out of every eight women had been physically assaulted by their husbands during one-year period before the survey (Straus and Gelles, 1990). These findings, based only on reported experiences, indicate that at least two million women are attacked by male partners within one-year period in the US (Browne, 1997: 49).

Although these figures seem high enough, in fact, they do not reflect the real numbers because these findings are based only on the willingness of respondents to share such a sensitive event with an interviewer as a stranger. Therefore, scholars believe that around four million women have been attacked each year (Browne, 1997: 49).

Different types of physical violence were reported by women such as 'being slapped, punched with a fist, kicked, or thrown bodily, being hit with objects, scalded with hot liquid, cut, choked, or bitten' (Browne, 1987; Pagelow, 1981; Walker, 1984 in Browne, 1997: 49). Physical damages suffered by women 'range from bruises, cuts, black eyes, concussions, broken bones, and miscarriages to permanent injuries – such as damage to joints, partial loss of hearing or vision, scars from burns, bites, or knife wounds, or even death' (Browne, 1978; Walker, 1984 in Browne, 1997: 52).

Women are at a high risk of injury or lethal assault by their male partners rather than by any other type of assaulter (Browne, 1992). Besides, women, abused by their partners, are more likely to be repeatedly attacked, injured, raped or even killed by their male partners, in contrast to women, who are attacked by acquaintances or strangers (Browne and Williams, 1989, 1993; Langan and Innes, 1986; Stets and Straus, 1990 in Browne, 1997: 51-52). Once assaultive behavior happens in an intimate relationship, it usually becomes chronic (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz, 1980; Walker, 1984 in Browne, 1997: 56).

Psychological Violence

Psychological abuse often precedes physical violence. Continuing criticism, correcting, and humiliation undermine the woman's confidence. Increasingly she sees herself as someone who is not competent or capable enough to live independently (McHugh & Frieze, 2006: 130).

Verbal abuse and threats constitute an important aspect of intimate partner violence against women. Verbal abuse often starts before the occurrence of physical violence and is accompanied by physical and sexual assaults when aggressive behaviors become chronic (Browne, 1997: 59; Berry, 1998).

As in other types of violence, the ultimate goal in emotional abuse is control and power over the victim. Abusers mostly attack their victims emotionally to feel powerful and to maintain control over the victims (Grothues & Marmion, 2006: 18).

According to the research conducted on 24,048 households in Turkey between the years 2007-2009, 44 % of ever-married women reported that they had been subjected to emotional abuse at least once in any period of their lives (Jansen, Yüksel, and Çağatay, 2009: 52).

Psychological abuse is considered as a less important social problem but it may be more harmful and quite prevalent, although it is difficult to get accurate information about its prevalence. It is mistakenly believed that if there is no physical injury, then the act is not deemed to be abusive. However, most victims, on the other hand, described emotional abuse as being more painful and damaging than the physical injuries (Nichols, 2006: 6-7; Browne, 1997: 59; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2011: 5-6).

Furthermore, although emotional abuse is mostly reported by the victims as the most harmful form of intimate violence, it is the most difficult type of violence to be identified and proved and almost impossible to be used as the basis in taking legal action against emotional abuser (Grothues & Marmion, 2006: 15).

Sexual Violence

“Not only are wives commonly viewed as the property of their husbands, but more specifically, they are seen as the *sexual* property of their husbands” (Russell, 2005: 99).

Cultural constructs about sexuality are important in helping us to understand sexual violence as gendered violence. Sexual violence plays a significant role in controlling women’s sexuality and in making women as a sexual object serving men (Ferber, Holcomb & Wentling, 2013: 338).

Contrary to the common belief, that is *sexual abuse is about sex*, the great majority of sexual abuse is related to power and control, as in other types of violence, not related to sex or sexual gratification at all (Hamlin, 2006). Therefore, men’s motivation in sexual abuse is likely to be a desire for power and control and this desire derives from a perceived loss of power and attempt to regain it (Grothues & Marmion, 2006: 12-13).

It is estimated that around 43 % of sexual assaults are committed by people known to the victim, i.e. relatives, friends, former partners or recent acquaintances (Marchbank & Letherbay, 2007: 274).

Like physical violence, women are sexually abused mostly by their current or former male intimates. According to a recent national survey, 13 % of 4008 women reported at least one forcible rape during their lifetime and 78 % of the forcible rapes were perpetuated by family members or acquaintances of the victims. Furthermore, other studies evidenced that sexual assaults were perpetrated by current or former male partners more than acquaintances or strangers (Russell, 1982; Finkelhor and Yllö, 1985; Wyatt et al., 1992 in Browne, 1997: 50).

Within the marital relationship, the regulation of sexuality and women's sexuality becomes particularly important. Marital relationship is the site where man forcefully exercises his sexual rights to his wife's body. If wife says "no", then she is most likely exposed to violent reflection (Ferber, Holcomb & Wentling, 2013: 339).

Girls and boys are early socialized with the idea that male sexual access to female is *naturally* unrestricted. In some cases, young girls learn this idea when they are victimized to child sexual abuse in the home. Such cases normalize sexual assault against women. Girls are socialized that their most valuable and manipulable property is their sexuality (Ferber, Holcomb & Wentling, 2013: 339).

Prevalence and Impacts of Sexual Violence

Rape and sexual abuse, as other types of violence against women, are continuing to be a significant social problem throughout the world. Compared to other types of violence, it is more difficult to measure the prevalence and incidence of rape and sexual assault as such acts often happen in private spheres (Stanko and Williams, 2009; McMillan, 2011). Moreover, as rape is one of the most under-reported crimes,

the real prevalence of rape is most probably much higher than the statistical data about reported rape (Koss and Harvey, 1991 in McMillan, 2013: 72).

Women, who were raped or beaten by their husbands, are often assumed to have done something wrong to encourage or provoke their attacker. The possibility of encountering such attitudes often causes a female victim not to share or report the event (Lips, 2005: 555-556).

According to World Health Organization (WHO) (2005), globally, 1 out of 5 women and 1 out of 10 men reported that they were sexually abused during their childhood, while its estimated by WHO that “higher numbers of girls are sexually abused both within their families (incest, forced sexual initiation, child brides, etc.) and outside the home” (in Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 154).

Compared to other types of violence, it is much more difficult for women to report sexual violence. Nevertheless, according to the most recent and most comprehensive research conducted in 2009, 15 % of ever-married women in Turkey have experienced at least one act of sexual violence (Jansen, Yüksel, and Çağatay, 2009: 46).

The prevalence rates of physical or sexual violence, or both, are significant because they indicate that these two forms of violence are accompanied by each other. In Turkey, the prevalence of either physical or sexual violence, or both, is 42 %, while the prevalence of physical violence is 39 % and the prevalence of sexual violence is 15 %. This indicates that sexual violence is experienced together with physical violence in many cases and that sexual violence rarely occurs alone (Jansen, Yüksel, and Çağatay, 2009: 46-48).

Sexual violence may have considerable short-term and long-term damages on its female victims (McMillan, 2007) and abused women may have several physical and/or mental health problems immediately after the sexual assault or many years after the event (Koss, 1993; New and Berliner, 2000; Plichta and Falik, 2001). The WHO (2005) also points out that sexual violence considerably increases possibility of depression, anxiety, psychosomatic disorders and suicidal behavior (McMillan, 2013: 72). The main reason for such permanent psychological effects on female victims of sexual violence – especially for suicide cases – may be a great value attributed to female sexuality by the society or women's strong feelings of guilty in their inability to save their sexuality/virginity.

Reporting Sexual Violence by the Victims

Cultural factors may make women vulnerable to sexual violence in certain ways. For instance, “a cultural emphasis on shame may make it difficult for girls to resist or report sexual assaults” (Fontes, 2007 in Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 154).

Although marital rape also constitutes an important aspect of violence against women, many women are unwilling to define forced sexual acts as assaultive, if the attacker is their husbands (Browne, 1997: 60).

Women are highly unwilling to share rapes by their husbands due to an extreme sense of shame and humiliation, a probability that nobody would believe them and a common belief that even rape is the ‘right’ of a husband or partner (Russell, 1990). However, although sexual assault by a male intimate is usually trivialized, it is a crucial form of violence (Browne, 1997: 61).

Although studies on sexual violence show that female victims are often unwilling to share their sexual victimization with anyone, according to more recent analysis of British Crime Survey, women are increasingly more willing to tell someone about

rape and sexual assault they experienced (Myhill and Allen, 2002; Walby and Allen, 2004). However, this sharing is most probably with a friend or a family member rather than a legal body. Based on these data, it can be said that many women may have experienced sexual violence but these cases remain unreported. Studies show that rape is one of the most under-reported crimes (Spohn and Trellis, 2012) and reasons supposed to affect women's decision not to report rape include "not naming the incident as rape, a fear of not being believed; fear of being blamed, and a lack of confidence in the justice process" (Kelly and Regan, 2003) or "fear of retaliation from the rapist and feelings of shame and embarrassment" (Bachman, 1998 in McMillan, 2013: 75-76).

Existing findings also indicate that female victims of rape are usually unwilling to report the event especially if their abuser is known by them (Greenfield, 1997; Koss, 1993; Koss and Heslet, 1992; Stanko, 1984). If the attacker is a family member, reporting the event may be more problematic for the victims as any claim of sexual violence within the family would bring stain to the family's self-image (McKie, 2005) and female victim of the family would desire to protect other members of the family from such a stain. Another factor for female victims, who are raped by the family members and did not report, is fear that other members of the family would not believe them and that rather than being supported they would be blamed (McMillan, 2013: 78).

Physical and Sexual Violence by Marital Status

According to the most recent and comprehensive research mentioned in previous sections and conducted between 2007-2009 on 24,048 households in Turkey, 36 % of women, who have ever married or partnered, reported that they were exposed to physical partner violence in any period of their lives. On the other hand, most striking finding is that the rate of women, who are *divorced or separated* and who reported

that they experienced physical violence is 73 %. This means that 7 out of 10 divorced/separated women were subjected to physical violence by their former partners. Considering the findings about sexual violence, again, while the rate of sexual violence reported by currently married women is 14 %, the proportion of divorced or separated women who reported that they have been subjected to sexual violence is 44 % (Jansen, Yüksel, and Çağatay, 2009: 52). These findings indicate that, separated or divorced women are more likely to be under the risk of violence by their former partners or husbands rather than the married women.

Lethal Violence

Homicides

Homicide of women by their male partners is the most severe form and consequence of violence against women (Alao, 2006: 312). Such homicides can be considered as an extreme manifestation of men's attempt to regain their ownership and control over their female partners' sexuality (Wilson & Daly, 2002 in Alao, 2006: 313).

Researches on homicides in different countries indicate that men are much more likely to commit murder compared to women. Besides, women are much more likely to be killed by their intimate partner, while male victims were killed mostly by strangers. According to Federal Bureau of Investigation (1993), while 29 % of female victims of homicides were killed by their (ex)husbands, or (ex)boyfriends; only 3 % of male victims of homicides were killed by their (ex)wives or (ex)girlfriends (Crowell and Burgess, 1996: 7). According to another research conducted in England and Wales (by Gibson and Klein in 1996), among female victims, *wives* were usually the most frequent victims of homicides (Dobash and Dobash, 2005: 174).

Triggering Factors in Spousal Homicide

The Bernard study explored different factors operational in the murder of wives by husbands and murder of husbands by wives. For *men*, the triggering event to kill their partners was usually *jealousy*, *separation*, or *threat of separation* by their female partners. On the other hand, for *women*, the triggering event was usually a physical attack or threat by their male partners, thus homicides committed by women were often motivated by *self-defense*. Bernard et al. found that 70 % of the women convicted of such murders had a history of violence by their male partners (Browne, 2005: 239).

Since men mostly killed their partners in reaction to separation or the threat of separation, they most typically commit the homicide outside the couple's shared house, such as on the street or in the victim's private house. Male perpetrators are most likely to kill also other people, such as children or relatives of woman, who were with their wives at the time of the homicide and they may kill themselves immediately after the homicide. In such homicide cases, threat of separation or real separation itself is usually reported by the male perpetrators as the trigger event (Bernard et al., 1982: 278 in Browne, 1997: 64).

Contrary to men, women are less likely to kill their ex-partners or ex-husbands (Jurik and Winn, 1990; Wilson and Daly, 1993; Dobash and Dobash, 2005). Women most typically commit the partner homicides in the couple's shared house or in the women's private house if the former partner threatens her there. Homicides are committed by women mostly due to increasing attacks, sexual assaults, and threats (Browne, 1987; Jurik and Winn, 1990). Although it is commonly assumed that women are most likely to kill their partners while they are sleeping in order to accomplish the homicide, most partner homicides by women were committed at the

time of attack against the woman (Maguigan, 1991 in Browne, 1997: 64). Therefore, it can be said that most partner homicides by women are not preplanned murders.

Women Convicted of Killing Their Partners

Browne (1997: 53-54) found the link between homicides by women and violence against women by male partners, in her research on homicides, because a significant proportion of partner homicides by women are committed in self-defense and in response to aggression and/or threats by their male partners (Cardarelli, 1997: 13).

Furthermore, while most women, who killed their violent partners, had no history of crime or violent behavior, their struggles to live with their violent partners eventually resulted in their violent acts as well (Browne, 1986, 1987 in Browne, 1997: 65).

According to Jane Totman (1986: 47), although several studies indicate that some battered women use violence, only a few researches have focused on the motives and consequences of such violence. For this aim, Totman (1978) studied on background of women's killing of their intimate partners. She found that, when women's several strategies to cope with intimate violence, such as leaving home or attempting suicide, failed, they saw killing their abusive partners as the only way out (Browne, 2005: 240).

The outcome of battered women's murder or injury of male abusers is usually sending them to the prison. In 1994 in the US, the number of women, who were hold in prison for defending themselves against the abuser, was around 2,000 (MCTFADA, 1994: 4). Most of these female offenders pose no threat to society, and they are often separated from their children, who have already lost their fathers (Ferraro, 1997: 137).

Honour-based Violence

Honour-based violence is a specific category of violence against women arising from socio-cultural values and norms, which is legitimizing the violent male control over women (Gill, 2013: 146). According to The United Nations Population Fund (2004), around 5000 girls and women have been killed annually in the name of “honour” (Marmion, 2006: 150; Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 156).

For Welchman and Hossain (2005: 4), honour-based violence oppresses women rather than men and supports the idea that ‘honour’ is closely linked with women’s sexuality. Although honour crimes are tended to be seen, in the West, peculiar to *underdeveloped* cultural traditions, honor-based violence is more widely conceptualized as a specific type of violence against women that operates via honour codes legitimized by patriarchal values or structures (Piper, 2004: 101).

In many underdeveloped countries, arranged marriages place a high value on a young girl’s virginity until her marriage. Until a girl’s control passes from her father to her husband, her sexual ‘purity’ is disciplined by her family members and her behaviors may be narrowly restricted, sometimes she may be prohibited even from going to school (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 156).

Honour Killings

Honour killings are primarily justified by protection of familial respect to remove the shame and regain the honour (Bourdieu, 1977 in Gill, 2013: 146). Numerous women’s acts are considered as shameful but none of them is more important than a threat to female chastity, which is representing the family’s honour. Female chastity does not represent only female virginity but even flirting may destroy the family honour. Wedding without parental permission, having sex before marriage, being victim of rape by a stranger, marital infidelity, asking for a divorce, or failing to

fulfill duties have generally been shown as a justification for killings(Marmion, 2006: 149; Borka, 2009 in Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 156).

A woman, who *dishonors* her husband or father through even a doubt of an ‘improper’ behavior, especially sexual behavior, must be punished. The only punishment for these perceived improper behaviors is the woman’s death, usually by her male family members, husband, or ex-husband. Thus, within honour-based societies, offenders of honor killings or families, even mothers of the victims mostly do not express their feelings of regret or sadness over the murder. Instead, they blame the female victim for damaging the family bonds for her personal satisfaction. In such a case, male perpetrators of honor killings become victims and female victims become guilty and the community treat the male perpetrators as heroes (Husseini, 2010 in Gill, 2013: 147; Marmion, 2006: 150). Therefore, so called honour killings are not perceived as a type of crime but a form of punishment in societies with honour systems.

Religious states may excuse male perpetrators of honour crimes from punishment, by supporting the idea that a woman’s so-called sexual impropriety deserves death sentence. These punishments of women are often conducted by especially violent methods in public and are sometimes approved by tribal or national laws (Sidahmed, 2001 in Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 157).

Although honor-based violence is related to socio-cultural values arising from honor codes, it has common aspects with other types of violence against women. Patriarchal social structures, which subordinate women and encourage violence against women, are similar both in honor-based societies and in other societies oriented towards other values. However, in terms of policy, honor-based crimes are treated as separate from non-honor-based forms of violence against women (Gill, 2013: 147).

Within the period of EU accession, by means of sixth harmonization package enacted in 2003, 462nd item of Turkish Penal Code, which provided penalty reduction due to ‘severe provocation’ in honour killings, was repealed. By this means, honor killings have been included in murders in the first-degree receiving heavy life sentence. However, justification of the same item is that in order to judge an honour killing as a murder in the first-degree, no any factor leading to *unjust provocation* should be in the event. This condition makes penalty reduction still possible by relying on unjust provocation (Item 82) (Yirmibeşoğlu, 2010: 2).

Besides, instead of separation between heavy and slight provocation, ‘unjust provocation’ was started to be used as a justification for penalty reduction and in this respect, judges (some of whom are judging under the effects of customs in our society) were given a substantial judicial discretion. Moreover, this penalty reduction causes perpetrators of all types murders to justify their crime through ‘in the name of honour’. According to advisory jurisdictions of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), all types of self-defenses based on the concept of ‘honour’ in the cases of crimes against women and unjust provocation reduction should be removed from law (Yirmibeşoğlu, 2010: 2-3).

Forced/Early Marriages (Child Brides)

Forced/early marriage is another specific category of violence against women arising from socio-cultural values, which have been forcing minor girls to marry and put those girls under a number of risks.

Forced marriages are different from arranged marriages. In an arranged marriage, family members of the bride and the groom chose the future partners of their children but the prospective bride or groom have the option to refuse the alternatives. In certain parts of Middle East, Africa, and Asia, minor girls have been forced to marry with much older male partners due to forced married culture.

The United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHCR, 2010) identified five kinds of forced marriages: child marriages, compensation marriages, incestual marriages, kidnapping marriages, and trafficking marriages. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF, 2009) documents high rates of girls forced into early marriages in the following countries: Niger (75%), Chad (72%), Mali (71%), Bangladesh (64%), Guinea (63%), Central African Republic (61%), Mozambique (56%), and Nepal (52%). In Afghanistan, a staggering 60% of marriages involve girls under the age of 16; many of these forced marriages involve girls under the age of 14 who are given to a groom in order to resolve a father's debt, or to resolve family or tribal conflict, a practice called *swara*, which is a form of compensation marriage (UNICEF, 2009 in Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 157).

In some cases, girls getting married without having opportunity to know her spouse well may perceived the marriage as a way of escaping from violence by their parents. Such marriages often fail to save battered girls from violence perpetuated by their abusive husbands (Üner, Yüksel, Koç, Ergöçmen and Türkyılmaz, 2009: 187).

Many women, who were married by force, report that from their first sexual experiences, they have been subjected to sexual assaults, beatings, subjugation and unwanted pregnancies during their marriages (Santhya & Jejeebhoy, 2005). Therefore, as well as being exposed to violence before marriage, women are subjected to violence during marriage and such acts of violence go unreported. However, violence may occur whether the partner is self-selected or forced (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 157).

3.11 Survival Strategies of Battered Women

Various survival strategies, such as seeking help from official institutions, fighting back, leaving home, and divorcing, may be applied by the battered women. However, many research results indicate that many women with assaultive partners may stay with silence against violence, rather than leaving or initiating legal action against the abuser (Browne, 1987; Gondolf and Fisher, 1988; Herman, 1992 in Browne, 1997: 65; Ergöçmen, Üner, Abbasoğlu, and Gökçen, 2009: 89-93).

According to the recent research results conducted in 24,028 households in Turkey, only 8 % of battered women reported that they applied to official institutions or NGOs for seeking help, while 91,5 % applied nowhere. Furthermore, it was found in the same research that, nationwide, 31 % of battered women reported that they fought back against their abusive partners with the intention of protecting themselves. Moreover, 26 % of battered women reported that they left their homes at least once due to the physical or sexual violence by their husbands. For the same research, the rate of applying to several survival strategies against violence, instead of living with the abuser, increases among women having higher education and higher wealth level living in urban areas (Ergöçmen, Üner, Abbasoğlu, and Gökçen, 2009: 89-95).

Women may respond to assaults by their partners with ‘shock, denial, fear, confusion, a sense of helplessness, and a sense of self-blame’ (Bard and Sangrey, 1986; Browne, 1992; Dutton, 1992; Herman, 1992; Walker, 1979). During an assault, women may put little resistance in order to minimize the risk of injury and even after the assault; women may adapt their behavior so that aggression will not occur again. Such adaptive behaviors usually have little effect on the chronic assaults but may even facilitate repeated assaults (Browne, 1987).

3.12 Why do Battered Women Stay in Abusive Relationship?

“Why does she stay?” is probably the most common question about abused woman. It is commonly believed that if the battered woman leaves, she would end the violent relationship. Intervention strategies often focus on the victim rather than on the batterer to solve the battering problem, by changing battered woman’s environment physically and psychologically. However, this method may have counter-effects on the victims (McHugh & Frieze, 2006: 126-127).

Many battered women may be told, “*Just pack your bags and get out*” but the reality is that all battered women face a number of obstacles in leaving the abusive relationships. They have to stay in abusive relationship due to economic, legal, and social dependence, or having no safe place to go. Police, laws, health or social services do not provide them sufficient protection. There are also psychological reasons and consequences of battering that restricts women’s ability to leave. Battered woman may begin to believe that she is responsible for the violence against her and may try to change her behavior by conforming to her husband’s expectations (Lindsey, 2001: 261). Some psychologists tend to suggest them to keep the family together at any cost, which often negatively affect their mental health and sometimes their lives (Walker, 2005: 220; Lundberg-Love & Wilkerson, 2006: 37). Some of the obstacles, which can restrict women from leaving the abusive partner, include fear of retaliation, limited or lack of economic resources, custody of children, and social environment (Lundberg-Love & Wilkerson, 2006: 37).

The impact of *social environment* on meanings given to violence is important in understanding the reactions of female victims to partner violence. Couples’ unwillingness to view assaultive behaviors as a social phenomenon may result in reluctance of female victims to leave the abusive relationship. Rather, abused women are more likely to develop survival strategies for living with the abusive partner (Cardarelli, 1997: 15). Social acceptance of violence against women may force battered women to stay with silence against violent spouse. Furthermore, there are still misconceptions about battered women that she must have done something to deserve battering (Holmes, 2009: 76).

When battered women decide to leave their abusive husbands, they are most likely to be told, “*Stay with your husband*”, or “*give him one more chance*”, or even “*pray for him*” too many times. These are some examples of social pressures keeping women emotionally attached to the abuser. Such pressures prevent women from

breaking emotional attachments easily. Besides, woman having difficulty in leaving the abuser is not attached to the abusive behavior. Rather, she is attached to the nonviolent husband with whom she fell in love, the father of her children, and the husband to whom she devoted her life. She always hopes that the abuser partner would change and the violent relationship would return to nonviolent status as at the beginning. In this regard, society should understand that when violence starts in an intimate relationship, such cultural pressures prevent the battered woman from making decisions in favor of her and her children's safety (Lundberg-Love & Wilkerson, 2006: 39-40) and cause feelings of failure or a sense of guilt from woman's side in making decision to leave the abusive relationship.

Battered women's perceptions of alternatives may be affected by societal expectations related to traditional gender stereotypes, which impose women to be self-sacrificing and adaptive, and to care for family members at any cost (Browne, 1978; Walker and Browne, 1985 in McHugh & Frieze, 2006: 127). As also mentioned in previous parts, studies on gender differences in relationships indicate that men tend to be more dominant and aggressive and women tend to be subordinate and passive. These studies argue that gender-role socialization may play an important role in the expectations among men and women to be involved in unequal power. Therefore, studies of *gender-role socialization* may also help us to understand the reason why women are more likely to accept control or aggression by men and why men are more likely to impose control over women or resort to violence against women (Hansen & Harway, 1997: 168-169).

Another factor keeping abused women in violent relationship may be the fear of *retaliation* by their partners after separation. Most battered women, who decided to leave their abusive partners, are more likely to be battered in the period of leaving or after they leave, rather than in the period of living with the abusive partner (Schwartz, 1988; Harlow, 1991; Barnett and LaViolette, 1993 in Ferraro, 1997: 124). Walker

(1995) founded that women are at a greater risk of serious injury and being killed by the abuser after leaving him (McHugh & Frieze, 2006: 128). For Browne (1997: 67-68) initiating legal actions against an aggressive partner may increase the danger. Protection orders preventing the assaultive partner from entering the home or neighborhood of the victim may sometimes not enough to protect women as when aggressive partners do not respect those orders, the result would be death of women in the hands of their partners, as seen such homicides on the media. Therefore, due to the fear of threats against leaving and the possibility of severe or even lethal retaliation, women may choose to stay with their abusive partners.

Martha R. Mahoney (1991) developed a new concept to describe the types of oppressive assaults used by men in order to “prevent women from leaving, force women to return, or retaliate against women after they have left”. For Mahoney, since women’s efforts to separate are often denied, discussions of “why does she stay?” usually focus on the battered woman’s failure to leave, rather than focusing on the oppressive acts of the batterer. In order to change our understandings of battering, public attention should be taken on the struggles by men that become more violent when women attempt to leave the abusive partners. In order to describe such assaults Mahoney used the concept *separation assault*, which keep women in violent relationships and threaten them after they leave. Ellis used the term *post-separation woman abuse* to relate an increased risk of violent with a woman’s attempt to gain independence (Ptacek, 1997: 112-113).

One of the most important factors keeping women from leaving their abusive partner is their *children*. Abusers may threaten their wives emotionally with the loss of the children. Besides, although women can benefit from the protection orders or shelters to protect themselves from abusive partner, they must obey the court orders about the children and this causes the maintenance of contact with their former husbands (Pagelow, 1993; Jones, 1994 in Browne, 1997: 67-68).

After separation or even divorce, women are often still forced to negotiate child support, child custody decisions, and visitation under threats of violence. The term *domestic violence*, therefore, loses meaning when the web of fear and terror spread this widely' (Ptacek, 1997: 122).

Economic difficulties also play a significant role in women's choice of living with or separating from the abusers. According to Ferraro, "economic dependence may be a major factor in preventing women from leaving abusive relationships". Therefore, the matter of economic dependence may particularly be important in order to end intimate partner violence in families, who live in poverty (Cardarelli, 1997: 14). "Without transportation, a place to stay, or money to buy food, clothing, childcare, and health care, it is nearly impossible for a woman to leave" (Lundberg-Love & Wilkerson, 2006: 38-39).

Unemployment or difficulties in finding a job make things more difficult for women and her capacity to leave the abuser. Their abuser partners often use physical force, threats or control tactics to prevent women's participation in the labor market (Lundberg-Love & Wilkerson, 2006: 39). Studies indicate that although female victims of abuse seek employment after separating from their abusers, they are often unable to be employed permanently because their abusers sabotage their efforts to work (Raphael and Tolman, 1997 in Nichols, 2006: 7).

Furthermore, after economically dependent women leave their abuser partners, they are likely to be under the risk of assaults by strangers outside the home in addition to the risk of retaliation by their partners (Browne, 1997: 67-68).

Above all, the position of battered women, who are *not legally married* with their abusers and who left their abusive partners, is more complex and more difficult to survive - especially in obtaining any court-ordered financial assistance or their children's custody - after separation. Given the prevalence and frequency of

common-law marriage in Turkey, the obstacles over battered women, who are married through common-law marriage, seem to be very serious.

Learned Helplessness

Researchers have also emphasized the psychological factors to explain the reason for why she simply does not leave. The most common answer is *battered woman syndrome*, which destroys her ability to cope with violence effectively, in turn confines her to the violent relationship (Douglas, 1987: 40). This syndrome is based on Lenore Walker's theory, *learned helplessness*. To this theory, battered women have learnt helplessness. This theory is derived from a psychological theory through laboratory experiments "in which caged dogs were given random electric shocks. Eventually the dogs stopped trying to resist the shocks and became passive. Significantly, when they were given the opportunity to leave their cages, the dogs refused to do so" (Walker, 1979 in Kelly, 2003: 71-72; McHugh & Frieze, 2006: 127).

Learned helplessness theory may help us to understand why many women in violent relationship begin to feel there is no way to escape from their bad condition. Once women begin to feel helpless, their feelings become reality and they become helpless and passive (Walker, 1979 in Kelly, 2003: 71-72; McHugh & Frieze, 2006: 127).

3.13 Intimate Partner Violence by Women

According to the feminist scholars, women are the only victims of intimate partner violence. A common cause of women's violence in intimate relationships is self-defense or retaliation of past abuse, while men typically use violence to dominate their female partners (DeKeseredy & Dragiewicz, 2007 in DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2011: 8; Ross and Babcock, 2012: 59; Dobash & Dobash, 2000: 194).

Motivation and Context of Women's Use of Violence

Research on female offenders of intimate partner violence emphasizes the importance of analyzing the *context* and *motivation* of women's use of violence (Conradi & Geffner, 2012: 121).

Motivation

Although several small-scale surveys show that males and females are equally aggressive in domestic relationships (Straus and Gelles, 1986), the gendered aspect of motivation for this aggression has been ignored. Increasing arrest rates of women in domestic violence (Swan and Snow, 2002; Henning, Martinsson, and Holdford, 2009) indicates the importance of understanding the reasons for women's use of intimate partner violence, as well as men's (Stuart et al., 2006 in Caldwell, Swan, Allen, Sullivan and Snow, 2012: 127).

Motives refer to underlying psychological processes activating people's thinking, feeling, and behaving (Fiske, 2004: 14). Hamberger (1997) found that the common motivations of both men and women are control, anger expression, and threatening communication. On the other hand, motivations peculiar to male offenders were alcohol and attempts to control, while motivations peculiar to female perpetrators were response to verbal abuse and retaliation or self-defense. Therefore, motivations behind violent acts of women and men seem to be different (Conradi & Geffner, 2012: 122).

Women's motivation for aggression against intimate partners can be categorized into two types: *defensive/reactive* motives (response to an attack) and *active/goal oriented* motives (such as retaliation) (Swan and Snow, 2006 in Caldwell, Swan, Allen, Sullivan and Snow, 2012: 127). Studies show that *self-defense* is the primary motivation of women's aggressive behavior, as the justification of the majority of

female offenders of intimate partner violence is self-defense. Frequency of self-defense motivation among female offenders is not surprising as the majority of women who resorted to intimate partner violence also experienced violence from their partners (Orcutt, Garcia, and Pickett, 2005; Straus and Gelles, 1990; Stuart et al., 2006; Swan and Snow, 2002; Temple, Weston, and Marshall, 2005 in Caldwell, Swan, Allen, Sullivan and Snow, 2012: 127).

Some national studies indicate that self-defense is not the only motivation reported by women. Other motivations such as controlling their partners, calling their partner's attention, retaliation for an emotional hurt, or expression of anger could be identified for women's aggression (Caldwell, Swan, Allen, Sullivan, and Snow, 2009; Hamberger, 2005; Kernsmith, 2005, and Stuart et al. 2006; Follingstad et al. 1991 in Walley-Jean and Swan, 2012: 153). Given our society's male-dominated structure, mentioning about other motivations for women's aggression rather than self-defense, such as attempt to control their male partner, expression of anger, or retaliation of an emotional injury seems not to be valid or common in Turkey's conditions due to the oppressive patriarchal social structure.

In addition to stressing the importance of women's motivations for intimate partner violence, studies emphasize the importance of understanding women's general attitudes toward violence. For example, according to the research, conducted by Cauffman et al. (2000) on 261 college students, type of violence, sex of the respondent, and the sex of the aggressor affects the acceptability. Date violence is viewed as less acceptable than peer violence but violence is more acceptable when in response to provocation or in defense of oneself or another and date violence is viewed as more acceptable when females were the offenders than when males were the aggressors (Cauffman, Feldman, Jensen, and Arnett, 2000).

Context

It is important to analyze the context of women's use of violence in examining female offending because although the violent act is the same, the reasons of women's use of violence may be very different from the reasons of men's use of violence. The context of a crime is often ignored by quantitative studies, particularly those focusing on the differences between male and female offending rates in intimate partner violence. Context refers to the characteristics of an offense, which include the location where the offense happened, the features of the offenders and victims, relationship between victim and offender, the extent of the injury, and the aim of the offense (Steffensmeier, 1996). Hamberger (1997) found, in his research on the context of female offenders of intimate partner violence, that two-thirds of the female offenders had been battered and used violence to protect themselves or to retaliate for previous violence against them (Conradi & Geffner, 2012: 122).

From this section, it can be concluded from the mentioned arguments that gender is the key factor in the analysis of violence against women because women and men use and experience violence differently and the effect of violence on them differs according to their gender. Therefore, it can be asserted that violence is gendered and socially constructed as well as gender because gender inequality is rooted in violence against women. Besides, violence against women cannot be limited only to physical violence but includes also sexual violence and rape, physical violence, verbal and psychological abuse, economic abuse, child abuse, sex work, and so called 'honor' crimes. Moreover, although researches show the seriousness of prevalence and frequency of violence against women all over the world, the prevalence and frequency of violence against women still do not reflect the real figures due to the hidden cases of violence against women, especially domestic violence. Besides, how patriarchal cultural structure and negative stereotypes enforcing women's subordination cause both men and women to believe in the inferiority of women is

tried to described through several gender violence myths. While introducing *feminist perspective* to violence against women, asserting that patriarchy is the leading factor in women's subordination, and *socialization theory* arguing that people learn to be violent in their socialization process, it was tried to be pointed out that such theories have ignored examining women, who have been arrested due to intimate partner violence. Regarding the effect of socio-economic status on violence against women, it was found that ignoring the role of socio-economic status of victims and abusers, like some feminist scholars supporting *universal risk theory* – claiming that all women are equally under the risk of violence – would cause ignoring the main victims of violence. As many studies also proved that women in poverty are more likely to be the victims of violence against women. Besides, how cultural factors make women reluctant to share their sexual violence experiences are identified in this section. As well as women in poverty, it was indicated through the research results that divorced or separated women are more likely to be under the risk of violence by their ex-husbands or ex-partners. Besides, according to the homicide study results, while the triggering event for men to kill their wives is mostly the jealousy, the separation, or the threat of separation by their partners, for women it is usually a physical attack or threat by their partners, thus women's homicides were often motivated by self-defense. Finally, survival strategies of battered women are tried to be analyzed in order to understand why battered women are staying with the violence. According to the research results, women stay with their abusive partners due to social pressure over them, their normalization of violence through their gender-role socialization process, their fear of retaliation from their abusers, economic difficulties women face, and custody of their children.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This study is primarily related to two sociological concerns, gender discrimination and violence against women. In analyzing these social concerns, female offenders' perspectives to these issues were tried to be explored through the field study. The main reason for determining the target group of this study as female offenders is they seem to violate their 'gender' roles somehow by committing a crime. Therefore, who they are and which reason led them to violate traditional lines, and how they approach to gender roles and gender discrimination are important to understand gender discrimination and gender based violence. Besides, during the field study, background of female offender's violent crimes was tried to be understood by considering the feminist argument claiming existence of a relation between female violent crimes and their violence experiences. Furthermore, although many studies have been conducted on violence against women outside the prison, no any comprehensive study on female offenders as victims of violence was conducted in Turkey.

Considering these shortcomings, this study aims at understanding gender related issues and violence against women from the viewpoints of female offenders, as well as exploring underlying reasons for their imprisonment due to violent crimes.

For the sake of mentioned aims, through qualitative and quantitative research methods, female offenders' - prisoned at Ankara Sincan Women's Closed Prison – attitudes towards gender and sexuality related issues and violence against women were tried to be analyzed as well as trying to explore whether there is a relationship between female offender's violent crimes and their violence experiences.

In order to be able to conduct the filed study at Ankara Sincan Women's Closed Prison, a one-year period legal permission from the Ministry of Justice was obtained. To get the legal permission from the ministry, the required legal procedures were followed by submitting letter of application together with the summary of the study and questionnaire, in-depth interview, and focus group study forms. After evaluation of all submitted documents, the ministry has approved implementation of the field study at the prison with female offenders during one-year period.

During the field study, a questionnaire was conducted on 134 female offenders out of total 287 offenders prisoned in Ankara Sincan Prison. Besides, an in-depth interview was implemented with 22 female offenders convicted of violent crimes and two focus group discussions were conducted with two different groups of offenders convicted of minor and major crimes.

This research was designed as a descriptive study but not a comparative one, thus, this study was conducted within the framework of a *case study* and does not intend to generalize collected data to all female offenders in Turkey. Even if collected data may give us an idea about socio-demographic characteristics of female offenders to be generalized to all female offenders staying at other prisons in Turkey, their perceptions about specific issues and their life stories could not be generalized to all offenders normally.

Within this research, especially the underlying reasons for women's violent crimes and their violence experiences are essential to understand their perceptions and attitudes towards violence against women. However, without violating ethical rules of social science and in order not to hurt female offenders' feelings in questioning the reason for their conviction, their violence experiences and due to which crime they were sentenced were not directly asked them. Such type of sensitive data was provided by the support of social service experts at the prison by receiving offenders'

criminal records through National Judiciary Informatics System (UYAP), and through indirect questions posed to female offenders.

4.1 Ankara Sincan Women's Closed Prison



Figure 1: Main entrance of Ankara Sincan Women's Closed Prison

During my visits to the prison, I had chance to interview also with the social experts, who are in a close relation with the female offenders during the day and I could get details about other women prisons and Ankara Sincan Women's Prison through social experts during the interviews.

There are five women's closed prisons in Turkey now and those are settled in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, and Izmit. Ankara Sincan Women's Closed Prison was established and put into service in 2006 and a female architect from Gazi University designed its project. Sincan Women's Closed Prison is the first fully equipped prison in Turkey, it was designed according to contemporary norms with its training, sportive, and cultural facilities, such as vocational trainings, painting or musical trainings, waged works, open and closed sports halls provided for female offenders. The second fully equipped women's prison was established in Izmir and unplanned wards for disabled and elder offenders in Sincan Prison were established in the second fully equipped prison.

Ankara Sincan Women's Closed Prison has 352-offender capacity containing 24 wards with 12-offender capacity, 12 wards with 3-offender capacity, and 28 wards for single offenders. At the time of my research, 225 convicted and 62 arrested were staying at the prison. With regard to the staff, 4 managers, 2 assistant managers, 2 administrative officers, 116 guardians, 3 teachers, 2 psychologists, 3 social experts, and 2 technicians have been employed at the prison.

Because my legal permission for the field study at women's prison does not include visiting wards, I could not see the offenders' wards but I could get information about the conditions of wards through again social experts. 12 offender capacity wards are duplex and six offenders are staying at each floor. Each offender has her private room including a separate toilet, bathroom, and balcony containing a bed, a wardrobe, and a library as well as an LCD television, a refrigerator, and a kettle. Female offenders can lock the door of their private room when they want. Each 12-offender capacity duplex ward has a shared space containing one American style kitchen, one dining table, and one sitting group. At these wards, 12 female offenders can participate in daily activities together.

Regarding the terror (including political) criminals, more than 10 terror criminals cannot come together at the prison. They have been kept at three offender capacity wards, which are called high security wards. At the time of my field study, 50 terror criminals, to whom I could not reach as they refused to participate in the study, were staying at the prison.

Besides, a special ward covered with rubber walls was designed for offenders, who become insane temporarily, where the offender is hold alone with seamless clothes so that she cannot damage herself until she calms down.

4.1.1 Daily Activities

I could get information also about the daily activities of female offenders through social experts during the interviews with them. After head count of female offenders at 08.30 in the morning, offenders submit their letters of application to the management declaring their demands, such as interviewing with their lawyers, meeting with social experts, and phone call with their acquaintances and then they participate in daily activities, which they prefer. They are encouraged to participate in activities to which they are inclined, such as reading and writing trainings, painting or musical trainings, sportive activities, or specific paid works such as textile, and making Turkish type ravioli.

Within the prison, female offenders have been provided several opportunities, for instance, illiterate offenders, if they want, can learn how to read and write; social experts give female offenders several trainings on women's issues, human rights, child care for mothers, etc., various certificated vocational trainings, such as hairdressing, textile, and pre-accountancy are given by teachers from Public Education Centers. Female offenders completing those trainings successfully are certificated according to their field of expert and this facilitates their employment in the labor market after their imprisonment. Female offenders, who are interested in other activities, such as painting, playing musical instruments, or sports, they can participate in those activities as well. All inner walls of the prison (corridors, rooms of staff, cafeteria, etc.) are furnished by oil paintings of female offenders and all external walls of the building were covered painting, as seen from the Figure 1. This picture breaks the ice of the prison and softens the prison atmosphere for the staff as well as for the offenders.

Apart from trainings and social activities, female offenders, if they want and if they are skilled, can work as insured and waged workers during the day within the prison. Different private companies winning the tenders of public institutions can employ

female offenders for those jobs. For instance, offenders have now been employed in sewing uniforms or quilt cover set for hospitals or other institutions. Besides, female offenders have been sewing sacks for Judicial Council. Furthermore, a well-known brand has employing female offenders in making Turkish ravioli. Employers first test the competency of female offenders, who wanted to be employed, and candidates, who are found to be skilled, are employed with insurance and around 150-200 TL monthly salary on the condition that they work during the day.

In addition to daily activities, daily services, such as tea service to the staff and offenders, inside cleaning, outside cleaning, landscaping, cooking, cafeteria service, have been undertaken by the female offenders. Daily foods are made by cook offenders whose field of expertise was cooking before their imprisonment and the same daily menu is consumed by all (male, female, children) offenders and staff at the prison. I sometimes had lunch at the prison during my study and the foods were very delicious and healthy as the daily menu is prepared by an expert at the prison.

4.1.2 Social Experts' Opinions

Social experts share the idea that female offenders have been rehabilitated adequately in the process of their imprisonment. I asked the experts whether offenders could develop themselves through the activities at the prison. For them, each activity reaches its goal on the condition that female offenders are willing to participate in the activities but for this, they believe that participation in the activities should become compulsory for all offenders as experts see the participation level still insufficient. Furthermore, due to the long working hours of employed female offenders, they could not participate in any activity and experts think that working hours should be reduced to include also working offenders in the activities for them to be rehabilitated and to develop themselves.

Another case that the social experts pointed out is the lack of any *monitoring system* over female offenders after their imprisonment. They believe that after female offenders leave the prison, a system should be developed to follow and support female offenders so that women can plan their life outside the prison.

4.2 Research Process

During my first visit to the prison together with my thesis advisor, we met with manager and social experts and gave details about the study to them and they shared their conditions with us so that we could conduct our field study efficiently at the prison.

Although the prison is usually called Sincan Prison, the location of the prison is so far from the Sincan district; it is settled 15 kilometers beyond the Yenikent Organized Industrial Zone. The public transportation from the city center to the prison can only be provided through a bus stop in front of the Court House in Sıhhiye. Bus services are not regular and buses arrive at the bus stop once per hour. Transportation from the city center to the prison takes around 1-1,5 hours depending on the traffic.

Prison entrance and security controls are quite strict. At the beginning of the field study, at every visit, I had to show my legal permission document to the security staff by leaving my identity card at the main entrance of the Sincan Prison in order to pass to the women's prison. At the main entrance of women closed prison, a second identity card must be submitted with the legal permission document, before personal contact details were recorded into the system by the security staff. Besides, there is a retina scanning application at the prison; in order to pass through the doors in the women prison, all visitors must expose to retina scanning. After completing all procedures, the visitor should leave all his/her personal belongings to the safekeeping before entering into the prison. At the entrance of the women prison, the visitor is subjected to another security control. After passing through x-ray control, the

guardians make body search by hands as well as metal detector. After the completion of all security procedures, I could pass through the doors via retina scanning to arrive at the administrative department. This security procedure is valid for all visitors for each visit as all records of the visitor is deleted after the visitor leaves the prison. All security procedures take half an hour and I had to be subject to the same procedures during my visits every day. After a while, since my case is different from other visitors, the security staff did not delete my record and I was exposed to only x-ray and body search after leaving my belongings at the entrance like other staff of the prison do daily.

At the women's prison, wards and administrative units are settled in two separate buildings but there is a corridor system connecting two buildings. The prison building is duplex, administrative unit and classrooms are located upstairs, and wards, cafeteria, and workshops are located downstairs. I could pass through the corridor from the administrative unit to the classrooms through safety doors during the filed study.

4.2.1 Questionnaire

Questionnaire form is composed of questions including socio-demographic characteristics (age, education level, occupation, marital status, income level, etc.) and perceptions and attitudes of female offenders towards gender and sexuality related issues and violence against women. Demographic questions and variables of women's attitudes were determined by using open- and close-ended questions and collected data was analyzed through SPSS for Windows Version 20 Statistics Program by using frequency distribution.

Thirty questionnaires were conducted on 30 female offenders as a pilot study. After the pilot study, some inoperative and repetitive questions were revised or removed from the questionnaire to implement the remaining questionnaire study more

efficiently. Including the pilot study, total 134 questionnaires were implemented on 134 female offenders, after removing invalid questionnaires.

Questionnaire study was conducted at classrooms above the wards accompanied by a social expert of the prison. Social experts have been providing various training programs for female offenders at those classrooms at certain times of the day. During each study day, a guardian brought female offenders staying at the same ward to the classroom and she waited outside the classroom until the end of the study for bringing offenders back to their wards. Around 10 female offenders came to the classroom from the same ward for the implementation of the questionnaire study. When they came to the classroom, before distributing the questionnaires, I introduced myself and mentioned about the study by warning them not to mention about any information their identity, as well as explaining how they should fill in the questionnaire. Questionnaire forms were filled out according to preferences of female offenders. As female offenders' educational level was quite low, I conducted 62 questionnaires as a face-to-face interview through filling in the questionnaires by myself, while 72 female offenders filled out the questionnaires by themselves. Each questionnaire study lasted around 45-60 minutes. When the questionnaire study finished, the guardian waiting outside the classroom brought the offenders to their wards after the body search. Each questionnaire study day passed through this way and all available and voluntary female offenders staying at each ward were ensured to be included in the questionnaire study by this efficient method.

However, to include certain female offenders - who were participating in workshops, attending to training programs, and working for a certain fee during the day - in the questionnaire study was almost impossible. Therefore, most of these female offenders could not be included in the questionnaire study, as they were not available for the research during the day. Apart from these female offenders, all terror including political criminals (around 50 offenders) refused to participate in the study, as well as

refusing to be included in any other field study conducted in the women's prison. On the other hand, I could reach just volunteer offenders but data about other group of offenders, who do not want to participate in daily activities or to such field studies was also valuable for this study. Questionnaire study took around 2,5 months and after the study ended, all collected data were analyzed through SPSS program.

During the face-to-face questionnaire studies, I explored that as educational level decreases, the proportion of reluctance to give answers to sexuality or honour related questions increases. Most of them sometimes rejected to give an answer or avoided to answer by just saying "I do not know", or by giving very short answers shyly. When I looked at the questionnaires, which were filled out by female offenders, I saw such types of *sensitive* questions, such as what is honour? When does a girl become a woman? and "single girls can have sexual intercourse freely until they marry", were left blank by some of the respondents.

A large part of questionnaire is composed of open-ended questions in order to see respondents' own words when they were expressing their opinions and attitudes towards specific issues, thus, answers of most questions were not restricted by certain options. Therefore, the questionnaire study turned into an in-depth interview study rather than a typical short-running questionnaire, as many respondents were highly willing to give detailed answers to open-ended questions. The advantage of such a face-to-face questionnaire study was obtaining quite deep information about female offenders' perspectives, but on the other hand, disadvantage of this long-running study for me in analyzing the collected data was classifying all long answers into specific categories. This really took a long time and effort during the analysis of the collected data.

Furthermore, at the beginning of the face-to-face questionnaire study, I faced similar questions by the respondents such as “could I answer correctly?” and I saw that respondents felt them in an examination and tried to find the correct answers to the questions directed to them. In order to prevent this confusion, I informed female offenders before they fill out the questionnaire that this study intended to learn just their personal ideas about different issues and questions in the questionnaire do not have any certain answers.

4.2.2 In-depth Interview

Face-to-face in-depth interviews were also conducted with female offenders in the same classrooms accompanied by, but without intervention of, a social expert. Interviewees were selected among female offenders convicted of *violent crimes* as this study mainly focused on violence by considering the possible relationship between violence against women and women’s use of violence. For this aim, 22 voluntary female offenders prisoned due to violence crimes were randomly selected and included in the in-depth interviews.

I had the opportunity to record in-depth interviews through a desktop computer existing in the classroom and I was able to save each interview into my personal flash disk. Most of the interviewees were quite willing to share their experiences and ideas about the issues related to this study. While this sincerity of participants facilitated to get data in detail, some interviews took around 3-3,5 hours, although some took around 45-60 minutes. I started interviews by posing the certain question “Which reason did bring you to the prison?” to the female offenders by expecting them to tell their experiences from their childhood until their imprisonment. Without needing to pose them any direct question about their violence experiences, fortunately, most of them told their life stories by giving all details. This case helped me most of the time to learn female offenders’ perspectives to sensitive topics and their violent experiences without facing any difficulty during the interviews.

Regarding the psychological aspect of the field study, especially during the in-depth interviews, in terms of psychological effects of interviews on me, at the end of the each interview day, I was feeling in very confused feelings as I heard many unbelievable bad violence experiences, especially sexual violence events, from each female offender. During each face-to-face interview, I was badly influenced from the position of female offenders, while they were explaining their life stories by crying in despair. I sometimes had difficulty to keep my temper when listening to details of their violence experiences. However, on the other side, I thought that these offenders were fortunately able to express and share their bad violence experiences, for them to feel relax and at the end of the interviews, many female offenders stated that they felt relieved when they share their feelings. However, considering other side of the coin at the prison, the life story of another group of female offenders, who usually spend their time at their private wards and do not attend to any activity, seem to be lost to understand their situations. For instance, during the field study, I wanted to interview also with a female offender, who is well known through the media news; she was a university student in the department of Law at Bilkent University and her mother and father were professors at different universities in Ankara and they were divorced. In 2008, she killed her mother by slicing her throat and now she is imprisoned in Ankara Sincan Prison. When I asked social experts whether I could interview with her, experts mentioned that she did not interview with anybody apart from her father, so it was impossible for me to see her. As far as social experts explained, she did not attend to any daily activity at the prison and did not share anything about her life with the social experts. Like her, there were many female offenders, who were like a close book; nobody knows anything about background of their violent crimes.

4.2.3 Focus Group Study

In order to support collected data through questionnaire and in-depth interviews, I conducted two focus group studies on two different groups including total 15 female offenders.

Two groups of offenders were organized and divided according to their criminal acts. While one group of female offenders was composed of women convicted of minor crimes, second group of women was consisted of offenders who received heavy life sentence.

Focus group discussions were also conducted in the same classrooms, under the monitoring of a social expert, by positioning women as if they were at a round table meeting so that everybody might see each other during the study. Rather than questioning their individual experiences, their opinions about some specific issues related to violence against women and early marriages were tried to be explored through the focus group discussions. Some of the participants share the reason for their imprisonment during the focus group discussions and I learnt the reasons for others' imprisonment from the social experts. The main question posed to offenders during the focus group discussions was "what do you think about early marriages?" in order to understand their opinions and experiences about early marriages.

CHAPTER 5

FEMALE OFFENDERS' ATTITUDES towards GENDER and

VIOLENCE: Main Findings

5.1 Female Offenders' Profile

According to observations and experiences of the social experts, the common characteristics of the female offenders are their low socio-economic and cultural levels, their violence and abuse stories by their fathers, brothers, partners, or husbands, their exposure to forced and early marriage, having nowhere to go, and having financial difficulties. In addition to the data social experts already gave about general profile of female offenders, I tried to get further information about socio-demographic characteristics of the female offenders through the field study. General profile of female offenders prisoned at Ankara Sincan Prison is summarized through the following findings:

5.1.1 Crime Type

According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat) Prison Statistics (2011), for men, the top three offenses are opposition to the bankruptcy and enforcement law, opposition to cheque laws, and assault, while for women, the top three offenses are opposition to the bankruptcy and enforcement law, opposition to cheque laws, and theft. These statistics indicate that men and women are actually quite similar in terms of the offenses, of which they are most often convicted, and that both men and women are more heavily involved in minor property offenses than in serious crimes. However, men offend at much higher rates than women for all crime categories except *prostitution*. This gender gap in crime is maximum for serious crimes and minimum for minor property crimes.

Table 1: Crime Type

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Homicide/Injury	42	31,3	33,6	33,6
Property crimes*	53	39,6	42,4	76,0
Valid Prostitution	13	9,7	10,4	86,4
Drug	17	12,7	13,6	100,0
Total	125	93,3	100,0	
Missing Unknown	9	6,7		
Total	134	100,0		

*Committed property crimes are mostly composed of robbery, fraud, and despoil

In regard to crime types of female offenders in Sincan Prison, according to the table above, while 33,6 % of respondents are convicted of violent crimes, 42,4 % are imprisoned due to the property crimes. This table indicates that property crimes are more common among the female offenders but one out of three female offenders has been hold in the prison due to the *violent crimes* and this is an important and quite enough proportion to analyze the underlying reasons for women's violent crimes.

In the database of General Directorate of Prisons, female violent crimes are categorized into subcategories according to the *quality of crime* such as, intentional homicide, attempted murder, premeditated murder, instigate, injury, honor killing, etc. However, underlying reasons for women's violent crimes are not categorized in the data bank of the prison. In other words, women's violent crimes are not classified in terms of victims and reasons of these crimes. Therefore, there is a lack of statistical and descriptive data about motives and context of such female violent crimes. I could get details about the motives and the context of female offenders' violent crimes only through their statements during the in-depth interviews and through expressions of social experts, just before each interview. For instance, one of the female offenders is officially categorized to be convicted of *killing close relative*, although it is not that simple in reality; she killed her brother because she had been repeatedly exposed to his sexual assaults. More surprisingly, another female offender is officially

categorized to be convicted of again *killing close relative*, while her victim was her abusive husband and at the same time her cousin. Another offender is recorded in the database as convicted of only *murder*, although the victim of murder was her abusive husband and she killed her husband in a self-defense manner at the time of abuse. I explored during the field study that such specific offenses should have been recorded separately so that such important data could be used in sociological analyses of female offending or victimization of women.

5.1.2 Age Groups

General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Houses (2013) analyzed the age of convicts at the time of their imprisonment and found that the peak age group for both male and female convicts received into prison is 21-39 (<http://www.cte.adalet.gov.tr>). On the other hand, I questioned female offenders' ages at the time of my field study and found from the below table that 44 % of female offenders are between the ages of 24-35 and 73,7 % are under the age of 41. This finding indicates that female offenders currently prisoned are mostly composed of younger generation.

Table 2: Age Groups

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-23	16	11,9	12,0	12,0
24-29	31	23,1	23,3	35,3
30-35	28	20,9	21,1	56,4
36-41	23	17,2	17,3	73,7
Valid 42-47	17	12,7	12,8	86,5
48-53	7	5,2	5,3	91,7
54-59	8	6,0	6,0	97,7
60-65	3	2,2	2,3	100,0
Total	133	99,3	100,0	
Missing Unknown	1	,7		
Total	134	100,0		

5.1.3 Educational Level

Table 3: Educational Level

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Valid				
Illiterate	33	24,6	24,8	24,8
Only literate	12	9,0	9,0	33,8
Primary school graduated	25	18,7	18,8	52,6
Secondary school graduated	23	17,2	17,3	69,9
High school graduated	24	17,9	18,0	88,0
University student	6	4,5	4,5	92,5
University graduated	10	7,5	7,5	100,0
Total	133	99,3	100,0	
Missing				
Unknown	1	,7		
Total	134	100,0		

As clearly seen from the table above, a great deal of female offenders (52,6 %) are illiterate or maximum primary school graduate, while 47 % of offenders are graduated from secondary school and just a small group within this proportion has higher education.

Furthermore, to see whether there is a meaningful relationship between female offenders' educational level and type of crime they are convicted of, existence of such a relation was analyzed through the below cross tab.

Table 4: Educational Level and Crime Type

Count

	Crime Type				Total
	Homicide /Injury	Property Crimes	Prostitution	Drug	
Education					
Illiterate - Primary school graduate	15	32	9	11	67
Secondary school - University graduate	27	21	3	6	57
Total	42	53	12	17	124

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9,437 ^a	3	,024
Likelihood Ratio	9,601	3	,022
Linear-by-Linear Association	6,276	1	,012
N of Valid Cases	124		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,52.

The above table shows that there is a meaningful relationship between educational level and crime type of female offenders. This finding means that women having lower level of education are more likely to commit property crimes, while women having higher education tend to commit violent crimes. Furthermore, prostitution rate seems to be higher among lower educated women than those with higher educational levels.

5.1.4 Familial Structure

To have an idea about familial structure of female offenders, number of their sisters/brothers was asked them. According to the table below, a great deal of female offenders (72,4 %) has more than four sisters or brothers. The below table shows that female offenders have mostly grown up in multi-child and crowded families.

Table 5: Number of Brothers/Sisters

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1-3	37	27,6	27,6	27,6
Valid 4 and more	97	72,4	72,4	100,0
Total	134	100,0	100,0	

In order to have an idea about familial structures in which female offenders have grown up, the decision maker in the household was asked them. As seen from the below table, an important part of female offenders (45,7 %) are coming from *male-dominant* oppressive families.

Table 6: Decision maker in the Household

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
My husband	7	5,2	5,9	5,9
My father	42	31,3	35,6	41,5
My mother	27	20,1	22,9	64,4
Me	9	6,7	7,6	72,0
By common decision	14	10,4	11,9	83,9
Valid My elder brothers	4	3,0	3,4	87,3
My father and mother	7	5,2	5,9	93,2
Men	1	,7	,8	94,1
I have no family	2	1,5	1,7	95,8
Family elders	3	2,2	2,5	98,3
My elder sister	2	1,5	1,7	100,0
Miss Unknown	16	11,9		
Total	134	100,0		

5.1.5 Marital Status

The table below indicates that, apart from a small part of single (14,2 %) and widowed (9,7 %) female offenders, 38,8 % of respondents are currently divorced. This shows that the rate of divorced offenders is higher than the rate of married female offenders (37,3 %). By considering the TurkStat data of divorce rate (20,88 %) in Turkey in 2013, which is much lower than the divorce rate in the prison, it can be asserted that female offenders, different from women outside the prison, are more likely to be in tendency to challenge the traditional patriarchal gender roles. Besides, it seems that they have achieved to end their marriages despite various types of familial and social pressures to which they were most probably exposed before and after the separation due to the traditional patriarchal structure of our society.

Table 7: Marital Status

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Married	50	37,3	37,3	37,3
Single	19	14,2	14,2	51,5
Valid Divorced	52	38,8	38,8	90,3
Widowed	13	9,7	9,7	100,0
Total	134	100,0	100,0	

5.1.6 Pattern of Marriage

Female offenders were asked how they got married. While 61,8 % mentioned that they married by knowing their husbands with their consent, 38,2 % reported that they were married through arranged marriage without their consent. Furthermore, % 23,6 out of 61,8 % (out of love marriage) reported that they got married by eloping without their family's consent.

Table 8: Pattern of Marriage

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Out of love marriage	68	50,7	61,8	61,8
Valid Arranged marriage	42	31,3	38,2	100,0
Total	110	82,1	100,0	
Unknown	7	5,2		
Missing Single	17	12,7		
Total	24	17,9		
Total	134	100,0		

Similar to the marital status of female offenders, findings about pattern of their marriages also seem to be striking, when compared to the case in Turkey. According to the TurkStat 2006 data, 50,9 % of marriages between the ages of 25-34 (this group's data was taken into consideration by considering average age of female offenders (24-35)) were arranged marriages, while 43,3 % happened as out of love marriages. This result again indicates that female offenders, different from outside of

the prison, tend to challenge stereotypical gender roles in the process of their marriages.

Furthermore, during the *in-depth interviews*, I also asked female offenders how they got married. Regarding 22 participants of in-depth interview, 11 out of ever-married 19 offenders convicted of violent crimes reported that they married through out of love marriage, while eight offenders got married via arranged marriage.

Besides, regarding the *focus group discussion* participants, four out of five ever-married offenders, who are convicted of property crimes, mentioned that they married through out of love marriage, while one stated that she was married with her cousin at the age of 13. About the second group of female offenders, who received heavy life sentence, four out of five ever-married offenders married through out of love marriage, while one mentioned that she was married with his cousin at the age of 14. Therefore, marriage through out of love is widespread in both types of female offenders (convicted of minor and major crimes).

5.1.7 Marriage Age

When I was analyzing the data collected via questionnaires, I explored that I should have included the question about female offenders' marriage ages, as this data is also important to indicate the seriousness of early marriages as a form of violence against women in our society. However, to have an idea about their marriage ages, I tried to fill this gap by asking female offenders' marriage ages during *the in-depth interviews* and *focus group discussions*.

The table below gives the marriage ages of 18 female offenders with whom I interviewed. To the table, 11 female offenders married at their early ages and seven married as soon as they became 18 as they waited to marry officially. When we look at the whole table, we see that the maximum marriage age of female offenders is 19

and this finding indicates the importance of measures to be taken to prevent early marriages.

Table 9: Marriage Age

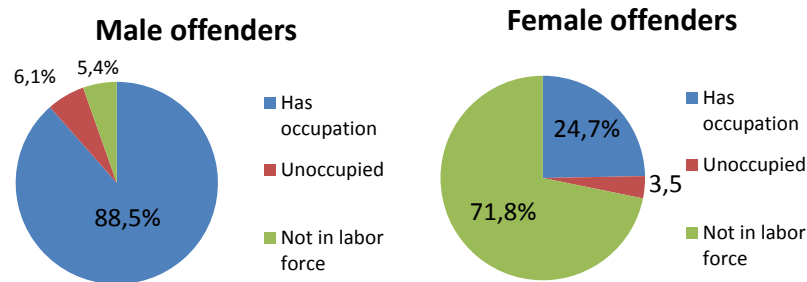
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 13-14	5	22,7	27,8	27,8
15-16	2	9,1	11,1	38,9
16-17	4	18,2	22,2	61,1
18-19	7	31,8	38,9	100,0
Total	18	81,8	100,0	
Unknown	1	4,5		
Missing Single	3	13,6		
Total	4	18,2		
Total	22	100,0		

Regarding the marriage ages of two groups of female offenders convicted of minor and major crimes participating in the focus group discussions, one out of five ever-married offenders convicted of property crimes married at 18 and other four offenders married at the ages of 20-30. Besides, one out of five ever-married offenders, who received heavy life sentence, married at 14 and other four offenders married at the ages of 19-25. As seen from the whole picture, the marriage age increases among female offenders, who are convicted of property crimes.

5.1.8 Occupational Status

Before examining occupational status of female offenders in Sincan Prison, looking at occupational status of all male and female offenders in Turkey may help us to see the general picture and the gender difference in occupational status of all offenders.

Figure 2: Convicts by Occupational Status



Source: TurkStat, Prison Statistics, 2011

As seen from the above figure, occupational status of convicts at prisons in 2011, there is a significant difference in terms of gender. While 88,5 % of male offenders had an occupation before their imprisonment, 71,8 % of female offenders were *out of labor force* and % 3,5 was unemployed.

In regard to the case of female offenders in Sincan Prison, according to the findings mentioned below, more than half of female offenders (53,4 %) reported that they were housewife before their imprisonment and 34,6 % were working in low status jobs, while only 12 % of female offenders were working in higher status jobs. This table shows that a great deal of female offenders were economically dependent before their imprisonment.

Table 10: Occupational Status

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Not in labor force/Housewife	71	53,0	53,4	53,4
Valid White color jobs*	16	11,9	12,0	65,4
Valid Blue color jobs**	46	34,3	34,6	100,0
Total	133	99,3	100,0	
Missing Unknown	1	,7		
Total	134	100,0		

* White color jobs are mostly director, manager, doctor, civil servant, bank officer, etc.

** Blue color jobs are mostly housekeeper, waitress, saleswoman, sex worker, etc.

5.1.9 Female Offenders' Monthly Income

Female offenders were asked about their individual monthly incomes before their imprisonment in order to have an idea about their socio-economic statuses and the following table gives some clues about income level of respondents.

Table 11: Monthly Income

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No any income	76	56,7	57,1	57,1
Less than 1000 TL	30	22,4	22,6	79,7
Valid 1000 TL – 2500 TL	17	12,7	12,8	92,5
More than 2500 TL	10	7,5	7,5	100,0
Total	133	99,3	100,0	
Missing Unknown	1	,7		
Total	134	100,0		

From the above table, it can be clearly seen that more than half of the female respondents (57,1 %) had no any income in parallel to their occupational status data. Besides, 22,6 % had been earning monthly under the minimum wage. Furthermore, female offenders having more than 2500 TL monthly income before their imprisonment, reported that they had been working as a sex worker. From the table above, it can be said that a major part of female offenders have *limited economic resources*.

5.1.10 Monthly Income of Household

Apart from their personal monthly income, to have an idea about their family's socio-economic status, female offenders were asked about their familial monthly incomes. The following table might give further data about socio-economic level of female offenders rather than the above table as most of female offenders were out of the labor market before their imprisonment.

Table 12: Monthly Income of the Household

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Less than 1000 TL	78	58,2	63,9	63,9
Valid 1000 TL – 2500 TL	20	14,9	16,4	80,3
Valid More than 2500 TL	24	17,9	19,7	100,0
Total	122	91,0	100,0	
Missing Unknown	12	9,0		
Total	134	100,0		

As also seen from the table above, monthly income of female offenders' families is not much different from their personal monthly incomes. Average monthly income of 63,9 % of female offenders' families are less than minimum wage and this shows that a great deal of female offenders were in a low socio-economic status before their imprisonment.

5.1.11 Parents' Occupational Status

To support the findings about socio-economic status of female offenders above, their fathers and mothers' occupational statuses were questioned as well and the following two tables help us to see the background of female offenders' socio-economic statuses.

Table 13: Father's Occupation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Unemployed	8	6,0	6,6	6,6
Valid Blue color*	74	55,2	61,2	67,8
Valid White color**	39	29,1	32,2	100,0
Total	121	90,3	100,0	
Missing Unknown	8	6,0		
Missing Dead	5	3,7		
Total	13	9,7		
Total	134	100,0		

* Blue color jobs are including farmer, worker, waste collector, seller in the market, etc.

** White color jobs are mostly composed of tradesman, manager, civil servant, etc.

Table 14: Mother's Occupation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Housewife	120	89,6	90,9	90,9
Valid Blue color*	9	6,7	6,8	97,7
Valid White color**	3	2,2	2,3	100,0
Total	132	98,5	100,0	
Missing Dead	2	1,5		
Total	134	100,0		

* Blue color jobs of mothers are mostly composed of worker, dish washer, cleaner, waste collector, peddler, etc.

** White color jobs of mothers are including teacher, civil servants, etc.

According to the tables above, while female offenders' fathers were typically the breadwinner of household, an overwhelming majority of mothers (90,9 %) were out of labor market as a housewife. The second table points out the desperate situation of mothers compared to their daughters' occupational status.

5.1.12 Parents' Educational Level

In addition to the data about female offenders' socio-economic status, to understand their socio-cultural background that is closely related to their socio-economic status, educational levels of their fathers and mothers were asked female offenders and according to the given responses, the following two tables came out.

Table 15: Father's Educational Level

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Illiterate – Primary school graduate	89	66,5	69,1	69,1
Valid Secondary school – University graduate	38	28,3	29,9	29,9
Total	127	94,8	100,0	
Missing Unknown	6	4,4		
Missing Dead	1	,7		
Total	134	100,0		

Table 16: Mother's Educational Level

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Illiterate – Primary school graduate	113	84,3	86,9	86,9
	Secondary school – University graduate	17	12,7	13,1	100,0
	Total	130	97,0	100,0	
Missing	Unknown	2	1,5		
	Dead	2	1,5		
Total		134	100,0		

It is clearly seen from the tables above that around 70 % of fathers, while nearly 90 % of mothers are illiterate or maximum primary school graduated. This picture again shows that mothers' level of education (90 %) is far worse than female offenders as their daughters (52,6 % is maximum primary school graduated). However, on the hand, even if it is not enough, there seems an occupational and educational mobility among female offenders compared to their mothers' status.

Summary

Through the above findings, female offenders' general profile was tried to be given in order to understand *who they are*. From the socio-demographic findings above, it is seen that property crimes are more common than violent crimes among female offenders. However, the rate of women convicted of violent crimes among offenders (1/3) is also crucial to analyze the main reason *why they committed violent crimes*. However, lack of a national information system providing the reasons and victims of female offenders prevents us to see the general picture. Therefore, this study is limited with 22 female offenders convicted of violent crimes - with whom in-depth interviews were conducted – and eight female offenders who received heavily life sentence - with whom focus group study was conducted.

Regarding the general profile of female offenders, a great deal of female offenders are undereducated and unemployed, this means that an important part of female offenders are *economically dependent on men*. According to their occupational status, most of female offenders seem to be in a very low socio-economic level as seen from their monthly income findings.

From the findings about socio-economic and socio-cultural levels of female offenders' families, it is seen that female offenders are coming from *families living in poverty*. Besides, parents' situation, especially *mothers'*, is far worse than their prisoned daughters' status.

Education of girls and mothers results in continuous increases in educational success from one generation to the next. Many studies indicate that a mother's educational level has a strong positive effect on her daughters' education, more than on sons and considerably more than the effect of fathers' education on daughters (Lavy 1996; Ridker 1997; King and Bellew 1991; Lillard and Willis 1994; Alderman and King 1998; Kambhupati and Pal 2001; Parker and Pederzini 2000; Bhalla, Saigal, and Basu 2003 in Grown, Gupta, and Kes, 2005: 41). Therefore, female offenders' level of education could be evaluated, in a sense, as a *reflection and continuation of their mothers' educational level*.

Regarding the familial structures of female offenders, it is seen from the findings that most of female offenders have grown up in *multi-child* and crowded families in spite of their families' low-income level as seen from monthly household income findings. Furthermore, rather than in egalitarian families, a great deal of female offenders has been grown up in *male-headed households*, where only the male members were the decision maker. Besides, according to the marriage age data, it can be commented that *early marriage problem* is widespread among female offenders. However, on the other hand, an important part of female offenders got married through *out of love* and around

one out of five women got married *without consent of their parents*, although they have grown up in oppressive families. This result, different from women outside the prison, shows that female offenders are *not holding traditional lines* and are in opposite position to the traditional patriarchal norms in our society. Besides, after their marriage, they *did not get support from their families* due to their transgressor position in the family. However, on the other side, from their marital status findings, it is seen that the rate of *divorced women* is *higher than* the rate of *married women* at prison. Considering their current marital status and pattern of marriage among female offenders, it can be concluded that divorce rate increases among women, who got married through out of love.

5.2 Female Offenders' Perspectives on Sexuality and Morality

To understand female offenders' perspectives on femininity and masculinity, sexuality and morality, some gender and sexuality related questions were directed to them via questionnaire.

Table 17: When does a girl become a woman?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
When she menstruates	26	19,4	20,2	20,2
After her first sexual intercourse	20	14,9	15,5	35,7
When she marries	42	31,3	32,6	68,2
When she becomes mother	36	26,9	27,9	96,1
When she grows up	5	3,7	3,9	100,0
Total	129	96,3	100,0	
Unknown	5	3,7		
Total	5	3,7		
Total	134	100,0		

Women were asked about the certain time of *becoming woman* and *becoming man*. 32,6 % of respondents mentioned that 'a girl becomes a woman when she gets married', 27,9 % said that when she gives birth she becomes a woman, for 20,2 %, a girl becomes a

woman after she menstruates, and according to 15,5 %, she becomes a woman after her first sexual intercourse.

Within our culture, the distinction between being a girl and being a woman is commonly made according to their marital status, because marriage of a girl is regarded as her first sexual intercourse and this means that she is no more a girl but already became a woman.

Table 18: When does a boy become a man?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid When he is circumcised	19	14,2	14,7	14,7
Within adolescence period	2	1,5	1,6	16,3
When he has sexual intercourse	3	2,2	2,3	18,6
When he joins the army	60	44,8	46,5	65,1
When he marries	10	7,5	7,8	72,9
When he becomes father	31	23,1	24,0	96,9
When he starts to work	1	,7	,8	97,7
When he feels ready	2	1,5	1,6	99,2
They never become a man	1	,7	,8	100,0
Total	129	96,3	100,0	
Missing Unknown	5	3,7		
Total	134	100,0		

Regarding the transition from boyhood to manhood, 46,5 % of respondents stated that “when he joins the army” and for 24 % “when he becomes a father”, while just 2,3 % thinks that “after his first sexual intercourse.

Two tables above show that while an important part of female offenders described becoming “woman” through *sexuality*, they saw becoming “man” through undertaking male *responsibilities*. This result means that transition from being a girl to a woman is quite different from transition from being a boy to being a man in the eyes of female

offenders. It can be concluded from this finding that this point of view is not much different from outside the prison in our traditional culture, as seen in practice.

Table 19: Female and male sexuality

	Yes (%)	No (%)
"Girls must save their virginity until they get married"	78,6	21,4
"Boys can have sexual intercourse freely until they get married"	61,7	38,3
"Girls can have sexual intercourse freely until they get married"	20	80
"If a newly married man discovered at the wedding night that the bride is not virgin, he should immediately divorce from her"	34,1	65,9
"Married men can have multiple sexual partners"	10,8	89,2

To have an idea about female offenders' attitudes towards female and male sexuality, some common and traditional ideas about sexuality were posed to them. Female offenders' ideas about whether a girl must save her virginity until the marriage were asked and a vast majority of respondents (78,6 %) agreed with this statement. Furthermore, women were asked whether single men can have sexual intercourse freely until the marriage and 61,7 % agreed this statement if it is the *men* having sexual intercourse, while 80 % disagreed with the idea if it is the *women*. Nevertheless, when women's ideas about the idea that is "if a newly married man discovered at wedding night that the bride is not virgin, he should immediately divorce from her" were asked and 65,9 % disagreed with this idea by stating "what if it happens to her forcefully". Therefore, female offenders' attitudes towards losing one's virginity change according to her *willingness* about sexual intercourse.

In regard to having multiple sexual partners for married men, 89,2 % of respondents disagree with the idea that married men can have multiple sexual partners. According to the findings above, female offenders' comments about 'appropriate' femininity and masculinity and sexual morality for men and women are not much different from traditional *naturalist* understanding of gender inequality. However, this traditional

understanding of gender inequality cannot be reduced to or limited with the perceptions of only female offenders included in this research, as this typical traditional attitude is still valid outside the prison and common in our society, as well as in many cultures.

Therefore, according to the research results, it would be proper to assert that female offenders' perceptions regarding male and female sexuality are not much different from outside and conservative attitudes towards *female sexuality* have been reproduced by female offenders. During my MS thesis, to have an idea about perspectives also of university students - at Middle East Technical University – towards female sexuality, I posed the same question to 200 students about saving girls' virginity until their marriage and I found that 53 % of university students oppose the idea of saving virginity until the marriage, while 42.5 % are in favor of this idea. This finding from another study on highly different group indicates that an important part of university students also overvalue the female chastity. Therefore, it can be concluded from the overall results that the idea of presenting female sexuality only to the husband is not directly related to the educational level of individuals but is rather associated with the cultural structure of the society (Okuy, 2007: 66).

5.3 Female Offenders' Attitudes towards Gender Roles at Home and Gender Segregation at Work

As in many cultures, in our society across all social classes, domestic works have still been regarded as women's jobs and are still fulfilled mostly by women even when they are employed. Besides, despite women's undeniably increasing participation into labor market, many women have still been employed in low status, low income, and 'feminine' jobs.

During the questionnaire study, I tried to learn female offenders' perceptions about traditional gender roles at home and gender segregation at work through posing them some specific domestic roles and occupations in the labor market.

Table 20: Gender Roles at Home

	Women's work	Men's work	Women + Men
Supporting the household financially	5,3	36,4	58,3
Repairing works	2,3	74,4	23,3
Cooking	73,6	-	26,4
Cleaning	73,8	-	26,2
Ironing	75,2	1,6	23,3
Childcare	51,5	0,8	47,7

The table above shows female offenders' attitudes towards gendered division of labor *at home*. While 36,4 % of female offenders think that only men should be the *breadwinner*, more than half of the respondents (58,3 %) think that both men and women should be responsible for supporting the family financially. These findings indicate that three out of ten female offenders still think that the breadwinner of the household should only be the men but on the other hand, more than half of respondents exhibit an egalitarian attitude in terms of gender distribution in earning money outside for supporting the household.

Besides, 74,4 % think that only men should undertake *repairing* works at home, while 23,3 % consider that both men and women should be responsible for repairing issues at home. As with outside the prison, most of female offenders think that repairing is the men's job, not women's.

Furthermore, while 26,4 % think that both men and women should *cook* at home, 73,6 % said that only women should be responsible for cooking. Female offenders' opinions about similar traditional 'female' roles at home such as *ironing*, *cleaning*, and *childcare* were also asked and again respectively 73,8 % and 75,2 % think that only women should be responsible for ironing and cleaning. The striking point here is nobody said that only men should undertake cooking and cleaning at home. In respect of childcare, while

51,5% believe that only women should undertake childcare, 47,7 % think both men and women should be responsible for childcare at home.

All results above indicate that female offenders, likewise people outside the prison, show tendency to *reproduce traditional gendered division of labor at home*.

Table 21: Gender Segregation at Work

	Women's job	Men's job	Women + Men
Doctor	2,3	6,1	91,6
Teacher	8,4	1,5	90,1
Dustman	0,8	68,9	30,3
Cleaner	34,4	3,8	61,8
School Manager	2,3	15,9	81,8
Secretary	41,9	2,3	55,8
Police	0,8	14,5	84,7
Soldier	0,8	61,1	38,2
Gynecologist	25,8	2,3	72,0
Lawyer	5,3	3,8	90,8
Hairdresser	16,7	3,0	80,3
Cook	10,5	10,5	78,9
Tailor	15,0	6,8	78,2

To understand female offenders' perceptions about gendered segregation at work, some specific occupations were posed them during the questionnaire study. For various occupations, such as doctor, teacher, school manager, gynecologist, lawyer, police, hairdresser, cook, and tailor, female offenders are highly egalitarian about gender distribution in those occupations. The proportion of female offenders who think that these jobs are *both* male and female jobs ranges between 72 % and 91,6 %.

The striking point here is that, while 73,6 % respondents think that *cooking* should be women's job *at home*, when this job is a *paid labor*, 78,9 % of women said that both women and men can be a *cook* in the *labor market*. Likewise cooking, while most of respondents (73,8 %) think that *cleaning* should be undertaken only by women *at home*, when cleaning is a *paid labor*, 61,8 % of respondents think that cleaning may be both men's and women's job.

On the other hand, for *dustman and soldier*, respectively 68,9 % and 61,1 % of respondents think that these jobs should only be the men's jobs. When I mentioned female offenders about new regulations of some municipalities in employing women as a dustman, they were surprised, as they have never heard about this regulation until I told them.

Concerning the *secretary* occupation, compared to other occupations, the proportion of offenders thinking that it is a unisex job decreased. While 55,8 % consider that secretary can be both male and female job, 41,9 % think it should be only women's job, but nevertheless, more than half of female offenders are egalitarian about this occupation.

Compared to female offenders' attitudes towards gendered division of labor at home, their approach to gender segregation in the labor market sounds more promising as they tend to be more egalitarian about gender distribution in the labor force.

As mentioned in the previous sections, although many women have increasingly been participating in the labor market, many of their occupations are extensions of their domestic roles, such as childcare, eldercare, patient care, nursing, and secretary. As also mentioned in the previous parts, in Sincan Prison some of the female offenders are working for a certain fee. In order to see whether there is gender segregation at the prison, female and male occupations at the prison were asked the social experts. According to their expressions, extension of women's domestic roles can also be seen at the Sincan prison in which female prisoners have been making Turkish ravioli, sewing

sacks and duvet cover in exchange for a wage, while male prisoners are dealing with *male jobs* such as, woodworking, making stringed instrument, leather, and silver processing. This picture shows us that although female offenders seem to be egalitarian towards gender distribution in the labor market, *employers* outside the prison have still been imposing female offenders to do *female jobs* by employing them in extensions of domestic works.

Table 22: Gender inequality myths

	Yes	No
"Not try to do men's job"	35,4	64,6
"Men make houses women make homes"	83,6	16,4
"There is no lover as a mother"	93,9	6,1

Apart from gender division of labor at home and at work, female offenders' attitudes towards some stereotypic statements, encouraging women's subordination and which have been used within our society for long years, were questioned. One is "*not try to do a men's job!*" This expression imposes women to do only their appropriate female jobs. 64,6 % of respondents do not agree with this statement, while 35,4 % agree.

Another deeply rooted statement is "*men make houses women make homes*". At first glance, this statement seems as if having a positive meaning for women's position *at home* but here again, women's traditional domestic works and their responsibility to keep the family together are emphasized through this statement. Because of the mask over this statement, normally 83,6 % of female offenders agreed with this misleading statement.

Other similar statement that seems (but actually not) to emphasize women's '*valuable*' and inherent characteristic, motherhood: "*There is no lover as a mother*" which so-called implies 'sanctity' of motherhood, but in reality, which imposes mothers to be self-sacrificing and undertake child caring *at home*. Again due to its misleading message, an overwhelming majority of female offenders (93,9 %) agreed with this statement.

5.4 Female Offenders' Description of Violence

“The meaning that a woman gives to her partner’s act is shaped by her sociocultural background” (Marmion & Faulkner, 2006: 138).

Considering female offenders’ socio-cultural backgrounds through the collected data in the field study, how they define intimate partner violence was tried to be analyzed through the field study. However, before female offenders’ perspectives on intimate partner violence, how they describe violence in general is important to our understanding of intimate violence.

Table 23: What is violence?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Physical violence	35	26,1	27,6
	Psychological violence	7	5,2	5,5
	Physical and psychological violence	28	20,9	22,0
	Sexual violence	1	,7	,8
	Women’s abuse	18	13,4	14,2
	Inability	11	8,2	8,7
	Unjustness	21	15,7	16,5
	Ignorance	5	3,7	3,9
	Power	1	,7	,8
	Total	127	94,8	100,0
Missing	Unknown	7	5,2	
Total		134	100,0	

Within the scope of this research, during the questionnaire study, female offenders were asked the meaning of ‘violence’. As seen from the above table, female offenders mostly describe violence through *physical violence*. While 27,6 % defined violence as *physical violence*, 22 % described violence both as *physical and psychological violence*. Just 5,5 % defined violence as *psychological violence* and only one respondent defined violence as *sexual violence*, while 14,2 % described violence as *violence against women*.

Respondents, who described violence with physical violence, used several terms such as 'beating, torturing, injuring, and killing', while others describing violence through psychological violence used the terms 'shouting at, insulting, swearing, or oppressing'. Besides, it was striking that some of the respondents, who described violence as psychological violence, used the term 'psychological violence' directly rather than using related terms. This most probably shows the positive feedbacks of trainings given to the offenders by the social experts within the prison as the context of trainings includes women related issues such as women's rights, violence against women, and motherhood.

The most tragic case I faced during the face-to-face questionnaires with illiterate respondents was that when I asked participants 'for you what is the meaning of violence?' three out of 134 respondents answered this question as 'violence is this' by indicating *scars* on their bodies. This shows, within the framework of this research, the severity of violence female offenders have experienced, considering not only female offenders but also most probably many women experiencing similar types of male violence outside the prison.

Apart from the meaning of violence, the first type of violence coming to female offenders' mind was questioned and 80,6 % said physical violence, while 17,1 % stated psychological violence. Again, just two respondents mentioned sexual violence firstly coming to their mind, by using the terms 'harassment and rape'. The most interesting point here is the words women used while mentioning about the physical violence firstly coming to their mind. These respondents defined physical violence through the statements such as 'beating by cording, slapping, punching, kicking, beating with a construction iron, beating somebody up, killing, my beating by my father, my beating by my husband, and my mother's beating by my father.' Use of such specific violence definitions by the respondents in defining the physical violence, must not be an incidence but is a reflection and expression of female offenders' violence experiences in the past.

5.5 Victims and Abusers in the Eyes of Female Offenders

Table 24: Who are the abusers?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Ignorant/uneducated people	7	5,2	8,9	8,9
Incapable/non-assertive people	11	8,2	13,9	22,8
Passive/excluded people	2	1,5	2,5	25,3
Bad people	6	4,5	7,6	32,9
Impertinent/ non-adaptive people	1	,7	1,3	34,2
Strong against weak	5	3,7	6,3	40,5
Psychologically sick people	4	3,0	5,1	45,6
Drug/alcohol addicts	3	2,2	3,8	49,4
Valid Violence victims	20	14,9	25,3	74,7
Men/oriental men	10	7,5	12,7	87,3
Bad/psychopath/rover/gambler/ alcoholic/unstable men	2	1,5	2,5	89,9
Cheater men	5	3,7	6,3	96,2
Husbands	1	,7	1,3	97,5
Stepfathers	2	1,5	2,5	100,0
Husband, father, brother	79	59,0	100,0	
Total	79	59,0	100,0	
MissingUnknown	545	41,0		
Total	134	100,0		

In order to explore the profile of abusers and victims of violence in female offenders' minds, they were asked who the abusers and who the victims are. According to the table above, more than half of women (50,6 %) consider that the perpetrator of violence is mostly the *men*, by characterizing men with various characteristics, such as 'oriental men, poor, psychopath, gambler, alcoholic men, husbands, and (step) fathers'. Others used general negative terms, such as 'ignorant people, passive people, addicts, psychologically ill people, battered people' without distinguishing gender.

Table 25: Which women are exposed to violence?

	Freq	Perc	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Economically dependent women	24	17,9	18,8	18,8
Helpless women/having nowhere to go	18	13,4	14,1	32,8
All women	18	13,4	14,1	46,9
Ignorant women	14	10,4	10,9	57,8
Married women	10	7,5	7,8	65,6
Passive/silent women	15	11,2	11,7	77,3
Woman disobeying her husband	11	8,2	8,6	85,9
Valid Woman betraying her husband	5	3,7	3,9	89,8
Women having alcoholic/gambler husband	3	2,2	2,3	92,2
Mothers	6	4,5	4,7	96,9
Oriental/rural women	2	1,5	1,6	98,4
Women who were exposed violence in childhood	1	,7	,8	99,2
Sex workers	1	,7	,8	100,0
Total	128	95,5	100,0	
Missing Unknown	6	4,5		
Total	134	100,0		

Female offenders were asked which women are exposed to violence. A substantial part (51,6 %) thinks that especially *economically dependent* and *helpless* women are exposed to violence. Another group (14,1 %) mentioned “all women are exposed to violence”, while according to 22,6 % of female offenders, mostly ignorant, passive, and silent women are exposed to violence. On the other side, 12,5 % believed that women disobeying or betraying their husbands are exposed to violence. Besides, just 2,3 % see men’s behavior underlying the violence by saying that women, whose husbands are alcoholic and/or gambler, are exposed to violence.

From the above findings, it can be concluded that female offenders mostly described the battered women through their *economic dependence* by focusing on the relationship between socio-economic status of women and violence against them. As discussed in the

previous chapters, some feminist scholars claim that women living in poverty are particularly vulnerable to violence. This group of female offenders' perspective to battered women is in parallel with *liberal feminist approach* to women battering as liberal feminists see *economic independence and education* of women as the only way of protecting them from violence. Another group's perspective on battered women, which is "*all women are exposed to violence*", is supporting *universal risk theory* - developed by feminist scholars - which asserts that all women regardless of their social status are equally likely to be victims of wife abuse due to their gender within patriarchal society. On the other side, an important part of women put the blame on battered women for their *acceptance* of violence due to their passivity and ignorance. This group's approach to battered women implies the common question about abused women: "*Why does she stay?*" by focusing on the victim rather than on the batterer to solve the battering problem. Besides, eight out of 100 women described battered women as transgressors of their gender roles through their *misconducts*. This group's attitudes towards battered women can be explained through *a sense of self-blame* as a phase of *battered women syndrome* and through their *gender rolesocialization process* as they learnt violence coming from husband as a normal reaction to women's misconducts, thus transgressor wife is deserved to be beaten.

5.6 Female Offenders' Attitudes towards Violence against Women

Exploring violence against women from the victims' perspective is important to our understanding of intimate partner violence.

Table 26: Why are women exposed to violence?

	Freq	Per	Valid Per	Cum Per
As they are economically dependent	19	14,2	15,7	15,7
As they have nowhere to go	17	12,7	14,0	29,8
As they disobeyed their husbands	15	11,2	12,4	42,1
As they betrayed their husbands	1	,7	,8	43,0
Due to financial problems	6	4,5	5,0	47,9
As they are ignorant	9	6,7	7,4	55,4
As they are passive	10	7,5	8,3	63,6
As they are women	9	6,7	7,4	71,1
Valid As there are not aware of their legal rights	7	5,2	5,8	76,9
As laws are insufficient	1	,7	,8	77,7
As they are afraid of male pressure	8	6,0	6,6	84,3
As they could not divorce due to familial/social pressure	6	4,5	5,0	89,3
As their husbands are irresponsible/alcoholic/gambler	10	7,5	8,3	97,5
As eastern men are uneducated	1	,7	,8	98,3
As woman bring little money to home	1	,7	,8	99,2
Due to jealousy	1	,7	,8	100,0
Total	121	90,3	100,0	
Miss Unknown	13	9,7		
Total	134	100,0		

As seen from the Table 26, female offenders' description of battered women (Table 25) and the reason for women battering show similarities. 29 % of female offenders believe that since battered women have nowhere to go due to their economic dependence, they are exposed to violence, thus this group believes that if women become economically independent, they would not be the victim of violence, as liberal feminists argue. Another group (6,6 %) believes that fear of husband's oppression is the main reason for

women battering. This group of respondents explained the reason for women beating by their *helplessness* due to barriers they face. In fact, this group of women, who explained the reason for wife beating through economic dependence and helplessness, explained the reason why battered women stay with silence against abuser husband.

Besides, 13,2 % of female offenders put the blame on female victims by saying that women disobeying or betraying their husbands are exposed to violence. This viewpoint can be interpreted as “disobedient and betrayer women deserve to be beaten”. This group’s perspective on wife battering again can be explained through their *gender role socialization* process by *normalizing* male partner violence against transgressor wife and *accusation of self* as a phase of *battered women syndrome*.

On the other hand, 8,3 % of respondents see the reason for women beating as man’s bad habits including ‘irresponsibility, alcohol use and gambling’ by laying the blame on male perpetrators. It can be said that this group of women is aware that the reason for wife battering is only the abusive men but by reducing the problem into husband’s *individual* bad habits without seeing the violence as a *social* problem in patriarchal cultures. However, on the other hand, 7,4 % of respondents said that “being women is enough to be beaten” by implying that this is not an individual or familial problem but a social fact. Like *universal risk theory* - developed by feminist scholars - assert, this group of female offenders believes that all women are equally potential victims of partner violence due to their gender within the male-dominant society.

Table 27: Why are single girls beaten by their fathers?

	Freq	Perc	Val Perc	Cum Perc
If they disobey their fathers	48	35,8	39,3	39,3
If they arrive at home late/ go outside frequently	22	16,4	18,0	57,4
When they have boyfriend	24	17,9	19,7	77,0
If she loses her virginity/due to honor	12	9,0	9,8	86,9
If they do not do housework	2	1,5	1,6	88,5
If they dress provocatively	2	1,5	1,6	90,2
Valid If they want to go to school	1	,7	,8	91,0
If they chat on the phone	1	,7	,8	91,8
When they lie	3	2,2	2,5	94,3
When they attempt to protect their mother/sister/brother	1	,7	,8	95,1
Being a girl is enough to be beaten	6	4,5	4,9	100,0
Total	122	91,0	100,0	
Miss Unknown	12	9,0		
Total	134	100,0		

To the table above, a major part of female offenders see violation of *sexuality and morality* rules as the main reason for girls battering by their parents. As mentioned in the previous parts, to the radical feminist perspective, controlling female sexuality is essential in generating male domination. Therefore, within the traditional patriarchal families, girls' sexuality must be controlled by male members of the family. When girls *disobey* their parents as (39,3 % of female offenders believe) and when they *violate sexuality and morality rules* (as 41,9 % believe) by having a boyfriend, by arriving at home late, by losing their virginity, or by dressing provocatively, they are exposed to violence by their parents due to the strict patriarchal norms. On the other hand, again 4,9 % of female offenders said that "being a girl is enough to be beaten" by implying all girls due to their gender are under the risk of parents' violence because of gender inequality in the male dominant families.

Table 28: Why are married women beaten by their husbands?

	Freq	Perc	Val Perc	Cum Perc
If they disobey their husbands	44	32,8	37,0	37,0
If they betray their husband/due to jealousy	20	14,9	16,8	53,8
For no reason/being a woman is enough	14	10,4	11,8	65,5
As their husbands are alcoholic/gambler	7	5,2	5,9	71,4
When they do not fulfill housework	11	8,2	9,2	80,7
Valid If they arrive at home late	7	5,2	5,9	86,6
If they refuse their husbands sexual desires	3	2,2	2,5	89,1
Due to economic problems	9	6,7	7,6	96,6
If they spend too much money	3	2,2	2,5	99,2
Due to ignorance	1	,7	,8	100,0
Total	119	88,8	100,0	
Missing Unknown	15	11,2		
Total	134	100,0		

According to the table above, 37 % of female offenders see *disobedience of wife* and 9,2 % see *neglect of housework* as the main reason for wife beating. This group thinks that the outcome of violating traditional female roles would be their beating by their husbands. As discussed in the previous parts, according to the feminist understanding of gender, gendered roles are reinforcing women's subordination as women are socialized with subordinate roles by learning to be obedient, passive, weak, illiterate, shy, peaceful, and 'natural' sphere of women is the private domain. Therefore, when women do not obey their husbands or do not fulfill their domestic responsibilities, they seem to violate traditional lines and according to the patriarchal norms, transgressor wife should be punished or disciplined through violence by her husband.

On the other side, 16,8 % explained the reason for wife battering through *betrayal of wife*, while 5,9 % mentioned the reason through women's *arriving at home late* or *going out frequently*, and 2,5 % stated the reason through *women's refusal to meet their husbands' sexual desires*. This group of women explains the main reason for wife beating through male control over female *sexuality* through violence, as control over

female sexuality plays a key factor in women's oppression. Besides, in honor-based societies as women's sexuality is closely related to the family honour, women's violation of sexual rules is perceived as damage to the family and the result of transgressing sexual rules might be lethal violence in such cases.

Moreover, only a small part of female offenders (5,9 %) put the blame on the husband by showing his *instable characteristic, alcohol use, or gambling* as a main reason. This group again perceives the underlying reason for wife battering as husbands' individual characteristics or bad habits rather than as gender-based inequality rooted in patriarchal order.

Table 29: What is the main reason for domestic violence among spouses?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Marital conflict/lack of communication	41	30,6	33,9	33,9
Financial problems/unemployment	31	23,1	25,6	59,5
Jealousy/betrayal	12	9,0	9,9	69,4
Disobedience of wife	8	6,0	6,6	76,0
Bad habits of husband	15	11,2	12,4	88,4
Ignorance	4	3,0	3,3	91,7
Valid Sexual reasons	3	2,2	2,5	94,2
Angry	2	1,5	1,7	95,9
Psychological problems	1	,7	,8	96,7
Mothers' failure in bringing up their sons	1	,7	,8	97,5
For no reason	2	1,5	1,7	99,2
Gossip	1	,7	,8	100,0
Total	121	90,3	100,0	
Miss Unknown	13	9,7		
Total	134	100,0		

Female offenders' were asked about the main reason for domestic violence among spouses and around one third of respondents consider that the main reason for domestic violence is *marital conflict, lack of communication, cultural, educational or age*

gap between spouses. On the other side, one fourth of respondents explain the reason for domestic violence through *financial difficulties* or *unemployment*. Another part (12,4 %) thinks that the underlying reason for domestic violence is *bad habits of husbands* such as alcohol, gamble, drugs or irresponsibility of husbands, while 6,6 % view *disobedience of wife* as the main reason for domestic violence.

From this table, rather than considering cultural factors as the underlying reason for domestic violence against women, female offenders see the main reason for wife beating as marital conflict between the spouses such as, individual, educational, cultural, or age gap between spouses or economic problems within the household. Another part saw the problem with the husband's individual bad habits as the main reason for wife beating. As mentioned in the earlier parts, according to the feminist understanding of violence against women, wife battering is not an individual or a familial concern but this is a social concern, which is rooted in the patriarchal system. On the other hand, here again, a group of female offenders (6,6 %) explained domestic violence against wife with the disobedience of wife through the *sense of self-blame*.

Furthermore, in order to understand female offenders' attitudes towards violence against women, they were asked whether they agree with the following stereotypic statements, which have been encouraging wife abuse.

Table 30: Violence by Husband

	Agree	Disagree
Roses vegetates where husband slaps	14,6	85,4
Keep your violence on your wife and make her reproduce as much as possible	8,6	91,4

The first statement encourages wife battering by attributing a positive meaning to husband's abusive act. The second statement, which has also been rooted in Turkish culture for long years, supports the idea of controlling wives through battering and by making her produce children as much as possible. As seen from the above table, the vast

majority of female offenders are in an opposite position to wife battering. Considering female offenders' current marital status and the main reason for their imprisonment, this result is not surprising, as a great deal of female offenders are divorced or prisoned due to killing their abusive husbands.

Table 31: Violence by Parents

	Agree	Disagree
"Spare the rod and spoil the child"	37,4	62,6
"If you give rein to your daughter, she is most likely marry a guy to whom you never consent"	44,6	55,4

Regarding the above two statements, it is seen from the table that female offenders' opinions differ a bit. The first statement means 'spare the rod and spoil the child' and it gives the message to the parents that 'if you do not control/oppress your daughter through battering, you will lose your control over her and will live to regret it'. While 62,6 % of female offenders did not agree with this statement, a substantial proportion (37,4 %) agreed with this myth by expressing their regrets. Many respondents stated that *'if my parents had battered me in time, I would not have made mistakes and I would not have been here now'*. In fact, these women imply disregard of their parents by using similar expressions.

The second statement implies that 'if you let your daughter run loose, your daughter would marry a boy whom you never approve'. While almost half of respondents (44,6 %) agreed with this myth, 55,4 % are in an opposite position. Female offenders' justification for agreeing with this statement is similar with their approach to the former statement. They mentioned that *'if my parents had not let me chose my spouse and if they had oppressed me to marry the man whom they chose, I would not have married with the wrong husband and I would not have been here now'*. Here, again, women expressed their regrets about their wrong choices and mistakes and they attributed their mistakes to the lack of control and support from their parents' side.

As mentioned in the previous parts, many female offenders got married through out of love by eloping and thus, due to transgressing their gender roles in the household, they most probably could not get their families' support. The above statements of female offenders, in a sense, are a reflection of their feelings after their imprisonment, as they believe that due to their deprivation of familial support, they are at prison now.

Furthermore, from the findings above, it is clearly seen that the main difference between Table 30 and table 31 is the *perpetrator* of the violence. In this regard, it is clearly understood that female offenders tend to be against violence especially by *intimate male partner*, while they tend to be more tolerant on violence, if the perpetrators are the *parents*.

Table 32: What should battered wives do?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Should apply to authorized institutions	51	38,1	38,6	38,6
Should divorce from her husband	47	35,1	35,6	74,2
Should be salient/patient	16	11,9	12,1	86,4
Should not be salient/seek her right	5	3,7	3,8	90,2
Valid Should take refuge in her own family	8	6,0	6,1	96,2
Should be treated psychologically (together with her husband)	2	1,5	1,5	97,7
Should gain her economic independence	3	2,2	2,3	100,0
Total	132	98,5	100,0	
Missing Unknown	2	1,5		
Total	134	100,0		

Regarding the survival strategies for battered women, female offenders were asked about the ways battered women should apply to cope with the violence. An important part of respondents (38,6 %) mentioned that women, who are exposed to violence by their husbands, should seek help from official institutions including police, shelters, laws, while 35,6 % think that battered wives should divorce from their husbands and 6,1

% said that they should seek refuge in their parents. However, 12,1 % still believe that battered women should stay with silence against violence coming from their husbands.

From the table above, it is clearly seen that an important part of female offenders are aware of appropriate ways, to which battered woman can apply in order to protect her from violence. On the other side, around one third of female offenders believe that battered woman should divorce from her husband. This group's offer for battered wife is not surprising as 38,8 % of female offenders are currently divorced due to similar reasons. However, on the other hand, around 8 out of 100 female offenders seem to accept husband's violence as a normal reaction by saying that battered woman should stay with silence and patience against her abusive husband.

5.7 Female Offenders' Attitudes towards Sexual Violence

To have an idea about female offenders' attitudes towards *sexual violence* against women, the following socially constructed statements encouraging and excusing *sexual violence* were directed to them.

Table 33: Sexual Violence Myths

	Agree	Disagree
"Women dressing provocatively deserve to be sexually abused by men"	33,1	66,9
"If a female dog does not wag its tail, then male dog does not approach the female dog"	54,3	45,7

For the first statement, while 66,9 % of female offenders tend to be against the idea of blaming sexually abused women due to their dressing, an important part of the respondents (33,1 %) agreed with this statement. This table indicates that one out of three women put the blame on the female victim of sexual abuse, if she dressed provocatively. This radically discriminative statement, which encourages male perpetrators of sexual abuse, was declared even by a professor from the Faculty of Theology at Selcuk University by using the words "a woman dressing décolleté is deserved to be raped; after the abusive event, she should not complain about this".

Regarding the second statement, which seems in parallel with the first, it is also used to blame women who ‘provoke’ men but mostly through her provocative *behaviors* rather than her dressing. However, different from the first statement, more than half of women (54,3 %) agreed with this idea. Although there seems to be a contradiction between the attitudes of female offenders towards two similar statements above, the reason for women’s agreeing with the second statement is its implication of *women’s power* in directing man to pull him over or to push him out.

5.8 Female Offenders’ Attitudes towards de-value of Women

In order to see female offenders’ attitudes towards *de-value of female children*, the following three statements supporting the inferiority of girls were directed to them.

Table 34: Myths about de-value of women

	Agree	Disagree
“Even if the girl is in the member of the household, she is regarded as a stranger”	34,4	65,6
“Mother prides herself on giving birth of male child, while mother beats her chest on giving birth of female child”	8,5	91,5
“Mothers giving birth of female children become deformed quickly”	17,5	82,5

While 65,6 % of respondents do not agree with the idea of regarding girls as a stranger in the household due to their temporary position in the family, one out of three female offenders agree with this idea. Besides, 91,5 % disagree with giving overvalue to male children rather than female children in the family. Furthermore, 82,5 % of female offenders disagree with the idea of deforming effect of giving birth to female child on mothers.

According to the findings above, it is seen that, a major part of respondents tend to be in opposition to the superiority of male members in the family and discrimination against female children. On the other hand, even more than half of respondents disagree with the temporary position of girls in the family, one out of three women think that girls are not seen as a family member as they are married in early ages and leave their families after

their marriages. This approach can be thought as a reflection of female offenders' experiences as a female child in their families.

5.9 Female Offenders' Attitudes towards Honour Killings

Before questioning female offenders' perspectives to honour killings, what types of meanings they attributed to the concept of 'honour' was tried to be understood. For this aim, various related questions were posed to the respondents.

Table 35: What is the meaning of honour?

	Freq	Perc	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Much more important than everything	37	27,6	31,4	31,4
Not related to women's chastity	16	11,9	13,6	44,9
Loyalty to the husband	11	8,2	9,3	54,2
Being honorable / proud	24	17,9	20,3	74,6
Valid Being honest	13	9,7	11,0	85,6
Virginity	12	9,0	10,2	95,8
Customs/traditions	2	1,5	1,7	97,5
It is meaningless / not important	3	2,2	2,5	100,0
Total	118	88,1	100,0	
Miss Unknown	16	11,9		
Total	134	100,0		

From the table above, it seems that 31,4 % of respondents put a great value on the concept of honour by mentioning that 'it is much more important than everything, I die for my honour, it means everything, and it is breath of life', while 31,3 % related honour to the individual characteristics such as, being honest, proud, and honorable. However, 10,2 %, on the other side, described honour through virginity and 9,3 % linked honour with the loyalty to the husband.

From the general picture, it is clearly seen that female offenders tend to describe the concept of honour through *female sexuality* by attributing a great value to it, while another part defines honour through the individual features. As mentioned in the previous parts, in honour-based societies like in our society, the concept of ‘honour’ is closely linked to women’s sexuality, thus girls’ chastity. Therefore, female offenders’ perception of honour is closely related to socio-cultural values arising from honour codes within our traditional patriarchal society.

To support the findings above and to see how female offenders overvalue the concept of honour, a parallel statement below was directed to the female offenders.

Table 36: Value given to the concept of ‘Honour’

	Agree	Disagree
“A person should live for her/his honour”	79,2	20,8

The result is not surprising as nearly 80 % of respondents, who mostly defined honour through female sexual conducts, agreed with this statement. This means that most of female offenders put a great value on their honour, thus their chastity.

To have an idea also about university students’ attitudes towards the perceived relationship between women’s honour and their sexual conducts, during the field study in my MS thesis, I asked 200 students at Middle East Technical University whether a woman’s honour is determined by her sexual conducts. While 26 % of students agreed with this idea, 66.5 % were in an opposite position. This finding indicates that university students, at least more than half of the respondents, do not regard that woman’s sexual conducts represent her honour. On the other side, the rate of students defining a woman’s honour in terms of her sexual conducts (26 %) or the rate of students having no idea about this statement (7.5 %) is also considerable (Okuy, 2007: 66-67).

Table 37: What is the meaning of honorable woman?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Faithful to her husband	50	37,3	44,2	44,2
Appropriately dressed, sitting at home	11	8,2	9,7	54,0
Obedient to moral rules	7	5,2	6,2	60,2
Valid Honest/hardworking/well-mannered	39	29,1	34,5	94,7
Married woman/mothers	4	3,0	3,5	98,2
Meaningless	2	1,5	1,8	100,0
Total	113	84,3	100,0	
Miss Unknown	21	15,7		
Total	134	100,0		

Female offenders were asked about the meaning of honorable woman. A large part of respondents (44,2 %) defined *honorable woman* as woman faithful to her husband and 9,7 % described honorable woman as woman, who is sitting at home, dressing appropriately, and covering her hair, while 34,5 % defined honorable woman through individual characteristics such as, being honest, hardworking, and well-mannered.

This table shows that female offenders mostly evaluate a woman's honour according to her sexual conducts and the ideology of restricting female sexuality has been reproduced by female offenders.

Table 38: What is the meaning of honorable man?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Saving his family/breadwinners	45	33,6	40,5	40,5
Faithful to her wife	37	27,6	33,3	73,9
Respectful/honorable	19	14,2	17,1	91,0
Valid Obedient to moral rules	4	3,0	3,6	94,6
There is no any honorable man	5	3,7	4,5	99,1
Man killing his betrayer wife	1	,7	,9	100,0
Total	111	82,8	100,0	
Miss Unknown	23	17,2		
Total	134	100,0		

On the other side, regarding the definition of *honorable man*, 40,5 % of respondents believe that man protecting his family and bringing home the bread is honorable, while according to 33,3 %, man's honour depends on his loyalty to his wife.

From both tables above, it is clearly understood that while female offenders are in tendency to define woman's honour through her *sexual behaviors*, a great deal of respondents tend to relate man's honour with appropriately *fulfillment of his male roles*, which are being head of household and breadwinner. These findings indicate that men's social status or their respectability is not primarily determined by their sexual conducts due to socially constructed relation between *gender and sexuality* and *sexuality and morality*, as argued in the previous sections.

Table 39: Who is responsible for women's honour?

	Agree	Disagree
"Only the woman is responsible for her honour"	86,9	13,1
"Male members of the household are responsible for single girls' honour"	44,6	55,4
"Husbands are responsible for their wives' honour"	53,5	46,5

Furthermore, to whom female honour is belonging was asked to female offenders. While 86,9 % of female offenders agreed with the idea that only the woman is responsible for her honour, 55,4 % disagreed the idea that male members of the family are responsible for single girls' honour. However, on the other hand, when the question whether the man is responsible for his wife's honour was asked, 53,5 % agreed with this idea.

This table indicates that a considerable part of female offenders believe that especially a married woman's honour is belonging to her husband as a *property*, she should also responsible for her honour at the same time.

During my research, to understand female offenders' comments on honour-based violence and their attitudes towards murders in the name of honour, various questions related to this issue were posed them through the questionnaire.

Table 40: What is the main reason for honour killings?

	Freq	Perc	Val Perc	Cum Perc
Adultery/Jealousy/rape/dishonoring	47	35,1	39,5	39,5
Familial/social pressure/tribe/customs	26	19,4	21,8	61,3
Ignorance	20	14,9	16,8	78,2
Valid Women provoke the murder	13	9,7	10,9	89,1
Men's desire of superiority/lack of self-confidence	4	3,0	3,4	92,4
Regardless of any reason I oppose such murders	9	6,7	7,6	100,0
Total	119	88,8	100,0	
Miss Unknown	15	11,2		
Total	134	100,0		

Female offenders were asked about the main reason for honour killings. 39,5 % not surprisingly pointed out sexual issues as the underlying reasons, such as betrayal, rape, stain on honour, and jealousy. 21,8 % explain the main reason for honour killings through familial or social pressure and tribal or moral pressure. On the other hand, 16,8 % of female offenders see the honour killings arising from ignorance. Besides, while

10,9 % of respondents put the blame on women for the honor killings, just 3,4 % lay the blame on men as the main responsible of the honor killings.

As discussed in the previous sections, honour-based violence is closely linked to the female sexuality and is a specific form of violence against women that operates through honour codes legitimized by patriarchal values. Therefore, honor killings oppress women rather than men. Due to this common point of view, female offenders also see women's sexual misconducts as the main reason for honor killings.

Table 41: Attitudes towards honour killings

	Agree	Disagree
"Perpetrators of honour crimes should receive less punishment than perpetrators of other crimes"	45,7	54,3
"If necessary, I may commit honour killing"	22,8	77,2
"Honour killings restore the family's honour"	19,5	80,5

According to the table above, more than half of the respondents (54,3 %) do not see honor crimes as a mitigating cause. However, on the other side, a substantial proportion (45,7 %) thinks that offenders of honor crimes should receive a minor punishment. This means that an important part of female offenders still tends to treat so-called honour-based crimes as distinct from non-honour-based crimes.

Besides, female offenders' attitudes towards the idea of 'if necessary, I may commit honour killing'. Interestingly, while female offenders are excusing honor killings, 77,2 % of respondents are avoiding the idea of committing honour killing.

Moreover, female offenders' ideas about the myth that 'honour killings restore the family's honour' were questioned. 80,5 % mentioned that they were against to this idea, thus, it seems that most of female offenders do not agree with the idea that the concept of honour represents the honour of whole family.

5.10 Female Offenders' Attitudes towards Early Marriages

During the *focus group discussions*, female offenders' opinions about early marriages were questioned. As mentioned in the previous parts, a great deal of female offenders got marry through out of love marriage and according to the in-depth interview results, an important part of these women married at their early ages. Considering these findings, listening to their experiences and their attitudes towards early marriages is important to our understanding of early marriages.

First group is composed of three single and five ever-married female offenders, who received *heavy life sentence*. Furthermore, four out of five ever-married offenders have been hold in the prison due to *killing their husbands* and other one ever-married offender is currently divorced. Strikingly, all five women are no more married.

Apart from one offender, who was married at the age of 14, other offenders married between the ages of 19 and 25 through out of love marriage, although most of them stated that they grew up in an oppressive families. The female offender, who was married at 14, summarized her situation but did not want to give more details within the group atmosphere. When she was caring her sister's children at their home, her sister's husband raped her when she was 7 years old. After this event, she was forcefully married at the age of 14 with her cousin. When her cousin understood at the wedding night that she was not virgin, he immediately divorced from her. Then she was married by her parents again and she killed her second husband due to his violent acts.

Nearly all eight participants in the first focus group discussion tend to be against early marriages and some think that the underlying reason for early marriages *with the bride's consent* is the bride's perception of marriage as an escape from her oppressive family but the results would be worse than the former situation. For instance, during the in-depth interviews, one female offender, who was married by force at her early age, mentioned that she accepted to marry the prospective groom as she was suffering from

violence by her parents and saw this marriage as an escape. However, now she has been held in the prison as she injured her former husband due to his violent acts after she separated from him.

Regarding the early marriages *without bride's consent*, some offenders think that these marriages occur due to the strict customs or the traditional idea that before girls 'open their eyes' and before they do not make a mistake, which means before they bring a stain to her family through a sexual misconduct, they should be married. The striking point here is some of ever-married offenders mentioned that they wished to be married through arranged marriage because they think that they had made a mistake in choosing their spouse. According to these comments, it is clearly seen that early marriages, as a type of violence against women, are again closely related to male control over *female sexuality*, which represents the family honour.

Second group is composed of five ever-married and two single offenders, who are convicted of *property crimes*. Three out of five ever-married women are currently divorced, one is still married, and one is widowed.

One divorced offender was married at the age of 13 with her cousin as a result of familial pressure over her to prevent gossips as they were living in a village. Her husband was 10 years older and since he was betraying her with a Russian woman and due to her husband's pressures, she divorced from him. She mentioned that she has been married for 6 years unofficially with another man. Marriage age of another offender is 18 and of others are between 20 and 30.

Second group of women seem to be more aware of gender inequality and approach the male-dominant system and early marriages more critically than the first group of offenders. Their familial structures were more egalitarian and wealth level seems to be higher than the first group.

5.11 Violence Experiences of Female Offenders

Table 42: Have you ever witnessed a violent event?

	Freq	Per	Valid Per	Cum Per
Never witnessed violence	24	17,9	20,3	20,3
I exposed to violence by my husband	25	18,7	21,2	41,5
I exposed to violence by my parents	3	2,2	2,5	44,1
I exposed to violence both my parents and my husband	6	4,5	5,1	49,2
My mother exposed to violence by my father	13	9,7	11,0	60,2
Valid My neighbor/friend/relative exposed to violence	43	32,1	36,4	96,6
I exposed to discrimination in the society	2	1,5	1,7	98,3
As I was betrayed I killed my husband	1	,7	,8	99,2
I exposed to verbal and physical violence by my business partner	1	,7	,8	100,0
Total	118	88,1	100,0	
Miss Unknown	16	11,9		
Total	134	100,0		

After having an idea about female offenders' attitudes towards violence against women, their violence experiences were questioned indirectly by asking whether they have witnessed a violent event or not. Nearly 80 % of the respondents stated that they witnessed or experienced violence especially by their parents and husbands during their lifetime.

Table 43: Perpetrators of Violence

	Yes (Freq)	No (Freq)
Were you exposed to violence by your parents?	10	12
Were you exposed to violence by your mother?	9	13
Were you exposed to violence by your father?	8	14
Were you exposed to violence by your husband?	16	3

In order to get more details about female offenders' violence experiences, during the *in-depth interviews*, 22 women were asked whether they have ever experienced violence by their *parents* and 10 out of 22 interviewees reported that they were exposed to violence by their parents. To learn the main perpetrator of violence against them, whether they were exposed to violence by mother or father was asked female offenders. According to the expressions of female offenders, the number of women battered by their *mothers* is more than the number of women battered by their *fathers*. Furthermore, during the in-depth interviews, participants reported that their mothers were more oppressive and more violent than their fathers were. The main reason for mothers' further violence against their daughters might be closer relation between mother and daughter rather than with father in the household during the day and mothers' roles in childcare and taking care of children's behaviors. Besides, as discussed in the previous parts, *social learning theory* asserts that if children grow up in violent families through witnessing or experiencing violence, they are likely to become violent in their adulthood. From this argument, it can be argued that female offenders' mothers were most probably been exposed to violence by their parents and they probably learnt that child beating is a fair way to discipline the children.

Moreover, ever-married interviewees were asked whether they were exposed to violence by their *husbands*. 16 out of 19 ever-married female offenders reported that they were subjected to different types of violence by their husbands.

These findings from in-depth interviews show that a great deal of female offenders were exposed to violence by their parents and especially by their husbands during their lifetime, while many female offenders stated that they object to especially male partner violence (Table 30) and violence by parents (Table 31). Female offenders' negative attitude towards *intimate partner violence* and *parents' violence* is not surprising as many female offenders mentioned that because they did not follow traditional lines within their oppressive family, they were not supported by their parents. Besides, 12 out

of 22 interviewees convicted of violent crimes are prisoned due to killing or injuring their abusive partners and 4 out of 5 focus group participants received heavy life sentence due to killing their abusive husbands. Apart from this group, considering the high divorce rate among female offenders, it can be said that these women did not chose to stay with their abusive husbands as they did not accept violence as a normal reaction of their husbands.

5.12 Reporting Sexual Violence by Female Offenders

During the *in-depth interviews*, I explored that although most of female offenders were sexually abused by their husbands, acquaintances or strangers, they could not share their experiences with anybody or they did not report those violent cases due to various reasons.

As mentioned in the previous parts, the reasons for reluctance of raped women to share their victimization with anybody can be a feeling of shame, a fear of not being believed, a fear of being blamed, and a lack of confidence in the justice process, or fear of retaliation from the rapists.

These arguments are in parallel with my research findings from the in-depth interviews with female offenders and the following statements about their sexual violence experiences are exemplifying the above assumptions:

“...my elder brother had been raping me again and again but I could not tell this anyone as he was threatening me to deny the rape and to tell that I was having sex with other guys. However, after a while, I had to share this case with my mother to escape from this situation but she did not believe me and forced me not to share this with anyone. When I felt helpless, I shared the event with my girlfriend; she was at the same time our next-door neighbor. To help me, she called my elder sister and told my difficulty to her on the phone. At that time, my elder sister was married and she was living out of the city. She also did not believe me and said on the phone to my friend that

I might also provoke her husband! After all, I could not report my situation to anyone and I had to experience rape for a long time until I escaped from home. However, even I started to live at my private home, my brother continued to bother me at my home and at the end I had to kill him...”

“...My husband had continuously been raping me and he was forcing me to anal sex again and again. Since I felt shame, I could not share this with anybody but because I could not cope with his sexual attacks, I had to kill him at the end. After I was put in prison, I shared this case with my lawyer to explain the reason why I killed my husband but I said my lawyer that I could not share this case with the judge at the court because I would feel shame. My lawyer advised me to turn my shoes down so that the judge could understand my message, I did it and the judge understood what I mean...”

5.13 Obstacles Female Offenders Faced in Leaving Their Abusers

As mentioned before, there are several factors keeping battered women with their abusive husbands such as, familial and social pressure, limited economic resources, fear of retaliation, and custody of children.

During the *in-depth interviews*, battered female offenders reported that during their efforts in leaving their abusive husbands, they were exposed severe resistance both by their own families and by their husbands and husbands' families. For instance, when a battered female offender demanded her mother's support to leave her abusive husband, her mother dictated her not to leave her husband with the justification *“Your father also battered me many times, it is a normal case in all families, I have tolerated him, so you also have to be silence and stay by your man”*. Another example is the disapproval and the severe reaction of another battered female offender's family. Her father and brothers threatened her, when she decided to divorce from her abusive husband through a typical discriminative statement used generally for brides at the time of wedding in our culture that is *“you are leaving your own family with wedding dress and you can turn back here*

only with your cerement”. This statement implies that a married woman could not leave ‘her man’ at any cost until the death. In fact, the main cultural norm rooted in this statement is, so-called ‘honour’ of the girl’s family. If their married daughter turns back to her family’s home from her husband’s home, it is believed that this brings a stain to the family’s honour.

5.14 Survival Strategies of Female Offenders after They Left Their Abusers

Female offenders were asked about obstacles they faced, after they left their abusers. It seems from the in-depth interviews that female offenders, who decided to leave their abusers, took the risk of increased violence or even death and most of them achieved to protect themselves from their partners’ violence but many women faced more attacks from their abusers after the separation.

One of the respondents, who participated in in-depth interviews, mentioned that *“...although I obtained protection orders against my former abusive husband, after I separated from him, one night he entered into my private residence by force and raped me again and again...”*

Most of interviewees, who achieved to leave their abusive partners, are mothers at the same time and when they were leaving the home, almost all had to leave their *children* at home due to their financial restrictions. Some could take one of their children together with them but after a while, they had to send their child back to their former husband due to economic problems. None of female offenders has custody of their children due to their criminal acts but all offenders are complaining about not being able to see their children, as their former husbands do not bring their children to the prison, although they believe that seeing their children is their legal right. The tragic case I faced during the interviews was all mothers have been trying to find a way to see their children and all asked me crying in despair about the ways to see their children.

One of the interviewees reported, “...After I left my abusive husband, I found a job to earn my life but as soon as my ex-husband learnt that I was employed, he bothered me at my office and assaulted me in front of my manager’s eyes. Due to such problems occurring in the workplace, at the end I was hired. Then I found another job but since my husband was acquaintance of my boss, he requested him to hire me and as a result, I became unemployed again. The last solution for me was to leave the city where my husband was residing but in order to be able to live in another city, I needed a financial resource. At that time, I met a strange man through internet and without knowing him very well; I decided to marry him in order to escape from my former abusive husband as soon as possible. However, after I left my hometown (Şanlıurfa) and settled in my new partner’s residence (Ankara) I started to expose new assaults by him and I learnt that he was still married. Because I had no alternative at that time due my economic restrictions, I had to live with him for a while. After his violent acts increased, I had to turn back to my hometown and started to live with my family. One day, I wanted to see my children, they were living with my ex-husband at that time. I went to his home but because my ex-husband did not let me see my children, we started to fight on the street and he attacked me with his knife. When I was trying to protect myself against his attacks, I injured him with his own knife...”

Almost all interviewees in my research, who left their abusers and who were unemployed, reported that they faced many difficulties in seeking a job due to their insufficient educational level and lack of job experience. Furthermore, a major part of female offenders mentioned that they had to work as a *sex worker* to survive alone after they had left the home.

For example, another female offender reported, “...I had to leave my family’s home at one night due to my brother’s sexual attacks. When I left home, I came upon my father’s friend on the street at that night. He asked me why I was outside at that late hour and I shared my difficulty with him crying. He offered me to go his home until I find a safe

place to stay and as I did not another alternative, I had to accept his offer. When we arrived at his home, he immediately raped me and after that event, he locked me in his home for a while. He brought different people to the home at every night and pushed me to have sexual intercourse with those men. After a while, I achieved to escape from him but I had to work as a sex worker to earn my life. I started to live in my aunt's residence, she supported me at that time but in the meanwhile, my brother learnt from my aunt where I was living. One day, when my aunt was outside, my brother came home and attacked me again. When I was trying to prevent his attacks, I had to kill him..."

As seen from the expressions of female offenders, the life was not easy for them after they decided to leave their abusers. As mentioned in the earlier parts, one of the main reasons why battered women stay with their abusers are their fear of facing such worse difficulties after their separation due to their limited financial resources and lack of their families' support, as well as custody of children concern and fear of retaliation from their abusers. The above picture shows that female offenders took the possible risks while leaving their abusers but they faced a lot of bad experiences as they had nowhere to go. Here, the importance of education and economic independence of women to save themselves after the separation should be emphasized. Because as seen from the above findings, the main difficulty battered women faced was maintaining their lives without a financial resource due to their economic dependence before the separation.

5.15 Female Offenders Convicted of Killing Their Partners

As mentioned in the previous parts, several studies found a meaningful relation between homicides by women and their history of violence. Besides, studies show that when women's different strategies to cope with intimate partner violence such as, leaving home or attempting to suicide, failed, they saw killing their abusive partners as the only way out.

During the *in-depth interviews*, I found that, most of female offenders convicted of killing their abusers had tried various alternatives to escape from violence such as leaving home, sharing their bad experiences with their parents, and attempting suicide, before they resorted to violence against their abusers. However, when they saw those alternatives failed to save themselves, they had to kill their abusers at the end.

Such data about female offenders, who committed violent crimes against their abusers in response to attack by them, is crucial to see the relation between violence against women and women's use of violent crimes. However, during my research, I saw that there is no any specific record about women convicted of such homicides in the database of Sincan Prison. As mentioned before, female offenders' crimes types are categorized into only minor crimes and violent crimes in the database of the prison. Although 22 women convicted of violent crimes were randomly selected for the in-depth interviews, I saw that 9 out of 12 ever-married interviewees are prisoned due to injuring or killing their intimate partners. This striking result supports the feminist argument claiming the existence of causal relation between women's history of violence and the main reason for their imprisonment.

Furthermore, as argued before, although women convicted of such murders have usually no any criminal record compared to other female prisoners, they often face harsher penalties than men who kill their female partners in the name of honour. One group of two focus group studies is composed of eight women who received *heavy life sentence* and although these eight women were randomly selected, I found that 4 out of 5 ever-married women received this heavy punishment due to killing their abusive partners. This striking result shows that although many female offenders committed violent crimes in response to their abusers' attacks, motivation of such homicides are not regarded as mitigating causes at courts. Conversely, they receive harsher penalties.

5.16 Underlying Reasons for Female Offenders' Violent Crimes

As my study's target group is composed only of female offenders, I did not have chance to compare the motivations and contexts of female violent crimes with male violent crimes. However, through the in-depth interviews with 22 female offenders convicted of violent crimes, I could get detailed data regarding the motivations and context of female offenders' crimes. Besides, although I do not have any clue about the motivations of male violence against women, for Turkey, it can be assumed through the media news that male abusers often commit violent crimes against their (ex)wives in motivations of jealousy, non-acceptance of losing control over women, or restoring honour. These justifications, especially honor-killings, do not indicate official data about the motivations of male violence against women as most murders are still justified by the male perpetrators through restoring his honour to benefit reduced sentence.

During the in-depth interviews, female offenders were asked the underlying reasons for their imprisonment. Three out of 22 female offenders convicted of violent crimes are single, 11 out of 19 ever-married offenders were married through *arranged marriage*, and eight got married through *out of love* marriage. The marriage ages of 11 offenders were between 13 and 17 and of seven offenders were between 18 and 19.

Sixteen out of 19 ever-married offenders reported that they were exposed to various types of violent by their husbands. Ten out of 19 ever-married offenders reported that they killed/injured their abusive partners or husbands and besides one offender killed her business partner due to his sexual harassment and another killed her brother due to his sexual abuse. Other offenses are including robbery, injury of friend, killing child of her husband's sexual partner in retaliation of adultery, and murder of her son's friend.

These findings indicate that more than half of ever-married female offenders convicted of violent crimes are prisoned due to killing their abusers. One interviewee stated, "...After I divorced from my abusive husband, he did not let me to see the children and

he continuously bothered and threatened me after the divorce. Besides, he prevented all my attempts to work. Although I obtained protection order against him, one night he broke into my private house and raped me. One day, during my struggles to see my children, he prevented me again and at the event of or fought on the street, he took out a knife and while I was trying to protect myself, I had to injure him with his knife...

In another murder case, another female offender reported, “...my ex-husband made a stranger man follow me after I separated from my husband and because the stranger man bothered me everywhere, I had to kill him at the end...” Another three female offenders had to kill their abusive husbands during their marriages as they could not divorce from their husbands due to their husbands’ threats and as they had nowhere to go to escape from their abusers. One of them stated, “...I could not stand for my husband’s sexual attacks, he always forced me to anal sex. I could not share sexual aspect of his attacks with my family, as I was feeling ashamed. However, I said my mother that I wanted to divorce from my husband due to his physical attacks. My parents rejected my decision and they said me that if I left my husband I could not turn back to their home. I was feeling helpless as I had nowhere to go apart from my family’s home. I wanted to kill him but I could not attempt the murder, as I was very afraid of killing a person. I shared my difficulty with my cousin; he could understand my bad situation. He wanted to help me and he instigated two men to kill my husband. Now I’m prisoned together with my cousin due to killing my husband...” Another female offender was prisoned due to killing her abusive brother because of his sexual attacks, as also mentioned in previous parts. One offender had to kill her abusive business partner, she reported, “...we could not get along with my business partner in the recent times and I initiated a legal action against him to separate business from him by getting my investment back. One day he called me and said that he wanted to meet with me to come to an agreement without legal ways. I accepted his offer and went to meet with him. When I got in his car, he abducted me. I tried to escape from him but I could not achieve. He attacked and raped me. The following day, he came to our shared office and

damaged everything at the office. He came with his knife and started to attack me. At the time of fought, I killed him... ”

Furthermore, six out of these 12 female offenders, who killed/injured their abusers, reported that after they left home to escape from their abusers, they had to work as a sex worker since they could not find a job due to their low level of education and insufficient job experience. Besides, two out of six sex workers reported that they have been hold in prison, as they had to kill their abusive partners.

In addition to above findings from the in-depth interviews, as it was mentioned in the previous parts that during the focus group discussion with female offenders, who received heavy life sentence, it is seen that 4 out of 5 ever-married female offenders have been hold in prison as they killed their abusive husbands.

Both interview and focus group study results show the importance of analyzing the underlying reasons for women’s use of violence in researching the violence against women.

Summary

In parallel with the aims of this thesis, during the field study - conducted on female offenders prisoned at Ankara Sincan Women’s Closed Prison - to have an idea about profile of female offenders, it was tried to be understood who they are. Besides, attitudes of female offenders - who already ‘violated’ their gender roles by committing a crime - towards gender discrimination and gender-based violence were tried to be explored. Moreover, related to this thesis argument, whether there is a relation between female violent crimes and their violence experiences was tried to be analyzed. In order to see the overall picture, all quantitative and qualitative research findings are summarized below under the related titles.

Profile of Female Offenders

From the socio-demographic findings, profile of female offenders can be summarized that a major part of female offenders are undereducated and economically dependent on men. Furthermore, an important part of female offenders is coming from families living in poverty. Compared to female offenders' status, their mothers seem to be in a desperate situation. Moreover, a great deal of female offenders is coming from a multi-child and oppressive patriarchal family. Although they have grown up in male-dominant families, they seem to have transgressed patriarchal familial bonds by marrying through out of love marriages, as one fifth of these women married without their families' consent and they had to maintain their lives without support from their families. However, on the other side, it is seen that the rate of divorced women is higher than the rate of married women at the prison. Considering their current marital status and pattern of marriage among female offenders, it can be concluded that the possibility of divorce increases among spouses, who got married through out of love. On the other hand, according to the findings, early marriage, a form of violence against women, is a widespread phenomenon among female offenders.

Female Offenders' Perspectives on Gender and Sexuality

According to the findings about female offenders' attitudes towards gender division of labor at home, it seems that female offenders tend to reproduce traditional gender roles at home and this traditional thinking is not much different from outside the prison. Concerning the gender segregation at work, female offenders are in tendency to be more egalitarian about gender distribution at work. Regarding the sexuality related issues, it is seen from the findings that an overwhelming majority of female offenders tend to be quite conservative in approaching female sexuality and virginity likewise the widespread traditional approach towards sexuality in our patriarchal society.

Female Offenders' Perspectives on Intimate Partner Violence

From the findings about female offenders' attitudes towards intimate partner violence, it is clearly seen that female offenders are in tendency to define violence through *physical violence*. A great deal of female offenders described the first type of violence coming to their mind through their physical violence *experiences*. Female offenders mostly think that the perpetrator of violence is the *men*. For a considerable part of female offenders, the reason for violence against women is battered women's *economic dependence* on men. Female offenders explained the reason for *violence among spouses* through marital or individual factors such as, marital conflict, educational, cultural, or age gap between spouses, rather than regarding partner violence as a social concern. While a great majority of female offenders tends to be against *wife battering*, nearly half of respondents support *daughter battering* by considering their current situation at prison as the outcome of their lack of familial support. Besides, a major part of respondents tends to be in opposition to *de-value of female children* as a form of violence against women. Moreover, female offenders are in tendency to overvalue the concept of *honour* by defining honour through female sexuality and by defining an honorable woman as 'not betraying her husband'. On the other hand, nearly half of female offenders believe that perpetrators of honour killings should receive less punishment than the perpetrators of other crimes. Regarding the early marriages, as another form of violence against women, most of female offenders were against early/forced marriages, but on the other hand, some offenders wished they were married through arranged marriage due to their regrets in choosing the wrong husband. In addition, 80 % of respondents reported that they were exposed to violence by their parents and/or intimate partners. Besides, female offenders mentioned that their mothers were more oppressive and violent more than their fathers.

Underlying Reasons for Women's Use of Violence

According to the findings from the in-depth interviews with 22 female offenders, 10 out of 19 ever-married offenders reported that they killed/injured their abusive partners/husbands and one offender killed her business partner due to his sexual harassment and another killed her brother due to his sexual abuse. These findings indicate that more than half of ever-married female offenders convicted of violent crimes are imprisoned due to killing their abusers. In addition to these findings from the in-depth interviews, during the focus group discussion with female offenders, who received heavy life sentence, it is seen that 4 out of 5 ever-married female offenders have been hold in prison as they killed their abusive husbands. Both study results show the importance of analyzing the underlying reasons for women's use of violence in analyzing the violence against women.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study is an attempt to understand gender-based discrimination and gender-based violence in the eyes of female offenders, who already ‘violated’ their gender roles by committing crime. In analyzing female offenders’ attitudes, this study is grounded on the feminist perspective arguing that gender based violence rooted in gender inequality is socially constructed and has been reproduced in traditional patriarchal societies. Besides, this study aims at understanding the main reason why women engage in violent crimes. In analyzing the underlying reasons for women’s violent crimes, this study is based upon the feminist argument pointing out the existence of causal relation between female violent crimes and their violence experiences. As for Miller (2000: 64) “the victimization of women is an important causal factor for crime that needs to be considered in understanding female offenders”.

Although we may have an idea about female offenders’ profile in Turkey through the prison statistics, there is a lack of sociological study conducted on underlying reasons for female offending, female offenders’ experiences as victims of violence, and their attitudes towards violence against women. In spite of conducted many studies on violence against women outside the prison, there is no any comprehensive research conducted on female offenders as victims of violence in Turkey. Furthermore, limited studies on female offending have focused rather on their demographic characteristics and socio-cultural and economic factors pushing them into crime. Considering these shortcomings, this study aims at understanding gender related issues and violence against women from female offenders’ perspectives, as well as understanding the reasons for their imprisonment due to their violent crimes.

Within this study, rather than exploring the reasons why women engage in *property* crimes, the main reasons for female *violent* crimes was tried to be understood because this study is primarily related to violence and violence against women.

Taking account of the fact that female offenders usually commit violent crimes in response to male violence; it can be argued that violence against women, especially intimate partner violence, *doubly victimizes* battered women; by exposing them to male violence, which in turn put many of them in prison, due to killing their abusers.

From the above arguments, the following research questions were tried to be answered during the study: How have gender discrimination and women's subordination been reproduced? Who are female offenders? What are female offenders' attitudes towards gender based discrimination and gender based violence? What is the main reason for their imprisonment due to violent crimes? Is there any causal relationship between their violence experiences and their imprisonment?

In order to answer these research questions, a field study was conducted on female offenders prisoned at Ankara Sincan Women's Closed Prison. During the field study, a questionnaire was conducted on 134 female offenders, an in-depth interview was implemented on 22 female offenders, and two focus group studies were conducted on two different groups of female offenders.

During the field study, female offenders' general characteristics were tried to be explored to understand who they are. Besides, attitudes of female offenders, who 'violated' their gender roles by committing a crime, towards traditional gender roles and violence against women were analyzed. Moreover, underlying reasons putting women in prison were tried to be understood in order to see whether the main reason for their imprisonment was their history of violence or not.

According to the study findings, property crimes are more common among female offenders but *one third of* female offenders are convicted of *violent crimes* and this is a substantial proportion *to analyze the underlying reasons for women's engaging in violent crimes.*

Furthermore, it is explored during the field study that female violent crimes are identified, in the database of General Directorate of Prisons, according to the *quality* of crime such as, intentional homicide, attempted murder, premeditated murder, instigate, injury, and honor killing. However, during the in-depth interviews in understanding the underlying reasons for women's use of violence, it is explored that the categories of female offenses do not reflect the main reasons for their violent crimes in reality. For instance, one of the female offenders is identified in the database as convicted of *killing close relative*, although it is not only like this in reality; she killed her brother due to his repetitive sexual assaults. More strikingly, another female offender is officially classified as convicted of *killing close relative*, while her victim was her abusive husband and her cousin at the same time. These examples can be reproduced through each conducted in-depth interview but the main point here is *the lack of statistical and descriptive data about such distinctive crimes* as data about the *context* and *motivation* of female offending is quite important to understand *background* of women's violent crimes. Therefore, during the study, I explored the *requirement* of developing a comprehensive system including at least *motives, context, and victims of female violent offenses* for all female offenders in Turkey, in addition to their official crime records.

In respect of *female offenders' profile*, it is found that a great majority of female offenders are in a low socio-economic and socio-cultural level, mostly having history of violence. As multiple sociological studies have also proved the strong positive effect of *education* on empowerment of women, the importance of education is necessary to be emphasized here for especially keeping women from violence and committing crimes. Even the formal education alone may not be enough in some cases for preventing

women from intimate partner violence or committing crime; the influence of women's education is undeniably substantial within all aspects of social life.

In parallel with their low educational level, it is clearly seen from the findings that a major part of female offenders were *economically dependent* on men before their imprisonment. Although *universal risk theory*, developed by a group of feminist scholars, indicate that women of all social classes are equally under the risk of violence, it should be pointed out that escaping from intimate partner violence is more difficult for economically dependent women. Furthermore, collected data indicating the proportion of female offenders convicted of property crimes is more than the rate of offenders convicted of violent crimes might give us a clue to think about possible relationship between women's financial difficulties and their involvement in property crimes, as *economic marginalization hypothesis* developed by feminist scholars and Marxist feminists asserted. Keeping in mind the lower educational level and lower socio-economic status of many women outside the prison compared to men, the worse situation of female offenders can also been clearly seen through the field study results.

Furthermore, concerning the *familial background* of female offenders, it is found that an overwhelming part of female offenders' parents, especially their *mothers*, is in a desperate situation compared to their prisoned daughters. Besides, it is clearly seen that a great deal of female offenders are coming from male-headed patriarchal families where the male members of the household are the decision makers. Moreover, a major part of female offenders seems to be grown up within multi child and crowded families in spite of their families' low socio-economic statuses.

In order to see whether female offenders have distinctive characteristics from women outside the prison, their *marital status* and *pattern of marriage* were questioned. It is explored from the collected data that an important part of female offenders of respondents are currently *divorced*, which is much higher than the divorce rate in

Turkey. This result indicates that female offenders, different from women outside the prison, are more likely to be in tendency to challenge the traditional patriarchal order. Furthermore, they seem to have succeeded in leaving their husbands at any cost, by taking the risk of possible familial and social pressure over them before and after the separation. In order to see the female offenders' trends in the process of their marriage, how they got married was questioned as well. Again, it is seen from the results that the rate of *out of love marriage* among female offenders is much more than the rate of women getting married through out of love in Turkey. Furthermore, one fifth of this rate reported that they married without their parents' consent. This result again indicates female offenders' distinctive trends in the process of their marriage by challenging the typical arranged marriage, which is more common in Turkey. However, on the other hand, considering the relation between female offenders' pattern of marriage and their current marital status, it is explored that as getting married through out of love increases, divorce rate among these offenders increases as well. Therefore, it can be concluded from this finding that the outcome of out of love marriages, compared to arranged marriages, is more likely to be divorce.

Furthermore, according to the research results, it is clearly seen that a great deal of female offenders got married at their early ages and this finding shows the prevalence of *early/forced marriages* among women, which shows the necessity of a separate and a more comprehensive research on early marriages as a widespread phenomenon in Turkey.

Understanding female offenders' profile is important in analyzing gender-based discrimination and gender-based violence as they already 'violated' their gender roles by committing (violent) crime. Apart from analyzing female offenders' profile to understand who they are, their attitudes towards gender and sexuality related issues and violence against women were tried to be understood within this study. In analyzing female offenders' attitudes, this study is based upon the feminist perspective claiming

that gender based violence rooted in gender inequality is socially constructed and has been reproduced in traditional patriarchal societies.

With regard to female offenders' attitudes towards *gender and sexuality* related issues, I explored from the study findings that female offenders' perspectives on traditional gender roles at home and female sexuality are not much different from outside the prison, considering the traditional patriarchal structure of our society. Female offenders mostly exhibited typically *conservative* attitudes towards traditional female roles *at home* and *female sexuality and virginity*. However, on the other side, while female offenders are reproducing gendered division of labor at home, they exhibited an *egalitarian* attitude towards gender distribution *at work*.

In respect of female offenders' attitudes towards *violence against women*, from the field study findings, it is clearly seen that female offenders mostly tend to describe *violence* through *physical violence*, especially by referring to their violence experiences. For female offenders, the main reason for *violence against women* is battered women's *economic dependence* on men. Female offenders' approach to violence against women is consistent with *liberal feminist* and *Marxists feminist perspectives*; both share the idea that women's liberation can only be achieved through their participation in the labor market. Although these perspectives have been criticized for their overemphasis on the economic basis of inequality, strong positive effect of women's economic independency on their liberation is undeniable. On the other side, according to the female offenders, the main reasons for *violence among spouses* are marital conflict, educational, cultural, or age gap between spouses. From this result, it can be said that female offenders tend to see the *intimate male partner violence* as an *individual, familial* or *financial* concern, rather than as a *social* problem, arising from patriarchal norms rooted in traditional cultures. Besides, while female offenders argue against *wife battering*, nearly half of them tends to support *daughter battering* by referring to their current position at prison as the outcome of their lack of familial support or control.

About female offenders' attitudes towards *specific forms of violence against women* such as, *de-value of female children*, *early marriages*, and *honour killings*, female offenders stand against discrimination between female and male children. However, some agree with the temporary position of female children in the family because they were treated as a stranger, who would be married and leave the family at her early ages. Female offenders were against early/forced marriages, as another form of violence against women, but on the other hand, some wished they were married through arranged marriage by referring to their current position at prison due to choosing the wrong husband. Moreover, it is seen from the study results that female offenders overvalue the concept of *honour* by defining honour through *women's sexuality*. This approach is in parallel with the honour codes rooted in patriarchal norms as honour is closely linked to female sexuality within honour-based societies, as discussed in the previous parts. Furthermore, nearly half of female offenders support *penalty reduction* in *honour killings* as they regard honour crimes distinct from other crimes. Due to deep attachment to the concept of honour arising from social construction of honour codes in our society, male perpetrators of so-called honour killings still benefit penalty reductions under the cover of 'severe provocation.' This unfair legal regulation encourages many male perpetrators of murders to justify their murders through similar expressions such as "I killed to restore my honour". The only way to prevent this most severe type of violence against women in the short run seems to impose severe punitive sanctions on such types of murders committed by men.

This study at the same time aims at understanding the main reason *why women engage in violent crimes*. In analyzing underlying reasons for women's violent crimes, as mentioned before, this study is grounded on the feminist argument claiming a meaningful relation between *female violent crimes* and their *violence experiences*. Therefore, during the in-depth interviews, in analyzing why women committed violent crimes, their violence experiences were tried to be questioned to see whether there is a causal relation between their imprisonment and their history of violence. From the

questionnaire study findings, it is explored that a great deal of female offenders were exposed to various types of violence by their parents during their childhood and by their husbands during their marriage. Apart from physical and psychological violence, it is found that many female offenders were exposed to sexual violence by their intimate partners, but in addition to partner's sexual abuse, it is explored that some offenders were exposed to incest rapes. Even worse, during the in-depth interviews with female offenders convicted of violent crimes and focus group discussion with female offenders prisoned to heavily life sentence, it is explored that many female offenders are prisoned due to killing their abusers. However, as mentioned before, to support this study's argument, asserting the relation between women's violent crimes and their violence experiences, getting information about motivation, context, and victims of all violent crimes committed by female offenders was impossible due to the lack of such type of data in the database of the prison. Therefore, I could get this required information to support my argument only through only in-depth interviews and focus group studies. Lack of such a system providing information about underlying reasons for women's violent crimes prevents us from realizing the reality and does not call scholars' attention to this important issue. Besides, due to this shortcoming, specific rehabilitation programs and legal regulations for such female offenders are not necessarily seen to be developed. Accordingly, it is concluded from this study, as mentioned before, development of a national information system providing data about motives, context, and victims of female offenders' violent crimes is a social policy requirement to indicate the significance of this social problem and to take measures for these female offenders as actually victims.

Furthermore, during the field study, it is explored that although many female offenders were imprisoned due to killing their abusers, they received heavy penalties. For instance, during the focus group studies, it is seen that four out of five ever-married female offenders have received heavy life sentence due to killing their abusive husbands, although they do not have any criminal record. Compared to male perpetrators of so-

called honour killings, who usually benefit penalty reduction due to ‘severe provocation’, it is not fair to impose harsher penalties on women, who had to kill or injure their abusers in a ‘self-defense’ manner. Therefore, instead of imposing penalty reductions on male perpetrators of honour killings, it can be suggested that new legal regulations should be arranged and penalty reductions should be imposed on women, who saw killing their abuser as a last way out.

However, in the meanwhile, to prevent battered and helpless women from committing violent crimes against their abusers, more safety ways, to which they can apply to protect themselves from violence, should be announced through more public service announcements and active studies.

Besides, considering the limited women’s shelters and limited financial resources allocated for female victims of violence, in order to protect many battered women in the long term, the government should allocate much more fund for this important concern.

Above all, this study can be summarized by supporting the argument that although female offenders stand against *violence*, many of them are imprisoned due to *violent crimes*. This means that women are committing violent crimes against their abusive partners not because they are violent but because they saw killing their partner as a last way out to protect themselves.

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APPENDICES

A. QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire aims at understanding your opinions about various social issues. This study is based totally on voluntariness and your answers will be used only for scientific purposes. Please do not mention your personal identity information on any part of questionnaire form. Thank you in advance for your kind support to this research.

1. Year of birth / Age :

2. Educational Level:

- ☐ Illiterate
- ☐ Only literate
- ☐ Primary school graduate
- ☐ Secondary school graduate
- ☐ High school graduate
- ☐ University student
- ☐ University graduate

3. How many siblings do you have?

4. Marital Status

- ☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ Divorced ☐ Widowed

5. How did you get married?

- ☐ Out of love ☐ Arranged marriage ☐ by eloping ☐ other

6. Did you have any occupation before your imprisonment? If yes, what was your occupation?

7. If you had an occupation before your imprisonment, what was your monthly income?

- ☐ I did not have a job
- ☐ Less than 1000 TL
- ☐ 1000 TL -2500 TL
- ☐ Above 2500 TL

8. What was monthly income of your household?

- ☐ Less than 1000 TL
- ☐ 1000 TL -2500 TL
- ☐ Above 2500 TL

9. Your father's occupation

10. Your father's educational level

- ☐ Illiterate
- ☐ Only literate
- ☐ Primary school graduate
- ☐ Secondary school graduate
- ☐ High school graduate
- ☐ University graduate

11. Your mother's occupation

12. Your mother's educational level

- ☐ Illiterate
- ☐ Only literate
- ☐ Primary school graduate
- ☐ Secondary school graduate
- ☐ High school graduate
- ☐ University graduate

13. When does a girl become a woman?

14. When does a boy become a man?

15. Who is the decision maker in your family?

16. Who should undertake the following works at home?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Supporting the household | <input type="checkbox"/> Woman | <input type="checkbox"/> Man | <input type="checkbox"/> Both |
| Repairing | <input type="checkbox"/> Woman | <input type="checkbox"/> Man | <input type="checkbox"/> Both |
| Cooking | <input type="checkbox"/> Woman | <input type="checkbox"/> Man | <input type="checkbox"/> Both |
| Cleaning | <input type="checkbox"/> Woman | <input type="checkbox"/> Man | <input type="checkbox"/> Both |
| Ironing | <input type="checkbox"/> Woman | <input type="checkbox"/> Man | <input type="checkbox"/> Both |
| Childcare | <input type="checkbox"/> Woman | <input type="checkbox"/> Man | <input type="checkbox"/> Both |

17. Who is suitable for the following jobs?

Doctor	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both
Teacher	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both
Dustman	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both
Cleaner	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both
School manager	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both
Secretary	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both
Police	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both
Soldier	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both
Gynecologist	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both
Lawyer	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both
Hairdresser	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both
Cook	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both
Tailor	<input type="checkbox"/> Woman	<input type="checkbox"/> Man	<input type="checkbox"/> Both

18. What do you think about the following statements?

- “Men make houses women make homes” ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree
- “There is no lover as a mother” ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree
- “Not try to do men’s job” ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree
- “Mother prides herself on giving birth of male child, while mother beats her chest on giving birth of female child” ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree
- “Mothers giving birth of female children become deformed quickly”
☐ Agree ☐ Disagree
- “Even if the girl is in the member of the household, she is regarded as a stranger”
☐ Agree ☐ Disagree
- “Roses vegetates where husband slaps” ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree
- “Keep your violence on your wife and make her reproduce as much as possible”
☐ Agree ☐ Disagree
- “Spare the rod and spoil the child” ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree
- “If you give rein to your daughter, she is most likely marry a guy to whom you never consent”
☐ Agree ☐ Disagree

“If a female dog does not wag its tail, then male dog does not approach the female dog”

() Agree () Disagree

19. Girls must save their virginity until they get married

() Agree () Disagree

20. Boys can have sexual intercourse freely until they get married

() Agree () Disagree

21. Girls can have sexual intercourse freely until they get married

() Agree () Disagree

22. Married men can have multiple sexual partners

() Agree () Disagree

23. If a newly married man discovered at the wedding night that the bride is not virgin, he should immediately divorce from her

() Agree () Disagree

24. Women dressing provocatively deserve to be sexually abused by men

() Agree () Disagree

25. What is violence?

26. Say the first type of violence that comes to your mind

27. Mostly who does resort to violence?

28. Which women are exposed to violence?

29. Why are women exposed to violence?

30. What is the main reason for violence among spouses?

31. Why are single girls beaten by their fathers?

32. Why are married women beaten by their husbands?

33. What should battered women do?

34. Have you ever witnessed any violent event? If yes, can you share the details?

35. What does honour mean?

36. What does honorable woman mean?

37. What does honorable man mean?

38. A person should live for her/his honour

() Agree () Disagree

39. Only the woman is responsible for her honour

☐ Agree ☐ Disagree

40. Male members of the household are responsible for single girls' honour

☐ Agree ☐ Disagree

41. Husbands are responsible for their wives' honour

☐ Agree ☐ Disagree

42. Honour killings restore the family's honour

☐ Agree ☐ Disagree

43. If necessary, I may commit honour killing

☐ Agree ☐ Disagree

44. What is the main reason for honour killings?

45. Perpetrators of honour crimes should receive less punishment than perpetrators of other crimes

☐ Agree ☐ Disagree

B. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü

☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Barış

Adı : Gaye

Bölümü : Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce): Female Offenders' Attitudes towards Gender and Violence and Their Violence Experiences: Sincan Women's Prison

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

☐

Doktora

☒

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

☒

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

☒

3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:

C. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Barış Gaye
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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU Sociology	2007
BS	Ankara University Sociology	2002
High School	Ari High School, Ankara	1997

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2002- 2015	METU	Research Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

HOBBIES

Volleyball, Movies, Motor Sports

D. TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışmanın amacı sosyal olarak inşa edilen *cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılık* ve bunun bir sonucu olan *kadına yönelik şiddet* konularının sosyolojik açıdan incelenmesidir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, bu çalışma kapsamında, kadın mahkûmların gözünden toplumsal cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ve kadına yönelik şiddet konuları analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ve cinsiyete dayalı şiddeti kadın mahkûmların perspektiflerinden anlayabilmek önemlidir, çünkü mahkûm kadınlar, cezaevi dışındaki kadınlardan farklı olarak, kendi cinsiyet rollerini bir şekilde ‘ihlal’ etmiş ve suça dâhil olmuş kadınlardır. Ayrıca, bu çalışma kapsamında, kadınların yaşadıkları şiddet deneyimleri ile şiddet suçu işlemleri arasında anlamlı bir ilişki olduğunu ileri süren feminist argüman dikkate alınarak, şiddet suçu işlemiş mahkûm kadınların suç işlemlerinin altında yatan asıl sebepler analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu argümana paralel olarak bu çalışmanın dayandığı bir diğer argüman da şiddet suçu işlemiş kadınların aslında şiddete eğilimli oldukları için değil, kendilerini şiddetten korumak için son çözüm yolu olarak şiddet suçu işlemek durumunda kalmalarıdır. Bütün bu argümanlar ışığında, bu çalışma ile Ankara Sincan Kadın Kapalı Cezaevi’nde kalan mahkûm kadınların toplumsal cinsiyet, cinsellik, şiddet ve kadına yönelik şiddet konularındaki tutumları ve şiddet suçu işlemiş kadınların suç işlemlerinin altında yatan sebepler nitel ve nicel araştırma teknikleri kullanılarak incelenmiştir.

Yürütülen saha çalışması sırasında cezaevinde kalan 287 mahkûm kadından 134’ü ile anket çalışması, 22 şiddet suçu işlemiş mahkûm kadınla derinlemesine mülakat ve toplamda 15 kadından oluşan iki farklı grup mahkûm kadınla (maddi suç işlemiş ve ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası almış) odak grup çalışması yürütülmüştür.

Bu çalışmada kadına yönelik şiddet konusunun ele alınmasının bir sebebi de, alınan onca tedbire rağmen, yürütülen araştırmalardan ve medyada çıkan haberlerden de görüldüğü gibi, bu sorunun günümüzde hala yaygın olarak devam etmesidir. Ayrıca, *kadına yönelik şiddet* ve *kadın suçluluğu* iki ayrı sosyal problem gibi görünse de son zamanlarda

yapılan alıřmalar bunun tersini iddia etmektedir (Totman, 1986; Browne, 1997; Walker, 1984; Saunders, 1988; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2011; 59; Dobash & Dobash, 2000). Bunun yanı sıra, cezaevi dıřındaki kadınlar üzerinde yrtlen pek ok kadına ynelik řiddet alıřmasına raėmen, Trkiye’de kadın mahkmların řiddet maėduriyeti zerinde yrtlmř kapsamlı bir alıřma bulunmamaktadır. Kadın mahkmlar zerinde yapılan sınırlı sayıda alıřma da daha ok kadınların demografik ve sosyokltrel zellikleri ve onları sua iten ekonomik faktrler zerinde odaklanmıřtır. Bu sınırlılıklar dikkate alınarak bu alıřma ile hem mahkm kadınların bakıř aılarından cinsiyet ve kadına ynelik řiddet konuları incelenmeye alıřılmıř hem de yařadıkları řiddet deneyimleri ile řiddet suu iřlemeleri arasında anlamlı bir iliřki olup olmadıėı arařtırılmıřtır.

Pek ok su teorisi yalnızca erkek sululuėuna vurgu yaparak kadın sululuėunu gz ardı etmekte ya da su konusunu incelerken toplumsal cinsiyet unsurunu dikkate almamaktadır. Erkek sululuėuna daha ok dikkat ekilmesinin bir sebebi de erkeklerin kadınlara gre ok fazla oranda sua dhil olmaları olabilir. Kadınlar sua dhil olduklarında toplum tarafından iki kat sapkın olarak algılanırlar, nk hem yasaları hem de kendi cinsiyet rollerini ihlal etmiř sayılırlar (Marchbank & Letherbay, 2007: 285; Denno, 1994: 86; Miller & Mullins, 2011: 200). Kadınların řiddet suu iřleme oranı erkeklere gre ok daha dřk olsa da řiddet suu iřlemiř kadına toplumsal tepki daha cezalandırıcı olmaktadır.

Kadın sululuėu incelendiėinde, kadınların zellikle cinayet ve yaralama suunu kendilerini korumak amacıyla řiddet uygulayan kiřiye karřı iřledikleri grlmektedir (Ortakyl, Taktak, Balcıoėlu, 2004: 13-19). řiddete maruz kalan kadınlar tarafından iřlenen bu tr suların daha ok kendilerine ynelik saldırıya tepki olarak plansız bir biimde iřlendiėi ileri srlmektedir (İli, 1995).

Feminist kriminologlar, kadın ve erkek suçluğunun niteliksel olarak farklı olduğunu öne sürerler (Steffensmeier and Schwartz, 2004: 116).Çoğu feminist bilim adamı, kadınların yakın ilişkilerinde işledikleri şiddet suçların *savunmaya yönelik* ve *tepkisel* olarak işledikleri konusunda hemfikirdir (Daly & Maher, 1998: 1-17; Schauer, 2006: 153; Dutton and Nicholls, 2005: 683).Feministlerin bu argümanına dayanarak bu çalışmada, kadınların şiddet suçu işlemeleri ile şiddet deneyimleri arasında anlamlı bir ilişki olup olmadığı sorgulanmıştır.

Kadınların özellikle ikili ilişkilerde işledikleri şiddet suçlarını daha çok *meşru müdafaa* kapsamında işlediklerini iddia eden yukarıdaki argümanlar dikkate alınarak, kadına yönelik şiddetin, özellikle eş şiddetinin *kadını iki kat mağdur ettiği* iddiası ileri sürülebilir; hem koca şiddetine maruz kalıyorlar hem de bu sebepten kendilerini korumak amacıyla şiddet gördükleri eşlerini (çoğu zaman saldırı anında) yaralamak veya öldürmek durumunda kalıp uzun yıllar hapis yatıyorlar.

Yukarıda belirtilen argümanlara paralel olarak bu araştırmada şu sorulara yanıt aranmıştır: cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ve kadının mağduriyeti toplum tarafından nasıl yeniden üretilmektedir? Mahkûm kadınlar kimlerdir?Mahkûm kadınların cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılık ve cinsiyete dayalı şiddet konusundaki tutumları nelerdir?Şiddet suçu işlemiş kadınların suç işlemelerinin altında yatan asıl sebepler nelerdir, kurbanları daha çok kimlerdir?Bu kadınların mahkûm edilmeleri ile geçmişte yaşadıkları şiddet deneyimleri arasında bir ilişki var mıdır?Bu araştırma sorularına bulabilmek için, cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ve kadına yönelik şiddet sorunlarının patriarkal toplumlarda nasıl yeniden üretildiği literatür taraması ile analiz edilmiştir. Ayrıca, suç işleyerek kendi cinsiyet rollerini ‘ihlal’ eden kadın mahkûmların cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ve kadına yönelik şiddete karşı tutumları saha çalışması ile araştırılmıştır. Kadın mahkûmların çeşitli konulara bakış açılarını incelemeden önce, mahkum kadınların kimler olduklarını anlayabilmek için genel özellikleri anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.Bunun dışında, kadınların şiddet geçmişleri ile şiddet suçu işlemeleri arasında neden-sonuç ilişkisi olup olmadığını keşfedebilmek için

şiddet suçu işlemiş kadınların cezaevine girmelerine neden olan asıl sebepler derinlemesine mülakat yöntemiyle araştırılmıştır.

YÖNTEM

Saha çalışması Ankara Sincan Kadın Kapalı Cezaevi'nde yürütülmüştür. Çalışmanın yürütülebilmesi için Adalet Bakanlığı'na bağlı Ceza ve Tevkif Evleri Daire Başkanlığı'ndan bir yıl süreli yasal izin belgesi alınmıştır.

Saha çalışması boyunca, o anda cezaevinde bulunan 287 mahkûm kadından 134 kadınla anket çalışması, 22 şiddet suçu işlemiş kadınla derinlemesine mülakat çalışması ve iki farklı grup mahkûm kadınla iki ayrı odak grup çalışması yürütülmüştür.

Ankete dahil olan kadınlarda herhangi bir kriter aranmamış, gönüllü olan her mahkum anket çalışmasına dahil edilmiştir. Derinlemesine mülakat çalışmaları için yalnızca şiddet suçu işlemiş 22 mahkûm kadın rastgele seçilmiştir. Sadece şiddet suçu işlemiş kadınlarla mülakat yapılmasının sebebi, bu çalışmanın esas olarak şiddet konusu üzerinde odaklanması ve dolayısıyla görüşülen kadınların hem şiddete başvurma nedenleri hem de şiddet deneyimleri hakkında bilgi edinmek istenmesidir. Ayrıca iki farklı grup mahkûmun benzer konulara bakış açılarını görebilmek için maddi suç işlemiş bir grup kadın ve ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezasından yatan bir diğer grup kadınla odak grup çalışması yapılmıştır.

Bu çalışma karşılaştırmalı olmaktan ziyade *betimsel* bir niteliğe sahiptir, dolayısıyla *vaka incelemesi* kapsamında yürütülmüş ve toplanan verilerin Türkiye'deki tüm kadın mahkûmlara genellemesi amacı taşımamaktadır. Anketlerden edinilen kadınların sosyo-demografik özellikleri hakkındaki veriler, diğer kadın mahkûmların genel profili hakkında fikir verebilse de, kadınların çeşitli konulardaki algı ve tutumları ve yaşadıkları deneyimler doğal olarak diğer mahkûmlara genellenemez.

Anket

Saha çalışması boyunca 134 mahkûm kadın üzerinde anket çalışması yürütülmüştür. Anket soruları, demografik sorular, toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsellikle ilgili sorular, şiddet ve kadına yönelik şiddetle ilgili sorular, namus ve namus cinayeti ile ilgili açık ve kapalı uçlu sorulardan oluşmaktadır. Anket verileri SPSS programında analiz edilmiştir.

Derinlemesine Mülakat

22 şiddet suçu işlemiş mahkûm kadınla derinlemesine mülakat çalışması yürütülmüştür. Mülakatlara kişinin demografik özellikleri sorularak başlanmış ve “sizi buraya getiren sebep nedir?” sorusu ile görüşmecinin çocukluk döneminden bugüne kadar olan deneyimleri anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Odak Grup

Yedi ve sekiz kişilik gruplardan oluşan iki ayrı odak grup çalışması yürütülmüştür. Gruplar suç türlerine göre maddi suç işleyenler ve ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası alanlar olarak ikiye ayrılmıştır. Odak grup çalışmalarında katılımcılara erken evlilikler hakkındaki görüşleri sorulmuştur.

ARAŞTIRMA BULGULARI

Kadın Mahkûmların Profili

Suç Türü

Verilere göre, maddi suç işleyen kadınların oranı (% 42,4) şiddet suçu işleyen kadınlardan (% 33,6) daha çoktur, ancak *her üç kadından birinin şiddet suçu işlemesi*, kadınların şiddete başvurma nedenlerini incelemek için yeterli ve önemli bir orandır.

Cezaevi kayıtlarında, kadınların işledikleri şiddet suçları, suçun *niteliğine* göre sınıflandırılmıştır, örneğin kasten adam öldürme, adam öldürmeye teşebbüs, cinayete azmettirme, tasarlayarak öldürme ve yakın akrabayı öldürme gibi. Fakat kadınların şiddet suçu işlemelerinin altında yatan asıl sebeplere göre veya cinayet/yaralama vakasının kurbanlarına göre herhangi bir sınıflama cezaevi kayıtlarında yer almamaktadır. Bu çalışma için asıl gerekli olan bu bilgiler ancak derinlemesine mülakat yapılan şiddet suçu işlemiş 22 kadının ifadeleri ve odak grup görüşmesi yapılan ve ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası almış sekiz kadının ifadeleri ile toplanabilmiştir. Cezaevi kayıtlarında, şiddet suçu işlemiş kadınların kurbanları ve suç işleme sebepleri ile ilgili herhangi bir kayıt yer almadığı için bu çalışma 30 kadının verdiği bilgilerle sınırlı kalmıştır. Örneğin mülakat yapılan kadın mahkûmlardan biri cezaevi kayıtlarına göre *yakın akrabayı öldürme* suçundan içeride bulunmaktadır, oysaki bu kadın kendisine sürekli tecavüz eden öz abisini öldürdüğü için hapis yatmaktadır. Diğer taraftan yine *yakın akrabayı öldürme* suçundan hapisanede bulunan bir kadın aslında amcasının oğlu ve aynı zamanda şiddet gördüğü eşini öldürmüştür. Ayrıca sadece *cinayet* suçundan yatıyor gibi görünen bir başka mahkûm kadın, aslında saldırı anında kendisini korumaya çalışırken kocasını öldürmüştür. Saha çalışması sırasında, kadınların suç işlemelerinin altında yatan nedenlerin sosyolojik açıdan analiz edilebilmesi için bu tür bilgilerin ayrı bir sistemde kayıt edilmediği ve bu bilgi yoksunluğunun da, böylesi önemli bir konuyu açığa çıkartmada ciddi bir sınırlılık oluşturduğu görülmüştür.

Yaş Grupları

Yaş verilerine göre, kadın mahkûmların % 44'ü 24-35 yaş aralığındadır. Bu da, tutuklu ve hükümlü kadınların daha çok genç jenerasyondan oluştuğunu göstermektedir.

Eğitim Düzeyi

Saha çalışmasından elde edilen verilere göre, mahkûm kadınların % 52,6'sı en fazla ilkokul mezunudur. % 35,3'ü ise ortaokul veya lise mezundur. Bu veriler, mahkûm kadınlar arasındaki düşük eğitim seviyesini gözler önüne sermektedir.

Eğitim Seviyesi ve Suç Türü

Kadınların eğitim seviyeleri ile işledikleri suçlar arasında anlamlı bir ilişki olup olmadığına bakılmış ve eğitim seviyesi düşük olanların daha çok maddi suç, yüksek eğitilmiş olanların daha çok şiddet suçu işledikleri görülmüştür. Ayrıca fuhuş suçundan hapis yatan kadınların daha çok eğitim seviyesi düşük olan kadınlar olduğu görülmektedir.

Aile Yapısı

Mahkûm kadınların ne tür ailelerden geldikleri hakkında fikir edinebilmek için onlara kaç kardeş oldukları ve ailede kararları daha çok kimlerin aldığı sorulmuştur.

Kardeş Sayıları

Verilen cevaplara göre kadınların % 72,4'ü dört ve daha fazla kardeşe sahip olduğunu belirtmiştir. Bu tablo, kadınların çok çocuklu ve kalabalık ailelerde büyüdüklerini göstermektedir.

Ailede Karar Verme Mercii

Kadınların % 45,7'si, ailede kararların daha çok erkekler tarafından (koca, baba, abi) alındığını belirtmiştir. Bu veri, mahkûm kadınların daha çok *ataerkil* ailelerden geldiklerini göstermektedir.

Medeni Durum

Kadınlara medeni durumları sorulduğunda boşanmış kadınların (% 38,8), evli kadınlardan (% 37,3) daha fazla olduğu görülüyor. TÜİK 2013 verilerine göre, Türkiye'deki boşanma oranı (% 20,88) göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, mahkûm kadınlardaki boşanma oranının daha yüksek oluşu, bu kadınların ataerkil aile yapısına ve cinsiyet rollerine meydan okuma eğiliminde olduklarını gösteriyor.

Evlenme Biçimi

Mahkûm kadınlara nasıl evlendikleri sorulmuş ve kadınların % 61,8'i severek evlendiklerini belirtmiştir. Bu oranın % 23,6'sı aile rıza olmadan kaçarak evlendiğini ifade etmiştir. % 38,2'si ise kendi rızaları dışında görücü usulü ile evlendirildiklerini belirtmiştir. Yine TÜİK 2006 verilerine bakıldığında, Türkiye'de evlenme biçimlerinin % 50,9'unun görücü usulü evlilikler olduğu görülmektedir. Bu veriler, mahkûm kadınların evlilik sürecinde de tipik cinsiyet rollerine meydan okuma eğiliminde olduğunu göstermektedir.

Evlenme Yaşı

Derinlemesine mülakatlara katılan ve hayatlarında en az bir kere evlenmiş 18 kadından 11'i 18 yaşın altında evlenmiş ve 7'si de resmi nikâh yaşını bekleyerek 18-19 yaşlarında evlendiğini belirtmiştir. Bu tablo, mülakat yapılan 18 mahkûm kadının maksimum evlenme yaşının 19 olduğunu ve mahkûm kadınlar arasında erken evlilik oranının ciddiyetini gözler önüne sermektedir.

Mesleki Durum

Mahkûm kadınların mesleki durumuna bakıldığında, kadınların yarısından fazlası (% 53,4) cezaevine girmeden önce ev kadını olduklarını belirtmiştir. % 34,6'sı daha çok sigortasız ve düşük ücretli işlerde çalıştıklarını ve yalnızca % 12'si yüksek gelirli işlerde çalıştıklarını belirtmiştir. Bu tablo, mahkûm kadınların büyük bir kısmının cezaevine girmeden önce *ekonomik olarak erkeğe bağımlı* olduklarını göstermektedir.

Aylık Gelir

Mahkûm kadınlara cezaevine girmeden önce kendi aylık gelirlerinin ne kadar olduğu sorulmuş ve kadınların mesleki durumları ile paralel olarak yarısından fazlasının (% 57,1) herhangi bir aylık gelirinin olmadığı görülmektedir. Ayrıca % 22,6'sı da aylık gelirlerinin asgari ücretten düşük olduğunu belirtmiştir. Cezaevine girmeden önce aylık

2500 TL'den fazla geliri olan kadınların (% 7,5) önemli bir oranı da seks işçisi olarak çalıştığını belirtmiştir.

Eve Giren Aylık Gelir

Kadınların pek çoğu cezaevine girmeden önce ev kadını olduklarını belirttiklerinden, ailelerinin sosyo-ekonomik durumları hakkında bilgi edinebilmek için evlerine giren toplam aylık gelirleri de sorulmuştur. Burada da sonuçlar çok farklı çıkmamış ve kadınların % 63,9'unun eve giren aylık gelirlerinin asgari ücretten daha düşük olduğu görülmektedir. Bu sonuç, mahkûm kadınların gelir düzeyi düşük ailelerden geldiklerini göstermektedir.

Ebeveynlerin Mesleki Durumları

Kadınların sosyo-ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel statülerinin arka planları hakkında daha fazla fikir edinebilmek için anne ve babalarının eğitim düzeyleri ve mesleki durumları da saha çalışması sırasında sorgulanmıştır.

Elde edilen verilere göre, babalar tipik evi geçindiren konumda iken, annelerin ezici bir çoğunluğu (% 90,9) ev kadını statüsünde, yani ekonomik olarak kocalarına bağımlı durumdadırlar. Annelerin mesleki durumlarının kızlarınınkinden çok daha vahim olduğu bu tablodan görülmektedir.

Ebeveynlerin Eğitim Durumu

Yürütülen saha çalışması sonuçlarına göre, babaların % 70'e yakını ve annelerin % 90'a yakını en fazla ilkokul mezunudur. Bu tablo da annelerin eğitim durumunun mahkûm olan kızlarının eğitim düzeyinden çok daha vahim olduğunu göstermektedir. Fakat diğer taraftan, kız çocuklarından eğitimsel ve mesleki açıdan anneleriyle kıyaslandığında, tatmin edici oranda olmasa da, bir mobilite olduğu gözlenmektedir.

Kadın Mahkûmların Cinsellik ve Ahlak Anlayışı

Kadın mahkûmların, kadınlık ve erkeklik ve cinsellik ve ahlakla ilgili algı ve tutumları hakkında fikir edinebilmek için onlara konuyla ilgili çeşitli sorular yöneltilmiştir.

Kadınlara, “sizce bir kız çocuğu ne zaman *kadın* olur?” ve “sizce bir erkek çocuğu ne zaman *adam* olur?” soruları yöneltilmiştir. Toplumumuzda kızlıktan kadınlığa geçiş daha çok evlilik ile tanımlanmaktadır, bunun altında yatan sebep de kızın evliliği ile bekâretini yitirmesi ve artık kadın olarak adlandırılmasıdır. Mahkûm kadınların da büyük bir çoğunluğu kadın olmayı ‘evlenmek, regl olmak, doğum yapmak veya ilk kez cinsel ilişkiye girmek’ ile tanımlamış, yani kadın olmayı daha çok cinsellikle bağdaştırmışlardır. Erkeklikten adamlığa geçişi ise, mahkûm kadınların önemli bir oranı *askere gitmek* ile tanımlamış bir diğer grup ise *baba olmak* ile bağdaştırmıştır. Dolayısıyla mahkûm kadınlar kadın olmayı cinsellikle bağdaştırırken, adamlığa geçişi sorumluluk almaya başlamaları ile tanımlamışlardır.

Mahkûm kadınlara kadın ve erkek cinselliği ile ilgili sorular yöneltilmiştir. Örneğin, “genç kızlar evlenene kadar bekâretini korumalıdır” düşüncesine kadınların % 80’e yakını katılmaktadır. Diğer taraftan “erkekler evlenene kadar cinselliklerini özgürce yaşamalıdır” fikrine kadınların % 62’si katılmış ancak söz konusu kadınlar olunca kadınların evlenene kadar cinselliklerini yaşamaları fikrine % 80’i karşı çıkmıştır. Diğer taraftan “eğer damat gerdek gecesinde gelinin bakire olmadığını öğrenirse, ondan hemen boşanmalıdır” düşüncesine kadınların % 65,9’u katılmamıştır. Bunun gerekçesi olarak da “belki istemeden olmuştur, belki başına bir şey gelmiştir” gibi ifadeler kullanmışlardır. Burada, mahkûm kadınların *gönüllü* olarak bekâretini yitirme söz konusu olduğunda daha katı oldukları görülmektedir. Evli erkeklerin birden fazla cinsel partnerinin olması fikrine de kadınların % 90’a yakını karşı çıkmıştır. Yani mahkûm kadınlar, erkeklerin cinsel özgürlüklerinin evlenene kadar ki döneminde toleranslı yaklaşmaktadır.

Mahkûm Kadınların Evde ve İşyerinde Cinsiyete Dayalı İşbölümüne Bakış Açıları

Mahkûm kadınların ev içinde cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü hakkındaki görüşlerini alabilmek için, onlara evdeki çeşitli işlerin kimler tarafından yapılması gerektiği sorulmuştur.

Kadınlara “evi kim geçindirmelidir?” sorusu yöneltildiğinde, yarısından fazlası (% 58,3), erkek ve kadının birlikte evi geçindirmesi gerektiğini söylemiş, ancak her üç kadından biri, evi geçindiren kişinin sadece erkek olması gerektiğini belirtmiştir. Mahkûm kadınların büyük bir çoğunluğu (%74,4), “evdeki tamirat işlerini” sadece erkeklerin yapması gerektiğini belirtmiştir. Kadınlar evdeki yemek, temizlik, ütü ve çocukların bakımını ise sadece kadınların yapması gerektiğini düşünmektedir. Genel tabloya bakıldığında, mahkûm kadınların ev içindeki cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünü yeniden ürettikleri görülüyor.

Ayrıca, mahkûm kadınlara çeşitli mesleklerin daha çok kime uygun olduğu sorulmuştur. Kadınların büyük bir kısmı (% 72-90), çoğu meslek grubu için, örneğin, öğretmenlik, temizlikçilik, aşçılık, kadın doğum doktorluğu, avukatlık, kuaförlük gibi mesleklerde oldukça eşitlikçi bir tutum sergilemiştir. Burada ilginç olan nokta, kadınlar, evdeki yemek ve temizlik işlerini kadın işi olarak görürken, bu işler *ücretli* aşçılık veya temizlikçilik mesleği olunca, hem kadın hem de erkek tarafından yapılabileceğini düşünmeleridir. Diğer taraftan, kadınların yarısından fazlası *çöpçülük* ve *askerlik* mesleğinin sadece erkek mesleği olması gerektiğini belirtmişlerdir. Mahkûm kadınlara bazı belediyelerin kadın çöpçü çalıştırma uygulamasından bahsedilince, şaşırılmışlar ve daha önce hiç kadın çöpçü görmediklerini söylemişlerdir. Mahkûm kadınların işgücü piyasasındaki mesleklerde cinsiyet dağılımı konusunda daha eşitlikçi eğilimde oldukları söylenebilir. Ancak, kadınların mesleki anlamdaki eşitlikçi tutumları, daha çok gerçek hayatta gördüklerinin bir uzantısı olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Örneğin, kadınlar cezaevi dışındaki hayatlarında erkek jinekolog, kadın avukat, kadın polis gördükleri için bu meslekleri her iki cinsiyetin de yapabileceği kanısında olmaları doğal bir

sonuçtur.Örneğin, daha önce hiç kadın çöpçü görmediklerini belirttikleri için bu mesleğin erkek mesleği olduğunu belirtmeleri de bundandır.

Kadını İkindilleştiren Mitler

Kadın mahkûmlara kadınların ikincil statüsünü destekleyen ve dilimize uzun yıllardır yerleşmiş olan bir takım ifadeler hakkındaki fikirleri de sorulmuştur.“Elinin hamuruyla erkek işine karışma” ifadesi kadınlara sadece kendilerine biçilmiş rolleri yerine getirmeleri gerektiği mesajını veren ayrımcı bir sözdür. Mahkûm kadınların % 64,4’ü bu ifadeye karşı çıkarken, üçte bir gibi önemli bir oranı bu düşünceye hak vermiştir. “Yuvayı dişi kuş yapar” ifadesi ilk bakışta kadına olumlu bir anlam yüklüyor gibi görünse de, aslında kadınların ait olduğu alanın özel alan olduğu mesajını veren ve aile bütünlüğünü koruma misyonunu kadına yükleyen ayrımcı bir ifadedir. Kadınlığı yücelten maskesinden dolayı bu ifadeye kadınların büyük bir çoğunluğu (% 83,6) hak vermiştir. Benzer biçimde “ana gibi yar olmaz” ifadesi de anneliğin kutsallığına vurgu yaparak, aslında annelere çocuk bakımı görevini yükleyen ve çocukların yetiştirilmesinde göstermesi gereken fedakârlıklara vurgu yapan bir ifadedir. Bu yanıltıcı ifadeye de doğal olarak kadınların neredeyse tamamı (93,9) katıldıklarını belirtmiştir.

Mahkûm Kadınların Şiddet Tanımı

Mahkûm kadınlara “sizce şiddet nedir?” sorusu açık uçlu sorulmuş ve kadınlar şiddeti daha çok fiziksel şiddet (% 27,6) ile tanımlamışlardır. Şiddeti sadece fiziksel şiddet olarak tanımlayanların kullandıkları ifadeler, “dayak atmak, işkence etmek, yaralamak, öldürmek” gibi kavramlardır.Burada çarpıcı olan, yüz yüze soru-cevap yöntemi ile yürütülen anketler esnasında, “sizce şiddet nedir?” sorusu yöneltilen kadınlardan üçü “şiddet budur” diyerek vücutlarındaki yara izlerini göstermiştir.

Şiddet tanımının yanı sıra, mahkûm kadınlara akıllarına gelen ilk şiddet türü sorulmuştur. Kadınların büyük çoğunluğunun (% 80,6) ilk akıllarına gelen şiddet yine *fiziksel şiddet* olmuştur. İlk akıllarına gelen şiddeti tanımlarken kullandıkları ifadelerse,

“dayak atmak, bağlayarak dövmek, tokat, yumruk, tekme atmak, inşaat demiri ile dövmek, hastanelik olmak, öldürmek, babamın beni sopayla dövmesi, kocamın bana dayak atması, annemin babamdan dayak yemesi” gibi kendi özellerinde yaşadıkları fiziksel şiddet deneyimleri ile ifade etmişlerdir.

Mahkûm Kadınların Gözünde Şiddetin Failleri ve Kurbanları

Mahkûm kadınlara “sizce daha çok kimler şiddet uygular?” sorusu yöneltildiğinde, kadınların yarısından fazlası (% 50,6) çeşitli sıfatlar kullanarak *erkekler* yanıtını vermiştir. Şiddet kullanan erkekler için kullandıkları sıfatlar, “Doğulu, zavallı, dengesiz, madde bağımlısı, alkolik, kendiniz bilmez, dışarıya yönelik, kumarbaz, serseri erkekler, kocalar, babalar, üvey babalar, abiler” gibi.

Mahkûm kadınlara “daha çok hangi kadınlar şiddet görür?” sorusu yöneltilmiş, kadınların önemli bir bölümü (% 51,6) “ekonomik özgürlüğü olmayan kadınlar, ev kadınları, erkeğin eline bakan kadınlar, sahipsiz, kimsesiz kadınlar, gidecek yeri olmayan kadınlar” şiddet görür demiştir. Diğer bir grup (% 14,1), “bütün kadınlar şiddet görür” derken, % 22,6’sı “cahil kadınlar, pasif veya sessiz kadınlar şiddet görür” demiştir. Kadınların % 12,5’i “kocasının sözünü dinlemeyen, kocasına saygısızlık eden, kocasını aldatan kadınlar şiddet görür” demiştir.

Genel tabloya göre, kadın mahkûmlar, bazı feministlerin de iddia ettiği gibi, ekonomik olarak bağımlı olan kadınların şiddete daha çok maruz kaldıklarını düşünmektedir. Bu kadınların şiddet gören kadına bakış açıları, *liberal feminist* perspektifle paralellik göstermektedir. Liberal feministlere göre, kadını şiddetten korumanın tek yolu eğitim ve işgücü piyasasına girmelerini sağlamaktır. Bütün kadınların şiddet gördüğünü belirten mahkûm kadınların bakış açısı, feministlerin geliştirdiği *evrensel risk teorisi* ile paralellik göstermektedir. Evrensel risk teorisine göre, sosyal statüleri ne olursa olsun bütün kadınlar, cinsiyetlerinden dolayı ataerkil toplumda eş şiddetine maruz kalma riski altındadır. Diğer taraftan, bir grup kadın mahkûm, şiddet gören kadınları, gördükleri

şiddeti kabullendikleri için pasif ve cahil olmakla suçlanmışlardır. Bu grubun şiddet gören kadına yaklaşımı, şiddet sorununu çözmek için saldırgan koca yerine şiddetin kurbanına odaklanan bakış açısını ve kocasından şiddet gören kadınlara yaygın olarak sorulan “*neden bu şiddete katlanıyor?*” sorusunu anımsatıyor. Oysaki bu yaklaşım, kadınları şiddetle birlikte yaşamaya mecbur bırakan pek çok faktörü (kadınların ekonomik gelirlerinin olmaması, sosyal baskılar, kadının ayrıldıktan sonra partnerinin kendisinden daha şiddetli yollarla öç alma olasılığı ve çocukların velayet sorunları gibi) göz ardı etmektedir. Bunun dışında, her 100 mahkûm kadından sekizine göre, kadının şiddet görme sebebi, kendine verilen cinsiyet rollerini ihlal ederek kocalarına karşı kusur işlemeleridir. Bu grubun kadına şiddete yaklaşımı, *şiddet gören kadın sendromunun* bir safhası olan *kendini suçlama duygusu* ile açıklanabilir. Ayrıca mahkûm kadınların şiddet gören kadını suçlama yaklaşımı, mahkûm kadınların sosyalleşme sürecinde, koca dayacağını normalleştirmeleri ile de açıklanabilir.

Mahkûm kadınlara bekâr genç kızların ne yapınca babalarından şiddet gördükleri sorulmuş, kadınların % 41,9’u genç kızların *cinsellik ve ahlak* kurallarını ihlal ettiğinde şiddet gördüklerini belirtmiştir. *Radikal feministler*, kadının cinselliğinin kontrol altında tutulmasının, erkek egemenliğinin yaratılmasında önemli bir faktör olduğunu iddia ederler. Bu perspektife göre, geleneksel patriarkal ailelerde, kadının cinselliği ailenin erkek bireyleri tarafından kontrol altında tutulmaktadır. Bu bakış açısına paralel olarak, mahkûm kadınlara göre, “eğer bekâr kızın erkek arkadaşı olursa, eve geç gelirse, sokakta çok gezerse, açık giyinirse veya bekâretini kaybederse” ailesi tarafından şiddete maruz kalır.

Mahkûm kadınlara ayrıca evli kadınların ne yapınca kocalarından şiddet gördükleri sorulmuş, kadınların % 37’si “kocasının sözünü dinlemezse” ve % 9,2’si de “ev işlerini ihmal ederse” demiştir. Bu grup, kadınların kendi *cinsiyet rollerini ihlal etmeleri* sonucunda şiddet gördüklerini düşünmektedir. *Feminist* anlayışa göre, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri, kadınlara sosyalleşme sürecinde itaatkâr, pasif, zayıf, cahil ve utangaç olmak gibi

ikincil rolleri öğrettiği için, kadının mağduriyetini meşrulaştırmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, kocalarına itaat etmeyen veya domestik rollerini yerine getirmeyen kadınlar, patriarkal normlara göre, şiddet yoluyla cezalandırılması ve disipline edilmesi gereken ihlalcı eş olarak algılanırlar. Diğer taraftan, mahkûm kadınların % 16,8'si kadınların kocalarından şiddet görme sebebini kocalarına ihanet etmeleriyle, % 5,9'u kadının eve geç gelmesi veya dışarıda çok gezmesiyle ve % 2,5'i kocasının cinsel isteklerini yerine getirmemesi ile açıklamıştır. Bu grup, koca şiddetini, erkeğin *kadın cinselliğini* şiddet yoluyla disipline etmesiyle açıklamıştır. Radikal feministlere göre, kadının cinselliğinin kontrol altında tutulması, kadının baskılanmasında önemli bir faktördür. Ayrıca *namus* temelli toplumlarda, kadının cinselliği ailenin namusu ile yakından ilişkilidir ve kadının cinsel ahlak kurallarını ihlal etmesi, aile namusuna gelen leke olarak algılandığı için bu kuralları ihlal etmenin sonucu ölümcül şiddet olabilir.

Mahkûm kadınlara eşler arasında yaşanan şiddetin nedeni sorulmuş, genel tabloya bakıldığında, kadınlar aile içi şiddeti, kültürel faktörlerden ziyade, eşler arasındaki eğitim farkı, yaş farkı, kültür farkı gibi bireysel faktörlere veya aile içinde yaşanan ekonomik problemlere ya da kocanın kötü alışkanlıklarına bağlamışlardır. Feminist anlayışa göre, kadının kocası tarafından şiddet görmesi, bireysel veya ailevi bir sorun değil, erkek egemen sistemden kaynaklanan toplumsal bir problemdir. Diğer taraftan, bir grup mahkûm kadın, koca şiddetinin nedenini kadının kocasına itaat etmemesi ile açıklayarak, *şiddet gören kadın sendromunun* bir safhası olan *kendini suçlama duygusu* ile ifade etmişlerdir.

Mahkûm kadınlara koca ve ebeveyn şiddetini meşrulaştıran ve dilimize yerleşmiş aşağıdaki ifadeler hakkındaki fikirleri de sorulmuştur.

Koca Şiddeti

	Evet	Hayır
Kocanın vurduğu yerde gül biter	14,6	85,4
Kadının sırtından sopayı karnından sopayı eksik etmeyeceksin	8,6	91,4

Yukarıdaki iki ifade de, kocanın saldırgan davranışına olumlu bir anlam yükleyerek koca şiddetini meşrulaştıran bir ifadelerdir.Tabloya göre, kadınların ezici bir çoğunluğu koca şiddetine karşı bir duruş sergilemiştir.Mahkûm kadınların boşanma oranı göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, kadınların koca şiddetine karşı olmaları çok da şaşırtıcı değildir.

Baba Şiddeti

	Evet	Hayır
Kızını dövmeyen dizini döver	37,4	62,6
Kızını boş bırakırsan ya davulcuya varır ya zurnacıya	44,6	55,4

Yukarıdaki tabloya bakıldığında, mahkûm kadınların ebeveyn şiddetine karşı olan tutumlarında, koca şiddetine gösterdikleri katı duruşa göre farklılıklar olduğu görülmektedir.İlk ifade, kız çocuğunun ailesi tarafından şiddet yoluyla disipline edilmediğinde, ebeveynlerin ileride yaşayacağı pişmanlıklarına işaret etmektedir. Mahkûm kadınların % 62,6'sı bu ifadeye karşı çıkarken, % 37,4'ü hak vermiştir. Anne-baba şiddetine hak verenler bunun gerekçesi olarak “vaktinde annem babam beni dövseydi, ben de hatalar yapıp şu anda hapishanede olmazdım” demiştir.Buna benzer ifadeleri kullanan kadınlar aslında bir bakıma anne-baba desteğinin yoksunluğuna işaret etmiştir.İkinci ifade, kız çocuğunun başıboş bırakılması durumunda ailenin onaylamadığı kişiyle evleneceği mesajını vermektedir. Mahkûm kadınların % 55,4'ü bu ifadeye karşı çıkarken, yarıya yakını (% 44,6) hak vermiştir. Bu ifadeye hak veren kadınların gerekçeleri bir önceki ifadenin gerekçesi ile benzerdir.“Eğer ailem benim seçtiğim kişiyle evlenmeme izin vermeyip, kendi seçtikleri kişiyle evlendirselerdi, yanlış adamla evlenmeyip şu anda hapishanede olmazdım” demişlerdir.Yine burada, mahkûm kadınlar yaptıkları hataları ve yanlış tercihlerini, aile desteğinin yoksunluğuna bağlamışlardır.

Önceki bölümlerde de belirtildiği gibi, pek çok mahkûm kadın, severek veya ailesinin rızası olmadan kaçarak evlenmişlerdir. Bu sebeple bu kadınlar evlilikleri sonrasında aile desteğinden mahrum kalmışlardır. Dolayısıyla, mahkûmların yukarıdaki ifadeleri, bir bakıma kadınların mahkûmiyetinden sonraki dönemde yaşadıkları pişmanlıkların bir yansıması olarak düşünülebilir, çünkü onlar mahkûmiyetlerinin sebebini aile kontrolü ve desteğinin yoksunluğuna bağlamaktadır. Diğer taraftan, *koca dayağı* ve *baba dayağını* destekleyen yukarıdaki ifadelere bakıldığında, mahkûm kadınların koca şiddetine şiddetle karşı çıktıkları, ancak ebeveyn şiddetine daha toleranslı yaklaştıkları söylenebilir. Dolayısıyla mahkûm kadınların şiddete karşı tutumları, şiddetin *uygulayıcısına* göre değişiklik göstermektedir denilebilir.

Ayrıca mahkûm kadınlara şiddet gören kadının ne yapması gerektiği sorulmuş, kadınların önemli bir oranı (% 38,6) polis, sığınma evi, yasalar gibi yetkili mercilere başvurması gerektiğini belirtmiş, % 35,6'sı dayak yiyen kadının kocasından boşanması gerektiğini söylemiştir. Diğer taraftan, % 12,1'i şiddet gören kadının sessiz kalması gerektiğini düşünmektedir. Genel tabloya bakıldığında, mahkûm kadınların önemli oranda (% 38,6) şiddet karşısında başvurabilecekleri uygun yolların bilincinde oldukları görülmektedir. Diğer taraftan, kadınların üçte birinin, şiddet gören kadının kocasından boşanması gerektiği düşüncesi, % 38,8'i boşanmış olan bu gruba göre şaşırtıcı bir tutum değildir. Fakat her 100 kadından sekizi hala koca şiddetini kadının tepki göstermemesi gereken normal bir davranış olarak görmektedir.

Mahkûm Kadınların Cinsel Şiddete Karşı Tutumları

Mahkûm kadınların cinsel şiddete karşı tutumlarını anlayabilmek için onlara toplum tarafında inşa edilen ve cinsel şiddeti meşrulaştıran aşağıdaki ifadeler yöneltilmiştir.

	Evet	Hayır
"Açık giyinen kadın tacizi hak eder"	33,1	66,9
"Dişi köpek kuyruk sallamazsa erkek köpek yavaşmaz"	54,3	45,7

Mahkûm kadınların % 66,9'u, giyiminden dolayı cinsel tacize uğrayan kadını sorumlu tutan ilk ifadeye karşı çıktıklarını, ancak % 33,1'i bu fikri desteklediklerini belirtmiştir. Bu tabloya göre, mahkûm kadınların üçte biri, cinsel taciz vakasında, tacizciyi değil, açık giyinmişse tecavüze uğrayan kadını sorumlu tutmaktadır. Erkekleri cinsel tacize teşvik eden bu ayrımcı söz, Selçuk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi'nden bir profesör tarafından dahi deklere edilmiştir. Birinci ifadeye benzer gibi görünen ikinci ifade de, erkekleri kışkırtan *davranışlardan* dolayı kadını suçlamaktadır. Ancak, ilk ifadeden farklı olarak mahkûm kadınların % 54,3'ü bu ifadeye hak vermiştir. Kadınların bu ifadeye daha çok katılmalarının sebebi, ikinci ifadede kadının isterse erkeği baştan çıkarabileceği, istemezse reddedebileceği *gücüne* sahip olduğu mesajını veriyor gibi görünmesidir.

Mahkûm Kadınların Kız Çocuklarının Önemsizleştirilmesine Karşı Tutumları

	Evet	Hayır
"Kız evde olsa da elden sayılır"	34,4	65,6
"Oğlan doğuran övünsün kız doğran dövünsün"	8,5	91,5
"Kız doğuran tez kocar"	17,5	82,5

Yukarıdaki tabloya göre, mahkûm kadınların önemli bir bölümü, kız çocuklarını önemsizleştiren ve kız-erkek çocuğu ayrımını meşrulaştıran ifadelerle karşı çıkmışlardır.

Mahkûm Kadınların Namus Cinayetlerine Karşı Tutumları

Mahkûm kadınların namus cinayetleri konusundaki tutumlarını incelemekten önce, kadınların namus kavramına ne tür anlamlar yükledikleri anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Araştırma sonuçlarına göre, mahkûm kadınların namus kavramına çok büyük değerler yükleyerek, bu kavramı daha çok *kadın cinselliği* ile açıklama eğiliminde oldukları görülmüştür. Namus temelli toplumlarda, namus kavramı, kadının cinselliği ve bekâreti ile ilişkilendirilmektedir. Dolayısıyla mahkûm kadınların namus algısı, geleneksel ataerkil toplumumuzda namus kodlarından kaynaklanan sosyo-kültürel değerlerin bir ürünüdür. Mahkûm kadınlara ayrıca "kişi namusu için yaşamalıdır" düşüncesine katılıp katılmadıkları sorulmuştur. Namusu daha çok kadının cinsel

davranışlarıyla tanımlayan mahkûm kadınların % 80'e yakını bu düşünceye hak vermiştir. Bu sonuç, mahkûm kadınların namuslarına yani kendi cinselliklerine ne kadar önem verdiklerini göstermektedir.

Mahkûm kadınlara ayrıca namuslu kadın ve namuslu erkeğin anlamı sorulmuştur. Kadınlar, *namuslu kadını* “kocasına ihanet etmeyen kadın” olarak, yani kadının *cinsel davranışları* ile tanımlamışlardır. Bu da mahkûm kadınların kadın cinselliğini kısıtlayan ideolojiyi yeniden ürettiklerini göstermektedir. Diğer taraftan mahkûm kadınlar, *namuslu erkeği* “evini geçindiren, eve ekmek getiren erkek” olarak, yani erkeğin *sorumluluklarını yerine getirmesi* ile tanımlamışlardır. Bu bulgular, ataerkil toplumlarda, kadının namusu ile cinselliği arasında kurulan ilişki ile erkeğin cinselliğinin onun namusunu veya sosyal statüsünü belirlemediği gerçeğini desteklemektedir.

Kadınlara ayrıca namus cinayetlerinin neden işlendiği sorulmuş ve mahkûm kadınlar namus cinayetlerinin sebebini yine kadının cinselliği ile açıklamışlardır. Mahkûm kadınların bu bakış açısı da, namus temelli toplumlarda kadına yönelik şiddetin bir biçimi olarak işlenen namus cinayetlerinin gerekçelendirilmesi ile paralel niteliktedir. Mahkûm kadınlara ayrıca namus cinayeti işleyenlerin diğer cinayet işleyenlere göre daha az ceza alması gerektiği görüşü sorulmuş, kadınların % 54,3'ü namus cinayetini hafifletici sebep olarak görmezken, yarıya yakını (% 45,7) namus cinayetlerine ‘haksız tahrik’ gerekçesiyle getirilen cezai indirimi desteklemiştir. Bu bulgular, mahkûm kadınların namus cinayetlerine diğer cinayetlerden farklı baktığı sonucunu göstermektedir. Ancak, kadınlara gerekirse namus cinayeti işleyip işlemeyecekleri sorulduğunda, namus kavramına çok büyük değerler yükleyen kadınların % 77,2'si namus cinayeti işleme düşüncesine sıcak bakmamıştır.

Mahkûm Kadınların Erken Evliliklere Karşı Tutumları

Odak grup çalışmalarında, mahkûm kadınların erken evlilikler hakkındaki görüşleri sorulmuştur. Birinci grup ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası alan kadınlardan ikinci grup maddi suç işlemiş mahkûmlardan, oluşmaktadır. Ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası alan kadınlar erken yaşta evliliklere karşı olma eğilimindedirler. Bazı mahkûm kadınlar genç kızların kendi rızaları ile erken yaşta evlenmeyi evden kaçış olarak gördüklerini söylemiş fakat bunun daha kötü sonuçlar doğurduğunu ifade etmiştir. Kızların kendi rızaları olmadan evlendirilmeleri konusunda ise, bazı mahkûm kadınlar bu evliliklerin katı törelerden kaynaklandığını veya kız çocuğu büyüüp ‘gözünü açmadan’ bir an önce evlendirilmesi gerektiği düşüncesiyle ailelerinin evlendirdiklerini belirtmiştir. Buradaki çarpıcı nokta, mahkûm kadınların kendi seçtikleri erkeklerle değil de görücü usulüyle evlenmeyi dilediklerini belirtmeleridir. Bunun sebebi, doğru erkeği seçemedikleri için şu anda hapisanede olduklarına inanmalarıdır.

İkinci grup mahkûm kadınlar, ikisi bekâr beşi en az bir kere evlenmiş ve maddi suç işlemiş mahkûmlardan oluşmaktadır. Beş kadından üçü boşanmış biri ise hala evlidir, bir diğerinin ise eşi ölmüştür. Boşanan kadınlardan biri, köyde yaşadıkları için dedikodu çıkmasın diye psikolojik baskılar yüzünden 13 yaşında kuzeni ile evlendirildiğini belirtmiştir. Kocasını kendisinden 10 yaş büyüktür ve kendisini bir Rus kadınla aldattığını ve kocasının baskılarından dolayı ondan boşandığını, altı yıldır da bir başka erkekle gayri resmi evlilik yaşadığını ifade etmiştir. Diğer mahkûmların evlilik yaşları biri 18, diğerleri ise 20-30 yaş aralığındadır. Bu gruptaki kadınlar, cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin daha çok farkında ve erken yaşta evliliklere daha eleştirel yaklaşmışlardır. Ailevi yapıları daha eşitlikçi ve gelir düzeyleri birinci gruba göre daha yüksektir.

Mahkûm Kadınların Şiddet Deneyimleri

Mahkûm kadınlara cezaevine girmeden önce hiç şiddete şahit olup olmadıkları sorulmuş, kadınların % 80’e yakını, hayatlarında çeşitli biçimlerde ailelerinin ve kocalarının şiddetine şahit olduklarını veya maruz kaldıklarını belirtmiştir. Kadınların

şiddet deneyimleri ile ilgili daha detaylı bilgi alabilmek için 22 kadınla yapılan derinlemesine mülakat çalışmaları sırasında daha çok kimlerden şiddet gördükleri sorulmuş, 22 kadından 10'u ailesinden şiddet gördüğünü belirtmiştir. Ancak mahkûm kadınlar daha çok *annelerinden* şiddet ve baskı gördüklerini belirtmiştir. Kadınların daha çok annelerinden şiddet görme sebepleri, muhtemelen kız çocuklarının anneleriyle evde daha çok vakit geçirmeleri ve çocukların davranışlarını disipline etme görevinin de genellikle anneye verilmesidir. Ayrıca, annelerin de şiddeti kendi ailesinde deneyimleyerek çocuğun şiddet yoluyla disiplinini normal bir davranış olarak içselleştirmeleri de olabilir. Derinlemesine mülakatlarda mahkûm kadınlara ayrıca kocalarından şiddet görüp görmedikleri sorulduğunda, 19 kadından 16'sı kocasından çeşitli biçimlerde şiddet gördüğünü ifade etmiştir.

Genel tabloya bakıldığında, mahkûm kadınların hem aile şiddetine hem de koca şiddetine karşı duruş sergilemelerine rağmen, kadınların önemli oranda hem ailesinden hem de kocası tarafından şiddete maruz kaldıkları görülmektedir. Mahkûm kadınların hem anne-baba hem de koca şiddetine karşı olmaları sonucu şaşırtıcı değildir, çünkü pek çoğu baskıcı ailelerde yetişmiş olmalarına rağmen, ailenin gelenekçi kurallarını ihlal ederek severek evlenmiş ve bu sebeple aile desteğinden yoksun kalmış ve koca şiddetine katlanmadığı için ya kocasından boşanmış ya da kocasını öldürmüş veya yaralamıştır. Örneğin, derinlemesine mülakat yapılan 22 kadından 12'si şiddet gördüğü kişiyi öldürmek veya yaralamak suçundan hapis yatmaktadır. Ayrıca odak grup çalışması yapılan 5 kadından 4'ü şiddet gördüğü kocasını öldürdüğü için ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası almıştır.

Mahkûm Kadınların Şiddet Suçu İşlemelerinin Asıl Sebepleri

Bu çalışmanın dayandığı argümanlardan biri de kadına yönelik şiddetle kadının şiddet suçu işlemesi arasında anlamlı bir ilişki olduğu varsayımı idi. Yani, bazı feministlerin de iddia ettiği gibi kadınlar şiddet suçunu çoğunlukla gördükleri şiddet karşısında kendilerini korumak amacıyla işlemektedir. Bu argüman göz önünde bulundurularak

Ankara Sincan Kadın Kapalı Cezaevi'nde kalan şiddet suçu işlemiş 22 kadınla derinlemesine mülakat yapılmış ve geçmişte yaşadıkları şiddet deneyimleri ile işledikleri şiddet suçu arasında bir ilişki olup olmadığı araştırılmıştır.

Mülakat yapılan 22 kadından 3'ü bekâr, 19 kadından 11'i görücü usulü evlendirilmiş ve 8'i severek evlenmiştir. Görüşme yapılan 19 kadından 10'u şiddet gördüğü eşi veya partnerini öldürmüş veya yaralamış, biri cinsel şiddete maruz kaldığı öz abisini öldürmüş ve bir diğeri de cinsel tacize uğradığı iş ortağını öldürmüştür. Diğer yedi kadının işledikleri suçlar gasp, arkadaşını yaralama, kocasının partnerinin çocuğunu öldürme ve oğlunun arkadaşını öldürme gibi suçlardır. Bu bulgular, görüşme yapılan kadınların yarısından fazlasının şiddet gördüğü kişiyi öldürmek/yaralamak suçundan hapis yattığını gösteriyor. Görüşme yapılan kadınlar dışında, odak grup çalışmasına dâhil olan beş kadından dördünün de şiddet gördüğü eşini öldürmek suçundan ağırlatılmış müebbet hapis cezası aldığı görülmektedir.

Derinlemesine mülakat ve odak grup çalışmalarının sonuçları, kadına yönelik şiddet konusunun incelenmesinde, kadınların şiddet suçu işlemelerinin altında yatan sebeplerin analiz edilmesinin de önemini göstermektedir.

Ayrıca, pek çok kadın 'meşru müdafaa' kapsamında şiddet suçu işlemiş olsa da, kadınların cinayet veya yaralama anında içinde bulundukları durum dikkate alınmayıp kendilerine daha ağır cezalar verildiği görülmektedir. Diğer taraftan sözde namus cinayeti işleyen erkek failler 'ağır tahrik' kapsamında ceza indirimi alabilmekte ve bu yasal uygulama kadına şiddetin en sert biçimi olan namus cinayetlerini artırmaktadır.

SONUÇ ve ÖNERİLER

Bu çalışmada cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılık ve bunun bir sonucu olan kadına yönelik şiddet konuları sosyolojik açıdan incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın amaçları doğrultusunda, saha çalışması kapsamında, toplumsal cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ve kadına yönelik şiddet konuları kadın mahkûmların gözünden anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Ayrıca, bu çalışma kapsamında, şiddet suçu işlemiş mahkûm kadınların suç işlemelerinin altında yatan asıl sebepler analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Çalışmanın amaçlarına paralel olarak, Ankara Sincan Kadın Kapalı Cezaevi'nde kalan mahkûm kadınların toplumsal cinsiyet, cinsellik, şiddet ve kadına yönelik şiddet konularındaki tutumları ve şiddet suçu işlemiş kadınların suç işlemelerinin altında yatan sebepler nitel ve nicel araştırma teknikleri kullanılarak incelenmiştir.

Yürütülen saha çalışması sırasında cezaevinde kalan 287 mahkûm kadından 134'ü ile anket çalışması, 22 şiddet suçu işlemiş mahkûm kadınla derinlemesine mülakat ve toplamda 15 kadından oluşan iki farklı grup mahkûm kadınla (maddi suç işlemiş ve ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası almış) odak grup çalışması yürütülmüştür.

Saha çalışması sırasında şu sorulara yanıt aranmıştır: Mahkûm kadınlar kimlerdir? Mahkûm kadınların cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılık ve kadına yönelik şiddet konusundaki tutumları nelerdir? Şiddet suçu işlemiş kadınların suç işlemelerinin altında yatan asıl sebepler nelerdir, bu kadınların kurbanları daha çok kimlerdir? Bu kadınların mahkûm edilmeleri ile geçmişte yaşadıkları şiddet deneyimleri arasında bir ilişki var mıdır?

Mahkûm kadınların kimler olduğunu anlayabilmek için onların genel profilleri çıkartılmaya çalışılmıştır. Kadınların suç türü verilerine göre, her üç mahkûmdan birinin *şiddet suçu* işlemiş olması, kadınların şiddete başvurma nedenlerini araştırmak için önemli bir orandır. Ancak, saha çalışması sırasında, bu çalışma için asıl gerekli olan verilerin, yani kadınların şiddet suçu işlemelerinin nedenleri, şiddet olayının içeriği ve

şiddetin kurbanları gibi verilerin cezaevi kayıtlarında yer almadığı görülmüştür. Kadınların işledikleri suçlar yalnızca suçun niteliğine göre cezaevi kayıtlarında yer almaktadır. Dolayısıyla, şiddet suçu işlemiş kadınların suç işlemelerinin altında yatan asıl sebeplerin araştırılmasına büyük katkı sağlayacak ve bu sorunun ciddiyetini gözler önüne serecek ulusal bilgi sisteminin cezaevi tarafından oluşturulması gerektiği bu çalışma sonucunda keşfedilmiştir.

Elde edilen verilere göre, kadın mahkûmların önemli oranda *eğitimsiz* oldukları anlaşılmaktadır. Eğitim tek başına kadını özgürleştirmede yeterli olmasa da, eğitilmiş kadınların daha çok yüksek ücretli işlerde çalışabildikleri, aile kararlarına dâhil olabildikleri ve kendi bedenlerini kontrol edebilmelerinin yanı sıra sosyal hayata daha çok dâhil olabildikleri pratik hayatta görülebilmektedir. Eğitim seviyesi ile kadına yönelik şiddetin yaşanma sıklığı arasında da benzer bir ilişki bulunmaktadır. Eğitim bazı durumlarda tek başına şiddeti önleyemese de, kadınlarda artan eğitim düzeyi kadına şiddeti azaltabilmektedir (Grown, Gupta, and Kes, 2005: 37-38).

Ayrıca verilere göre mahkûm kadınların büyük çoğunluğunun cezaevinden önceki hayatlarında işgücü piyasası dışında oldukları görülmektedir. Bu da kadın mahkûmların önemli bir bölümünün *ekonomik olarak erkeğe bağımlı* olduklarını göstermektedir.

Kadınların ailelerinin sosyo-ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel yapıları incelendiğinde, mahkûm kadınların daha çok yoksul ailelerden geldikleri sonucu çıkmaktadır. Ayrıca özellikle *annelerin* eğitim ve mesleki durumlarının mahkûm olan kızlarından çok daha vahim durumda oldukları verilerden görülmektedir.

Yürütülen pek çok araştırma, annelerin eğitim düzeylerinin kız çocuklarının eğitiminde çok olumlu etkiler bıraktığını göstermektedir. Bu güçlü etki, babanın eğitiminin kız çocuğunun eğitimine etkisinden ve annenin eğitiminin oğlan çocuğuna etkisinden çok daha fazladır (Lavy 1996; Ridker 1997; King and Bellew 1991; Lillard and Willis 1994; Alderman and King 1998; Kambhupati and Pal 2001; Parker and Pederzini 2000; Bhalla,

Saigal, and Basu 2003 in Grown, Gupta, and Kes, 2005: 41).Dolayısıyla kadın mahkûmların eğitim düzeylerinin düşüklüğü, annelerinin eğitim düzeylerinin bir yansıması ve devamı olarak da yorumlanabilir.

Ailelerinin düşük gelir düzeylerine rağmen, kadın mahkûmların çok çocuklu ve kalabalık ailelerden geldikleri görülmektedir.Aile yapılarına bakıldığında, kararların ortak alındığı eşitlikçi ailelerden ziyade, erkek egemen yapının hüküm sürdüğü ataerkil ailelerde yetiştikleri sonucu çıkmaktadır.Kadınların evlenme yaşına bakıldığında, mahkûm kadınlar arasında erken evlilik sorununun yaygın olduğu görülmektedir.Diğer taraftan mahkûm kadınların önemli bir kısmı ataerkil aile ortamında yetişmelerine rağmen, yine önemli bir bölümünün severek evlendiği ve bu grubun beşte birinin de ailenin rızası dışında kaçarak evlendiği görülmektedir.Bu sonuç, mahkûm kadınlarda, cezaevi dışındaki kadınlardan farklı olarak, evlilik süreçlerinde geleneksel çizgilerin dışına çıktıklarını göstermektedir.Mahkûm kadınların evlilik sürecinde kendi cinsiyet rollerini ‘ihlal’ etme eğilimlerinden dolayı, önemli bir kısmının evlendikten sonra ailelerinden destek alamadıkları da mülakat sonuçlarından görülmektedir.Fakat diğer taraftan mahkûm kadınlar arasında boşanmış olanların evli olanlardan daha fazla olması, bu kadınların daha çok severek evlendikleri göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, severek evlenenler arasında boşanma oranının daha fazla olduğu sonucunu ortaya çıkartıyor.

Mahkûm kadınların profilleri hakkında bilgi edindikten sonra, onların toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsellik konularındaki tutumları anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.Suç işleyerek toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini ‘ihlal’ etmiş olan mahkûm kadınların tutumları, toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsellik konularının analizinde önem taşımaktadır.

Elde edilen verilerden kadınların *cinsellik* ve *ahlak* anlayışlarının geleneksel *natüralist* anlayıştan farklı olmadığı ve kadının cinselliği ve bekâreti konusunda da cezaevi dışındaki muhafazakâr bakış açısından çok da farklılık göstermediği görülmektedir.Ayrıca kadın mahkûmların kadının cinselliği konusundaki muhafazakâr

bakış açısını cezaevinde de yeniden ürettikleri anlaşılmaktadır. Yüksek lisans tezim sırasında genç kızların evlenene kadar bekâretlerini korumaları gerektiği düşüncesi, bu çalışma grubundan çok farklı bir grup olan ODTÜ'lü 200 öğrenciye yöneltildiğinde, öğrencilerin yarısından fazlasının (% 53) bekâretin korunması gerektiğini düşündüklerini görülmüştür (Okyay, 2007: 66). Dolayısıyla kadının cinselliğini sadece kocasına sunması gerektiği konusundaki bu muhafazakâr bakış açısını mahkûmlar kadınlara indirgemek bu noktada doğru olmayacaktır. Bu yaygın bakış açısı eğitim ve sosyo-ekonomik düzeyle değil tamamen muhafazakâr toplumların *kültürel* yapısıyla ilgilidir.

Mahkûm kadınlar ev içinde cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü konusuna daha muhafazakâr yaklaşırken, işgücü piyasasındaki cinsiyet dağılımına daha eşitlikçi bir tutum sergilemişlerdir.

Mahkûm kadınlar şiddeti daha çok fiziksel şiddet ile tanımlamışlar ve akıllarına ilk gelen şiddeti kendi yaşadıkları şiddet deneyimlerine işaret ederek ifade etmişlerdir. Kadınlar kadına yönelik şiddetin nedenini kadının ekonomik olarak bağımlı olması ile açıklamışlardır. Kadınların bu yaklaşımı liberal feminizm ve Marxist feminizmin kadına yönelik şiddete bakış açısıyla benzerlik göstermektedir, çünkü her iki yaklaşım da kadının özgürleşmesinin en temel yolunun kadının işgücü piyasasına girmesi olduğunu savunmaktadır. Bu yaklaşımlar kadın-erkek eşitsizliğinde ekonomik temele gereğinden fazla vurgu yaptıkları için eleştirilse de, kadının ekonomik özgürlüğünün onun özgürleşmesindeki güçlü etkisi yadsınamaz. Diğer taraftan, kadın mahkûmlar eşler arasında yaşanan şiddetin nedenini, ataerkil sistemden kaynaklanan toplumsal bir sorun olarak değil, eşler arası geçimsizlik, kültür farkı, yaş farkı, eğitim farkı veya ekonomik sorunlar gibi bireysel veya ailevi sorunlara açıklamışlardır. Ayrıca, kadın mahkûmlar koca şiddetine şiddetle karşı çıkarken, ailenin kız çocuğuna uyguladığı şiddete daha toleranslı yaklaşmışlardır. Bunun sebebi, kadınların aile desteğinden yoksun olmasından dolayı cezaevinde olduklarına inanmalarıdır.

Mahkûm kadınlara, kadına yönelik şiddetin bir türü olan kız çocuklarının önemsizleştirilmesi konusundaki fikirleri sorulmuş, kadınların büyük çoğunluğu kız-erke çocuğu ayırımına karşı çıktıklarını belirtmiştir. Ayrıca, mahkûm kadınlar çoğunlukla erken evliliklere karşı çıktıklarını ifade etseler de, geçmişte kendi seçimleri ile değil ailelerinin seçtikleri kişiyle, yani görücü usulü ile evlenmeyi dilediklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bunun sebebi, yaptıkları yanlış evlilikler sonucunda cezaevinde olduklarına inanmalarıdır.

Toplumumuzda sosyal olarak inşa edilen namus kodlarından kaynaklanan namus kavramına derinden bağlılıktan dolayı, namus cinayetlerinin erkek failleri, ‘ağır tahrik’ kisvesi altında ceza indiriminden yararlanabilmektedir. Bu adil olmayan yasal uygulama, cinayet işleyen tüm erkek faillerin “namusumu temzilemek için öldürdüm” gibi benzer ifadelerle işlediği cinayeti gerekçelendirmeye teşvik etmektedir. Kadına yönelik şiddetin en uç noktası olan namus cinayetlerini kısa vadede önlemenin tek yolu bu tür cinayetlere ağır cezai yaptırımlar getirilmesi olarak görülmektedir.

Mahkûm kadınların ‘namus’ kavramına çok büyük değerler yükledikleri ve namusu kadın cinselliği ile tanımladıkları görülmüştür. Mahkûm kadınların bu yaklaşımı, namus temelli toplumumuzda namusu kadının cinselliği ve bekâreti ile bağdaştırma anlayışıyla paralellik göstermektedir. Ayrıca, mahkûm kadınların yarıya yakını namus cinayetlerine getirilen cezai indirimi desteklemiştir. Bu da bu grubun sözde namus cinayetlerini diğer cinayetlerden farklı olarak algıladığını göstermektedir.

Bu araştırma aynı zamanda kadına şiddetle kadının şiddet suçu işlemesi arasında olduğu iddia edilen ilişkinin varlığını sorgulamayı hedeflemiştir. Bu sebeple mahkûm kadınların şiddet suçu işlemelerinin altında yatan nedenler ve geçmişte yaşadıkları şiddet deneyimleri saha çalışması sürecinde sorgulanmıştır. Fakat daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, cezaevi kayıtlarında kadınların şiddet suçu işlemelerinin sebepleri veya kurbanları ile ilgili herhangi bir veri kaynağı olmadığı için bu araştırma derinlemesine mülakat yapılan

22 şiddet suçu işleyen kadın ve odak grup çalışması yapılan ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası almış sekiz kadın ile sınırlı kalmıştır. Kadınların şiddet suçu işlemelerinin sebeplerini ortaya koyan bu tür bir veri kaynağının yoksunluğu, sorunun ciddiyetinin farkına varılmasını ve bu sorunun üzerinde çalışılması için bilim adamlarının dikkatini çekmesini engellemektedir. Ayrıca bu bilgi eksikliğinden dolayı bu tür suçları işlemiş kadınlar için özel rehabilitasyon programlarının geliştirilmesi ve bu kadınların yargılanma sürecinde yasal düzenlemelere gidilmesi ihtiyacının üstünü örtmektedir.

Derinlemesine mülakat sonuçlarına göre, görüşülen 19 kadından 10'u şiddet gördüğü eşini veya partnerini öldürmüş, biri cinsel tecavüze uğradığı öz abisini, bir diğeri de cinsel tacize uğradığı iş ortağını öldürmüştür. Diğer taraftan, odak grup çalışmasına katılan beş kadından dördü şiddet gördüğü eşini öldürdüğü için ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası almıştır. Genel tabloya göre, kadınların önemli bir oranı şiddet gördüğü kişiden kendisini koruyabilmek için cinayeti son çare olarak görmüş ve bu sebepten ağır cezalara çarptırılmıştır. Bu çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlar buzdağının sadece görünen kısmıdır. Dolayısıyla, Türkiye'deki tüm şiddet suçu işlemiş mahkûm kadınların suç işlemeleri altında yatan nedenlere dair ulusal veri kaynağının geliştirilmesi, bu toplumsal soruna işaret etmek ve asıl mağdur olan mahkûm kadınlar için sosyal politika düzeyinde tedbirler alınması için oldukça önem taşımaktadır.

Ayrıca, saha çalışması sırasında şiddet gördüğü kişiyi öldürdüğü için kadın mahkûmların daha ağır cezalara çarptırıldığı görülmüştür. Örneğin, odak grup çalışmasına katılan beş kadından dördü, daha önce herhangi bir sabıka kaydı olmamasına rağmen, şiddet gördüğü eşini öldürdüğü için ağırlaştırılmış müebbet hapis cezası almıştır. Sözde namus cinayeti işleyen erkek faillerin yararlandıkları cezai indirimlerle kıyaslandığında, 'meşru müdafaa' kapsamında suç işlemiş kadınların daha ağır cezalara çarptırılmaları adil değildir. Dolayısıyla namus cinayetlerinin faillerine uygulanan cezai indirimler yerine, şiddet gördüğü saldırganı öldürmeyi son çözüm yolu olarak gören kadınlara cezai indirim uygulanması gerekmektedir. Fakat diğer taraftan, şiddet mağduru ve çaresizlik

içerisinde olan kadınlara kendilerini şiddetten korumak için saldırganı öldürmek yerine daha güvenli olan yollar daha fazla kamu spotu ve aktif çalışma ile duyurulmalıdır. Ayrıca, sınırlı sayıda kadın sığınma evi ve kadına şiddeti önlemeye yönelik sınırlı finansal kaynakların varlığı düşünüldüğünde, şiddet mağduru kadınların uzun vadede korunabilmesi için devletin bu önemli sosyal sorunun çözülmesinde daha fazla fon ayırması gerektiği de belirtilmelidir.

Hepsinden önemlisi, bu çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlardan, mahkûm kadınların ezici çoğunluğunun şiddete karşı bir duruş sergilemelerine rağmen, pek çoğunun şiddet suçundan hapis yattıkları görülmektedir. Bu sonuç ve kadınların daha çok hangi sebeplerle şiddet suçu işledikleri sonucu dikkate alındığında, kadınların şiddet gördükleri kişiyi, kendileri şiddet eğilimli oldukları için değil, kendilerini korumak için öldürmeyi son çare olarak gördükleri için şiddet suçu işledikleri sonucuna varılmıştır.