

TURKISH WOMEN: THOSE WHO ARE EXPOSED TO VIOLENCE AND THOSE WHO ARE NOT EXPOSED TO VIOLENCE³⁹

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to determine what kind of violence women are exposed to, the reason why they are exposed to violence, the effects of the violence exposed on women, how they perceive violence and to study the opinions of women who are exposed and who are not exposed to violence in what concerns their marriages, their expectations from life and their way of living. This qualitative research was carried out in the descriptive model. The population of this study is women living in the city of Aksaray-Turkey. In the research, the qualitative data collection technique of interviewing was employed. In the research, in-depth interviews were conducted with a total of 68 women (34 who were subjected to violence and 34 who were not). Each of the interviews has been carried out by the researcher and lasted around 30-40 minutes. The findings of the present study conclude that marriage by family decision, whose husband's high use of alcohol and cigarettes and not knowing the legal rights are the risk factors for physical domestic violence in Turkey. As an another finding of the study, we determined similar results in the following variables for women in the both groups; their levels of education, their husbands' levels of education, their employment status, their everyday lives, family activities and their expectations from the future. However, there were differences in terms of their hobbies and limitations put by their husbands.

Keywords: Turkish Women, violence, violence against women

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Introduction

Researches show that violence against women is on the rise in parallel with social violence and crime rates. Violence is defined as “the physical force used to injure or hurt” or as “the use of force and power in a way that might deprive others of certain rights” (Morrison, Furlong & Morrison, 1994). According to the World Health Organization (WHO) (2005), researchers have used many criteria to define violence. “A common method is to classify violence according to the type of act: for example, physical violence (e.g. slapping, hitting, kicking, and beating), sexual violence (e.g. forced intercourse and other forms of coerced sex), and emotional or psychological violence (e.g. intimidation and humiliation)”. Violence can also be defined by the relationship between the victim and perpetrator; for example, intimate partner violence, incest, sexual assault by a stranger, date rape or acquaintance rape (WHO, 2005).

According to the report published by the WHO in 2002, violence occurs mostly within the family and against women (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi & Lozano, 2002). In the study carried out by the WHO (2005) in 11 countries with 24.000 women; the frequency of being exposed to physical violence over their lifetime was found between 13% and 61%, whereas that of being subjected to sexual violence was found to be 6% and 59%. The WHO (2005) Multi-Country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence against Women, one of the few studies to report comparable data, shows that between 15% (Japan) and 71% (Ethiopia) of women reported experiencing physical and sexual violence by an intimate partner over their lifetime, and between 3.8% (Japan) and 53% (Ethiopia) as experiencing such violence within the past year. The results of the WHO study and others confirm that violence by an intimate partner is a common experience worldwide (WHO, 2005). Therefore, it is seen that violence against women is a phenomenon that is observed widely throughout the world regardless of geographical boundaries, economic development level and education.

Violence against Women in Turkey

Domestic violence is an important problem in Turkey. Examples of violence against women in Turkey range from the insult and deprivation of economic means to beating and from sexual violence to killing. Researches have been conducted in different provinces of Turkey in order to determine the frequency of violence against women. According to these researches, 50.9% of women in Bolu (Mayda & Aykus, 2004), 14.4% in Aydın (Karacam Çalışır, Dündar, Altuntas & Avcı, 2006), 52.4% in Konya (Oztunç & Eser, 2005), 40.4% in Istanbul (Hıdıroğlu, Topuzoğlu, Ay & Karavus, 2006), 80.9% in Çanakkale (Tanrıverdi & Sıpkın, 2008), 93% in Edirne (Tokuc, Ekuklu & Avcıoğlu, 2010) are subjected to at least one

form of violence during their marriage. Of these women; 39% are aged 20-30, 62.5% are primary school graduates, 64% are housewives, 45.3% have made an arranged marriage, 47.8% were exposed to violence in the first month of the marriage, and 18.7% had a risk of death (Arslan, Yarımoglu & Cekin, 2005). Yanikkerem (2002) found a significant correlation between women's age, marriage age, educational status, employment, family type, and household income. Finally, young and poor women, women who married at a young age, who are less educated, unemployed were exposed to physical domestic violence more than other women in Turkey.

The most extreme form of violence against women in Turkey is honor murders (i.e., the murder of a person who has been perceived as having brought dishonor to their family) (Ornek-Buken & Sahinoglu, 2006). The media frequently cover stories on violence against women based on honor. The most interesting one of these stories is about 19-year-old M. G., who stabbed his 18-year-old wife F. G. fifteen times after seeing her cheating on him in his dream (Haberturk Online, 2012, March 27). In the Turkish family structure, the husband sees himself as the owner of power and force. As a reflection of it, he considers his wife and children as individuals who depend on him, and even whom he owns. Therefore, it could be stated that notions like honor are shaped largely around this understanding. As a result, in parallel with the general understanding in the male-dominated society, the husband forms certain behavioral norms and draws a framework of honor, and then does not tolerate his wife and children going beyond these boundaries (Tas, Uyanik & Karakaya, 1997). When considered from the viewpoint of women, they embrace the identities such as “*good wife*” and “*good mother*” as a result of the process of socialization that imposes these identities on women, and therefore they refuse the idea of being an independent individual. Besides, the position of the woman within the family is defined according to the man. As a result, men expect respectful behavior from women within the family, and see using violence when faced with disrespectful behavior as their earned right (Tas et al. 1997). What is more striking is that the number of women who think like men is not small at all. In the research conducted in 2003 by the Directorate General on the Status of Women, 39.2% of women find at least one of the following as a reason for the husband to beat his wife: burning the food, responding to the husband, spending money unnecessarily, neglecting the care of children, and refusing to have sex. Of these women; 62.1% have received no education, 56.6% live in rural areas, 63.6% have five or more children. Tas et al. (1997) report that the number of uneducated women who approve the idea that “*the husband can beat his wife when she does not obey him*” is 17 times higher than that of women who received high school or higher education.

Besides, economic and sexual violence is not seen by most women as violence at all (Guler, Tel & Tuncay, 2005). It could be stated that women's awareness on this issue is inadequate. Moreover, the reason of this situation could be the fact that sexual harassment of women by their husbands are not seen as violence within the marriage and family structures, or the perception that these issues are so private that they cannot be shared with a stranger.

In order to prevent violence against women that has been on the front burner in Turkey recently, the Ministry of Family and Social Policies has made numerous efforts since 1998. Some of them are the following: (1) A Parliamentary Investigation Committee was set up in 2005 in order to find out the reasons of honor killings and violence against women and children, and to take necessary measures accordingly. (2) A Presidential Notice was issued in 2006 on "The Measures to be taken to Prevent Violence against Children and Women and Honor Killings". (3) Between 2006 and 2010, training programs were organized for the police, religious officials, health personnel and public prosecutors. (4) In 2009, the Commission for Equality of Opportunity for Men and Women" was formed in the Parliament. The Commission had sub-commissions, which were aimed at researching and examining the issues of "prevention of violence against women", "marriage at an early age", "the place of gender inequality in the education system" and psychological violence against women, bride price and traditional marriages". (5) Under the coordination of the General Directorate on the Status of Women, "The National Action Plan for Fighting Domestic Violence against Women" was developed. This plan included legal regulations on gender equality and preventing violence against women, on raising awareness, empowering women and providing protective service, providing health services, and cooperation among institutions/organization (Ministry of Family and Social Policies Directorate General on the Status of Women, 2012).

Numerous researches have been carried out in Turkey in the frequency and form of violence against women, women's perception of violence, demographic characteristics of women who are exposed to violence, and effects of violence on women. Some of these researches were summarized above. However, there is a very limited number of studies on the opinions of women who are subjected to violence and who are not on their marriages, their expectations from life and their lifestyles. It was determined, in the study carried out by Vahip and Doganavsargil (2006) that no difference exists between women who are subjected to violence and who are not in terms of level of education, profession, family income, age at marriage, a form of marriage, and having been exposed to violence in childhood. Therefore, the point of departure of the current study is the limited number of studies that compare

women's opinions on their marriages, expectations from life and lifestyles with respect to whether they are exposed to violence or not.

In this respect, the purpose of this study is to determine the forms of violence that women are subjected to, reasons of violence, effects of violence, and the ways they perceive violence; and to examine the opinions of women who are subjected to violence and who are not on their marriages, expectations for their lives and their lifestyles.

Method

This qualitative research was carried out in the descriptive model. In the research, the qualitative data collection technique of interviewing was employed.

Participants

The universe of the research consisted of married women with medium socioeconomic status in Aksaray. Participants were selected based on the method of extreme and deviant case sampling (Patton, 1990). Purposeful sampling enables the researcher to obtain in-depth data in cases in which ample information is available (Patton, 1990, Yıldırım & Simsek, 2005). In the research, in-depth interviews were conducted with a total of 68 women (34 who were subjected to violence and 34 who were not). Interviews were conducted by a researcher at the houses of the participants, and each interview lasted around 30-40 minutes. The first question asked to the participants was about whether they were subjected by their husbands to violence. Other questions were asked according to the responses received. Table 1 demonstrates the demographic characteristics of the participants.

Table 1: Arithmetic means regarding the age intervals, marriage durations and number of children of women who are subjected to violence and who are not

	Women subjected to violence	Women not subjected to violence
	Year (<i>M</i>)	Year (<i>M</i>)
Age Interval	21-74 (41.41)	22-58 (37.82)
Marriage Duration	3-60 (19.44)	1-36 (16.70)
Number of Children	0-8 (3.05)	0-5 (2.05)

Of women who are subjected to violence; ages range between 21 and 74 years ($M = 41.41$), marriage durations range between 3 and 60 years ($M = 19.44$) and numbers of children range between 0 and 8 ($M = 3$). On the other hand, of women who are not subjected to violence; age 22-58 years ($M = 37.82$), marriage duration 1-36 years ($M = 16.70$) and number of children 0-5 ($M = 2$) (Table 1). It is seen that the groups' ages, marriage durations and numbers of children are close to each other.

Instrument

Interview Form: An interview form was prepared with the aim of determining the forms of violence that women are subjected to, reasons of violence, affects of violence, and the

ways they perceive violence; and examining the opinions of women who are subjected to violence and who are not on their marriages, their expectations from their lives and their lifestyles. The interview form consisted of two parts: (1) Personal information form (13 questions), (2) Open-ended questions (10 questions). Five of the open-ended questions were formulated to be asked only to women subjected to violence. The form was presented to the opinions of three educational scientists in order to evaluate the comprehensibility and expediency of the questions. In the end, it was decided to use 23 questions. Some probes were given some questions below. It was not obligatory to ask about all of these probes, however, they allow the researcher to go into the details of the question when the interviewee fails to provide sufficient explanation (Yıldırım & Simsek 2006). The open-ended questions were the following:

Questions to be asked to women who are subjected to violence:

1. How often are you subjected to violence?

Alternative: Please explain your frequency of being subjected to violence by giving a time period?

2. What form of violence do you experience?

Probes: Physical?

Psychological (verbal, emotional)?

Economic?

Sexual?

3. What do you do to avoid violence?

4. What do you feel when your husband uses violence against you?

5. In what situations do you experience violence?

Alternative: What do you think is the reason you are subjected to violence?

Questions to be asked to both groups of women:

1. What are your hobbies?

2. How do you spend a typical day?

Probes: At home?

At work?

3. Are there any activities that you regularly do as a family? If yes, what are they?

Probes: During the week?

At the weekend?

In vacation times?

4. Does your husband impose limitations on your life? If yes, what are they?

5. Where do you see yourself in ten years, and doing what?

Analysis of the Data

The answers to the questions in the interview form were analyzed through content analysis. The main objective of content analysis is to obtain the concepts and relationships that would explain the collected data. Basically, the process is to gather similar data around certain concepts and themes and to interpret them in an understandable format (Yıldırım & Simsek, 2005: 227). The answers were analyzed independently by two researchers and the data were coded. The researchers detected how often the related concepts were repeated and brought together the findings. To analyze the data, a frequency distribution was used and shown separately in a table. They also examined for the coding similarities among them. They found out that the internal consistency coefficient was 94%. When the researchers disagreed, the researchers discussed for agreement in a meeting.

Results

This section includes the thematic codes, frequencies and percentage values of the data obtained from the interviews conducted with both groups of women.

Table 2: Frequency and percentage values of the responses of women who experience violence in the frequency of violence, forms of violence, what they do in order to avoid violence, what they feel when being subjected to violence, and reasons of violence.

Women who experience violence		
<i>N</i> = 34		
	<i>f</i>	%
How often do you experience violence?		
Sometimes	34	100
What form of violence do you experience?		
Physical	34	100
Psychological	20	59
Economic	1	3
What do you do to avoid violence?		
Nothing	20	53
I try to take support from the family	10	29
I cry	5	12
I want to hurt myself	1	3
What do you feel when you are subjected to violence?		
Humiliated	5	15
Worthless	4	12
Remorse (over having married)	1	3
Oppressed	5	15
Helpless	11	32
I ask myself "Why me?"	1	3
I cry for days	4	12
Angry	1	3
Defenceless	1	3
Weak	2	6
Fragile	1	3
Hate	3	9
Perplexed	3	9
Scared	1	3
Indefinable-bad feeling	3	9

Why do you think are you subjected to violence?

When I draw others' attention	1	3
Economic problems	1	3
When my husband gets angry	8	24
When the food is not ready on time	2	6
When he returns from work in an angry mood	2	6
When he is jealous	1	3
When I am in bad with his family	6	18
When I ask him to devote more attention to me	1	3
When I ask my husband to take more care of the kids	1	3
When I talk about my demands	1	3
When I get in the way while he is beating the children	1	3
When I want to see my family	2	6
When children misbehaved	1	3
When children are sick	1	3
When I criticize my husband	4	12
When I do something without taking his permission	4	12
When I do not fulfil his demands		
When we have a disagreement over the way the kids are raised	3	9
When he is drunk	1	3
When I do not agree with him	2	6
	1	3

As Table 2 shows, when women were asked about the frequency of their experience of violence, all (34) of them responded “sometimes”. Similarly, all women (34) stated that they experience “physical violence”, 20 of them (59%) are subjected to “psychological violence”, and 1 of them (3%) experiences “economic violence”. In other words, of the women who experience physical violence, 20 also experience physiological violence and 1 also experiences economic violence. When asked about what they do to avoid violence, 18 (53%) of the women who experience violence stated that they do nothing, 10 (29%) of them reported that they try to take support from their families, 4 (12%) of them said that they cry, and 1 (3%) of them reported that she wants to hurt herself. When asked about what they feel when they are subjected to violence, 11 (32%) of them stated that they feel helpless, whereas 5 (15%) reported that they feel oppressed and 4 (12%) reported that they feel worthless. When asked about the cases in which they are subjected to violence, 8 (24%) of them responded that they experience violence when their husbands are angry, 6 (18%) “when they are in bad with their husbands’ families”, 4 (12%) “when they criticize their husbands”, and 4 (12%) “when they do something without the permission of their husbands”.

Table 3: Frequency and percentage figures regarding both groups' types of marriage, educational backgrounds, employment statuses, husbands' educational backgrounds, husbands' employment statuses, perceived economic statuses, levels of satisfaction with their marriage lives, levels of satisfaction with their lives, awareness of their legal rights, and husbands' bad habits

	Women who experience violence <i>N</i> =34		Women who do not experience violence <i>N</i> =34	
	<i>F</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%
Type of Marriage				
Arranged marriage ⁴⁰	24	70	17	50
Her own will	8	24	17	50
Elopement ⁴¹	2	6	0	0
Educational Background				
Elementary School	30	88	17	50
High School	3	9	8	24
University	1	3	9	26
Employment				
Employed	5	15	9	26
Unemployed	29	85	25	74
Husband's Educational Background				
Elementary School	24	70	15	44
High School	7	21	10	30
University	3	9	9	26
Husband's Employment				
Employed	26	76	30	88
Unemployed	3	9	0	0
Retired	5	15	4	12
Perceived Economic Status				
Good	8	24	12	35
Medium	15	44	19	56
Bad	11	32	3	9
Satisfaction with Marriage Life				
Satisfied	8	24	34	100
Not satisfied	18	52	0	0
Undecided	8	24	0	0
Satisfaction with life in general				
Satisfied	14	41	34	100
Not satisfied	20	59	0	0
Awareness of legal rights				
Aware	10	30	17	50
Not aware	24	70	17	50
Does the husband have any bad habit?				
Yes (smoking-alcohol)	20	59	15	44
No	14	41	19	56

Table 3 demonstrates that 24 (70%) women who experience violence and 17 (50%) women who do not experience violence have married by family decision. While 30 (88%) of women who experience violence are elementary school graduates, this number is 17 (50%)

⁴⁰ Arranged marriage (Marriage by family decision) is a form of marriage in which the parties do not flirt before getting married. It is a form of marriage mostly seen in regions where traditional mindsets are prevalent. In the process, the mother, father or other relatives of the man starts looking for a suitable girl. It is not enough that the young man likes the woman. Approval of other family members is sought (Sezen, 2005).

⁴¹ The woman might sometimes be "kidnapped" when families do not approve the marriage. this situation emerges most of the time because of the barriers imposed by the family of the woman for socioeconomic and other reasons. It takes place either by voluntary participation of the woman or by force (Sezen, 2005).

among women who do not experience violence. 29 (85%) women in the first group and 25 (74%) in the second are unemployed. 24 (70%) women who experience violence and 15 (44%) women who do not experience violence have elementary school graduate husbands. Whereas husbands of 26 (76%) women who are subjected to violence are employed, this number among women who are not subjected to violence is 30 (88%). 15 (44%) women who experience violence and 19 (56%) women who do not experience violence perceive their families' economic status as a medium-level. While 18 (52%) women who are subjected to violence reported that they are unhappy with their marriage lives, 34 (100%) women in the second group stated that they are satisfied with their marriage lives. While 20 (59%) women who are subjected to violence reported that they are unhappy with their lives in general, 34 (100%) women in the second group stated that they are satisfied with their lives. While 24 (70%) women who are subjected to violence reported that they are unaware of their legal rights, this number is 17 (50%) for women who are not subjected to violence. While 20 (59%) women who are subjected to violence reported that their husbands have smoking and drinking habits, 19 (56%) women in the other group stated that their husbands do not have any bad habit.

Table 4: Frequency and percentage values regarding both groups' hobbies, typical days, regular family activities, husbands' limitations and where they see themselves in ten years

	Women who experience violence <i>N</i> =34		Women who do not experience violence <i>N</i> =34	
	<i>F</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%
What are your hobbies?				
Watching TV	6	18	3	9
Going around	1	3	-	-
Doing physical exercise (jogging)	1	3	2	6
Reading books	1	3	5	15
Doing housework	1	3	-	-
Spending time with children	1	3	-	-
Using the internet	1	3	-	-
Taking courses (wood painting etc.)	1	3	2	6
Shopping	2	6	5	15
Handiworks (crochet etc.)	4	12	3	9
Listening to music	1	3	1	3
Spending time with neighbours	2	6	2	6
Growing plants	2	6	-	-
sleeping	1	3	-	-
Painting	-	-	1	3
Reading newspaper	-	-	1	3
Spending time with friends	-	-	3	9
I do not have time for hobbies	-	-	2	6
How is a typical day of yours?				
Working	4	12	9	26
Doing the housework	34	100	20	59
Caring children	26	76	20	59
Interacting with neighbours	3	9	1	3
Shopping	2	6	-	-

Making family visits	2	6	-	-
Going around	-	-	7	21
What are your regular family activities?				
Going for a jaunt	1	3	1	3
Going out to eat	2	6	2	6
Going on vacation	1	3	1	3
Going to picnic	1	3	2	6
Visiting other families	-	-	1	3
Spending time together	-	-	1	3
What limitations does your husband impose?				
Dress	7	21	2	6
Going out without permission	5	15	1	3
Obligation to obey	3	9	-	-
Where do you see yourself in ten years?				
With my children	2	6	3	9
With a normal marriage	1	3	-	-
Children attending a university	12	35	5	15
Children having married	3	9	1	3
With grandchildren	3	9	3	9
Realized dreams	1	3	-	-
Having gone on a pilgrimage	2	6	1	3
In good health	3	9	-	-
With one more child	2	6	-	-
On vacation	1	3	-	-
Having found peace and happiness in life.....	1	3	1	3
I am scared of thinking about the future	2	6	-	-
The same	3	9	5	15
With my husband	-	-	3	9
Retired	-	-	1	3

As Table 4 shows, hobbies of women who experience violence are watching TV (f=6, 18%) and doing handiworks (f=4, 12%), whereas hobbies of women who do not experience violence are shopping (f=5, 15%), reading books (f=5, 15%), watching TV (f=3, 9%) and doing handiworks (f=3, 9%), respectively. While 34 (100%) of women who experience violence spend a typical day by doing the housework and 26 (76%) of them by caring their children, 20 (59%) of women spend a typical day by doing the housework and 20 (59%) of them by caring their children. The most common regular family activity among both groups of women is going out to eat (f=2, 6%). Of the women who are subjected to violence; 7 (21%) reported that their husbands limit their freedom of choosing what to wear, 5 (15%) stated that they cannot go out without their husbands' permission, and 3 (9%) stated that they have to obey their husbands. Only 2 (6%) of the women who are not subjected to violence reported that their husbands restrains their freedom to decide what to wear and 1 (3%) of them stated that she cannot go out without taking her husband's permission. 12 (35%) of the women who experience violence see themselves in ten years with their children attending university. On the other hand, 5 (15%) of the women who do not experience violence gave the same answer.

Discussion

In this study, the aim was to determine the forms, reasons and effects of violence on women and the ways they perceive violence, along with the opinions of women who experience violence and who do not on their marriages, their expectations from life and their lifestyles. All 34 (100%) of the women who experience violence reported that they *sometimes* are subjected to violence. Similarly, in the study conducted by Vahip and Doganavsargil (2006), 54.8% of women who are exposed by their husbands to physical violence stated that the frequency of violence is rare.

Of the participating women who reported that they are subjected to violence; 34 (100%) experience physical violence, whereas 20 (59%) experience both physical and psychological (emotional and verbal) violence. These findings overlap with the findings of previous studies (Altınay & Arat, 2008; Altun, 2006; Yıldırım, 1996, p. 48). In some researches, on the other hand, the order is different. In clinical studies, it was determined that women who apply to health care centers mostly experience emotional violence, which is followed by sexual, economic and physical violence (Tanrıverdi & Sıpkın, 2008; Yanıkkerem, 2002). In this study, while only one woman reported that she experiences economic violence, none of them reported sexual violence. This finding might have stemmed from the fact that women regard domestic sexual violence as something so private that it cannot be shared with a stranger.

When women who experience violence were asked about what they do in order to avoid violence; 18 (53%) of them stated that they do not do anything, 10 (29%) of them reported that they try to take support from their families, 4 (12%) of them said that they cry, and 1 (3%) of them reported that she wants to hurt herself. Another finding of the research is that when asked about what they feel when they are subjected to violence, 11 (32%) of the participating women stated that they feel helpless, whereas 5 (15%) reported that they feel oppressed and 4 (12%) reported that they feel worthless. Most women who experience violence in Turkey believe that there is nothing to do when faced with violence (Altun, 2006) and therefore do nothing (Ucan, 2007; Sahin, Dissiz, Sömek & Dinc, 2008; Icli, 1995; PIAR-Gallup 1992). Sahin, Yetim and Oyekcin (2012) determined that 54.7% of women whose husbands constantly commit violence never share their experiences with anyone. To the question “Why?”, these women gave the following responses: “these issues should stay within the confines of home”, “I was ashamed”, “I remained silent as he was my husband”, “I did not want to upset my friends”, “I was scared” and “I did not need to share it”, respectively. Some women who experience violence try to take support from (her and her husbands’) families (Ozcan, 2009; Parmaksızoglu, 2011; Yoruk, 2010). It is underlined that

for a woman not to do anything when faced with violence, not to share it with others and not to receive support paves the way for problems such as low self-esteem, fear, suicidal thoughts, loss of psychosocial functions, somatisation, major depression, PTSD, anxiety disorder, and substance abuse (e. g. Akcer, 2006; Bramsen, Dirkzwager & Ploeg, 2000; Buyukgok, 2007; Dindas, 2008; Discigil, 2003; Ebert & Dyck, 2004; Golding, 1999; Jones, Hughes & Unterstaller, 2001; Kazancı, 2010; McCloskey, Treviso, Scionti & Pozzo, 2002; Parmaksızoglu, 2011; Perkonigg, Kessler, Storz & Wittchen, 2000; Rosen, 1999; Rosenberg, Fenley, Johnson & Short, 1997; Roth, Newman, Pelcovitz, Kolk & Mandel, 1997; Spitzer et al. 2009; Taylor, Asmundson & Carleton, 2006).

When asked about the cases in which they are subjected to violence, 8 (24%) of them responded that they experience violence when their husbands are angry, 6 (18%) “when they are in bad with their husbands’ families”, 4 (12%) “when they criticize their husbands”, and 4 (12%) “when they do something without the permission of their husbands”. In a similar study, of the women, 50% said their husbands had the right to beat them up if the women neglected her children, 40% of them said their husbands had the right to beat them up when they spent money unnecessarily, and 25% of them said their husbands had the right to beat them up when they yelled at their husbands (Tokuc et al. 2010). Kalaycıoglu and Tılıc (2001) found that women encounter violence mostly when they do not fulfil their conventional duties and when they go somewhere without permission. In the research conducted by Ozcan (2009), women showed the following reasons for the violence inflicted on them: disobedience to the husband (16.9%), failure to satisfy the husband’s sexual demands (19.4%) and not remaining silent during a discussion (25%). These findings can be accounted for through cultural characteristics. During the process of socialization in Turkey, while the boy is taught to be brave, reckless and proud of his manhood; the girl is taught to be timid, shy and reserved (Marangoz, 2004). Moreover, in this process, boys aggressive behaviors are supported and perceived as signs of masculinity (Atay 2004: 11). Thus, men (husbands) in the Turkish family structure see themselves as the owners of power and control. As a result, the husband creates certain behavioral norms and does not tolerate his wife and children to go beyond these norms (Tas et al. 1997).

It was determined in this study that majority of both women who experience violence and women who do not are elementary school graduates and unemployed, their husbands are elementary school graduates and employed, and they perceive their economic statuses as medium-level. In parallel with these findings Vahip and Doganavsargil (2006) found no difference between women who are subjected to domestic violence and women who are not

in terms of educational background, profession and family income. However, they found differences in terms of forms of marriage, women's satisfaction with their marriages and lives, their awareness of legal rights and their husbands' bad habits. According to them, most of the women who experience violence married by family decision, they are not satisfied with their marriages and lives, they do not know their legal rights, and their husbands' smoke and drink. In many studies in Turkey, it was determined that women whose husbands drink alcohol (Donmez, Simsek & Gunay, 2012; Isiloglu, 2006; Icli, 1995; McCloskey et al. 2002; Wang, An & Cochran, 2002), and women who have married at an early age through arranged marriage (Altınay & Arat, 2008; Cetiner, 2006; Deveci, Acık, Gulbayrak & Tokdemir, 2005; Oyekcin, Yetim & Sahin, 2012; Kazancı, 2010; Ozcan, 2009; Ucar, 2011) experience more physical violence by their husbands. This might stem from the fact that arranged marriage brings about communication problems as men and women get married without adequately knowing each other. A woman who wants to take legal action against domestic violence cannot do it as she fails to take psychological support and to access information resources (Unal, 2005). Memis (2011) found that women mostly remain silent in the face of violence and do not exercise their rights except for getting a divorce. Ucar (2011) suggests that the percentage of women who do not have knowledge about the Law on the Protection of the Family is very high (91.8%) among women who are literate and elementary school graduates. Moreover, Sahin, Yetim and Oyekcin (2012) determined in their study that only one of 64 women, who are subjected to physical violence, appealed to a governmental institution. It could be thought that women do not appeal to governmental institutions either because the sanctions are weak or because they are unaware of their legal rights.

Another finding of the research is that the majority of both the women who experience violence and women who do not experience violence spend most of their time doing the housework or looking after their children. Similarly, women in both groups reported that they mostly go out to eat as a regular family activity and that they want to see their children attending university in ten years. These findings suggest that women have embraced the identities of "good wife" and "good mother" which have been imposed on her during the process of socialization (Tas et al. 1997), no matter whether she is subjected to violence or not. It was observed in this study that there are differences between the two groups in terms of women's hobbies and the limitations that their husbands impose on them. Moreover, while 15 women who experience violence reported that their freedom of choosing what to wear is restricted, only three women from the other group stated the same.

Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to determine the forms, reasons and effects of violence on women and the ways they perceive violence, along with the opinions of women who experience violence and who do not on their marriages, their expectations from life and their lifestyles. The findings of the present study conclude that marriage by family decision, husbands' habits of smoking and drinking alcohol, and not knowing the legal rights are the risk factors for domestic physical violence in Turkey. For this reason, training programs can be developed on women's legal rights as well as on the measures that can be taken against husbands' violence, and these trainings can be offered to women from all segments of the society. Another finding of the research is that women in both groups are similar in terms of their and their husbands' educational backgrounds, their employment statuses, daily life activities, regular family activities and expectations for the future. However, there are differences in terms of their hobbies and limitations imposed by their husbands. Most of the studies in the literature on violence against women focus on women who are subjected to violence and examine the relationship between the women and violence. It is thought that there exists little data on husbands who practice violence. Similarities in many respects between women who experience violence and women who do not experience violence imply that the flip side of the coin (husbands who commit violence) needs to be examined.

One of the limitations of the research is that it was conducted with 68 women with medium socioeconomic levels in Aksaray. It is thought that future studies should work with women from different socioeconomic backgrounds and different geographical regions. Moreover, the interview technique was employed in the research. Therefore, the data obtained were based on statements, which are prone to be influenced by social expectations. This constitutes another limitation of the research.

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