WOMEN VICTIMIZATION:
IN THE CASE OF FAMILY HONOR IN TURKEY

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

WOMEN VICTIMIZATION:
IN THE CASE OF FAMILY HONOR IN TURKEY

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This study is conducted in order to obtain information on the causes and methods of killings grounded by honor, and through which processes and by whom these killings are realized. The rationale behind honor killings is based on a primitive understanding of justice. The relatives of the killed person assume the honor of their family, clan etc. is cleaned, and justice achieved. What may be the reasons of the persistence of such an understanding of justice in present day? In trying to answer this question, the meaning and perception of the concept of honor, the social and historical roots of the honor killings, how these killings come about, the role and impacts of these killings in society are examined.

Keywords: Honor, dignity, shame, honor killings, traditions and customs, suicides, violence, woman

ÖZ

KADININ MAĞDURİYETİ ÇERÇEVESİNDE
TÜRKİYE'DE NAMUS CİNAYETLERİ

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Bu çalışma, namus gerekçesi ile işlenen cinayetlerin hangi sebep ve yöntemler ile, hangi süreçler içinde, kimler tarafından işlendiğine dair bilgiler edinmek amacıyla yürütülmüştür. Namus temizleme amacıyla adam öldürme eyleminin temelinde ilkel bir adalet anlayışı yatmaktadır. Ölenin yakınları namuslarını temizlediklerini ve adaleti yerine getirdiklerini sanmaktadırlar. Bu ilkel adalet anlayışının günümüzde hala varlığını sürdürmesinin nedenleri neler olabilir? Bu soruya yanıt aramak için bu çalışmada 'namus' kavramının içeriği ve algılanışı, töre cinayetlerinin kökeni, oluşumu, nedenleri, işlevleri ve etkileri incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Namus, şeref, utanç, namus cinayetleri, gelenekler ve görenekler, intiharlar, şiddet, kadın

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1. INTRODUCTION

This research is conducted in order to obtain information on the causes and methods of killings grounded by honor, and through which processes and by whom these killings are realized. News on honor killings frequently take place in media, and the frequency and the content of these news reflect the seriousness of this phenomenon.

Honor killings are still widespread and have legitimacy in the social milieu in which these killings happen. However, it is obvious that what is socially legitimate may not always be correct from other perspectives. Knowing this, honor killings should be critically examined like any other social problem, the solution of which requires the analysis of the causes, conditions and processes that give rise to it. To ascertain the reasons why honor killings are today widespread needs a multidimensional and comprehensive approach. Despite the fact that the history of the killings grounded on honor is very old and the popularity of the topic today, data, research and analysis of this phenomenon is quite limited.

The primary motives in honor killings are the brute and merciless customs. As a sociological term, custom can be understood within the framework of social norms. A deviation from the social values and norms often require harsh sanctions (Tezcan, 1999:23).

Like other social rules, customs are born from the need to arrange the social relationships. In this regard, the emergence of some regulating norms is inevitable in every community with a permanent character and its daily life. Born out of the relationships between individuals, social norms and rules influence the behavior, attitude, perception and, reference points of people (Şerif, 1995: 98).

The behaviors of those who commit honor killings are shaped in a cultural milieu where tradition and religion are positioned in a distinct, often incorrect manner. This positioning may radically distort or even destroy the personality, conscience, and reasoning. Thus, the present state of the affairs points to the extent to which these social factors are effective and, how slow the change in social structure is.

In present day Turkey, there is some data supporting the idea that instead of material interests (money, property etc.), a major motive behind homicides is a set of concepts related with social norms and values such as honor and jealousy (Aziz, 1994: 46).

The rationale behind honor killings is based on a primitive understanding of justice. The relatives of the killed person assume the honor of their family, clan etc. is cleaned, and justice achieved. What may be the reasons of the persistence of such an understanding of justice in present day? In trying to answer this question, the meaning and perception of the concept of honor, the social and historical roots of the honor killings, how these killings come about, the role and impacts of these killings in society are examined. Finally, some suggestions are made for possible preventive measures against honor killings.

Honor killing is a phenomenon largely produced by the traditional social structure. A distorted perception of the concept of honor is the leading factor in these crimes. In many instances, custom is an integral part of the social structure and has positive functions, but in some cases, it may be an obstacle in front of social development and enter into a conflict with modern values. Therefore, this sociological concept should be investigated in a detailed perspective.

The first section of this research includes a literature review of definition and sociological analysis of honor killings. In this section, the definitions of the concepts related with honor killings and their perception by the members of the society is presented in order to analyze the roots and causes of honor killings as a consequence of distorted perception. Furthermore, honor killings are analyzed as an important dimension and the ultimate form of violence against women as a result of the commodification of women, generally within the framework of patriarchal family structure that puts women into a secondary position in society. In the same section, statistical data, sample cases, media news and, formerly conducted researches are reviewed in order to establish a profile of the victims and committers of these crimes as well as to ascertain where, by whom, with which justification and how these killings took place. In addition to this, the reactions and responses of community members, state officials and finally, of the society is analyzed using some sample cases. Another task in this section is to investigate the alleged relationship between Islam and honor killings. Although this research examines the phenomenon in Turkey, honor killings committed in other societies are also taken into consideration to ascertain the similarities and differences between Turkey and other countries. Furthermore, as honor killings are attributed to the rural communities and rural social structures, increased migration to the cities necessitates the need to examine the phenomenon in urban settings, too. As honor killings are defined as a criminal act in the laws, it is important to look at how it is the laws under which it is interpreted, how the committers are punished is investigated. In other words, to understand the sanctions against this crime and the level of deterrence of these sanctions, the analysis of how honor killings are considered by the Turkish Penal Code is made. Finally, in the first section, as a related phenomenon, the women suicides -observed especially in the Eastern and South-eastern regions of Turkey- are analyzed as a distinct and highly important form of honor killings.

In the second section, honor killings are examined through a series of criminological theories explaining criminal behavior and these killings are analyzed from criminological perspective. Among these theories are, the differential association theory which emphasizes the impact of family, intimate groups and social interaction on criminal behavior; social learning theory which argues that the individual learns criminal behavior through positive reinforcements and punishments imposed by the society; labeling theory which emphasizes that the criminal individual is labeled and excluded by the community members, the sub-culture theory, which emphasizes that the criminal behavior is peculiar to a sub-culture, a subdivision of a national culture, composed of a combination of social situations, such as class status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residence, and religious affiliation and finally, the social control theory, which argues that the decreased contact with the society and insufficient social regulation leads to criminal behavior. Since crime is a complex phenomenon into which many variables may intervene, criminal behavior needs to be analyzed in a multidimensional framework. Thus, the theories cited above are theories examining the phenomenon from specific perspectives, while in this research it is preferred to use a number of crime theories and variables influencing honor crimes are considered together in order to analyze and explain the honor killings.

In the third section, the methods employed in the research process, the target population of the research and their characteristics, the research process and limitations faced are given. Survey, as a quantitative method was employed in the research process and a questionnaire composed of open and closed-ended questions was applied to women living in women shelters, women shelter officials, and university students. In addition, in order to obtain detailed information about the functions of women shelters, an in-depth interview technique as a qualitative method was conducted with institute director and

unit director of Social Services and Child Protection Institute-Family Unit. The reason why the aggrieved women are chosen as the target group for the research is to contribute to a general profile of the women denying being victims of honor killings, to expose the vulnerability of these women, and uncover the reasons that made these women seek refuge in the women shelters. The women shelter officials are also included in the target group in order to ascertain conditions, advantages, and disadvantages of the women shelters. Finally, university students are included in the research, in order to help to understand the perception of university students about honor and women's status. In the fifth section, the findings obtained through the research process are presented. In the sixth and seventh chapters, these data is interpreted from a sociological perspective and some suggestions for probable measures and solutions to the problem are made.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Definitions:

Since, honor killings are connected to misunderstanding and misinterpretation of certain concepts, traditions, and religion; definitions and roots of some concepts and the perception of society and certain communities about honor killings are primarily outlined in this chapter.

2.1.1 Honor (in Turkish *namus*):

It is indicated within the Islamic Encyclopedia that, the concept of honor takes its source from the concept of 'nomos' in Greek language. In Ancient Greek, the concept of 'nomos' means 'law relating to God', 'reliable' and 'someone confided in'. These meanings had been persisted in the Ottoman

Turkish language. The concept of honor has four meanings in the Ottoman Turkish language: 1-law, order; 2-virginity; 3-purity, honesty; 4-an angel close to God. Today in Turkey, the concept of honor represents the meanings as in the Ottoman Turkish language. Which meaning the individual prefers among four meanings is not arbitrary; it is rather directly related to the background of individual (Gezik, 2003: 32).

Within the context of the traditional society, status and acceptance are based on clan or family honor that largely depends on the behavior of its female members. In traditional societies, women do not themselves have a claim to honor as individuals, separate from their roles within a family unit. However, their actions as individuals can bring dishonor to the family, particularly through actual or perceived sexual misconduct (Baker, Gregware, Cassidy, 1999: 165).

The content of the concept of honor originates from traditions and customs concerning sexual conduct. The rule of this concept consists of sexual purity and forbearance. The protection of purity is one of the responsibilities of women, whereas forbearance is related to both sexes. The honor of a woman means to protect her purity against everybody until she gets married. After the marriage, she has to present her sexuality only to her husband. Apart from this, all female sexual conducts are perceived to be dishonorableness. In this case, murders take place, since the woman could not protect her sexuality (Tezcan, 2000: 238).

Man has also some responsibilities; he has to protect the honor of women (his wife, daughter, sister, mother, and other female relatives) dependent on him and he should not say/do something that touches someone's honor (Ergil, 1980: 189).

In this framework, the concept of honor is connected only to the sexual organs of the woman and represents a man's wife, namely his lawful spouse, mother, sister, in other words his female relatives and even women within his neighborhood. In short, man is responsible to monitor all women within his environment. Such a mentality extends the range of men's responsibilities, whereas leads to an increase in the oppression over women.

According to traditional codes of so-called 'honor', which function with many variants in different parts of the world, the conduct of women has the greatest potential to bring 'dishonor' on the family. The threat of death or violence may be used to enforce these codes within the community (Amnesty International, 2004).

2.1.2 Dignity (in Turkish *seref*):

The concept of dignity, generally, can be defined as the prestige or repute of an individual or his family. Mediterranean underdeveloped societies have been still bearing and maintaining the influences of social values originated in rural life. Within these regions, permanent traditions put a man under the obligation to protect his own or his family's dignity and also woman's sexual purity and honor. These expectations appear as sexual shame in terms of women and as masculinity in respect of men. In this case, the responsibilities for both women and men are determined like that: for man assuming manlike attitudes and behaving manfully and for woman giving importance to sexual forbearance and limiting her behaviors by the concept of shame are a debt of honor. This debt is owed firstly to family and secondly to the society. The protection of family dignity provides the continuity of the settled values and traditions of the community. Women should behave womanly, since contrary attitudes disgrace the male members of the family. The division of labor confirmed by the traditional and social values has put women under the

guardianship of men. Unmarried woman is under the guardianship of her father and widowed woman is under the guardianship of her husband's male relatives, if she lives with her husband's relatives; under the guardianship of her brothers or adult sons, if she lives apart (Ergil, 1980, 189).

The concept of dignity has a universal characteristic. Everyone regardless of his race, language, and nationality feels that his honor or dignity is disgraced at times and tries to remove the stain on his honor. Although the phenomenon of dignity is a universal concept, the realization of dignity in practice, and the fulfillment of its requirements change from one society to another (Simsek, 1998, 162).

According to Julian Pitt-Rivers, who is an anthropologist, dignity is a value that a person anticipates on his own responsibility and that community assigns to him. Dignity is the recognition of the value, which a person assigns to himself and honor, which he believes that he possesses, in other words the acceptance of his existence by the community (Pitt-Rivers, 1965: 45).

2.1.3 Customs (in Turkish *tore)*:

While mentioning the concept of honor or honor killings, first of all strict and brutal customs come to our mind. Custom differs from other social rules in terms of its more negative aspects, in other words its strict and brutal sanctions against deviation from the social values. When a crime is committed against values, which are sanctified and became taboo within a community, social customs immediately take place and apply the most deterrent sanctions. In other words, customs operate as a kind of justice system.

In a sense, customs are all cultural characteristics separating a social group from another. Each community has distinct customs, but in the course of time, customs may become indistinguishable things that lie one inside the other and which custom takes its source from where and how it takes shape could not be distinguished. Traditions may contain some elements that are so practical, ordinary, facilitating life, giving people the impression of being trustworthy, providing solidarity and tolerance as well as they may be inhumane, intolerant and aimed at violence within a community and these traditions have been existing together contradictorily (Kardam, 1999: 94).

Turkish traditions have undergone considerable metamorphosis by being influenced by a great deal of communities and civilizations during the middle Ages. The main reason for this is that, Turkish people had to quarrel with a series of settled communities and cultures until leaving their homeland and then settling in Anatolia, even after settlement. Throughout this battle period, which has a historical characteristic, despite Turkish people had acquired numerous military and administrative achievements, they could not free themselves from their cultural identities and traditions. This historical event, namely Easternization, became rooted on the axis of Eastern despotism and Islamic culture. Consequently, these experiences forced Turkish people to conform to behavior patterns bearing an extreme collective core in terms of general social relations and honor struggles, which is seen widely in the Middle East where they settled. (Simsek, 1998: 139).

2.1.4 Distinguishing Between Dignity and Shame:

It is believed that, the distribution of roles among women and men about dignity and shame rules is natural. Here, the representative of dignity is men and the representative of shame is women. Different responsibilities are imposed to the representatives of these concepts.

Women are expected sexual virginity until they get married and mental virginity after the marriage. A woman must perform shame rules in order to indicate her attachment to these norms determining her social value. These rules anticipate passive, timid and careful behaviors for women. She must limit herself to the house and activities expected from women and she must be careful and behave distantly outside especially in localities where men are present. By behaving like this, she will merely save herself from being a source of rumor. It is not possible for her to go beyond, since she is weak due to her femaleness and passivity that is expected by the society preventing her to exhibit an active manner for defending herself. A woman needs a man to protect her purity beyond these limits.

A man represents power, boldness, and aggression as an opposite polar to the shame. In case of need, to restrict, control, and isolate his female relatives for protection are duties of the man, because any stain on the purity of women will not only be against women but also damage social value and status of man as a male. Therefore, the dignity of man is determined by the sexual purity of women dependent on him (Pitt-Rivers, 1965: 45).

2.2 Violence against Women:

Violence against women, as a universal problem, is one of the main tools used to oppress women socially and sexually and there is no any regime that has solved this trouble completely and provided gender equality. Violence against women experienced universally changes from country to country, region to region and even family to family according to their social, economic, and cultural features.

According to the World Health Organization (1997), studies on domestic violence and its prevalence in 24 countries indicated that, 20-50 % of women are victims of physical abuse by their partners at some time in their lives. Approximately, 50-60 % of these abused women are also raped by their abusive partners. According to the same report, violence against women in families is one of the leading factors of female suicide and homicides.

As in countries throughout the world, the human rights of hundreds of thousands of women in Turkey are violated daily. At least a third and up to a half of all women in the country are estimated to be victims of physical violence within their families. They are hit, raped, and in some cases even killed or forced to commit suicide. Young girls are bartered and forced into early marriage. Violence against women is an abuse of the human rights of women and girls, which violates rights such as the right to mental and physical integrity, right to liberty and security of the person, freedom of expression and the right to choice in marriage. Violence may lead to treatment amounting to torture, to cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment and in extreme cases, may violate the right to life. Husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons are responsible for most of these abuses. Sometimes they are acting on the orders of family councils, gathering of family or clan elders who decide the 'punishment' for women deemed to have transgressed traditional codes of honor. The underlying cause of the violence is discrimination that denies women equality with men in every area of life (Amnesty International, 2004).

The lower the level of education and income of women or/and families, the higher the frequency of experienced physical violence cases and honor killings. It is determined that, among 85 women, who made an application to the women shelters and are between the ages of 15-45, within three years; 26 women are illiterate, 14 women are literate but have never attend school, 25 women are graduated from primary school, 4 women are graduated from

secondary school, 14 women are graduated from high school, and 2 women are graduated from university. Violence, in spite of its different forms and frequencies, has been persisting as a result of gender-based discrimination system. However, poverty and education problem, wars and violence in general, conservatism applied on women result in violence that is more frequent and even concluded with murders. Finding out a solution for a woman, who calls for help due to the violence against her, but who is illiterate and does not know Turkish is considerably difficult (KAMER, 2005).

Violence often occurs within three contexts: within the family, where hierarchical relationships exist and an unequal division of labor is the rule; within the community, where social, economic, religious and other institutions perpetuate men's control over women's sexuality; and at the state level, where discriminatory laws legitimize unequal relations (Mahmud, 1996: 368).

In Turkey, which has been a secular state since 1923, the impact on women's sexuality of the imbalance of power in sexual relations is clearly visible in the Eastern region, where a high rate of female illiteracy, a desolate economic situation, a variety of customary and religious practices, which are often in breach of the official laws, and specific forms of cultural violence and collective mechanisms aimed at controlling women's sexuality, produce a wide range of violations of women's human rights (Ilkkaracan, 1998: 66).

Violence against women is closely linked to the regulation of sexuality. In many societies, the ideal of masculinity is supported by a notion of 'honor' of an individual man, or a family or a community and is fundamentally connected to controlling female behavior and sexuality. Honor is generally seen as residing in the bodies of women. Frameworks of 'honor' and its consequence 'shame' operate to control, direct, and regulate women's

sexuality and freedom of movement by male members of the family. Women, who fall in love, engage in extramarital relationships, seek a divorce, or choose their own husbands are seen to transgress the boundaries of 'appropriate' that is, socially sanctioned, sexual behavior (Coomaraswamy, 2005).

Honor killings, as a form of violence against women and extrajudicial execution, aim women who believe or are perceived to believe in values contrary to the social norms of the society. Although honor killings are the most severe form of violence, they are not the only type of violence encountering women in Turkey. Women are also subject to abuses such as marital rape, female genital mutilation, nose cutting, bride price, forced marriages, polygamy, and forced virginity testing (Pervizat, 2003).

2.2.1 Commodification of Women:

How can woman sexuality determine the social value of man? The answer of this question should be searched for within the patriarchal social arrangements and organizations. One of the primary characteristics of patriarchal social structures is that, although women have been attributed extremely low social status; on the contrary, the value assigned to women sexuality is exaggerated within these structures.

"The killing of women by close family members throughout the world can in part be explained with reference to underlying honor/shame systems as a subcategory of patriarchal ideology" (Baker, Gregware, Cassidy, 1999: 180).

To Ortner (1996), the idealization of virginity is directly related to patriarchal family structure and the patriarchal state structure as its consequence. These

two phenomena put women under the control of men and lead to the domestication of women. Ortner stated that, in this process, the virginity phenomenon was also turned into a means of power in the hands of men. Since woman is dedicated to the purity, her attitudes are determinative for the next generation. A pure woman honors her sons and is an assurance for her daughters' virginity.

Honor killings are based on the belief that a woman is the property of her family due to the patriarchal family structure. If the woman's purity come into question, for whatever reason, or if she refuses to obey he father, husband, or brother, her family's honor is thought to be disgraced and the woman must be killed by a male relative to restore the family honor in the community.

Aside from the cultural justification for honor crimes, Khan, a professor at Pakistan's Agha Khan University, argues that financial interests also promote honor killings, effectively creating an 'honor killing industry'. Financial and property considerations, more than simply obsession with female chastity, sustain male control over female sexuality. Dowry and inherited property are central to the regulation of female behavior, especially in landowning families, and particularly as such behavior relates to the woman's prospects for marriage. Marriages are often well calculated and arranged within the family in order to keep the property together. Therefore, a daughter's refusal to marry a person chosen by the men of the family represents a threat to property interests and negatively affects the marriage prospects of her female relatives. A widowed or divorced mother is often forbidden from remarrying altogether; her sons want her to stay dependent on them, particularly if she owns property. If she remarries, her wealth is likely to transfer to another family. Because a son will always remain a family member and a successive patriarch of his own family, his exercise of personal choice in marriage is usually accepted. Females, on the other hand, once married, are often

regarded as the property of their husband, particularly in cases where the husband paid a bride price to the wife's family (Hussain, 2006: 228).

As Naz, the director of Pakistani NGO Auruat Foundation, stated (2005) on the subject: women are considered the property of the males in the families irrespective of their social status, ethnicity, or religious group. Thus the fate of the property is in the hands of owner, and that perception has changed women into a commodity that can be bartered, bought, and sold like cattle.

Strict family, tribal, and traditional values dictate that women are considered property of male family members. Society essentially views a woman as being owned by her father or brothers before marriage, and her husband after marriage. This commodification of women is one of the main factors contributing to violence against women. If men believe that women are mere property, men are more inclined to feel that they may do as they please to women. Therefore, women neither are allowed to offer their own options, nor can disobey men. Women are taught to live in submission. Although Islamic law requires that both partners explicitly consent to marriage, women are often forced into marriages arranged by their fathers or tribal leaders. If a woman chooses her husband it is often viewed as shameful act of defiance against her family and defiles the honor of her family. The marriage of a daughter is seen in terms of price and honor. Thus, a woman's honor and 'purity' are prized possessions controlled by men (Bettencourt, 2000: 3-4).

In this traditional system, women are not considered as individuals; they are the property of the family and are seen to represent its reputation or honor. If a young woman falls in love or has an affair, her *sales value* falls, but more important, the whole family is seen to be dishonored and their standing in the community is diminished. These beliefs are so powerful that families are prepared to take one of their female members' lives to restore their honor. If a

young woman is disobedient or if there is gossip circulating that she has a lover, her family may decide that they can no longer live in their community unless she is killed and their honor is cleaned. The male members of her family will meet and decide her fate. If it is to be death, the task of killing her will be given to the youngest brother or cousin from either side of the family. It is preferable that this young man is below the age of criminal responsibility (Arin, 2001: 823).

A wife's adultery and daughter's premarital sexual activity are the most extreme violations of patriarchal community norms in certain societies, and therefore they merit the most severe penalties, sometimes even death. One study of a Greek mountain community found that family dishonor was linked to a wife's disobedience, with adultery seen as the ultimate disobedience (Baker, Gregware, Cassidy, 1999: 169).

Pervasive patriarchal norms and values lie at the core of honor killings. Regardless of their constitutional equality and legal position as equal citizens, culturally women are treated as dependents of, or 'minors' under the control and protection of men. Consequently, violations of women's rights by men who are responsible for them and care for them are not seen as violations or are not treated seriously (Arat, 2003).

2.3 Honor Killings:

Thousands of women throughout the world are killed by male family members each year for the sake of the family honor. Honor killings are executed for instances of rape, infidelity, flirting or any other instance perceived as disgracing the family's honor, and the woman is then killed by a male relative to restore the family's name in the community. Many women are murdered even due to suspicions of a family member and are not given the

chance to defend themselves. The allegation of female impropriety alone is enough to defile a man's or family's honor and is therefore enough to justify the killing of the woman. This understanding is related, and affected, by a series of old customs and traditions that have been the heritage through generations.

Honor killings are intended to control women's sexual life in the broadest sense. In these traditional values, young women are expected to be virgins when they marry; they must be clean. This cleanliness is fragile and can be destroyed by the slightest acts, such as strolling alone in the town, asking for a love song on the radio, or flirting with a boy. Murder in the name of honor is the cost of freedom and love that some young women pay (Arin, 2001: 822-23).

"Honor killings" is the name given to a customary practice whereby women and girls are killed by male members of their family on suspicion of having had or having aspired to pre-marital or extra-marital relationships. Various versions of this violent customs are in practice in different countries of the Middle East and the Mediterranean. In the case of Turkey, the custom originates from Southeastern and Eastern Regions (Kuraner, 2002: 28).

> An honor killing is generic term used to refer to the premeditated murder of preadolescent, adolescent, or adult women by one or more male members of the immediate or extended family. These killings are often undertaken when a family council decides on the time and form of execution due to an allegation, suspicion, or proof of sexual impropriety by the victim (Amnesty International, 1999; Pervizat, 1998). The family council typically includes the father, and brother(s) of the victim, and may also include uncles, grandfathers, and male in-laws. Definitions of impropriety can be extremely amorphous, often subsuming sexual or sensual acts, allegations, or rumors. Acts or accusations may range from going to the movies without approval or a chaperon to kissing, holding hands, dating, or having intercourse with a man who is not one's culturally or legally sanctioned husband (Pervizat, 1998).

Human Rights Watch (2001) defines honor crimes as 'acts of violence, usually murder, committed by male family members who are perceived to have brought dishonor upon the family'. Such 'dishonorable acts' include seeking divorce, adultery, premarital sexual relations, premarital pregnancy, or being the victim of a sexual assault or rape. However, honor crimes are by no means limited to these circumstances, as a wide range of activities can trigger suspicion of dishonorable activity and result in subsequent attacks. Honor crimes vary from culture to culture, and include a wide range of brutal physical assaults, such as acid attacks, maiming or cutting off organs, rape, and murder (Hussain, 2006: 225-26).

Cultural elaborations of honor are gender based. Honor killings occur only on the basis of women's behavior and, in nearly all cases; women are the only ones who are killed, even though their assumed or acted on impropriety always include a male partner. Women who may help or be around the target may also get hurt or killed (Sev'er, 1999: 985).

Honor killings are an effort to control women's sexual behavior and restrict their sexual freedom. However, the control stemming from the desire to prevent women's immodest behavior that could bring 'shame' to the family, of which killing is the most extreme example, manifests itself in many additional ways: many girls and women are subjected to confinement, intimidation, and physical abuse that force them to live in perpetual terror (Arat, 2003).

Honor killings, as a form of violence, are based on culture especially the value system of Turkish society. The origin of this phenomenon is agricultural society, in other words, it rather reflects the culture of rural regions. Furthermore, the fundamental foundation of murders committed in the name of honor is the policies that try to maintain the subordination of women due to

the male dominance system. Although the problem has a universal dimension, a language suitable to all characteristics of local culture must be improved, while combating the trouble.

Moreover, honor killings are a fact that has been taking place within economically closed societies. Extended family, which refers to a group of people, related by kinship, where more than two generations of relatives live together (or in very close proximity), usually forming a single household (Jary & Jary, 2000: 206), has been existing within these societies and the family members are under the control of the head of household. Families, whose members are not working in an outside job constantly and thus which are economically closed to outside and which are not integrated to the industrial society have been persisting a group mentality. Family, in which the concept of individual is absent within the internal structure of it, is responsible for the honor of women. Female members of family cannot get married without approval of the elder members of the family. Flirting with a man before the marriage, having sexual relations with a man out of wedlock, and eloping with a lover are forbidden for the women. If a woman infringes traditional codes of honor by violating these obligations, she has to be punished and this punishment should be death. This killing may take place by throwing her into the water or well, shooting at her, stabbing her or beating her down with a tractor (Soyaslan, 1999: 30). All these killings are derived from family structure and this structure is related to traditional codes of honor. Therefore, these kinds of murders are defined as honor killings and described as 'cleaning or restoring the family honor' instead of 'a murder', since those are explained by means of cultural values.

This kind of murders have been committed particularly in, South-Eastern and Eastern, Middle Anatolia and Black Sea regions in Turkey. It is true that, misinterpretations of religion and standard of judgments, as well as the sense

of revenge, constitute a serious psychological oppression over people to commit this kind of crime. A woman, who goes beyond the limits of morality by her misconducts, spreads shame on her family and the members of the group, on which she depends. Her family members have to begin to act in order to eliminate the woman resulting in the shame. Family's this attempt is rather an obligation brought by the social and cultural values, than a free will. Thus, the family members know that their act will be approved in a way. This act is, at the same time, a price that the rest of family members should pay for their social liberation.

Women are the primary victims of crimes of honor. Their movements are restricted, their friendships and even conversations are monitored or controlled, and their marriage partners are chosen for them (Sen, 2005). The decision to kill a female family member is often a family or tribal decision. Many women are killed due to an unsubstantiated rumor that has been passed around the community. Many men do not give women the benefit of the doubt, or bother to find out her side of the story. Many young women are killed due to the mere accusation of having sexual intercourse outside of marriage, only to have been found to be virgins during autopsy. Women who seek a divorce are also often victims of honor killings. Even more shocking is that, women who are victims of rape often become victims of honor killings because they had intercourse outside of marriage even though it was non-consensual (Bettencourt, 2000: 5).

The decision to kill the 'disobedient' girl is taken by the so-called family assembly. The plans for the honor murders are made and executed almost exclusively by men. The task is usually relegated to a minor male member of the family as he can benefit from the circumstances of underage. In most cases, these young boys are aided by other family members in planning the premeditated murder. There is also very strong community pressure on the

family to kill the 'disobedient' girls, because according to custom, this is the only way that the family can 'clean their honor'. Until they clean their honor, they are dishonored as a family and they will be socially banned from their local community (Kuraner, 2002: 1). Furthermore, standards of honor and chastity are not equally applied to both sexes. Surveys show that men go unpunished for illicit relationships whereas women are killed at the merest rumor of impropriety (Rafiq, 2005).

It is also clear that both the effective regulation of sexuality and adaptation of its norms and processes occur in subtle, spontaneous, and unconscious ways. In this light, 'crimes of honor' are a manifestation of the failure or inadequacy of familial and communal regulation of sexuality, rather than an indication that such regulation happens in those societies and not in others. The serious problem with these crimes is that they represent a violent and discriminatory response to the failure or inadequacy of traditional mechanisms for the regulation of the sexuality. In other words, these crimes should be combated as excessive and violent methods of regulation of sexuality that usually target women alone, even though men are at least as responsible for the transgression as women (An-Na'im, 2005).

What distinguishes 'crime of honor' from other violent crimes is that they are usually perpetrated against women by close relatives, on the basis of allegations of sexual impropriety, in the name of protecting or upholding the 'honor' of the family. With regard to 'honor killings' the decision to kill the woman is taken in a family meeting, which also designates a young man within the family, usually a brother or cousin of the victim, to carry out the crime (An-Na'im, 2005).

According to Farac, the region, in which the codes of traditions have been applied mercilessly at most, is the province of Turkey, Sanliurfa, where most of the residing people are Arabian and Kurdish, and the rate of squatter housing is 70 % (1998: 10). While researching the meaning of being a woman in Urfa in the historical process, Farac mentioned about Urfa Yearbook that was published by the governor of province in 1927. It is stated that in this document: *If a girl belonging to a tribe elopes with his lover by being inclined to him, her guardians doom her and her lover to death. If bride price is not given to the relatives of girl or a peace is not provided, the boy eloping with the girl is treated as a murderer, even if they get married. If a married woman elopes with a man, they have to lead their rest of lives within regions far away from the pursuit. The man eloping with the woman is followed by both the relatives and the husband of the woman. In this killing, the right to kill the woman and the man is always everlasting*… (Farac, 1998: 12).

According to limited information acquired by the conducted studies and news, these can be stated for Turkey:

- Honor killings have been taken place mostly in Sanliurfa and its surroundings within South-Eastern region,
- Ages of victims are very young in general, between 12-20,
- Most of the murdered women are single. Married ones were married off with their male relatives by means of religious wedding by force,
- Most of honor killings, in Sanliurfa, were committed within families connected to Arabian tribes,
- Perpetrators of the murders are mostly the male members of the family and under the age of 18. In a sense, male members of the family are other victims of customs in another point of view.
- The reason for the killing is mostly or considered to be related to sexuality and attached to the family honor.

- The perpetrators of the crime try to be freed from the penalty; by premeditating the homicides well and acting as if, it was an accident (Kardam, 1999, 89).

The primary element of honor killings is also related to institution of kinship. One of the negative functions of kinship is that it leads to tensions, violence, and massacres. For this reason, sociologists and anthropologists examining modernization process claim that kinship cannot not get on well with modernization and thus a modern society and individual should break the links with relatives (Tezcan, 1995: 70).

Sen (2005) suggested that crimes of honor have six key features:

1. gender relations that problematise and control women's behaviors, shaping and controlling women's sexuality in particular;
2. the role of women in policing and monitoring women's behavior;
3. collective decisions regarding punishment, or in upholding the actions considered appropriate, for transgressions of these boundaries,
4. the potential for women's participation in killings;
5. the ability to reclaim honor through enforced compliance or killings;
6. State sanction of such killings through recognition of honor as motivation and mitigation.

Honor crimes constitute a major violation of women's human rights. The term 'honor killing' is used to describe the murder of a woman suspected of having transgressed the limits of sexual behavior as imposed by traditions, for example engaging in a pre-marital relationship with someone of the opposite sex or having extra-marital affairs. However, honor crimes constitute violations of a wide range of human rights; e.g. women's right to mobility and bodily integrity. Through the remarkable activism of women's human rights,

community has finally accepted honor crimes as a form of violence against women (Berktay, Anil & Ilkkaracan, 2002: 55-57).

2.3.1 The Perception of Honor *(Namus)* Killings and Customary *(Tore)* Killings:

A significant tendency in the forms of perception of honor killing is that, people generally consider the committed murders by the honor incentive different from committed murders as a result of decision taken by a family council. People, who perceive customary killings arising from customs as others' problem, connect customary killings especially with Southeastern and Eastern regions in Turkey, the features of social structure, underdevelopment, and various deprivations; while they consider honor killings as acts that are inevitable, more individual and may occur everywhere. Even some of them think that, the case of murdering a wife, who has betrayed her husband, due to jealousy can happen to everybody. In this case, honor killings and customary killings are separated from each other in terms of rather forms of committing murder than causes and conclusions of killings. On the other hand, people residing in regions, where such murders have been committed frequently, do not separate these two kinds of murders, by approaching these events from the inside of the facts. Differentiating honor killings from customary killings is important for sociological perspective, in terms of understanding each event and discussing about the solutions. An approach not rejecting this sociological separation, but also underlining the similarities in terms of basic causes and results can facilitate to perceive murders for the sake of honor or passion as violence not only peculiar to others or some regions, but to the society in which all of us live (Kardam, 2005: 64).

The so-called 'honor crimes' should not be confused with the concept of 'crimes of passion'. Whereas the latter is normally limited to a crime that is

committed by one partner (or husband and wife) in a relationship on the other as a spontaneous (emotional or passionate) reply (often citing a defense of 'sexual provocation'), the former may involve the abuse or murder of (usually) women by one of more close family members (including partners) in the name of individual or family honor (Welchman & Hossain, 2005).

2.3.2 Conducted Studies and Statistical Data about Honor Killings:

Findings of conducted studies or news about honor killings represent only the tip of iceberg, since attempts to measure the number of honor crimes in Turkey fail to represent their true scale. For instance, the annual report of the Human Rights Association estimates that, of 77 women who died at the hands of family members in 2003, 40 of the deaths were so-called honor crimes. Yet in many cases deaths are not reported; murders are made to look like suicides and covered up by families; and women are forced or induced to kill themselves (Amnesty International, 2004: 17). Since these crimes often go unreported, it is difficult to determine the actual number of victims in honor killings. Frequently, women murdered in honor killings are recorded as having committed suicide or died in accidents. Such killings are occasionally masked as accidents, at times as suicide, at times as cases of a woman gone missing. Files on cases of murdered women are sometimes closed due to 'a lack of public interest' (Hasan, 2002: 29). Nevertheless, utilizing conducted studies and news about honor killings may contribute to analyze the characteristics of perpetrators and victims generally, the methods of murders, and the features of regions in which the killings are mostly committed.

According to the acquired information concerning honor killings, from the General Directorate of Security, in the last five years total 1091 events were registered. The primary provinces where these events occurred are Ankara: 110, Istanbul: 101, Izmir: 97, Diyarbakir: 78, Antalya: 48, Aydin: 47, Elazig:

34, Gaziantep: 33, Adana: 32, Bursa: 41, Sanliurfa: 17, Van: 18, Tokat: 19, Samsun: 17, etc.

- 322 of the murders were committed in the name of 'honor'
- Honor killings were mostly committed in the regions of Marmara and Aegean with the rate of 38 %.
- 24 % of people, included in these events, were born in South-Eastern and 21 % of them were born in Eastern parts of Anatolia

According to a study, conducted by Sir (2005) on 443 people of whom 78 % is men and 22 % is women within the southeastern parts of Turkey, 37.4 % of the people are in favor of honor killings. In questionnaire the issue of a woman having extra-marital sexual relationship is discussed and a question that whether she should be punished or not was asked to the recipients. If yes, in addition, "what the punishment should be" was asked. 37.4 % of the recipients said, "She must be killed", 21.6 % proposed alternative methods of punishment that are cutting her ear or nose and scraping her hair, 25 % said, "She should divorce from her husband", and 16 % said, "She should not be punished". 64 % of the recipients answered, "Her husband should impose the punishment" to the question "Who should punish the woman?". 23.9 % of them said, "Protecting honor is the mission of father and elder brothers" and 21 % stated, "Protecting honor is the mission of all male members of the family".

To another study that was conducted in Jordan in 1998 with the aim to find out the motives for killing women, the killing to 'defend' the honor of the family was the major motivation. As for the relationship between the killer and the victim, the study revealed that in 75 % of the cases the killer was the 'brother'. Description of the killers in most of the cases showed that they were

young men, with low level of education who received low salaries (Zaghbabeh, 1998).

To another research, carried out by Population Association and United Nations Development Programme on women and men dwelling in various neighborhoods in Ankara, Istanbul, Batman, Adana, and Sanliurfa, 'honor' is perceived as controlling women and women sexuality, in other words the concept of 'honor' is equated with the body of women. According to Turkish Language Institute, 'honor' means that truthfulness, honesty, and attachment to morality rules within society. However, the results of interviews indicate that Turkish society consider that the concept of honor is effective only over women. To the recipients in the research field, 'honorable woman' preserves her virginity, wears acceptable dresses, behaves as excepted from her, and fulfils her responsibilities conforming to the customs. In this case, it is determined that, women are more tolerant than men are and aged men are more tolerant than younger men are. Women, especially educated ones, are opposed to violence derived from customs. On the other hand, some of the professional people, including lawyers and polices excuse honor killings due to the strict social pressures, even if they do not accept them. The research report has emphasized an important point that, indicating individuals' behaviors as an inevitable case and stressing environmental pressure excessively reinforce legitimate ground of these killings. To the report, a deep hopelessness is dominant among women in southeastern part of Turkey. United Nations claimed that, government need to be in a mentality, which will eliminate honor killings by means of "zero tolerance" policy, dominant among firstly civil servants in order to break this hopelessness. In addition, significant deficiencies in cooperation between the state and non-governmental organizations are determined in the report (2006).

In a media report, lawyer Yirmibesoglu summarizes her research findings based on a study of 300 cases of 'honor killings' in Turkey. The study found that: (1) both victims and perpetrators were minors aged between 11 and 17; (2) 'honor killings' are encouraged and permitted by Turkish law; (3) virginity examinations play a significant role in some of the killings; (4) the state is not taking any measures to stop the killings; (5) the media does not play the role of guiding and educating the population, instead broadcasting populist programs for their ratings; and (6) the law makers and law enforcers appear to think in a similar manner to the murderers (2002).

In another study conducted by Yirmibesoglu, in eastern and southeastern provinces of Turkey, Sanliurfa, Batman, Diyarbakir, Gaziantep, Mardin, Kilis, Van, Adana, on 560 persons between the ages of 13-65, these questions were asked to the recipients:

- "What is honor?"

- (% 39) The chastity of a woman
- (%16,42) An oppressive social value,
- (% 15,71) Everything and family of individual,
- (%12,85) Necessary in terms of religion,
- (% 9,65) A preservation mechanism against outside,
- (% 3,35) Rumors about woman sexuality,

- "Is the honor of women different from the honor men?"

- (% 37,14) They are same, each of them is an individual, honor is an obligation for both of them,
- (% 35,71) They are different, the meaning of honor is different for each of gender

- "What should be done if a woman's honor is defiled?"

- (% 26) She should be forgiven,
- (% 25) She must be killed,
- (%13,75) She should be excluded,
- (% 13,40) Family council should take decision,
- (% 13) She should be punished,
- (% 4,64) If she is married she should divorce from her husband,
- (% 3) Legal prosecution should be applied (2004).

KAMER, a women center in Turkey, has acquired a certain number of data by reviewing seven newspapers in the course of 2005. Events about 58 women, who were murdered, forced to commit suicide and threatened with death, constitute such a profile: 38 % of the murders and attempts to committing murders are due to woman's sexual relationships with men, 26 % of them is because of consideration about women's disobedience, 14 % of them were committed due to the rumors about women. The causes of the rest of the murders are generally unknown. The reasons for murders or attempts to committing murders are mostly, pre-marital or extra-marital sexual relationships of women, rape, or defilement of virginity. Within the case of 64 % of murders or attempts to committing murders, it was observed that, women are exposed to violence by male family members. In addition 28 % of women are exposed to violence by their husbands or lovers. 24 % of women are under the age of 18, 26 % of them are between the age of 18-25 and 34 % of women are older than 25 (KAMER, 2005).

2.3.3 Examples about Honor Killings in Turkey:

News (1) 'Honor Massacre: 10 Dead in one House' (Milliyet, 21.10.1996)

A family was demolished due to a rumor in Istanbul, Esenler. Two cousins, in doubt about their wives' betrayal, attacked on their mother-in-laws' houses with a Kalashnikov and rained bullets on everybody at home.

News (2) 'He killed his daughter saying that she was not virgin' (Olay, 19.06.1997)

Ozlem, 17 years old, running away from the home with her nephew named Nuray who came from Gaziantep ten days ago, was caught by police, and delivered to her family with her nephew. However, Nuray resented this event and committed suicide by jumping from fourth floor. Ozlem's father, who was hit hard by the suicide of his grandchild, wanted to get Ozlem to the hospital for the virginity testing, but she did not want to go and she said that she was not virgin. When her father heard of this answer, he lost his mind and stabbed Ozlem's stomach.

News (3) 'An Honor Killing in Adana' (Yeni Ufuk, 27.06.1997)

Abdullah (39) shot at his two sisters due to his claim that they began to live immorally. Durdu (24) died in the hospital and the treatment of Arife (31) has been continuing.

News (4) 'Custom, Honor, Chastity…' (Adahukuk@superonline.com)

Halil (55) living in Mardin, raped Semsiye, 35 years old, and Semsiye got pregnant. She first became fellow wife of Halil by means of religious wedding as required by customs, but then it was claimed that she was defiled and 'defiler' and 'defiled' were attempted to be killed by stoning and stabbing. First Halil died, and then Semsiye's baby in her belly died, after a few moths Semsiye died.

Sevide (24), from Batman, whose husband was in prison for two years and who was living at her brother-in-law's home, had sexual relationship with her brother-in-law or was raped by him and got pregnant. She was killed by shooting and her baby, born three days ago, was murdered by choking. Her family acted as if it was a suicide.

Fadime, 26 years old, living in Sweden, was murdered by her father, since she had rejected to get married with her cousin and left her family.

News (5) 'Custom, State, Tribe…Guldunya was murdered' (Radikal, 01.March.2004)

Guldunya got pregnant as a result of rape by her cousin. After she became pregnant, she had refused to marry her cousin and was sent to her uncle's house in Istanbul. She was a guilty in the eyes of her family members. She had to commit suicide in order to repair the family honor according to the customs, but she rejected to do that. She gave birth there and named her new baby Umut (in English Hope). Weeks after the birth, her brothers came to Istanbul in order to clean the family honor, they shot and wounded her in the street. While she was treated in the hospital, her brothers went there, and shot her in the head. Her life support machine was later turned off.

News (6) 'Another Victim of Custom' (Aksam, 21.November.2003)

Her elder brother (20) by means of stones and meat cleaver, in Diyarbakir, attacked K.D, who got pregnant as a result of illicit relationship. She has been treated.

News (7) 'Honor Killings' (Milliyet, 29.April.2004)

Nuran, 14 years old, whose family had migrated from Van to Istanbul, was raped. 13 members of the family came together and decided to execute her. Her father and elder brother (17) choked her by a wire.

2.3.4 Honor Killings in terms of Social Classes:

Families and communities have played an important role in regulating the sexual behavior of their members in every human society throughout history, while the scope and methods of this regulation vary from one community to another (An-Na'im, 2005).

Different classes give different amounts of importance to the concept of honor. The concept of honor is a fact that is particularly peculiar to lower class. The reason for this may be the difference in cultural values on which the classes play role in socialization process (Ergil, 1980: 203).

Aridity, infertility, and inadequate living sources in the Middle East led to persisting social economy in a minimum level for a long time and resulted in underdeveloped social division of labor and capital accumulation. Another effect of these arduous natural conditions is that, individuals had to lead their lives and realize themselves in collectivist and solidarist manner within extended family and kinship units. Formations that have resulted from bad natural and financial conditions are not limited to these cases in this region. Institutional mechanisms, laws, security forces, education, and especially the converter market system of central states and global societies have been remained insufficient in reaching to rural areas. Accordingly, all local communities in the region became organized on their own and established a certain social order by means of customs. In this way, family and kinship solidarity became almost the only means of existence and security in terms of

individuals (Peristiany, 1966). By looking at political and economical social structure of Turkey, it can be said that, a considerable part of Turkish society has been living within these mentioned conditions.

Honor killings are localized in the most socioeconomically depressed areas where incomes are extremely low, formal education is lacking, and upward mobility is unthinkable. The epicenter of such killings is in rural areas with a feudal type of land owner-ship (Turgut, 1998), where they are early and sometimes arranged marriages, unchecked reproduction, and very little regard for human rights or women's lives. In these areas of severe disadvantage, women are disposable. In this feudal-like existence, girls and women are sold like commodities under the bride price norms, even though this practice is illegal. Turgut claims that when she is dishonored, the family forfeits that income, highlighting the link between patriarchal expectations and materialist considerations (Sev'er, 1999: 989).

> Most often, the killings occur among the poorer and less educated, particularly in Arab tribal societies like Jordan's and the Palestinians, with long traditions of self-administered justice. The killings are rare among the educated and urbane (Jehl, 1999).

> Honor killings of women, which are endemic throughout much of the Middle East, reflect longstanding patriarchal-tribal traditions. The tribal judiciary has considerable impact on the cases of killing on the basis of family honor, especially in the absence of a formal authority" (The Palestinian Human Rights Monitor, 2002: 19). Many patriarchal mechanisms and rituals exist for sexual and reproductive control of women (Yurdakul, 2000).

Although patriarchal expectations (such as insistence on virginity before marriage) color all Turkish gender relations, they are particularly brutal and unforgiving among rural populations. Rural populations, especially in eastern regions often occupy the lowest rungs on the socioeconomic ladder, are most

likely to be undereducated or illiterate, and are most vulnerable to religious and cultural misconceptions or even extremism (Sev'er, 1999: 970).

There is a socio-cultural milieu, named as tribe supporting and encouraging honor killings and defending the perpetrators of these killings. Tribe members condone honor killings, since they consider that the committers of these crimes acted conforming to congregational standard of judgments. Therefore, the perpetrators of murders are approved by his environment. Environmental pressure and customs encourage the persistence of these facts (Tezcan, 2000: 239).

According to a research, conducted by Rothschild (1969), a criminologist, by analyzing 197 honor killings in Greece, honor killings are committed by classes that are closer to traditional values in the level of family structure and behavior. To the results obtained, 46 % of the perpetrators are villagers, 42 % of them are villagers that migrated recently from villages to the cities.

Ergil has conducted a parallel study in Turkey and he found a connection between honor killings and lower social classes. To him, the concept of honor and persisting honor killings are an obligation for the maintenance of the existence of hierarchical order that was established on an unequal structure. At the same time, the concept of honor and honor killings have been existing in order to camouflage competition between families and for the family members that could not benefit from sharing and became socialized by means of strict moral codes and that are held together through control (Ergil, 1980: 428).

While mentioning about honor killings in Turkey, first Southeastern and Eastern Regions and Kurdish population living in various parts of Turkey come to our mind. This case is directly related to imbalance between the

regions in Turkey. Unemployment, poverty, and language problem exacerbate the trouble. Nevertheless, murders committed in the name of honor cannot be described as the matter of Kurdish people or Southeastern region. These kinds of homicides have been committed in everywhere of Turkey and even in the world (KAMER, 2005).

2.3.5 The Causes of Honor Killings:

The victims of honor killings are mostly the women. Particularly women living in rural areas are under the pressure of a closed social structure. Honor killing is a kind of extrajudicial execution, taking place as a control mechanism of broad patriarchal system. Accordingly, women who believe or thought to believe in opposite values and standards to customs, traditions and cultural sanctions of society in which they live, are exposed to honor killings.

A woman or girl is victimized to honor killings;

- If she refuses to marry the man chosen for her by her family,
- If she seeks divorce from her husband,
- If she was raped,
- If she flirts with a man out of permission of her family,
- If she gives adulterine birth,
- If she leaves her husband and elopes with her lover,
- If she has a premarital sexual relation and gets pregnant before the marriage,
- If she begins to live immorally.

All these conducts are evaluated in the content of the concept of honor, thus they are considered as contrary to customs (Tezcan, 2000: 241). Furthermore, the reason for killing a woman by a man that loves her platonically is the mentality of "you are either mine or the earth's (that is, dead)". In other

words, if a woman does not want to be spouse of that man, she cannot be lawful spouse of anybody, so she must be killed.

According to a research, conducted by Turkish office of United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2005), the basic reasons for honor killings are:

- Social and economic,
- Patriarchal social structure,
- Role of family in society,
- Social pressure over men,
- Individual reasons and insanity case.

Again, the same study underlines the negative effects of media on honor killings. The results of the research indicate that, people define the role of media as negative, provocative, and discriminative. Media is rather only a means of exhibition than a mechanism examining the fact in detail and bringing proposals to prevent the trouble.

To another research, conducted on 879 prisoners between 1993 and 1995, the reason for the murders is primarily preservation of honor/dignity. This demonstrates the importance of socio-cultural factors. Furthermore, it is pointed out that the prisoners are in low socioeconomic level. These people need power to acquire a certain position or social identity within the network of social relationships. It can be said that, they gain this power by 'being honorable' (Ögün, 1998).

2.3.6 Treatments of Community and State about Honor Killings:

Honor killings are socially sanctioned in many countries and the killers are treated with lenience. Men who engage in honor killings act within the

boundaries of male camaraderie and they get male kin support (at least in the form of silence) (Krau, 1998).

Another serious difficulty lies in the discriminatory attitudes of the public officers, a majority of whom simply accept the custom as a given 'fact of life' in the region or for the people who come from the region. The general lack of gender sensitization and consciousness around the issue of violence against women sets the context for condoning a custom as violent as honor killings. Law enforcement officials such as the police, lawyers, public prosecutors, judges and lawmakers as well as local religious and public opinion leaders all ignore this crime (Kuraner, 2002: 2).

The state is not generally benign; it is often a biased force in preserving male domination and privilege. When women run away to hide, police find and deliver them back to their parents, even when they are warned by the victim or know from experience that her life is in danger. When suspicious accidents or drowning are reported, police usually release men who may have played a role in the incident. The police may even fail to carry out full investigations unless there is public pressure to do so. If these cases come to trial, male judges are inclined to accept the honor dilemma of the murderers as a mediating factor. Often killers receive a light sentence and further benefit from reduced jail terms under the auspices of provocation or tender age. The fact that these killings are decided and condoned by a group of men (family elders) but carried out by younger members of the family also allows a diffusion of responsibility and provides further cover and legitimacy for killers of women. The killers may even receive a hero's treatment during incarceration (Cancel, 1999).

In some cases, while women were being executed, they did not fight for their life and just stood there and wait for the murder to happen. After the

execution customary, religious, and traditional practices are not always followed, the family sometimes does not claim the body of the deceased. Sometimes they are not involved with the funeral procedures. The locals do not visit the deceased's family for expressing the condolences; on the contrary, they visit the family, especially the murderer and the male members of the family to express their get-well wishes. In these cases, it is the man's honor cleaned and he needs to be congratulated on the act it was committed (Pervizat, 2002).

Now, there are no official laws in Turkey restricting the right of a woman to engage in a relationship with any man or woman of her choice before, during, or after marriage. However, extramarital relationships are an absolute taboo for women in Eastern Turkey, whereas men's extramarital affairs are widely accepted and even socially legalized in many cases through the institution of polygamy. The customary penalty for women suspected of such a crime in the region is usually death, the so-called honor killings (Ilkkaracan, 1998).

Police officials often view domestic violence, including honor killings, as a private matter to be resolved within the family or tribe, not the criminal justice system (Bettencourt, 2000: 12).

2.3.7 Islam and Honor Killings:

Honor crimes are by no means an Islamic conception. Derivations of honor crimes existed even before the advent of Islam, and the concept of honor certainly was a part of the legal history of Western countries before its institutionalization in Muslim countries. Islam does not sanction honor crimes and indeed Quranic law repeatedly condemns murder. However, the concept of carrying out an 'Islamic' obligation has become the internal and external justification for many perpetrators of honor crimes (Hussain, 2006: 235).

Customary and religious laws and practices are often used as tools to control women's sexuality and to maintain the imbalance of power in sexual relations (Ilkkaracan, 1998).

Honor killings tend to be prevalent in countries with a majority Muslim population, but many Islamic leaders and scholars condemn the practice and deny that it is based on religious doctrine. Honor killing is actually a pre-Islamic, tribal custom stemming from the patriarchal society's interest in keeping strict control over familial power structures (Katz, 2003).

Family councils and the actual killers invoke a cultural understanding of honor rather than a religious one (at least in Turkey). Of course, the sociological meaning of culture subsumes all forms of belief systems, but any connection between Islam and this heinous crime is by no means clear or direct. International coverage of honor killings that overemphasizes the role of religion fails to look at the more prevalent patriarchal legitimization behind violence against women (Sev'er, 1999: 985).

In Turkey, Pervizat (2003) finds that traditional conceptions of masculinity, not Islam, are used as justifications for honor killings. She stated that, religious leaders denounce honor killings. Similarly, activists working on the issue have never cited imams, the Quran, or Islam as source of the problem in Turkey. For her, invoking the Quran is not a useful way to denounce this violence. Instead, the concepts of masculinity, culture, and tradition, which are rooted in the community, must be studied and utilized to end honor killings.

However, according to Hussain (2006: 237), although Islamic law certainly does not condone honor killings and condemns murder as well as false accusations of adultery, male-dominated interpretations of concepts like

female chastity and male authority, when combined with feudalistic ideas, reinforce an Islamic culture of male dominance.

Moreover, educational level, as well as commitment to religion, is not very influential on the issue of honor killing. The ideas of secular people, religious, and traditional people are almost the same in the most of the aspects of the subject since this is explained by the social value of the modesty and the male authority in the society. The level of education does not have much effect on the trends of people. This has proved that we need social education besides the academic fields in order to overcome old traditions and beliefs (The Palestinian Human Rights Monitor, 2002: 24).

2.3.8 Honor Killings in Cities:

Honor killings are not limited only to rural regions. In one respect, honor tradition became completely homeless by the way of rapid migration, excessive urbanization, and intensive social movements between rural and urban areas (Simsek, 1998: 150).

Migration from rural to urban should not be considered as a smooth-linear increasing modernization movement. The only result appearing in the course of contact between modern and traditional is not the domination of modern and transformation of traditional into modern through assimilation. Traditional and modern may usually exist together even in harmony (Genc, 1997). Nevertheless, people abandoning traditional culture and coming to the modern cities, may experience many tensions within the cities. Cities, regarded as the representative of modernity, exhibit their progressive and opportunity-giving aspect on the one hand, and their frightening and violent aspect to new comers on the other hand (Giddens, 1994: 14-17).

There will be a serious increase in threat and risk factors for people newly coming to the city who are still firmly attached to their traditions. For a migrant family, merely natural conditions and competitor families were a trouble previously, but in an urban atmosphere, thousands of people, unexpected outcomes of modernity and contact among people, various cultural effects contradictory to their customs and traditions through media and social institutions will constitute a broad risk table. In this case, there are two alternatives for the new comers to the cities. They will either adopt the modern city life by undergoing the process of change or try to survive by perceiving urban atmosphere as a bad and an alien environment and holding on to their traditions more firmly than before (Simsek, 1998: 152).

In practical life, as usually observed, the younger generation coming to the city tend to adopt the new conditions by changing, whereas old people, whose social standard of judgment has strictly settled, try to maintain their existence, in traditional introverted manner, by resisting cultural, ethic and behavioral criteria that the modern city life offers. Parents controlling their children easily in rural localities would face with difficulties in doing the same within complicated urban atmosphere. When younger generation, who did not feel the necessity of questioning the traditions in the past, meets with different ways of life, they will compare them with their old traditions. This process may lead to generation conflict due to distinct general philosophy of life.

According to Jowkar (1980), in villages, responsibilities for women and men were equal in terms of moral values, whereas in the cities this case will be changed into men's advantage. While a man can benefit from new sexual facilities in the cities, a woman may be isolated to home much more than in the villages.

Dodd (1973: 48) stated that, modernization and urbanization could not modify the concepts of honor and shame due to the underdeveloped economic substructure and slow movement of resolution in rural traditions. To him, since cities could not offer sufficient sources, new comers could not abandon their connection with their villages. Contrary to Dodd, Al-Khayat (1990) emphasized decision mechanisms. For him, modernization may improve educational possibilities for women and the concept of nuclear family, but could not change the contribution to women's decision mechanisms (Gezik, 2003: 22).

2.3.9 Honor Killings in the World:

Violence against women is a universal problem and lasting increasingly with economic, politic, and ethnic problems in global level. Everywhere in the world, somebody has been punished in the name of honor. However, the reasons and the methods of these punishments differ from region to region, culture to culture and country to country. In addition to Turkey, within many parts of the world, especially in the Middle East and Latin America countries, women are surrounded by traditions of gender-based discrimination, which does not give women the right to possession on their own bodies and immune human rights, sometimes does not acknowledge even right to life of women. Examples from various parts in the world:

- More than pride, more than honesty, more than anything a man might do, female chastity is seen in the Arab world as an indelible line, the boundary between respect and shame. An unchaste woman, it is sometimes said, is worse than a murderer, affecting not just one victim, but her family and tribe (Jehl, 1999).

- In 12 Latin America countries, persons accused of rape, are acquitted if they suggest marriage to the victim and the victim accepts this suggestion. The victims of rape are usually forced to get married with the perpetrator of rape by their relatives for the sake of honor.

- Another traditional application is 'female genital mutilation' (FGM). The meaning of FGM is mutilating women's generative organs, before they reach the age of adolescence. The justification of this application is to guarantee the honor of women and loyalty to their husbands. Experts state that, FGM restricts normal physical functions, deprives women of sexual pleasure, and leads to horrible scars from wounds, serious infections, and health problems. 130 million women have been subjected to this tradition and countries in which this tradition is mostly applied and incidences are like this: Benin (50 %), Burkina Faso (70 %), Egypt (97 %), Ethiopia (90 %), Eritrea (90 %), Gambia (60-90 %), Kenya (50 %), Mali (90-94), Sierra Leone (80-90 %), Somali (98 %), and Sudan (89 %).

- Pakistan, where honor killings are known as *karo-kari* is probably the country where such atrocities are most pervasive. In Pakistani culture, a woman can cause irredeemable disgrace to her family through allegations of an illicit affair, marrying a man of her choice, being subjected to the violence of rape or the merest rumor of impropriety. This inveterate wrong can only be rectified by executing the woman or defiling women from the family of the man who caused the dishonor. According to Amnesty International, on an average two women are killed everyday in Pakistan for betraying male honor. According to Pakistan Human Rights Commission, last year, 888 women were murdered in Punjab alone. Of these 595 killings were committed by relatives and 286 were for reasons of honor. Sindh Graduates Association reports that in the first three months of 1999 alone 132 honor killings had been reported (Rafiq, 2005).

- According to a belief, namely, ‘sati’, in India, a woman is not an independent entity from her husband and she is burned in her husband’s funeral ceremony.

- In Korea a ‘sum of rules’, which is expected from women to be conformed to, is under consideration. Accepting leadership of men and following the example of them for women are based on these rules. The most conspicuous one, also known as ‘chil-go-ji-ak’, is the rule saying that women must never do seven major wrongs. To this rule, women should not be disobedient to their husbands’ families, should not be sterile, should not have extra-marital sexual relationship, should not be jealous of their husbands, should not get a serious sick, should not chatter, and should not commit theft.

- The tradition of ‘binding foots’ lasting for more than a thousand year in China diminished on a large scale just in the middle of the last century. The feet of women are bounded in between the age of 3 and 11 so that they have small size feet, defined as ‘lily foots’. It is believed that, having small foots shows belongingness of women to upper class and prevents women from deviating from the right way.

- The roots of murdering women ‘besmirching family honor’ in Arabian tradition are based on distant past. For instance, Palestinian women are also the victims of the same tradition. Women foundations in Israel stated that 52 women were killed for the sake of honor and many women may have not been registered since they were lost (The Working Group on the Status of Palestinian Women in Israel, 1997: 72).

According to the estimations of UNFPA, more than five thousands women were killed for the reason of honor. These homicides were mostly committed

in Bangladesh, Brazil, Equator, Egypt, India, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Morocco, Pakistan, Sweden, Turkey, Uganda, and England. According to researches carried out in Australia, Canada, Israel, South Africa and USA, 40-70 % of the victims of these murders were killed by their husbands or lovers. Cultural factors and reaching to firearms are important in honor killings. Women have been murdered mostly by firearms in USA, whereas in India killing by burning or beating is common (Arsiv, 2006).

2.3.10 Honor Killings in terms of Turkish Criminal Law:

The official investigations of honor killings usually have little success in identifying the murderer because frequently no one in the community will stand up as a witness. The strong solidarity among the local community turns into an act of public disobedience, which preserves this violent, gender-discriminatory custom. While the custom originates from a cultural and historical context, the legal framework is also gender discriminatory in the sense that the current law is insufficient to address the complicated issues inherent in a family murder. There is no special item of the Turkish Criminal Code that addresses honor killings; rather, it is covered by the general item of the Criminal Code on manslaughter. This is problematic, first of all because, the natural party to have an interest in the case, i.e., the victim's family members, are involved themselves in the act of murder. Second, it proves extremely hard to find witnesses to testify against the perpetrator of the crime. In case where the murderer is identified, it is usually a minor member of the family who benefits from reduced punishment under the juvenile code; other adult members of the family who have manipulated him to commit the murder go unpunished. Finally, in certain cases the verdict refers to an item of the Criminal Code, which calls for reduced punishment when the act of murder is committed under strong manipulation and pressure (Kuraner, 2002: 1).

There are no specific references to honor crimes in the Turkish Penal Code. However, there are certain articles in the law, which are systematically used to reinforce the traditional notion that a woman deserves to be punished or killed if she brings dishonor upon the family. One of these articles is Article 462 of the Penal Code. It grants a reduction in a murder sentence if the murder is committed by a relative of the person who has been caught immediately before or during an extra-marital sexual relationship. The punishment for the murderer is reduced from a life sentence to 4-8 years imprisonment or from the death penalty to 5-10 years imprisonment. Other penalties are reduced to 1/8 of the original sentence. Although honor killings are premeditated murders and are not committed immediately before or during a woman's extra-marital sexual activity, this article is wrongly applied to such killings. The woman's transgression of traditional norms is perceived as severe provocation. In addition, Article 51 Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code regulates all reductions in the sentences for crimes committed under mitigating circumstances, such as severe provocation. The nature of the honor killing-that is premeditated murder and as such should receive more severe punishment- is systematically overlooked and the punishment for the murderer can be reduced to 1/3 of the original sentence. When it is combined with other reductions in penalties, the murderer can get away with a couple of years in prison. In the process of honor killing, the so-called 'family assembly', which is formed of the men of the extended family, usually picks a male minor from the family to commit the murder. Therefore, since the murderer is less than 18 years of age, he either cannot be charged at all (if below age 11) or is granted a reduction in his sentence. The adult male members of the family have no charges pressed against them (Berktay, Anil & İlkkaracan, 2002: 55-57).

Picture coming on the scene is like this: a woman living without regard for men can be killed; this homicide may be perceived as legitimate different

from any other murder and reduced in terms of laws (Ogun, 1996). This case indicates that the mentality of enactor of laws accept and approve the concept of honor. In this way, the enactor of laws has accepted a sociologic fact existing in society and imposed punishment reduction by including this fact in laws.

In the frame of Union Acquis, with seventh Harmonization Package, honor killings were ceased to be a mitigating reason, by modifying Article 462 of the Penal Code. However, the matter is not settled completely. These murders should be deemed as a 'major crime', since these kinds of killings have been committed together by meeting of more than one person and premeditated by many people.

The incidence of murders committed for the sake of customs or honor has been still seriously high in Turkey. As a result of strong kinship, in accordance with the decision made by family council, girls or women, defiling her and her family honor, have been murdered in order to cleanse the family honor.

Preventive effect of punishment may have a deterrent and rehabilitative influence in terms of committing crimes. Deterrence appears as a common prevention effect of punishment. Existence of common prevention effect necessitates existence of a sentence proportional with the seriousness of crime (Demirbas, 2001). Therefore, the problem is not increasing the punishment of crime as much as possible; it is rather giving society the idea that a sentence, proportional with value that is violated, will absolutely be imposed.

Furthermore, applications such as indetermination of crimes, long lasting judgments, amnesty, conditional releasing, postponement, transforming the punishment into fine, which make common prevention ineffective, should be

avoided as much as possible. Special prevention is also important in the same degree. Conditions such as the atmosphere in prison, treatment, and rehabilitation of prisoner should be preventive and deterrent of recommitting crime after he was released (Sahin, 1999: 41).

Making punishments more severe is not enough to prevent these murders alone. Nevertheless, announcing the results of prosecutions applied by new Turkish Penal Code is important in terms of deterrence (KAMER, 2005).

2.3.11 Suicides:

Strict customs have deeply embedded historical and cultural roots within an oppressive context of women's sexuality. They are integrated with other forms of gender discriminatory traditions and practices prevalent in the region, such as forced marriages, early marriages, dowry, male polygamy, lack of registration of female children's births in official records, and prevention of girls from formal compulsory education, among others. Emerging from such a context, there is a high incidence in the region of suicides among young women between the ages of 15 and 25. It is understood that some of these 'suicides' constitute a new form of honor killing; in other words, they are 'induced' or 'forced' suicides (Kuraner, 2002: 1).

Durkheim demonstrated that social facts, in particular social currents, are external to and coercive of the individual. Moreover, he linked each of the type of the suicide (egoistic, altruistic, anomic, and fatalistic) to the degree of integration into or regulation by society. Integration refers to the degree to which collective sentiments are shared. Altruistic suicide is associated with a high degree of integration and egoistic suicide with a low degree of integration. Regulation refers to the degree of external constraint on people.

Fatalistic suicide is associated with high regulation, anomic suicide with low regulation (Ritzer, 1996: 86-88; Johnson, 1965: 876).

Forced suicides as the most severe form of violence against women and a different form of honor killing may be analyzed and explained by means of Durkheim's definition of types of suicides: altruistic and fatalistic suicides. Fatalistic Suicide is more likely to occur when regulation is excessive. Durkheim described those who are more likely to commit fatalistic suicide as 'persons with futures pitilessly blocked and passions violently choked by oppressive discipline' (Ritzer, 1996: 88-91). As mentioned before, women in certain societies, who 'misbehave' or transgress the moral codes of community have been sentenced to death or forced to commit suicide by the family and the community members, even they refuse to commit suicide. This type of suicide is committed as a result of too much regulation of community over women as Durkheim mentioned. Altruistic suicide, on the other hand, to Durkheim, is more likely when social integration into society is too strong. The individual is literally forced into committing suicide. Those who commit altruistic suicide do so, because they feel that it is their duty to do so. In this case, women are also forced to commit suicide, but they do not refuse to do so, since they also accept that they are guilty and thus they feel that they must commit suicide to restore their families' honor. The reason for this type of suicide can be explained with too much integration of women into the community, as Durkheim argues.

Surveys, conducted as a result of increasing women suicides in Batman, experiences stated, and witnesses indicate that a considerable part of women, committing suicides, actually did not commit suicide, but were forced to commit suicides under various physical and psychological oppressions. Therefore, it can be said that, there is no any actual statistical data about

honor killings, since several-committed honor killings may have been reflected to legal authority as a suicide or attempt to suicide.

According to a report, prepared by governorship of Batman for the purpose of investigating the reasons of honor killings and violence against women, suicides committed by women are three times more than suicides committed by men, between the years of 1995 and 2000. In Batman, in the last five years, 402 people attempted to suicide and 281 of them were women. To the report, people committing suicide are between the ages of 15-25. Among women committing suicide, 46,5 % of them were single, 15,8 % of them were religious married and 10,9 % of the women were official married. Furthermore, 29,3 % of women were illiterate, 1,3 % of them were literate and 16 % of them were graduated from high school, but educational level of 42,7 % of women is not known (www.ebakis.com, 2006).

A research was conducted in Batman by a women consultancy center (SALIS) due to increasing cases of suicide. According to the results of this research, applying on 300 women;

- 6 % of women got married under the age of 14,
- 62 % of women were married off by means of matchmaker and 15 % of them were married off by means of *berdel.*
- 50 % of women are uninformed of birth control

Even when women kill themselves they will remain unclean, but their death helps clean the honor of their families. Men can also clean family honor by killing the woman who brought them shame (Sev'er, 1999: 974).

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

Honor killings, in terms of their way of formation, are primarily involved in the research field of sociology and criminology. In this study, honor killings as the most severe form of violence against women are first of all analyzed in terms of sociological perspectives and concepts and then particularly explained and evaluated on account of a series of criminological theories. The phenomenon of crime necessitates to be explained by means of multiple perspectives, due to various kinds of crime, so many variables related to criminality and perpetrators' different criminal profiles. Therefore, honor killings as a form of criminal behavior may be clarified by the agency of these criminal theories.

3.1 Differential Association Theory:

This theory of crime emphasizes the role of 'social learning' and 'socialization' in the development of criminal behavior. Sociologists define socialization as the process of social interaction through which a society's culture is taught and learned and human personalities are developed (Renzetti & Curran, 2000). Although socialization is typically associated with early childhood, it is actually an ongoing process that continues throughout an individual's life. The fact that socialization is a process of social interaction tells that it occurs through communication with other people. What is taught, in other words the content of socialization, varies across societies, communities, and social groups. Agents of socialization, individuals, groups, and institutions, influence us over the course of our lives. (Curran & Renzetti, 2001: 135).

Sutherland presented differential association in the form of nine propositions:

1. criminal behavior is learned,
2. criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication,
3. the principal part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups,
4. when criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes (a) techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated and sometimes very simple; (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes,
5. the specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of legal codes as favorable and unfavorable,
6. a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law,
7. differential association may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity,
8. the process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns incorporates all the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning,
9. although criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values since noncriminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values (Curran & Renzetti, 2001: 137).

To Sutherland, criminality is not inherited; rather it is learned in the same way that any other behavior is learned: through interpersonal communication and social interaction in intimate groups-what sociologists call primary groups, including family and friends. What is learned through this process includes particular attitudes and motivations as well as techniques for committing

crimes. Furthermore, for him, human behavior is affected by the meanings or definitions that individuals place on objects, events, or acts and these meanings are acquired through social interaction. Sutherland proposed that, it is favorable or unfavorable meanings that individuals place on legal rules that constitute the critical content of learning when it comes to crime. Sutherland observed, in some societies an individual is surrounded by persons who invariably define the legal codes as rules to be observed, while in others he is surrounded by persons whose definitions are favorable to the violation of legal codes (Paternoster & Bachman, 2001: 183-185). Sutherland specified that associations vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity. In other words, associations that occur often (frequency) and are long-lasting (duration) will have a greater impact on an individual than brief, chance encounters. Associations that occur early in a person's life, especially in early childhood, are more important than those that occur later on (priority). And associations with prestigious people or with those one holds in high esteem will be more influential than associations with those for whom one has little regard or who are socially distant in one's life (intensity) (Curran & Renzetti, 2001: 137-138).

It is true that, individuals learn the definitions of various concepts about 'right' and 'wrong' by means of social interaction in intimate groups and they lead their lives by avoiding from 'deviant' behaviors and fulfilling expected responsibilities in order to be accepted within the community. However, the perception of deviant behavior varies across societies and social groups. For instance, in certain communities, women's 'misconducts', bringing shame and disgrace to the family honor, are deemed as criminal behaviors according to the unwritten codes and community members, who have learned those unwritten codes by the agency of interaction and already know which behaviors are deemed as deviant behaviors. For the family council and the community members the punishment of this 'criminal behavior' should be

death. The transgressing woman must be killed in order to restore the family honor and remove the stain on the family. While murdering a person is a crime according to the criminal code, the perpetrators of this crime evaluate this action not as a murder but as cleaning the family honor. Furthermore, as Sutherland stated and as seen in the experienced murders, not only the criminal behavior but also the methods of homicides are learned by means of interpersonal communication and social interaction in intimate groups, since the techniques applied in order to kill the women were the same.

Sutherland argued that, to understand human behavior, one must examine the primary groups to which individuals belong (Paternoster and Bachman, 2001: 182). Furthermore, for Sutherland, crime is a social and political label placed on certain behaviors, and what is crime in one society or in one subculture may not be crime in another (Paternoster and Bachman, 2001: 186).

Generally, then, differential association theory says criminal behavior is learned in association with intimate others by interacting and communicating with those others. Two basic things are learned: the techniques for commuting criminal behavior, and the definitions (values, motives, drives, rationalizations, attitudes) supporting such behavior (Williams & McShane, 1999: 81).

3.2 Social Learning Theory:

Social learning theory is capable of explaining how the social structure shapes individual behavior. Akers showed the connection between social structure and the behavior of individuals.

To Akers, the society and community, as well as class, race, gender, religion, and other structures in society, provide the general learning context for

individuals. The family, peer groups, schools and other groups provide the more immediate context that promote or discourage the criminal or conforming behavior of the individual (Akers, 1999: 69).

Both for Sutherland and Akers, definitions of behavior are the moral components of social interaction expressing whether something is right or wrong. The two concepts involved in the learning of behavior are reinforcement and punishment. Reinforcement increases the frequency of behavior, whereas punishment decreases the frequency (Williams & McShane, 1999: 221-223). Definitions of crime are learned through this process and affect behavior directly, as well as indirectly, by serving as cues for law violation (Cao, 2004: 92).

Akers contended that if individuals engage in crime and are provided positive reinforcements such as peer approval, money, food, or any feeling that is favorable, the likelihood is increased that they will continue in a life of crime. As a rule, Akers thought that, the greater the reinforcement, the greater the likelihood that the behavior would be repeated (Akers, 1985). Akers argued that the social environment was the most important reinforcer for behavior (Anderson & Dyson, 2002: 179).

Social learning theory focuses on learning 'right' or 'wrong' conducts by means of reinforcement and punishment imposed by the community. However, in case of honor killings, although murdering a person is a criminal behavior within the normal conditions, the perpetrator of the murder was encouraged to kill the 'dishonorable' woman, violating the unwritten rules in community. In this case, community members have learned that, the woman is a criminal person due to her misconducts, so she must be punished by her male relatives. Consequently, it can be said that, within such communities, due to the same worldview of the community members, murdering the defiled

woman is provided positive reinforcements and thus repeated. Moreover, since female members of the community have also learned the definitions of deviant behaviors through social interaction in intimate groups, they avoid from engaging in delinquent behaviors forbidden by the community.

3.3 Labeling Theory:

Labeling theory is important since it is concerned with how society reacts and responds to people who are deviant and criminal. The labeling theory focuses on the consequences of the label. Labeling is pervasive in social processing. Children are often labeled by family members for better or worse (Anderson & Dyson, 2002: 201-203).

Unlike most criminological theories, which emphasize the causes of crime, labeling theory focuses mainly on societal reactions to deviance. Braithwaite's central thesis (1989) is that crime is higher when shaming is stigmatizing and lower when shaming is reintegrative. Labeling theorists focus on the interactions between individuals or groups and those who label or define them as deviant.

According to Mead, human beings react to situations based upon the meanings those situations hold for them. Therefore, people find different meanings in the same actions and react according to the meaning they assign to the action. According to this approach, societal reaction is a matter of perception. Societal perceptions arise from the social interactions among human beings. Thus, perceivers of the criminal actions interpret those actions differently (Botta, 2004: 68).

Becker asserted that interpretive social groups establish the rules and definitions of deviant behavioral patterns and label societal members who break those rules accordingly. Criminals are deemed outsiders and become stigmatized by the labels they are assigned (Botta, 2004: 68-69).

This approach indicates that crime is a fact related to a legal definition rather than being a behavioral characteristic. To Becker, some social groups label individuals as 'deviant' or 'conformist' in respect of their conformity to the rules imposed by the society. Evaluation of behaviors in terms of law or society varies from society to society. For instance, in some countries alcohol abuse is a criminal behavior, whereas in other countries it is not considered as a crime, so it can be said that a criminal behavior is a relative definition (Kizmaz, 2005: 168).

The definition of criminal behavior may also show differences between the perception of society and legal system. For instance, honor killing is a crime in terms of law, but is not a murder for some traditional communities; certain community members perceive these killings as cleaning the family honor. Instead of inflicting a punishment on the perpetrators of these homicides, community members even accept and appreciate them. Furthermore, although having a sexual or sensual relationship with a man, going to cinema with a friend for a girl or a woman are not criminal behaviors according to legal system, those are deviant behaviors for some patriarchal-tribal community members. Therefore, the community members label them as a deviant, since they violated the rules of community. In addition, the transgressing woman's family is also labeled as dishonorable until the execution of the woman by the family members, since defiling of a woman brings shame and disgrace also to the her family.

3.4 Subculture Theory:

Subcultures are defined as smaller cultures that are found within dominant cultures. They provide values, norms, and traditions that regulate social life within the context of a given group. Gordon defines subculture as a subdivision of a national culture, composed of a combination of social situations, such as class status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residence, and religious affiliation. These social situations have an integrating impact on the individuals who share them. The expectation is that each member will abide by the group's rules. Within a subculture, people occupying certain positions are assigned the rights and duties appropriate to those roles. Subcultures are known to be accepted by everyone who participates in them (Anderson & Dyson, 2002, 152). Certain patriarchal-tribal communities that regulate monitor and control the social life and behaviors of their members by the agency of strict traditions and norms and in which the honor killings have been experienced due to the unwritten codes, may be defined as subcultures and it can be stated that the value system of this community constitutes a subculture of violence.

Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti (1967), utilizing the concept of subculture, analyzed homicides, in particular, 'passion crimes' that are not premeditated and not caused by psychosis or other serious mental disorder. These, they argue, make up the majority of homicide cases and occur predominantly among certain social groups and in certain neighborhoods. Looking at official statistics, they found that most of these homicides are committed by as relatively homogenous group: young, non-white, lower-class males (Curran & Renzetti, 2001: 121).

Wolfgang and Ferracuti stated that in subcultures of violence, the environment might directly or indirectly socialize residents into accepting and participating in criminal and violent behavior. They argued that after being exposed to such an environment, community residents become desensitized to the vicious nature of crime and violence that increase in these areas. Moreover, since they are part of the cultures that engage in these behaviors, they are socialized into thinking that these behaviors are acceptable and even expected as normal occurrences (Anderson & Dyson, 2002: 163).

Members of the subculture are obliged to engage in violence to defend their 'honor'. For instance, an attack on one's physical bravery or sexuality demands violent retaliation. Learning is facilitated by positive reinforcement of violent behavior and, conversely, application of negative sanctions on failure to respond violently. Lower-class males inhabiting the locate of a subculture of violence and respond to perceived insults with violence acquire prestige, while those males that propose non-violent means of conflict resolution are looked down on and excluded. Since members of the subculture learn violence as a normal way to manage interpersonal conflict, crime is prevented (Cao, 2004: 108-109). As mentioned above, in such traditional communities, if a male member of the community, whose female relative was defiled, refuses to murder her, then he will be excluded from the community, since the members have learned the idea that honor could be cleaned only with blood and they consider this action not as a manslaughter but as the restoration of family honor.

In the 1990s, the subculture of violence has been found to be connected with gun ownership and willingness to shoot. Observing that the South countries to lead the nation in terms of gun ownership and homicide, Ellison (1991) extends the southern subculture of violence and suggests that this pattern has persisted throughout most of the twentieth century. Individuals socialized in

the South learn to approve of violence in a wide range of situations and to view violence as important in enhancing their honor or reputation. Nisbett and Cohen (1996) specify that the culture of honor in the South is related to violence in the South and this culture of honor was developed because of the southern history of herding economy, sensitivity to insults, and uses of warfare (Cao, 2004: 109).

3.5 Social Control Theory:

According to the social control theory, when a person's bond to society is broken or weak, he/she is more likely to commit a crime. Durkheim argues that social solidarity is the most important glue in holding us together in society. Social solidarity is maintained by two distinct sets of social functions: those involving integration and those involving regulation. Moral connections represent a bond with others (Cao, 2004, 119). Durkheim argues that, crime could be controlled by society's reaction with rewards or punishment and thus the society must set limitations on individual behavior (Anderson & Dyson, 2002: 188).

To Durkheim, deregulation, or normlessness, easily leads to deviant behavior. Durkheim used anomie to refer to a morally deregulated condition in which people have inadequate moral controls over their behavior (Williams & McShane, 1999: 92).

Although Durkheim argues that a state of normlessness or lack of social regulation in society results in increasing crime, honor killings cannot be explained with the state of weakening attachment between the individual and the community, on the contrary they result from too much regulation of the community or too much integration of the community members. Furthermore, honor killings may be defined as fatalistic crimes if they were committed as a

result of too much regulation or may be defined as altruistic crimes if they were committed as a result of too much integration.

It is true that, not all criminological facts result from weakening of attachment between the individual and social institutions and values. Yet, certain crimes, such as blood feuds or honor killings, result from individual's strong attachment to the social institutions and values (Kizmaz, 2005: 167).

Durkheim distinguished between two types of societies: those characterized by mechanical solidarity and those characterized by organic solidarity. A society of mechanical solidarity is one in which the members are very much alike and there are few individual differences among them. The members of such a society do the same types of works, fulfill the same social roles, have the same world view, and have the same understanding of 'right' and 'wrong'. This collective conscience binds people together and promotes conformity in the society of mechanical solidarity. However, such a society is not crime-free. Durkheim believed that crime is inevitable; in all societies, there will be individuals who violate social norms. Because of the high degree of uniformity in mechanical societies, norm violators meet with a strong social reaction. Durkheim characterized law in such societies as repressive: its goal is punishment and revenge (Curran & Renzetti, 2001: 111-113).

Although Durkheim claimed that strict social rules prevent crime in such communities, it can be said that, honor killings have been experienced mostly within the communities characterized by mechanical solidarity. The reason for this is the definition and the perception of criminal behavior by the community members. The members of such a society, as Durkheim states, have the same understanding of 'right' and 'wrong'. For the community members, while the sexual 'misconducts' of women are a criminal behavior

and must be punished, murdering these women is not perceived as crime, but as removing the stain on family.

As a society undergoes population growth and technological advancement, social diversity increases and the collective conscience is weakened. The boundaries of acceptable behavior are widened, and punishment becomes less harsh. This is a society characterized by organic solidarity. Durkheim argued that social change in such societies-population growth, industrialization, and urbanization-could occur so quickly that the society would not have adequate time to develop appropriate regulations to govern social interaction. Durkheim called this condition of inadequate or inappropriate social control anomie (Curran & Renzetti, 2001: 111-113).

4. METHODOLOGY

As mentioned before, survey method as a quantitative research method was employed during the research and a questionnaire composed of open and closed-ended questions is applied to women (N_1=97) living in women shelters, authorized personnel (N_2=17) in women shelters, and university students(N_3=200). In order to ascertain the general profile (age, marital status, education level, place of living, income level etc.) of women who refused to be the victims of honor killings, to explore the women's oppression and to understand the processes that bring women to the women shelters, those women staying in women shelters are chosen as the target group in this research. In addition to aggrieved women, the authorized personnel in women shelters are included to the research in order to analyze the conditions, i.e. the advantages and disadvantages of women shelters, plus the efforts to the betterment of women shelters. Furthermore, an in-depth interview method was conducted with institute director and unit director of Social Services and

Child Protection Institute-Family Unit (N_4=2) in order to get information about aggrieved women and women shelters.

In Turkey, there are 19 women shelters in 14 different provinces. At the beginning of the research, it was planned to conduct in-depth interviews with the aggrieved women and authorized personnel in women shelters, using a set of questions prepared in advance. Before the implementation of the research, Ankara Social Services and Child Protection Institute-Family Unit was contacted to consult about the procedures and it has been informed that the addresses and other contact information of the women shelters are kept confidential to preserve the security of the women staying there. Thus, there was no possibility to conduct face-to-face in-depth interviews with the aggrieved women and officials in shelters. Instead, the institution official in charge proposed to fax the questionnaire to all 17 women shelters and recollect them again via fax personally. As a result, the interviews were conducted between February 1, 2007 and April 1, 2007, after completing the official procedures. Two separate sets of questions, one for the women and the other for the officials, together with a theoretical framework of the research, were delivered to the official in charge, assured that one copy of the research will be later given to the Institution. A cover letter describing the aim of the research was also added in order to inform the women shelter officials about the research. In the cover letter, it is also indicated that for the illiterate women staying in women shelters the women shelter officials are expected to fill the interview form. Considering the delicacy of the issue and the insecurity possibly felt by the women staying in women shelters, the implementation of the interview by the people with whom they see everyday and share their problems may have been more effective, instead of an outsider about whom they have no information. In this regard, the disadvantage of not being able to conduct the interviews personally can be seen as an advantage. In the informative letter sent to the directors of 17 women shelters, it is also

indicated that at least three women must be interviewed, who are staying in the women shelters for reasons related with honor. In case where there are less then three such women, the interview forms should be applied to women staying there for reasons other than honor. The question forms applied on aggrieved women are composed of two sections, one including the demographic questions aiming to outline the general profile of aggrieved women, and the other form of questions aiming to understand the reasons that make these women stay in the women shelter. Another question forms directed to officials of women shelters are also composed of two parts, one including their personal definition of sheltering women profile by means of their experiences and the other part consisting of questions about the conditions of women shelters.

To explore university students' perceptions about honor, viewpoints about womanhood, and their interpretation about female and male sexuality, university students are also included in the research. With this purpose, a questionnaire composed of both open and closed ended questions were implemented to a total of 200 undergraduate students from social and physical sciences (half male, half female). The primary purpose of this part of the research is to make comparisons among male/female and social/physical sciences students' thoughts about honor, women's honor, and female sexuality. Since comparisons are expected to be made, the number of the students surveyed is equally distributed among male and female students as well as among different department students. The answers of these questionnaires are analyzed using statistical software for social sciences (SPSS) and the findings are presented in various tables and interpretations.

5. DATA ANALYSIS

In this section, firstly, the data acquired from questionnaire distributed to 200 university students in METU is analyzed and interpreted by means of tables below, and then the answers given by aggrieved women and authorized personnel in women shelters to the questions evaluated in the second part, and finally the statements of institute director and unit director of Social Services and Child Protection Institute-Family Unit are evaluated in the last part.

5.1 Analysis of University Students' Perceptions

5.1.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 1. Gender

gender

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	female	100	50,0
	male	100	50,0
	Total	200	100,0

Table 2. Department

department

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	social sciences	100	50,0
	natural sciences	100	50,0
	Total	200	100,0

The above two tables show the equal distribution of gender and department of respondents. The reason for this equal distribution is to reveal the answers of students in METU comparatively in terms of their gender and departments. Therefore, 100 female and 100 male students, 100 students from social sciences and 100 students from natural sciences were randomly selected in order to carry out the questionnaire technique.

Table 3. Maintaining Virginity until Marriage

women should maintain their virginity until they get married

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	strongly agree	43	21,5
	agree	42	21,0
	no idea	9	4,5
	disagree	70	35,0
	strongly disagree	36	18,0
	Total	200	100,0

The above table shows that there is not a wide gap between support and opposition to the subject of 'maintaining virginity until marriage'. A total of 53 % of respondents (strongly) oppose the idea of women virginity until they get married, while 42.5 % favor maintaining virginity. Nevertheless, this table indicates that, an important part of university students, in the capital city, give female virginity importance, so it can be stated that, the perception of woman chastity or the idea of presenting sexuality of women only to their husbands is not related totally to the educational level of individuals but is related to the cultural structure of the society.

Table 4. Determinator of Woman's Honor

a woman's honor is determined by her sexual conducts

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	strongly agree	15	7,5
	agree	37	18,5
	no idea	15	7,5
	disagree	67	33,5
	strongly disagree	66	33,0
	Total	200	100,0

From the above table, it is noticed that, 26 % of students (strongly) agree, while 66.5 % of students (strongly) disagree with the idea that, a woman's honor is determined by her sexual conducts. This statistical data shows that,

university students, at least more than half of the respondents, do not regard woman's honor as a fact that is composed only of her sexual conducts. However, the rate of students who define a woman's honor according only to her sexual conducts (26 %) or who have no idea (7.5 %) about this statement is also considerable.

Table 5. Who is Responsible for Woman's Honor?

a woman is not responsible for her honor, until she gets married her male relatives, after the marriage her husband is responsible for her honor

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	strongly agree	6	3,0
	agree	8	4,0
	no idea	4	2,0
	disagree	65	32,5
	strongly disagree	117	58,5
	Total	200	100,0

The above table indicates there is a wide gap between support and opposition to the idea that 'a woman is not responsible for her honor, until she gets married her male relatives, after the marriage her husband is responsible for her honor'. While 91 % of respondents (strongly) oppose this idea, only 7 % of the students favor this statement. This shows most of the respondents consider that a woman is responsible for her honor herself.

Table 6. Betrayal of Husband

betrayal of a husband on occasion is natural

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	strongly agree	3	1,5
	agree	16	8,0
	no idea	11	5,5
	disagree	39	19,5
	strongly disagree	131	65,5
	Total	200	100,0

This table shows that the percentage of respondents who support the idea that 'betrayal of a husband on occasion is natural' is 9.5 % and those who oppose it are 85 %. This indicates, in a sense, most of the respondents consider male sexuality should also be controlled or restricted, at least after he gets married.

Table 7. Betrayal of Wife

woman who betrayed her husband must be punished

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	strongly agree	18	9,0
	agree	37	18,5
	no idea	25	12,5
	disagree	70	35,0
	strongly disagree	50	25,0
	Total	200	100,0

According to the table above, there is a wide gap between support and opposition to the subject of 'punishing betrayer wife' according to the students. Support is 27.5 %, while opposition is 60 %. However, students who (strongly) agree with the idea of punishment and so think that betrayal of woman is a criminal behavior and who do not have any idea about this subject (12.5 %) cannot be ignored. This means that, a considerable part of university students condemn imposing a penalty upon betraying woman.

Table 8. The Reason for the Oppression over Married Women Imposed by Society

the reason for the oppression over married women imposed by the society is not only to prevent women's sexual freedom, but also to prevent breaking of family institution

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	strongly agree	11	5,5
	agree	76	38,0
	no idea	40	20,0
	disagree	45	22,5
	strongly disagree	28	14,0
	Total	200	100,0

It can be stated that, family is one of the most important institutions for the wholeness and continuity of the society. Therefore, thanks to the functional characteristic of the family institution, the reason for the oppression over married women and men by the society may also be preventing the breaking of family, as well as the perception of the concept of honor in the society.

Table 8 indicates there is not a gap between support and opposition to the idea about another reason for the oppression of society over married women. 43.5 % of respondents (strongly) agree and 36.5 % of them (strongly) disagree with this idea, besides 20 % have no idea about the statement that 'the reason for the oppression over married women imposed by the society is not only to prevent women's sexual freedom, but also to prevent breaking of family institution'.

Table 9. Dissolute Husband under the Oppression of Honor

society excludes a dissolute husband since he leads to breaking of the family. Therefore, men are also under the oppression of honor imposed by society

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	strongly agree	11	5,5
	agree	82	41,0
	no idea	16	8,0
	disagree	67	33,5
	strongly disagree	24	12,0
	Total	200	100,0

It is clear the difference between support and opposition to the subject of 'oppression of honor imposed by society over men' is minimal, support is 46.5 % and opposition is 45.5 %. This shows that, about half of the respondents consider that, men are also under the pressure of honor imposed by society, as well as women.

This table is related with Table 6 in terms of controlling husband's sexual conducts. To Table 6, most of the respondents (85 %) agree with the idea that male sexuality should also be controlled, at least after he gets married, and this table shows that about half of the respondents agree with the idea that male sexuality is also controlled, but especially after his marriage, by society in order to prevent the dissolution of the family.

Table 10. Regarding Stain on a Woman as Stain on Her Family

the stain defiling a woman's honor is regarded to be stain on her family

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	strongly agree	15	7,5
	agree	40	20,0
	no idea	12	6,0
	disagree	81	40,5
	strongly disagree	52	26,0
	Total	200	100,0

According to the table above, while 27.5 % of respondents consider the stain defiling a woman's honor as a stain on her family, 66.5 % of the students oppose to this idea. This means that, more than half of the respondents think that, the stain on honor is not familial, but individual.

This table is related with the Table 5 regarding the responsibility for honor. According to Table 5, as mentioned above, most of the respondents (90 %) consider that a woman is responsible for her honor herself. Accordingly, it can be stated that, students also consider that the stain on a woman's honor is related only to her not to her family. This thinking of students differs from the perception and thinking of patriarchal-tribal family members. As mentioned before, according to the certain patriarchal-tribal family members, especially in rural and underdeveloped regions, women's honor represent the family honor and it is regarded that 'dishonorable' woman brings shame also to her family

Table 11. Male Sexuality

men should live their sexuality freely

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	strongly agree	39	19,5
	agree	70	35,0
	no idea	14	7,0
	disagree	47	23,5
	strongly disagree	30	15,0
	Total	200	100,0

It is noticed that, from the table above, 54.5 % of the students favor, while 38.5 % of the respondents (strongly) oppose the idea that 'men should live their sexuality freely'. This shows that there is not a wide gap between support and opposition to this idea among the students, but the rate of students supporting the free male sexuality is more than the rate of students who oppose to this idea.

Table 12. Female Sexuality

women should live their sexuality freely

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	strongly agree	34	17,0
	agree	67	33,5
	no idea	18	9,0
	disagree	53	26,5
	strongly disagree	28	14,0
	Total	200	100,0

According to the Table 12, for 50.5 % of the respondents, women should live their sexuality freely, 40.5 % of the students (strongly) disagree with this statement. The table above does not indicate great differences between the students regarding the women sexuality.

Table 13: Sexual Freedom Results in Divorces

sexual freedom is one of the most important reasons of divorces. Increasing divorce rates creates serious troubles in terms of social order

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	strongly agree	34	17,0
	agree	80	40,0
	no idea	30	15,0
	disagree	46	23,0
	strongly disagree	10	5,0
	Total	200	100,0

This table shows that, to 57 % of students, sexual freedom is one of the most important reasons of divorces and increasing divorce rates creates serious troubles in terms of social order, while 28 % of respondents (strongly) disagree with this idea, and 15 % of them have no idea about it.

5.1.2 Cross Tables:

Table 14. Between Gender & Maintaining Virginity until Marriage

nder * women should maintain their virginity until they get married Crosstabulati

			n should maintain their virginity until they get m					
			rongly agre	agree	no idea	disagree	strongly disagree	Total
gende	female	Count	10	24	4	41	21	100
		% within gender	10,0%	24,0%	4,0%	41,0%	21,0%	100,0%
	male	Count	33	18	5	29	15	100
		% within gender	33,0%	18,0%	5,0%	29,0%	15,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	43	42	9	70	36	200
		% within gender	21,5%	21,0%	4,5%	35,0%	18,0%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16,328[a]	4	,003

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4,50.

The above table shows that there is a difference in the opinions of male and female students towards the issue of 'female virginity until the marriage' (P<0.005). According to 51 % of male students, women should maintain their virginity until they get married, while 62 % of female students (strongly) disagree with this idea. This table indicates that, male students give virginity importance more than female students, but the rate of female students that support the subject of woman virginity until marriage (34 %) cannot be ignored. This means that, formal education is not enough alone to change the perception of people about virginity, which is considered as a representative of woman's honor.

Table 15. Between Department & Maintaining Virginity until Marriage

artment * women should maintain their virginity until they get married Crosstabulat

			should maintain their virginity until they get					
			rongly agre	agree	no idea	disagree	strongly disagree	Total
departm	social scien	Count	18	19	4	37	22	100
		% within departr	18,0%	19,0%	4,0%	37,0%	22,0%	00,0%
	natural scie	Count	25	23	5	33	14	100
		% within departr	25,0%	23,0%	5,0%	33,0%	14,0%	00,0%
Total		Count	43	42	9	70	36	200
		% within departr	21,5%	21,0%	4,5%	35,0%	18,0%	00,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3,638[a]	4	,457

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4,50.

According to the table above, there is no great difference in the opinions of students from social sciences and students from natural sciences about the subject of 'maintaining virginity until marriage' (P>0.005). Nevertheless, it can be stated that, students from social sciences show less support (% 37) to the woman virginity than students from natural sciences do (48 %). This indicates that, in a sense, students from natural sciences are more conservative than students from social sciences about giving importance to the female virginity.

Table 16. Between Gender & Betrayal of Husband

gender * betrayal of a husband on occasion is natural Crosstabulation

			betrayal of a husband on occasion is natural					
			trongly agre	agree	no idea	disagree	strongly disagree	Total
gende	female	Count	0	3	1	13	83	100
		% within gende	,0%	3,0%	1,0%	13,0%	83,0%	100,0%
	male	Count	3	13	10	26	48	100
		% within gende	3,0%	13,0%	10,0%	26,0%	48,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	3	16	11	39	131	200
		% within gende	1,5%	8,0%	5,5%	19,5%	65,5%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	30,298[a]	4	,000

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,50.

The above table shows there is not a wide gap between support and opposition to the subject of 'betrayal of husband' according to the gender. While 74 % of male students oppose to the betrayal of a husband, 96 % of female students oppose this idea. However, it is clear that, the rate of male supporters of this idea (% 16) is more than the rate of female supporters (3 %) and the rate of male students who have no idea about it cannot be ignored. Moreover, despite this minimal difference between support and opposition to this idea, it cannot be ignored that the betrayal of husband is commonly accepted in the society.

Table 17. Between Gender & Betrayal of Wife

gender * woman who betrayed her husband must be punished Crosstabulation

			man who betrayed her husband must be punish					
			trongly agre	agree	no idea	disagree	strongly disagree	Total
gende	female	Count	3	12	10	39	36	100
		% within gender	3,0%	12,0%	10,0%	39,0%	36,0%	100,0%
	male	Count	15	25	15	31	14	100
		% within gender	15,0%	25,0%	15,0%	31,0%	14,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	18	37	25	70	50	200
		% within gender	9,0%	18,5%	12,5%	35,0%	25,0%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	24,162[a]	4	,000

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9,00.

The above mentioned table indicates that there is a difference in the thoughts of female and male students towards the issue of 'punishing betrayal wife'. According to 40 % of male students, woman who betrayed her husband must be punished, while 75 % of female students oppose to this idea. This means that, % 40 of male students considers woman's betrayal as a criminal behavior and so the woman must be punished.

Table 18. Between Department & Betrayal of Wife

department * woman who betrayed her husband must be punished Crosstabulation

			han who betrayed her husband must be punis				
			rongly agre	agree	no idea	disagree	strongly disagree	Total
departme	social scienc	Count	5	16	12	35	32	100
		% within departı	5,0%	16,0%	12,0%	35,0%	32,0%	100,0%
	natural scier	Count	13	21	13	35	18	100
		% within departı	13,0%	21,0%	13,0%	35,0%	18,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	18	37	25	70	50	200
		% within departı	9,0%	18,5%	12,5%	35,0%	25,0%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8,191[a]	4	,085

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9,00.

Figures from the above table show that there is not a great difference between support and opposition to the subject of 'punishing betrayal wife' according to the department of students (P>0.05). Students from social sciences who support this idea represent 21 %, while 34 % are students from natural sciences. As mentioned in the previous table, students from natural sciences are more conservative than students from social sciences are, about giving importance to the female virginity; this table also shows that students from natural sciences have stricter traditional worldview than students from social sciences do, about betrayal of a wife.

Table 19. Between Gender & Male Sexuality

gender * men should live their sexuality freely Crosstabulation

			men should live their sexuality freely					
			trongly agre	agree	no idea	disagree	strongly disagree	Total
gende	female	Count	11	43	9	21	16	100
		% within gender	11,0%	43,0%	9,0%	21,0%	16,0%	100,0%
	male	Count	28	27	5	26	14	100
		% within gender	28,0%	27,0%	5,0%	26,0%	14,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	39	70	14	47	30	200
		% within gender	19,5%	35,0%	7,0%	23,5%	15,0%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12,876[a]	4	,012

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7,00.

According to the table above, there is not a great difference in the opinions of female and male students towards the issue of 'living male sexuality freely'. According to 54 % of female students and 55 % of male students, men should live their sexuality freely.

Table 20. Between Gender & Female Sexuality

gender * women should live their sexuality freely Crosstabulation

			women should live their sexuality freely					
			strongly agree	agree	no idea	disagree	strongly disagree	Total
gende	femal	Count	13	47	9	23	8	100
		% within gender	13,0%	47,0%	9,0%	23,0%	8,0%	100,0%
	male	Count	21	20	9	30	20	100
		% within gender	21,0%	20,0%	9,0%	30,0%	20,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	34	67	18	53	28	200
		% within gender	17,0%	33,5%	9,0%	26,5%	14,0%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18,830[a]	4	,001

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9,00.

Table 21 indicates that, there is a gap between support and opposition to the subject of 'living female sexuality freely' (P<0.005). While 60 % of female students favor this idea, 50 % of male students oppose to this statement.

5.2 Aggrieved Women in the Women Shelters

Following results are reached from the questionnaires applied to 97 women staying in 17 different shelters situated in 14 provinces in Turkey. Most of these women are between the ages of 16 to 35 who are mostly coming from the East and South Eastern parts of Turkey and mostly migrated to the western part from these areas. They are mostly illiterate or, at most, graduates of the primary school, forced to be married at young ages and usually have children whether they are married or not. Most of the husbands usually have low levels of education and they are either working as unskilled labor or they are small tradesmen earning a low level of income. 90 % of the women's parents are illiterate, the rest of them are primary school graduates. Since most of the women's fathers are also working as unskilled labor or small tradesmen like their husbands, most of them had been raised in a family having low income. The main reason of them to flee from their families and refuge to these shelters is the violence and pressure that they face in their families.

Married women staying in the shelters are mostly the ones suffered from being forced to marry in their early ages without their consent. They also became the subject of their husbands' bad habits. Mostly they are exposed to their husbands' or their relatives' (their brothers, father etc.) physical, sexual and oral violence leading them to refuge and they become a rejected person in the eyes of their families and giving them no choice but to stay in women shelters. Single women staying in the shelters are the ones whose relationship with someone is learned by their families and rejected or they are impregnated by a man who rejected her afterwards. There are some others who were raped or fled from home and who had been delivered to prosecution or the police without a decision to kill her by a family member. They are usually younger than the married women; their ages are between 14 and 20.

5.3 Authorized Personnel in the Women Shelters

Following results are deduced as the result of questionnaires applied to 17 personnel working in the shelters.

According to their answers; the women in the shelters are mostly at the ages between 19 and 30. They are usually coming from the families living in the eastern part of Turkey or migrated to west from those areas. They are mostly young girls who are literate but graduated from primary or secondary school, married by the religious wedlock in their early ages, having no source of income, and in low socio-economic level.

According to the personnel, the problems of the shelters are as follows: They have an urgent need for qualified personnel and personnel for supportive positions. This is the main reason why education and rehabilitation services cannot be given sufficiently. There are also problems in finding occupations for the women who have completed their rehabilitation process. Additionally, there are some women who try to exploit the services provided in the shelters. Moreover, there are security problems, since the secrecy of the shelters locations cannot be kept confidential. Lastly, women having different forms of violence stay together which affect them negatively in terms of their psychological wellbeing.

When they are asked about the advantages of shelters for the women, they answered as follows: The women are provided with a relatively safer place, outside of the environment exposing them to violence, which solves their basic problem of finding a place to stay. After this, they are provided with health and legal services going together with the educational services.

The personnel working in the women shelters defined the programmes and activities that are being carried out as follows: Firstly, the women in the shelters are provided with a rehabilitation programme to help them cope with the stress they are suffering. After this first stage, if they are not literate, they learn how to read and write. Besides, they take some handcrafting courses to help them build the bases to have an occupation. There are also courses given by the specialists about various subjects (gender awareness, human rights, citizenship, children's rights etc.) going hand in hand with some social activities (cinema, theatre, concert, panels and conferences) raising their awareness in various subjects and giving the opportunity to develop their social relationships.

Their suggestions to develop the current situation are as follows: To make the women shelters give a higher quality service, the infrastructural changes are needed. The buildings should also be constructed according to the specific needs of women in the shelters. The number of women shelters and the personnel should be raised, and their need for better equipments should be met. Opportunities should be given to the women who get out of the shelters to help them find a shelter and occupation which means there is a need for a supportive system for the women after going out of the shelters. There must be some deterrent measures taken for the women who are trying to exploit the services given in the shelters. Moreover, some immediate measures should be taken to ensure the secrecy of women shelters to protect the women taking services from these institutions and the personnel working in the women shelters.

5.4 Institute Director and Unit Director of Social Services and Child Protection Institute

Below generalizations had been reached out of the in-depth interviews conducted with institute director and unit director of Social Services and Child Protection Institute:

Some preventive studies are being carried out for the women who are exposed to physical, sexual, emotional, and economic abuses. These studies are focusing on the problems of such women and their children, and they are provided with a temporary place to stay in the women shelters, which had been constructed and are being supported by Social Services and Child Protection Institute. The studies are summarized as follows:

- Helping the women in the shelter overcome some feelings like insignificancy, guilt, shame and fear caused by the violence that they had exposed,
- Reconstructing their self esteem and self respect,
- Helping them to evaluate their future on healthy grounds by providing them with psychological and legal counseling,
- Providing the necessary conditions for a self-sustainable life by equipping them with abilities that are conditional to find an occupation.
- Making sure to construct the conditions of a healthy relationship if women are eager to reunite with their husbands and families.
- Carrying out the monitoring studies.

Most of the women that are applying to the women shelters are the uneducated and younger ones. These are mostly forced to marry with a person as a second or third wife in their early ages by their families. Since they reject

such a marriage, they are trying to avoid an honor killing. The trauma resulting from the pressure coming from the family, leads them to either be with their lovers or be raped by the ones that had utilized the advantage of the trauma they are experiencing and causing unintended pregnancies. The central reason of such women to apply to women shelters is the extreme social pressure they are exposed. The decisions for their life are taken by the tribe leader they are tied to rather than their parents. Besides these problems, there are also some girls who accept marriages as the second or third wife. For example, a 13-year-old girl had been married with a 70-year-old man and sexually harassed by his son.

Nevertheless, women are becoming much more are of these problems. They do not let others torture them since they are aware of the fact that there are women shelters that they can refuge. No matter what reason, women always come to such shelters with a strong trauma. The strongest fear of them is being murdered. Because the tribes are also informed about such shelters, via media and they try different methods to reach the women and even threat the personnel working in these places.

In the women shelters, the first thing is to help women overcome the trauma they are experiencing by psychological counseling. After that, their consciousness is raised via trainings on literacy, human rights, women's rights etc. Besides such efforts, women are provided with occupational training and they get help to find a suitable job according to their level of education.

However, certain policies are still not determined for their future life by the Institution. That is because these women are constantly shifting places to avoid any murder cases. Besides, no study is being carried out to avoid honor killing problem. For the time being, Social Services and Child Protection Institute can only protect the women with their children if there is any.

However, there is a circular letter from the Prime Ministry focusing on the prevention of violence towards women. In line with this circular letter, a commission is going to be erected by police headquarters, ministry of health, ministry of internal affairs, ministry of justice and NGO's in each province to provide educational services about this problem. Besides, a domestic care project had been initiated. The women in the shelters are provided wit a training program on caring of the elder, children and handicapped people and it is planned that they will be provided with opportunities to work in this sector.

There are regulations about the municipalities to make them open women shelters. However, many of them are not willing to take the necessary precautions to do this. That is because, keeping the girls away from their families means decreasing numbers of votes for the next elections.

Suggestions derived from the persons via the conducted interviews are as follows:

The TV series that are being produced about honor killings are very beneficial for raising the consciousness about the problem. Besides this, there is a need for some policies to educate the women in the east, a dedication to apply strict penal sanctions to those who do not send their girls to school or providing them with economical support by the state to facilitate their conditions to send them to schools. It is very important that women, girls, and especially mothers get a proper education. Because, if the mothers are educated, it is a strong probability that their children will also have a positive attitude towards education. In addition, investments in the eastern part of Turkey should be facilitated to decrease people's dependence on the tribes. If families earn their lives independently, tribal organizations will surely be dissolved over time. Besides, men in this region should also be educated and their awareness about

such problems must be raised. Since the subject is very sensitive, the training should be given by the specialists and the level of the training should be defined considering the educational level of women n the region. It is also necessary that NGO's in the region become sensitive about the problem. Public institutions and universities should act in harmony and give parallel messages to people since any confusion about the messages may cause the problem become more complicated. It is about not only protection and sheltering of women but also coming up with policies towards solving problems of the women and their families in the future. Shortly, it is not all about protection of the women.

6. CONCLUSION

In this section, first of all, results obtained from sample cases, statistical data, media news and, formerly conducted researches that are reviewed in this study are summarized. By the agency of acquired results, a profile of the victims and perpetrators of honor killings are established as well as analyzing where, by whom, with which justification and how these killings took place. In addition, statistical data acquired from the questionnaires distributed to the university students and answers given by the aggrieved women in women shelters and women shelter officials to the questions are analyzed.

Summarized cases, media news, and conducted researches about honor killings, which are analyzed in the previous chapters, indicate a series of patterns. First, the content of the concept of honor originates from traditions and customs that are gender based, and status and acceptance are based on family honor that largely depends on the behavior of its female members. Honor killings take place only on the basis of women's conducts; their actions can bring dishonor to the family, particularly through actual or perceived sexual misconducts.

Second, the decision to kill the 'disobedient' girl is taken by the so-called family assembly. The family council typically includes the father, and brothers of the victim, and may also include uncles, grandfathers, and male in-laws. The plans for the honor murders are made and executed almost exclusively by men and the task is usually relegated to a minor male member of the family as he can benefit from the circumstances of underage. In most cases, these young boys are aided by other family members in planning the premeditated murder. There is also very strong community pressure on the family to kill the 'disobedient' girls, because according to the custom, this is

the only way that the family can restore their honor. Until they clean their honor, they are dishonored as a family and they will be excluded from their local community.

Third, honor killings are executed for instances of strolling alone in the town, asking for a love song on the radio, seeking divorce, adultery, premarital sexual relations, premarital pregnancy, flirting with a man, or being the victim of a sexual assault or rape or any other instance perceived as disgracing the family honor. The allegation of female impropriety alone is enough to defile a man's or family's honor and is therefore enough to justify the killing of woman.

Forth, women are the primary victims of crimes of honor. Women who believe or supposed to believe in opposite values and standards to customs, traditions and cultural sanctions of community, are exposed to honor killings. To these traditional values, young women are expected to be virgins when they marry; they must be clean. Many women are murdered even due to suspicions of a family member and are not given the chance to defend themselves. In addition, almost all victims are young and single.

Fifth, honor killings are based on the belief that a woman is the property of her family due to the patriarchal family structure. In addition these murders are localized in the most socioeconomically depressed and rural areas with a feudal type of land ownership. There is a socio-cultural environment, named as tribe, supporting and encouraging honor killings and defending the perpetrators of these killings. Tribe members condone honor killings, since they consider that the committers of these crimes acted conformingly to congregational standard of judgments.

Sixth, various versions of this violent customs are experienced mostly in different countries of the Middle East and the Mediterranean. In the case of Turkey, this strict custom originates from South-eastern and Eastern Regions. However, honor killings are not limited only to the rural regions. In one respect, honor tradition spreads to the cities and western countries by way of rapid migration, excessive urbanization, and intensive social movements between rural and urban areas.

Finally, in many cases, deaths are not reported; murders are made to look like suicides and covered up by families; and women are forced or induced to kill themselves. Since these crimes often go unreported, it is difficult to determine the actual number of victims in honor killings. Frequently, women murdered in honor killings are recorded as having committed suicide or died in accidents.

In addition to the results acquired and summarized above, university students' perceptions about the concept of honor, viewpoints about womanhood, and their interpretation about female and male sexuality are also analyzed in this study and several statistical data are obtained by means of questionnaire method. According to the results of questionnaire, which was applied on 200 university students in METU, an important part of university students (42.5 %) consider that women should maintain their virginity until they get married. Furthermore, male students (51 %) give virginity importance more than female students, but the rate of female students that support the subject of woman virginity until marriage (34 %) cannot be ignored. This means that, formal education is not enough alone to change the perception of people about virginity, which is considered as a representative of woman's honor. In other words, favoring female virginity is not only related to formal education, but also the value system of the society. Moreover, according to 91 % of university students, a woman is responsible for her honor herself, whereas for

tribal traditional community members, a woman is not responsible for her honor, until she gets married, her male relatives; after the marriage, her husband is responsible for her honor. Beside this, within the context of traditional societies, the stain defiling a woman's honor is regarded to be stain on her family, while 66.5 % of university students oppose this idea. Again in the same questionnaire, ideas of female and male students regarding the issue of 'punishing betrayal wife' is questioned and 40 % of male students support this idea, while 75 % of female students oppose it. This means that, a considerable part of male students regard woman's betrayal as a criminal behavior and therefore think that the woman must be punished. In addition, not a wide gap in the opinions of female and male students towards the issue of 'living sexuality freely for both men and women' is found within this research. According to 54 % of female students and 55 % of male students, men should live their sexuality freely and 60 % of female students favor the idea that 'women should live their sexuality freely' and 41 % of male students agree with this statement.

Furthermore, according to the results acquired from the questionnaires applied to the 97 aggrieved women and authorized personnel in 17 women shelters most of these women are between the ages of 16 to 35 who are mostly coming from the East and South Eastern parts of Turkey and mostly migrated to the western part from these areas. They are mostly illiterate or, at most, graduates of the primary school, forced to be married at young ages and usually have children whether they are married or not. Most of the husbands usually have low levels of education and they are either working as unskilled labor or they are small tradesmen earning a low level of income. 90 % of the women's parents are illiterate, the rest of them are primary school graduates. Since most of the women's fathers are also working as unskilled labor or small tradesmen like their husbands, most of them had been raised in a family having low income.

7. DISCUSSION

Violence against women is a of historical result relationships of unequal power relationships between men and women. Violence against women is not a problem for specific geographies only, but is increasingly continuing by coupling with economic, political and ethnic questions on a global level. However, local forms and motives can not be disregarded, and analyzing these local mechanisms is highly important.

Killings in the name of honor are multidimensional and complex. While it is a structural, social organizational and legal question, it is also a question of seeing women's rights not as human rights and preserve the secondary social status of women. Therefore, the effective solution of the question needs a multi-layered approach involving different solutions at the individual, family, group and social levels. Solutions to be proposed on the individual, family and group levels should be supported at the social and institutional levels. All relevant arrangements and active support programs are also needed. Furthermore, in order to prevent the killings, to prosecute the committers of the crime and their promoters, regional, national and international cooperation should be constructed (Uygur, 2003).

In the name of preventing the tore killings, various ideas and solutions are proposed. For an effective prevention, however, it should be clear that no solution can be adequate only by itself.

One of the recent debates concerning the prevention of honor killings is the abolition of the article concerning "severe provocation" in the Turkish Penal Code. Before the abolition of the article, a murder committed in the name of "saving the honor of the family" was not regarded as a common homicide by

the Turkish judicial system. The judges had the right to make a decrease in the punishment, assuming that the people committing honor killings are partially acting under social pressure, instead of committing the act totally by their own thinking. However, in the last decade, there are attempts to prevent the honor killings by increasing the punishments. The expected results of these reforms are to minimize the number of crimes related with honor. However, even a decrease in the number of the news related with these crimes might be misleading. In addition to killings that are publicized, there might be a considerable number of victims of honor crimes which are not publicized as, for example, there are women who are claimed just to be lost. Furthermore, increases in the penalties alone might lead to newer methods of disguising these crimes or more complex, planned killings, as the high number of reported women suicides in Batman might indicate. In addition, because the social norms equating honor killings with "cleaning the honor of the family" are much more prevalent in some geographical regions, attorneys too might cooperate with the clients in abusing the holes in the laws in order to make them get lower penalties. In brief, solutions confined to the field of formal law can not be successful as expected, unless the underlying social, historical causes of the phenomenon is not left untouched.

Another solution proposal in preventing the honor killings is increasing the level of formal education. For a critique of this approach, Gezik's (2003) study conducted with the Turkish immigrant youth can be reviewed. Despite the higher levels of education they get, the children of families with rural background are more prone to adhere to their customs and practices related with the notion of honor and its protection than the youth living in feudal milieus in Turkey. Cases of honor killings, in other words, are also seen among migrant families. Thus we can infer that the socialization especially through family proves to be persistent in spite of formal education. Another indicator of the non-linear relationship between education and values/norms

about female honor and virginity is the survey study conducted as part of this research in Middle East Technical University, on of the most developed and outstanding universities of Turkey. According to the results of the survey, it is seen that a significant proportion of students are highly conservative about female virginity and sexual liberty. One implication of these results is that there is a need for increasing the educational level of the parents and other elderly members of the family, instead of young members. How this will be achieved is also another issue. For example, while struggling against this problem, a language compatible with the local culture is seen necessary. To put differently, the language that will be used should address and make sense for the local community itself, rather than for the implementers or funding sources. As indicated in the research, for example, honor killings and a conservative interpretation of Islam goes hand in hand in some rural regions. Therefore, local (formal or informal) religious authorities' contribution can be useful as a complementary to the formal education, since there is the tendency especially among the population with rural background to associate honor killings with Islam because of the heavy influence of religion. The content of the education and training to be given to these people can be enriched with balanced religious perspectives. References to the Koran can be made in terms of the sacredness of life, for example.

It can be said in general that the South Eastern Anatolian Region is a setting where tribal relationships and the patriarchal pressure mechanisms over women (especially young females) is still inclined to be powerful, despite complex changes throughout the region. As stated in the report of the 1994 research, many forms of production like semi-nomadism, feudalism, corporate capitalist farming, workmanship, small meta production continue to coexist, differentiate and compete for survival. On the other hand, it is possible to observe that social groups associated with different linguistic, religious and tribal identities continue to exist although they are in a state of

transformation due to increasing technological progress and interaction with the outside world. In other words, it would not be wrong to assume that modernization process and technological development caused the old structures and relationships to exist in a new environment, rather than eradicating them as a whole (Kardam, 1999: 90). Thus, one can not expect that traditions and behaviors shaped by tens of hundreds of years of practice will change overnight by changes occurring mainly in the sphere of production and economy. Furthermore, any type of developmental modernization project needs to be designed while taking the gender equality into account, in order to intervene to the secondary position of women with regard to men.

Another type of ways of preventing honor crimes can be increasing the number of women shelters to provide the vulnerable women a shelter. Despite being implemented against severe criticisms, the establishment of these houses is still at an insufficient level with 17 houses in 14 different provinces. One drawback of the existing system is that these houses are under the responsibility of mayors, some of them which tend to close down these houses in an attempt to preserve their electoral basis. Also the state policy of downsizing in governmental institutions, it is expected that these houses can not operate with full effectiveness because of the lack of qualified personnel, although the number of these houses are increased. In order for these houses to be more effective, women should be provided with jobs, social security and secure housing, as in their European counterparts. The number of houses and their capacity should be increased to make sure that every woman applying to the institution can be accepted. In the houses, qualified personnel should be employed who will primarily be responsible from the rehabilitation of the women. Considering the high rates of vulnerable women in the society, these are not easy tasks to achieve.

Honor killings represent the most extreme and complex form of male dominance in the society. Struggle against all kinds of violence and discriminatory behavior towards women will pave the way to the emancipation of women. Thus, for example, as long as the tribal structures in the eastern and south eastern regions are dissolved, honor crimes are expected to prevail. Various institutions of state and civil society should cooperate in designing and implementing various activities, and fighting the violence culture should be a state policy. Media, decision makers, universities and community leaders should take place in this policy in a joint fashion.

To make honor crimes a part of the distant past needs a multidimensional and long-lasting struggle. In the regions where these crimes are committed, relations of production, unemployment, poverty, ignorance and high rate of fertility form a powerful basis for these crimes. More importantly, honor crimes are not only the product of feudal relationships, but also a product of capitalist system which tend to emphasize a secondary place for women and turn them into meta. Thus, struggle in the economic, political, cultural and legal spheres is as important as the struggle against the social system which supports the feudal values and reactionary traditions that reproduce the secondary status of women.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE for STUDENTS

1. Gender
2. Department
3. "Women should maintain their virginity until they get married"

( ) Strongly Agree
( ) Agree
( ) No idea
( ) Disagree
( ) Strongly Disagree

4. "A woman's honor is determined by her sexual conducts"

( ) Strongly Agree
( ) Agree
( ) No idea
( ) Disagree
( ) Strongly Disagree

5. "A woman is not responsible for her honor, until she gets married her male relatives and after the marriage her husband is responsible for her honor"

( ) Strongly Agree
( ) Agree
( ) No idea
( ) Disagree
( ) Strongly Disagree

6. "Betrayal of a husband on occasion is natural"

( ) Strongly Agree

( ) Agree

( ) No idea

( ) Disagree

( ) Strongly Disagree

7. “A woman, who betrayed her husband, must be punished”

( ) Strongly Agree

( ) Agree

( ) No idea

( ) Disagree

( ) Strongly Disagree

8. “The reason for the honor oppression over married women imposed by the society is not only to prevent women’s sexual freedom, but also to prevent dissolution of family institution”

( ) Strongly Agree

( ) Agree

( ) No idea

( ) Disagree

( ) Strongly Disagree

9. “Society excludes a dissolute husband, since he leads to breaking of the family. Therefore, men are also under the oppression of honor imposed by society”

( ) Strongly Agree

( ) Agree

( ) No idea

( ) Disagree

( ) Strongly Disagree

10. “The stain defiling a woman’s honor is regarded to be stain on her family”

( ) Strongly Agree

( ) Agree

( ) No idea

( ) Disagree

( ) Strongly Disagree

11. “Men should live their sexuality freely”

( ) Strongly Agree

( ) Agree

( ) No idea

( ) Disagree

( ) Strongly Disagree

12. “Women should live their sexuality freely”

( ) Strongly Agree

( ) Agree

( ) No idea

( ) Disagree

( ) Strongly Disagree

13. “Sexual freedom is one of the most important reasons of divorces. Increasing divorce rates creates serious troubles in terms of social order”

( ) Strongly Agree

( ) Agree

( ) No idea

( ) Disagree

( ) Strongly Disagree

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE for AGGRIEVED WOMEN

1. Year of birth
2. From which province did you come?
3. Marital Status ( ) Married ( ) Single ( ) Widowed ( ) Divorced
4. If you are married or divorced, your husband's occupation
5. If you are married or divorced, your husband's monthly income
6. Do you have any child? If yes how many?
7. Your educational level
8. Your mother's educational level
9. Your father's educational level
10. Your father's occupation
11. Your family's average monthly income
12. How long have been here?
13. Could you explain the facts in detail that led to your taking shelter in?

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE for AUTHORIZED PERSONNEL in WOMEN SHELTERS

1. What are the common characteristics of women sheltering in women shelters? (their marital status, average ages, provinces from which they came, income and educational level, experiences, etc)
2. What are the problems that you encounter in this institution? (economical problems, security problems, inadequate personnel, education and rehabilitation of women, abuses, etc)
3. How much do you think the institution is successful in terms of solving sheltering problems of aggrieved women? What are the advantages that the institution provides for women?
4. What kind of programs and activities are exercised for sheltering women in the women shelters?
5. In your opinion, what kind of restorations should be applied, which deficiencies should be repaired and which problems should be solved in order to make women shelters' activities more effective for aggrieved women?