



REASONS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN TURKEY: A MULTIPLE CASE STUDY

Cemil Gökhan Karacan
Istanbul Medipol University
E-mail: cgkaracan@medipol.edu.tr

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Abstract

Violence against women has continue to be reported more and more worldwide and in Turkey. This qualitative multiple case study aims to explore the reasons of violence against women from their perspectives and experiences. There participants were six women aged 34-58 currently living in Istanbul, Turkey. In this study, data were collected from six women, who were exposed to violence by their male partners, through semi-structured interviews. Collected data were analysed using content analysis method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Findings revealed several main factors leading to violence against women such as drinking and gambling addiction, lack of education, disagreement between partners, financial issues, family structure and upbringing of children, and reflection of traditional society. The possible effect of personality and disposition along with the juridical system were also uttered by the participants.

Keywords: violence against women; gender inequality; violence; Turkish context

INTRODUCTION

Violence, which is mostly physical and psychological, sometimes in an economic and sexual context, harms the quality of life of the people. Unfortunately, women are at the forefront of violence, which is one of the most common social problems struggled in almost every society. Violence against women, a global issue, is one of the most important social problems in Turkey as well. Women worldwide face the risk of exposure to gender-based violence, regardless of country, ethnicity, class, religion, economic, and/or social status. Therefore, combating violence against women has not been within the borders of nations but has gained an international dimension. This topic has been a "worldwide phenomenon" and Turkey is one of the countries with the highest rates of violence against women (Toktaş & Diner, 2015, p. 611). Violence is defined by the World Health Organization (WHO) as the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, or deprivation.

Hawke (2000) also claimed that violence against women is present in every country, cutting across boundaries of culture, class, education, income, ethnicity, and age. This fact is more evident in Turkey and the Ministry of Justice has announced that murders against women raised 1400% between 2002 and 2009. Violence against women is one of the most discussed subjects in the last years and it should be as women continue to be subjects of violence caused by their partners in Turkey. In the related literature, violence against women was extensively researched and presented with statistics; however, reasons leading to violence

against women have not been discussed in detail from their own perspectives. In the literature, the subject of violence against women has always focused on the results presenting the statistics of how many cases there are, what the percentage of victims of violence against women is, what their education level is, and how many divorces occur etc. On the other hand, this paper discusses the topic as social research and attaches importance to women's first-hand perceptions and experiences. Thus, this study aims to fill the gap in the literature by exploring the reasons of violence against women from the perspectives of women exposed to violence.

All over the world and in Turkey, we are going through an extraordinary period with the coronavirus. For extraordinary conditions, extraordinary measures are being taken. But in this process, where everyone should stay at home as a precaution, these conditions pose serious challenges for women. Women have to stay in homes where they expose violence excessively. According to the World Economic Forum's (WEF) study on gender equality, Turkey is in the 125th place in 142 countries. This rank has resulted from the prevalence of violence against women (BBC, 2014). In the gender equality report provided by World Economic Forum, Turkey is placed the 130th place out of 153 countries. It is reported that 42% of Turkish women have been exposed to either physical or sexual violence (Toktaş & Diner, 2015). A very recent statistic regarding violence against women shows that 78 women were killed in the first two months of 2020 alone. This number was 474 in 2019 and 440 in 2018 (Umut Foundation, 2020). With Turkey withdrawing from the Istanbul Convention, numbers are likely to worsen in 2021. Istanbul convention is an international human rights treaty against violence against women as well as domestic violence. This convention's goal is to prevent violence, protect victims, and punish the responsible individuals who resort to violence against women. Even though Turkey was the first country to ratify the convention, it will no longer be a part of it from 1 July 2021.

When talking about violence against women, the first thing that comes to mind is physical violence. However, non-physical forms of violence are also very common and have very negative effects on women. Insults, humiliation, scorn, home closing, setting up forced sexual intercourse, and death threats, are examples of these violence types. Although these are not defined as violence by many people who experience and apply violence in our country. Furthermore, these are seen as less important violence and oppression methods compared to physical violence. However, these methods leave short and long-term negative traces as much as physical violence (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu et al., 2012). Physical violence is the use of brute force as a scare, intimidation, and sanction tool. For example, pushing, slapping, kicking, punching, throwing things, threatening or attacking with tools such as knives, weapons, torture (extinguishing cigarettes on a woman's body, spitting, beating, beating on the floor or the wall) are physically violent behaviors. In some recent psychological research, opinions arguing that shouting is also physical violence. Because sound is our physical feature, and using violence by using our voice enters physical violence (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu et al., 2012).

Emotional/Psychological violence is the consistent exploitation of practices and emotional needs in order to exert pressure on the other party, and used as a threat tool. Some behaviors that show emotional violence may include: ignoring the emotional needs of women such as love, compassion, care, approval, support, insulting, humiliating, humiliating words, and behaviors among others, constantly humiliating her friends and family members, to restrict or prevent, to shake the woman's self-confidence, to blame her violence or to deny violence, to threaten her with harm to her or her loved ones (family, friends, things, animals ...), to lie to make the woman feel guilty about the children, often to fight because of jealousy (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu et al., 2012). Economic violence is the regular use of economic resources and money as a tool of sanction, threat, and control over women. For example, preventing or undermining a woman's work, keeping her in a regular job (often coming to the workplace and making an event, not allowing business trips, etc.), preventing her from evaluating

opportunities that can help her move forward in her business life, her salary, income or assets (car, jewelry possessions, bonds, etc.), to give very limited pocket money, to demand things that cannot be done with it, and to make an event when it does not happen (such as waiting for very good tables with very little money), to ask the family's income to drink, to sand and to maintain the family's livelihood only with what they earn can be all given as examples. Behaviors such as not giving information about the income of the family to the woman and making all the goods acquired during marriage over the man are also regarded as economic violence (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu et al., 2012).

Sexual violence is forcing the woman to any sexual behavior she does not give consent to. Sexual violence includes using sexuality as a threat, intimidation, and control tool. This encompasses a wide spectrum ranging from a persistent glance to annoy a woman to rape. Some behaviors involving sexual violence are: forcing the woman to wear more open or more closed way, ignoring women's sexual desire, ridiculing the woman's sexual activity, belittling them, forcing to sexual relations, to force a woman into sexual positions (such as an inverse relationship) or prostitution, and rape (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu et al., 2012). While 43% of men think that women have equal rights with them, it seems that women do not agree with this view (29%). There are also big differences between men and women when it comes to women's social status. It seems that men who have a more positive view of gender equality than women expect housework from women and argue that the woman should ask for permission from her husband to work (Sülün & Topçu, 2020). Women are waiting for men to take part in housework and childcare. Although men do not vote against job sharing, it cannot be said that they look very warm to that idea. Men and women seem to have come together at a common point about taking joint responsibility at home. Still, women are more willing than men here. 45% of men refuse to have permission to work while 68% of women refuse to work, while the idea of the woman's work tied to her husband's leave is approved. 68% of women refuse to ask for permission to work from their partners while 45% of men want to be asked permission for (Sülün & Topçu, 2020).

METHODOLOGY

This study adopts a multiple instrumental case study design for an in-depth exploration of several individuals (Creswell et al., 2007). This qualitative method aimed to collect the first-hand experience from women who were exposed to violence by their partners. The rationale behind the qualitative case study method is that the topic has a social aspect and needs deeper exploration. Six women with experience of violence from their husbands from Turkey were interviewed and asked questions. All of the interviewees live in Istanbul except for one. Three of them were from rural and the other three of them were from urban life. All the participants were either married or divorced and somehow were exposed to violence from their ex-husband or current husband. Participants' age varies from 34-58. While four of the participants are housewives, the other two are currently employed. The researcher reached out to the participants through snowball sampling. With the guidance of a woman who had experienced violence, the researcher went to the other participants. The interviews were conducted at places where the women felt free to talk, their homes. In the room interviews done, there was no other person to provide more credible data. The researcher didn't systematically selected the participants. They were reached out by the word of the previous women participants.

For the data collection, preceding the interview, participants were told about the research topic and privacy concerns. Because of the sensitive nature of the topic, questions were indirect, and words were selected carefully. Questions were semi-structured, and the researcher modified the questions during the interview in accordance with the previous answers given. Sometimes, some questions were overlooked, and new ones were added

during interviews to be more precise and for a smooth transition. Questions were open-ended and follow-up as required by the nature of the research topic. Participants were given a chance to speak as much as they wanted. In order not to make the participant feel stressed, note-taking was not implemented. Before they were audio-recorded, they had been informed by the researcher that they were going to be recorded. During the interviews, participants often went out of the topic and started to talk about their family problems instead of the violence they were exposed to. Because the topic was a sensitive one, the researcher couldn't intervene with participants. Interviews have lasted for 15 minutes on average. The first few minutes were allocated for the personal information of the participant. With the smooth transitions, violence was started to be asked in oblique words.

The current study did not have a pre-existing framework or themes; thus, inductive content analysis was adopted, and data were analyzed in a bottom-up way (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Data had been transcribed using intelligent verbatim transcription technique. Every record was listened carefully. First, every participant's personal information was written down. Throughout the record, their ideas of why they expose to violence by their partners were noted down with the minute and second, they said. Records were listened to again and again in order not to provide false data for the readers. Using Huberman and Miles' (1994) open, axial, and selective coding method, common and distinct features of the views of the participants were coded. The data was group into categories and later grouped under themes.

Results and Discussion

1. Reasons Of Violence Against Women in Turkey

In the USA, it was considered to be legal to beat your wife until 1884. In the 18th and 19th centuries, men had all the rights of his family (Dişsiz & Şahin, 2008). Even though the word “to beat” is appropriate, this was how USA laws referred to it and moreover, there was even a term called “wife-beating”. Violence, a very important human rights violation against women, though legal regulations, is one of the primary problems for women in Turkey like any other country in the world (Kaptanoğlu, 2012). Since the 1980s, violence against women subject has found its place in both public opinion and government policies with the help of women's movements in Turkey (Karal & Aydemir, 2012). There is no single reason for violence against women, instead many interconnected reasons cause violence. The main factors contributing to the inequality between women and men against women are; socio-economic powers, a family institution where inequality is reinforced, beliefs that men are superior, legal and cultural restrictions that refuse women and children should have independent legal and social status, and the absence of economic resources can be listed (Çakır et al., 2012). An organization proposes several main reasons such as cultural, economic, legal, and political in regards to why violence continues.

For cultural reasons, there are some elements that are gender-based socialization, the cultural definition of roles attributed to sexes, expectations about male and female roles in relationships, beliefs that men are superior, property right and priority related assumptions, defining the family as a social institution under the control of the man, marriage traditions such as title money and dowry money and accepting violence as a problem-solving tool. Eyüboğlu (2010) thinks that a male-dominated society is the fundamental reason of violence against women. This idea of Eyüboğlu has found support from Şenol and Yıldız (2011) who stated: “Men's superior status resulted by the law and patriarchal society, the idea of women's serving to the men and men's having more say in the house are factors feeding the violence against women” (p. 8). The “traditional-society” phenomenon has visible effects on the social and economic life of both men and women. In Turkey, women are not seen as independent individuals and they are perceived as the commodity of family, men in the family, and community. A woman's father and husband find the right in themselves to restrict and

manipulate her and decide the faith of a woman as strongly suggested by Gülbahar in the documentary called “*Iklimsiz Kadınlar* [Women without Climates]” (2004). More than half of the people (64%) in Turkey believe that women's main duty is child and house care and most of the participants think that women's working in a job is “against the customs” (Karal & Aydemir, 2012). According to Anderson (1997), women's unconditionally and materially dependence on men in marriage leads to dominance and violence.

For economical reasons, a number of underlying factors have been listed such as economic dependence of women on men, lack of access to credit and financial resources, heritage, property, land use, post-divorce of women or their husbands, discriminatory laws on using resources after death, and limitations in access to employment and education (Çakır et al., 2012). Karal and Aydemir (2012) point out “education and level of income come into prominence as the two determinant factors in violence in different studies” (p. 21). Authors share the idea that the socio-economic situation in a relationship is one of the determinant factors in violence against women. According to Saunders (2002), if a woman has a stable job and higher socioeconomic status, she is more likely to feel the power to end a violent relationship. In the studies, there is a correlation between social status and the odd of violence. Sığırcıkoğlu (2015) states that in families in which financial status is not good, there is more likely to be violence against women. The socio-economical aspect of violence against women has been reflected in studies.

Recent studies show that there is a strong relationship between the level of education of women and men and violence against women. It was suggested in the documentary called “*Iklimsiz Kadınlar*” [Women without Climates] that violence against women, especially seen in the eastern and southeastern parts of Turkey, is derived from feudal families and social relationships. The “woman is honor” phenomenon, on the other hand, is might be related to educational level. According to Altınay and Arat (2009), in light of their research, no matter what their education level is, all women may be exposed to violence. On the other hand, as the couples' education levels increase, violence against women considerably decreases. It is seen that in the relationships in which the level of education of two parties is high, violence occurs less. In Turkey, even women who had high education and a good job have somehow exposed to violence from their partners (Sığırcıkoğlu, 2015). Even those women, who had a good education, experience violence, there should be some aspects missing. Other than the education aspect, juridical inadequacy is another topic for researches on violence against women in the literature.

As for the legal theme, it is proposed that acceptance of the low legal status of women in law and/or practice, problems in legal definitions of rape and domestic abuse issues, the level of women's legal literacy/level of knowing and understanding laws, lack of sensitivity to women's needs in police stations and courts are the reasons regarding the continuity of the problem (Çakır et al., 2012). According to Karal and Aydemir (2012), current laws have a big role in the transformation of violence. Laws are made in order to protect the family, but this causes women to be restricted and it reinforces a patriarchal point of view in society. Political reasons are also present and these can be listed as the missing representation of women in politics, media, high prestige professions, considering the family as a private area outside the state's control, risk of conflict with the status quo and religious rules, limitations in the organization of women as a political force, limitation of female participation in the current political system and that violence against women is not taken seriously (Çakır et al., 2012). It is also important to have an insight into the spread of violence across Turkey. The prevalence of violence against women changes throughout the regions in Turkey. According to Altınay and Arat (2009) and their research, the percentage of women living in the cities who have been subjected to violence is nearly 42% greater than those living in the small towns. On the other hand, another article presented by USAK (2012) states that physical violence in urban

areas is 38% while it is 43% in rural. Their study has also shown that North-eastern Anatolia has the highest level of violence against women with 53.2% while West Marmara has the least with 24.6%. According to the TUIK's statistics, nearly every one of 3 women marrying in the West is subject to violence while this proportion goes up to every one of two women marrying in the East. These women haven't lived the same life and had the same education.

In conclusion, in recent years, women are getting murdered more and more by their partners. Literature has most of the time, concentrated on the results of violence against women and theories about how to stop it. Turkey, as well as the other countries, is experiencing the same problem. Previous studies have concentrated on different specifics of violence such as traditional society, socio-economic, geography, education level, and law enforcement. Some of the studies have only taken a certain country or a region to the center. This paper will focus on the reasons of violence against women from the women's perspective. The purpose of this paper to explore the reasons of violence against women from a women's perspective by consulting first-hand experienced victims in Turkey. Thus, the research question driving this study is: How do women, who were exposed to violence, see the reasons of violence against women in Turkey?

This study tried to explore the factors leading to violence against women from their partners. The participating women, who experienced violence by their partners, were interviewed and they presented probable factors leading to violence by their partners. There are some points on which most of the participants agreed on. In some respects, their views change. Following the transcribing, analyzing, and coding of the six interviews; several themes emerged (Table 1).

Table 1. *Factors leading to violence against women*

Main Themes	Sample Data
Drinking and gambling addiction	He was drinking alcohol every day. When he drinks, he becomes talkative and goes nuts. He'd make noise in the street and same when he is walking into the home
Lack of education	<i>My husband did not get an education. He is an ignorant one let me you tell that . . . Maybe if he had an education, he would be more kind . . .</i>
Family structure and upbringing of children	<i>Family factors are much more important he didn't have family education. His family was just like him.</i>
Traditional society	<i>You can't get divorced while you were only married for 2 days. It's about our Turkish culture. Our families always listen to the other people and they wonder " what people say or what they think about us. I lost my years because of our culture and families.</i>
High conflict between partners	<i>We couldn't get along. We had disagreements in daily life. For he was not working, we had lots of problems.</i>
Financial issues	<i>When he didn't make money, he'd reflect it to the house, and he'd pick on us.</i>

These possible reasons, namely drinking and gambling addiction, lack of education, disagreement between partners, financial issues, family structure, and upbringing of children, traditional society are the main themes stated by women who experienced violence from their husbands during the marriage.

2. Drinking and Gambling Addiction

According to the participants, drinking and gambling addiction might be one of the factors leading to violence against women. One of the participants highlighted this as shown

in the following exchange: *Researcher: Could there be any other reason triggering your husband's behaviors? Participant 1: Yes. Much alcohol. He was drinking alcohol every day. When he drinks, he becomes talkative and goes nuts. He'd make noise in the street and same when he is walking into the home.*

We witnessed that if drinking alcohol was a habit for a husband, he may be more likely to show violence to his wife. This participant fed up with his ex-husband's behaviors and she was exposed to violence for years. A participant also underlined the extension of these addictions by saying: *Participant 4: His addiction to gambling has caused family problems both in his own family to his father and in our family to his children. Not coming home etc. Deprivation of gambling... when he can't play, he caused problems in home, too. It started to be turning to economic and psychological problems, these are in a row after losing money in gambling thus causing mental problems.* The gambling addiction was reported as a factor leading to problems between partners as well as the man and his parents. This addiction reflects in the family by leading him to not being able to control himself, not taking care of children and on top of that, he was reported to behave as if he had no family. One of the participant's husband had a habit of gambling and drinking. She implied that those are two things that caused violence in their home by saying: *Participant 6: He was doing it because of drinking and playing in teahouse. Researcher: What do you mean by playing? Participant 6: Gambling maybe. I can't know. You can't be sure. I can't follow him to the teahouse. He would spend all the money he makes in gambling. Researcher: Are there times in which the situation gets worse? Participant 6: When he doesn't drink alcohol, things get better that day.* The participant contends that undesired behaviors at home are caused by alcohol and gambling addiction. It can also be validated in the sense that when the husband does not drink, things do not go out of control.

3. Lack/Low Level of Education

Lack or low level of education is an aspect on which participating women haven't completely agreed on as a reason of violence against women. Three of the participants say that education has no big role in violence against women while the other three say the opposite. Young participants think that formal education wouldn't make a greater effect and what is important is family education and the personality of the male partner. Two women one of which has never gone to a school and the other one has only gone for one year. These two women think that if their husbands had higher education, they wouldn't commit to violence. *Participant 5: My husband did not get an education. He is an ignorant one let me you tell that. His friends are like him too. Maybe if he had an education, he would be more kind. I don't know.* Another participant brings another aspect of violence to the play by considering the educated wives who exposed to violence: *Participant 4: Lack of education, even university graduates; professors and doctors have a tendency to violence. Their wives, even though they had high education, fear of saying that they have been exposed to violence. They feel ashamed, even though having had high education, they are exposed to violence.* Participant 4 highlights that education is not a strong determining factor in violence against women. Participant 3 shares her ideas about the correlation between education and violence. *Researcher: If the education level of your husband were higher, would it make any difference? Participant 3: I think there is no relationship between education and violence. It's about the way of being raised or managing anger because I mean you have probably seen in the news that doctors even teachers engage in violence against their partners.* The participants commenting on education hold the view that women, regardless of their partners' education level, are exposed to violence in their daily lives.

4. Family Structure and Upbringing of Children

In the literature, this idea had already been put forward. It's not only about the education level of men but also women. Two of the participants has pointed out that if we, as mothers, don't raise our boys different than girls and flatter our boys, they are more likely to be non-violent husband in the future. Another participant, who is 34 years old, has two children, and had no higher education, implied that education wouldn't make a difference when it comes to violence. *Researcher: Do you think is there any relationship between formal education and violence? Participant 1: It might be, but family factors are much more important he didn't have family education. His family was just like him. His being a primary school graduate wouldn't change anything. It's about personality and family education rather than formal. Researcher: If he had university education would it make a difference? Participant 1: Maybe but like what I said it is more about family factors. The rear wheel goes to where the front wheel goes. As a matter of fact, "The rear wheel goes to where the front wheel goes" proverb explains the whole situation. This participant above has given much more importance to family education rather than formal education. Both in this and the upcoming extract, it can be seen that participants see the upbringing of children and family structure as an important factor in violence against women. Participant 4: He(her husband) was so loved by his parents. His high self-confidence. He saw himself as a leader. These bring confidence. Mothers raise their boys differently than girls. The family's saying to the boy: You are man, you can do it. He was raised like that. And gambling.*

Participant above has concentrated on the upbringing of boys different than girls. Families make their boys feel that they are the only one and they can do as they wish. This type of upbringing, later in life, brings high self-confidence; thus, resulting in violence. Participant 3 said: *Children see from their dad and they take this as an example and he may implement it in the future to his wife, his sister, or another woman.* The participants point out that the upbringing of children is crucial in the sense that how a husband behaves in a house sets an example for the kid and thus, it becomes a vicious cycle.

5. Traditional Society

Through our study, another reason of violence against women, traditional society, or in other words, social structure, emerged as one of the themes. *Participant 1: I'd divorce him on the second day of our marriage, but I couldn't. There were families. You can't get divorced while you were only married for 2 days. It's about our Turkish culture. Our families always listen to the other people and they wonder " what people say or what they think about us. I lost my years because of our culture and families. Participant 4: My sister, in the last month of her pregnancy, by the way, this has been seen by the whole street residents, everyone was watching. She was dragged in the street by her husband, that's violence. Nobody tried to help her. She was pregnant. We've lived this sad incident. We did. We see in the news that women get stabbed but nobody comes and helps, and this leads men to think as nothing will happen anyway.* The participant above has shared a moment her sister experienced. People in Turkey fail to intervene when they see a woman getting beaten and the husband knows that nobody will pipe up if he hurts his partner.

6. The High Conflict Between Partners

Partners have disagreements during their marriage and sometimes these disagreements cause both psychological and physical problems. During the interviews, we have realized that disagreements about various subjects are one of the factors leading to violence against women. This may happen when the wife comes to the room in which the husband watches a football match and she blinds his sight or when the dinner she prepared is not liked by her husband. During an interview, one of the participants has very well explained disagreement by saying: *While I was saying A, he was saying Z.* (Participant 1) A and Z are the very distant

letters in the alphabet and this sentence summarizes the whole disagreement case. In the following extract, we see the disagreement resulting from dinner. *Participant 2: He used to come home asking where the dinner is. How can I cook when there is nothing to cook ?. It starts with verbal quarrels. They are having disagreements, and this causes violence later on. One time, I prepared dinner. For he didn't like it, he smashed the table. When I asked him why you are doing so, he slapped me. I wasn't expecting something like that. I was, emotionally, affected* Another example of disagreement from our interviews. *Participant 6: We got married. After 6 years, he wanted to move to his hometown, he said we would live there then I said I can't even buy half a kilo of sugar I can't drink tea if I can't buy sugar. After I said that, he grappled me. Then I left him for 2 years...2 years I lived in my father's house. Such disagreements can be about trivial things at first but result in negative consequences. Participant 1: We couldn't get along. We had disagreements in daily life. For he was not working, we had lots of problems.* The participants report that even small disagreements can lead to big problems. The disagreements might also cause by the unemployment factor. However, it cannot be known for sure the actual starting point of violence. The next section will present findings related to the financial factor.

7. Financial Issues

When the qualitative data is analyzed, it may be seen that most of the problems have the finance factor at their core. If the financial situation of a family is not stable, problems might surface. Not surprisingly, all of the participants somehow have lived financial drawbacks in their marriages, and they see finance as one of the reasons of violence against women. *Participant 5: He is working in a construction site with a low salary. Last year, we were rich then we set up a driving license course, but it went bankrupt with lots of debt. Things were going worse every day. His work-partner has taken a loan from the bank without asking him. We're having difficulty paying rent. The discomfort started at home.* This participant implied that when their financial situation was good, they didn't have that many problems at home. During the interview, the woman was so upset about the finance that no matter what kind of questions were asked, she always turned the answer around and connected to the finance: *Researcher: Do you think is there any other factors triggering the problems? Participant 1: Violence is coming out of husbands' not working. That's the source.*

Another participant in our study also emphasized finance factor. All of the participants somehow emphasized the role of finance in violence against women. *Participant 2: It was all about himself. When he didn't make money, he'd reflect it to the house, and he'd pick on us.* The participant above related the violence to financial factors and remarked that if they didn't have monetary problems, she wouldn't have been exposed to violence from her partner. *Researcher: Do you think any other reasons are triggering the problems? Participant 2: The reason was poverty, not being able to provide. These affected.* After the interviews, it is possible to postulate that economic problems and disagreements might lead to quarrels between partners. These quarrels later resurface as a factor of violence. As a result, the participants name several factors that might have been determining in their male partner's violent acts. As this is a qualitative multiple case study, it does not aim to reach a generalizable result. Instead, the researcher aimed to explore the lived experiences of such women and their reported reasons underlying aforementioned acts.

CONCLUSION

The current study's participants, who happen to be six Turkish women who were exposed to violence by their male partners, revealed several underlying reasons as to why they were exposed to violence. Their ideas and experiences were taken into consideration and these generated the structure of this case study. This study illustrated that violence against

women is caused by a few factors. These reported factors are drinking and gambling addiction, lack of education, high-conflict partners, financial issues, family structure and upbringing of children, and traditional society. It seems from the interviews that violence against women mostly starts because of financial hardships and when it combines with drinking and gambling habits, it may bring a disaster. While financial issues and drinking and gambling addictions are seen as fundamental reasons of violence by women, they did not completely agree on two factors, namely lack of education and the effect of traditional society. Three of the participants are young, the other three are above middle age. According to our study and women's ideas, they are afraid of the reaction society may show when they try to divorce. Half of the participants think that they wouldn't marry the same guy if they had a chance. Participants think that law enforcement may not deter violence from happening because violence is instant action. It's most likely about anger management. Still, they are in demand of heavier laws. None of the women has found the mistake in themselves. In the literature, this subject has not been covered much as a social study. Previous studies were full of statistics and records, but this study has focused on the ideas of first-hand experienced women.

There were reasons in the literature saying that women are not independent individuals and they are seen as the commodities of their families. On the other hand, in this study, these have not been reported. That mothers' way of upbringing their children may lead to male-dominated society and it may to the violence against women cohere with the Eyüboğlu (2010)'s statement. While Karal and Aydemir (2012) see the education level and level of income as the two determinant factors in violence against women, this study has not placed education level to the center because there was an equation between participants. While three of them emphasized the importance of education, the other three participants didn't think that their husbands would behave differently if they had higher education. The husband's idea of wife's being dependent on him makes him think that he has a right to engage in violence against his wife. This finding coheres with Anderson's (1997) remarks. The researcher has observed through the interviews that in the families in which the financial situation is not good, there is more likely to be violence. This statement gets along with the statement of Sığırcıkoğlu (2015). Other studies have also concentrated on the geographical aspect, but this study couldn't focus on the reasons of violence against women in terms of geography because this study was conducted only in Istanbul. One of our participants has mentioned that even educated women expose to violence but cannot disclose it. This statement contributes to the finding of Altınay and Arat (2009).

In conclusion, many reasons might be lying under violent acts performed by male partners and these go far beyond what has been revealed or discussed here in this paper. Wider sociocultural context, educational, cognitive, and psychological factors are also worth considering. The ideas revealed by participants were solely of their own and it was aimed to discover how these women perceive these violent actions' coming out of.

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