ANOTHER WAY IS POSSIBLE:

LOOKING AT WOMEN'S LIVES THROUGH THE FILTER OF DIVORCE

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BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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Another Way Is Possible:

Looking at Women's Lives Through the Filter of Divorce

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Mürüvet Esra Yıldırım, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

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Date …….....

ABSTRACT

Another Way Is Possible:

Looking at Women's Lives Through the Filter of Divorce

This study primarily deals with women's experience of divorce in Turkey, and it aims to explore the following questions: how do the structure of marriage, the roles that women are expected to assume, and their perception of themselves within their families affect their decision to get divorced? Can any causality be established between the changing economic countenance of Turkey and the performance of manhood and womanhood on the decision of women to get divorced? What kind of strategies do women employ before and after divorce? Twenty-seven semi-structured life-story interviews were conducted in six different cities of Turkey. The average age of the participants is fourty-five, and the average length of time after divorce is ten years. The interviews lasted for almost thirty hours. The study demonstrates that the fatherhood performance women were exposed to when they were growing up plays an influential role on the decision mechanism in women's married lives, and the husband constitutes a second fatherhood from which women prefer to escape. Working life facilitates this escape. When children are involved, marriages are sustained until women decide to end it at the most appropriate time. Financial problems are experienced as a result of unemployment, and domestic violence in marriage are prevalent among the participants. Most of the participants interpreted divorce as a relief and a way out of an oppressive state despite its challenging results.

ÖZET

Başka Bir Yol Mümkün:

Kadın Yaşamına Boşanma Filtresinden Bakmak

Bu araştırma kadınların boşanma deneyimi üzerinedir ve aşağıdaki sorulara cevap aramayı amaçlamaktadır: Evliliğin yapısı, kadınlardan üstlenmeleri beklenen roller, kadınların aileleri içerisinde kendilerini algılayışları boşanma kararı üzerinde nasıl bir etkiye sahiptir? Türkiye'nin değişen ekonomik çehresinin erkeklik ve kadınlık rollerine etkisi boşanma kararında bir etken midir? Kadınlar, boşanma öncesinde ve sonrasında ne tür stratejiler uygulamaktadır? Türkiye'nin altı farklı ilinde yirmi yedi yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme gerçekleştirilmiştir. Katılımcıların ortalama yaşı kırk beştir. Boşanmadan sonra geçen süre ortalama on yıldır. Görüşmeler yaklaşık otuz saat sürmüştür. Araştırma kadınların kendi aileleri içinde deneyimlediği babalık performansının bir karar alma mekanizması olarak kadınların evlilik hayatlarında oldukça etkili bir rol oynadığını ve evlilikte de eşin, kadınların kendisinden kaçmaya çalıştığı ikinci bir babalığı temsil ettiğini göstermiştir. Çalışma hayatı bu kaçışı kolaylaştırmıştır. Çocuklar söz konusu olduğunda evlilik en uygun zamanda bitirmek amacıyla sürdürülmüştür. Evlilikte işsizliğe bağlı ekonomik sıkıntılar ve aile içi şiddet katılımcılar arasında yaygındır ve katılımcıların birçoğu zorlayıcı sonuçlarına rağmen boşanmayı bir kurtuluş olarak yorumlamıştır.

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DEDICATION

To my mother who inspires me, and Aylin Vartanyan who gave birth to me for the second time, and to the memory of Zeki Müren, to whom I listened a lot while writing this thesis.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study is about women's experience of divorce in Turkey. The main questions that give direction to the research are the following: how do the structure of marriage, the roles that women are expected to assume, and their perception of themselves within their families affect the decision to get divorced? Can any causality be established between the changing economic countenance of Turkey and the performance of manhood and womanhood as an effect on the decision of women to get divorced? What kind of strategies do women employ before and after divorce particularly when children are involved?

With the aid of life story interviews with women who decided to grant a divorce despite challenging conditions in their lives, I tried to find answers to the questions above. At first I conducted interviews with the connections of my acquaintances in Istanbul and Ankara then I decided to expand the limits of the research. In collaboration with two foundations in the Black Sea region, one foundation in the Aegean region, and one foundation in the Marmara region I ended up interviewing twenty-seven people in six different cities.

The interviews demonstrated the possibility that the state of being married might turn into an unsolvable problem within its own terms for some women. Parallel to this statement, Carbone (1994) argued that the investigation of the effects of divorce on women should begin by focusing on the gendered division of labor within the family. Thus, I will approach divorce from a feminist perspective which examines the impacts of divorce for the lives of women and children as Carbone underlined. Since I did not

include children in the interviews, the research will concentrate on women and their narratives regarding their children.

1.1 Overview of the thesis

The thesis is divided into twelve chapters. In the first three chapters I will introduce some theoretical concepts and review the literature on divorce. In chapter 4 I will describe the method, and introduce some basic information regarding the participants. Between the chapters 5 and 11 I will discuss the themes that emerged out of the interviews. These are about the experience of women with their fathers; how they decided to get married; how they experienced their marriage; the impacts of the economic countenance of Turkey on the marriages; domestic violence that women experienced; how women decided to get divorced and how they were met; and lastly how they interpret their experience of divorce. In chapter 12 I will conclude the findings briefly.

1.2 Some reflections on patriarchy, the nest and being the female bird that destroys the nest in the context of Turkey

Although patriarchy is a vexed term, its literal meaning is rule by fathers. Barret (1980) described it as the power of the men over women and over younger men. However, Pateman (1997) maintained that this is a patriarchal interpretation of patriarchy which darkens the fact that men and women are husbands and wives *before* they are fathers and mothers. Walby (1991) described the term as the domination, oppression and exploitation of women by men through a system of social structures. She conceptualized six structures to explain the system. These are the production relations in the household, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality, and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions. She

warned that these structures are autonomous, and some of them might come forward while some of them are overcome. However, Kandiyoti's definition might be more illustrative in the context of Turkey. She stated that classic patriarchy is operative in Turkey:

> Among the structural features of this form of patriarchy are patterns of deference based on age, distinct male and female hierarchies and a relative separation of their spheres of activity, (which may be institutionalized in practices of spatial segregation) and an appropriation of women's labor and reproductive capacities by the patrilineage into which they marry. (1995, p. 306-307)

"In the Turkish system, marriage meant the entrance into the husband's household of a gelin [one who comes in] and the formation of a new conjugal unit (an aile)" (Duben, 1985, p. 82). In this context, it is clear that the home belongs to the husband. Considering the definitions of the etnographers, Delaney (1991) remarked that *aile* does not simply mean family, it signifies different things for men and women. Since it often refers to wife and children, only a man can have an *aile*. However, she reminded of Engels' statement that family comes from the Latin word "famulus", which signifies the dependents on the male head:

> When I asked a woman about her aile, there would be a moment of confusion and hesitation and then she would begin to speak about her mother and siblings, that is, the aile of her father. Aile for a woman is her natal family, her family of origin, which she regards with a backward glance and a feeling of nostalgia. A man often continues to live with his natal family, which incorporates his aile, his family of procreation. His orientation is forward-looking; his family is a matter of pride as well as honor. (Delaney, 1991, p. 113)

So, for "evlenmek", to marry, an "ev", house, is necessary. Literally "evlilik", marriage, means "the state of being with a house" as evlenmek "is to become enhoused." Taking into account the fact that a man can continue to live with his parents along with his family, a woman is enhoused by marriage. That also refers to her actions' ideal target; the house. A woman must be "candan" (heartfelt), "anaç" (maternal), "yuvasına bağlı"

(devoted to her nest) (Bora and Üstün, 2005), because these features are necessary to turn a house with four walls into a nest. The proverb "yuvayı dişi kuş yapar" which can be literally translated into English as the female bird makes the nest, signifies the expectation of the society from women in return for being enhoused by marriage. As a reminder of the sexual division of labor the proverb evokes the ultimate aim of any woman, however being a female bird that destroys the nest signifies a challenge to the popular wisdom. But it is necessary to understand the challenge not as an action to wipe out the marriage as an institution because of the fact that divorce is only necessary if marriage continues to exist.

Levine (1982) argued that because of the operation of the family structure which inherently is not opposed to the conservative discourses and policies, divorce comes forward as an empowering act for women in Turkey. This approach was strengthened by other theoreticians beyond the context of Turkey:

> If a couple divorces, the woman loses most of her right to the man's resources, but she also loses her personal dependence and obligations of service. She now stands in direct relationship to society as the head of her family. But male-dominated society neither recognizes a divorced woman's right to head a family nor makes it available to her the necessary resources as a woman. The divorced mother has exchanged direct dependence on one man for general dependence on a male-dominated society. Employers, welfare officials, lawyers, judges, politicians, school authorities, doctors, even male relatives and neighbors, set the parameters of her ability to take on successfully the role of family head. Nevertheless being divorced does make a positive difference. Patriarchal authority is now outside the family, *not inside*, and *the woman can choose* to some extent the way in which she will relate to those authorities and the use she will make of whatever formal and informal resources are available. (Kohen, Brown, and Feldberg, 1979, p. 229, emphasis added)

This corresponds to Walby's theorizing patriarchy that is expressed in two forms; private and public. In the private patriarchy a man as husband or father becomes the direct oppressor, and a woman is excluded from public arenas while in public patriarchy

women are subordinated in public arenas. The expropriation of women is performed more collectively than by individual patriarchs (Walby, 1991).

The transition mentioned above is just a symptom of public patriarchy. Hochschild argued that women are dominated "anonymously" outside of marriage as they divorce (1990, p. 251). In this context, divorce might seem to be a contractual relationship with different components of the society including the relatives of the woman. As a divorced woman her performance of womanhood, motherhood and respectability are subjected to a continuous surveillance and measurement. And the reason behind this is her increasing visibility as a result of her *dehousing*. However, this is not a novelty in the lives of women if we take into consideration the fact that postpubescent girls are often monitered by parents, siblings, near and distant relatives, and even neighbours to impose the notion that "her sexuality is not hers" (Kandiyoti, 1987). Thus, the control seems to be a continuation rather than a result of divorce. Kandiyoti's conclusions on patriarchal bargain is relevant here as she remarked that women who work outside the household on to an intensification of traditional modesty markers, because they prefer to be regarded as deserving protection (1988). Accordingly, in the research of the Social Policy Forum of Boğaziçi University (2011) on the divorced and widowed women, it was cited that women who claimed that they do not experience any pressure regarding their honor in the society are those who limit their own behaviors not to damage their honor.

However, because femininity is an ascribed status rather than something to strive for (Kandiyoti, 1987), a "non-wife", who has no any ideal model in the society, "has to earn" a status of head of family because the status is only given to men automatically (Kohen et al., 1979). But, if she achieves this status, it is a status that a woman creates

on her own, not a given one defined by the society. Thus, divorce comes forward as a filter through which both the operations and impacts of private and public patriarchy can be revealed by analyzing before and after processes in relation with different social institutions.

CHAPTER 2

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO DIVORCE

Divorce is both a psychological and social experience, and there are different theories to explain its complexity. Bohannan (1970) and Kessler (1977) delineated divorce by stage models. Wiseman (1975) expressed it by a crisis theory while Weiss (1976) applied Bowlby's attachment theory to divorce, and explained divorce by attachment in adult relationships.

2.1 Six stations of divorce and seven stages of divorce

Bohannan (1970) detected six stations in the experience of divorce. According to his theory, the first station is emotional divorce at which the husband and the wife focus on the negative characteristics of their relationship. They become aware of their dissatisfactions, and feelings of discontent. Their attraction and trust for each other disappear, and they feel a grief as a result of the loss of a love object. The second station is the legal divorce through which marriage is dissolved by the law. The third station is the economic divorce that is related to the legal divorce through which property settlement, spousal maintenance, and child support are determined. The fourth station is the parental divorce. This indicates that while the spouses terminate their legal relationship, their parent-child relationship is not terminated. The fifth station is the community divorce which refers to the change in the divorced couples'social environment. While married friends have a tendency to be the friend of one of the ex-spouses, ex-spouses may feel uncomfortable with their couple friends. The sixth station is the psychic divorce. The ex-spouse begins to separate himself or herself from the influence of the ex-spouse, and to gain his or her individual autonomy believing in his or

her own capacity to cope with the environment, with people, with thoughts and emotions.

According to Bohannan a successful divorce depends on the divorced person's ability to understand his or her reasons to marry, which factors were influential in choosing the spouse, and his or her intrapsychic problems which caused marital problems, and the factors that caused divorce.

In her clinical group with over 600 people Kessler (1977) observed that people have similarities in the process of divorce, and she classified seven emotional stages that are commonly experienced by people who are going through a divorce. She maintained that not everybody goes through all of the stages, and the stages occur in varying degrees of length and strength. While one person goes through a stage in three months, another person may experience three stages in one day. Because these are emotional stages, they may not occur chronologically. The first stage is the disillusionment stage which marks the awareness of the spouses that there are important differences between them. They abandon the romantic fiction and begin to react more realistically. If spouses do not cope with this stage by negotiation, their dissatisfactions lead to the next stage. The next stage is the erosion stage at which the spouses express their undiscussed dissatisfactions and discontents by hostile verbal and non-verbal behaviors. The third stage is the detachment stage at which the emotionality of the erosion disappears. The spouses become apathetic toward each other. Anger in this stage is not an active anger, it is not expressed openly to resolve differences between the spouses. It is an anger of justification for the coming separation. Physical separation stage is the fourth stage at which separation is no longer a thought. It is real. Depending on the degree of preparation some feel a relief or a sharp emotional reaction. The fifth stage is the

mourning stage at which the person experiences a loss. Mourning happens when the person reaches the point of no return. The sixth stage is the second adolescence stage at which any area the person was deprived of becomes a potential area of intense exploration such as travel or new lifestyles. In fact this stage is marked by overreaction like getting too involved in a hobby, having too many dates. This overreaction is to test new limits. The seventh stage is the hard work stage at which adjusting to a new life turns into the beginning of a new life. In this stage, divorcing people may feel a new confidence, a new depth, a new sense of mastery over their lives.

2.2 Divorce as a crisis

Approaching to divorce as a crisis is dividing the emotional divorce process into different stages. Wiseman (1975) conceptualizing divorce as a form of emotional crisis with some unique characteristics and unique opportunities for growth, divided the process into five overlapping stages. The first stage is the denial at which the marriage is not adequate to cope with more than minimum life stresses. At this stage, the spouses resort to denial claiming that they are adjusted to the relationship and its discomforts. Another form of denial is when the spouses are aware of their difficulties in the marriage but are using an external reason such as finances of bringing up children in order not to consider divorce. The second stage is loss and depression, at which it is impossible to continue to deny that something is wrong with the marital relationship and it is not of significance. The spouses begin to think that being together is itself a problem, and this may result in some form of depressive manifestations. The reaction seems to be a reaction to a loss such as grief, depression and isolation. In fact, the person fears that s/he is losing a spouse, a marriage, and a way of life. The depression may cause a real separation, and the ending of the marriage turns into a reality. This point is called the

third stage; anger and ambivalence. Feelings of anger toward the spouse is accompanied by an ambivalence about ending the marriage. Reorientation of lifestyle and identity is the fourth stage at which the divorcing individuals spend less time looking back in anger and more in focusing on the present and future planning. Being divorced becomes a reality, so new ways to cope with it must be found. Primarily the identity is reworked in areas such as personal, vocational, sexual, and social that were touched upon by the marriage. For example women who end a marriage of twenty or twenty-five years need more help in establishing their self-worth, and social status if they have always thought these qualities to be synonymous with those of their husbands. If the person begins to think of himself or herself as an adequate person socially, sexually, and vocationally the fifth stage comes about. It is acceptance and a new level of functioning. At this stage, acceptance is an important part of the resolution of the divorce process. Acceptance lets the divorced person establish new forms of relationships with the former spouse and in-laws if it is desirable. Moreover the spouses go their own ways with a feeling that the marriage had some value to their own growth. In some instances a remarriage occurs or an adjustment to divorced life is found comfortable. In general, this stage implies that being divorced no longer arouses a negative feeling, and a new social and personal identity, often a more mature and satisfying one is established.

2.3 Attachment theory and divorce

The distress that marital separation causes is compared with the distress of the children who have lost their attachment figures by Weiss (1976). To explain the relationship between the spouses he used the attachment bond of children to their parents that was described by Bowlby. According to Bowlby (1969) the child feels secure in the presence of a principal attachment figure, a threat of loss creates anxiety and actual loss sorrow,

but both of them arouse anger. Weiss maintained that the marital bond is persistant and whether the marriages have been happy or not the sense of bonding to the spouse continues. This bonding produces both a desire to be together with the spouse, and intense anger because of the spouse's role in the production of the separation distress. The separated spouses must deal with these ambivalent feelings, and some of them suppress their negative feelings while some suppress their positive feelings, and some alternate the feelings they express.

CHAPTER 3

DIVORCE IN TURKEY

The number of the divorced couples increased by 4.5 percent while the number of the married couples decreased by 0.1 percent in 2014 according to TUIK (Turkish Statistical Institute). However, there is no extensive research across the country regarding the causes of divorce. The knowledge on divorce is restricted to some statistics, and some local research.

Demir conducted some research in 1988. Her research was done with 55 women on the changes of the divorced woman's role and status. According to the research, 75 percent of the participants took the decision to get divorced. 25 percent of these women pointed out the inability of their husbands to provide for home; 22 percent of them remarked their husbands' irresponsibility; 16 percent of them specified cultural differences between themselves and their husbands as primary reasons for divorce.

In 1992 State Planning Organization (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı) carried out research on the structure of the family. According to the research adultery by 75 percent, and discord by 66 percent were found as the most important reasons for divorce.

A detailed investigation about divorce was conducted by Arıkan in 1992. Her study was on the psychological problems of 161 divorced women who come from low class and were supported financially by the charities. According to the research the percentages of the effectiveness of each reason for the marital discord can be listed as follows: violence towards women by 53 percent effective; the husbands' alcohol usage and gambling by 48 percent effective; infidelity of the husbands and the relationships with the relatives by 44 percent effective; financial problems by 45 percent effective; the husbands' violence towards the children by 31 percent effective; the jealousy of the

husbands by 29 percent effective; sexual problems 27 percent effective; disagreement over the childrearing by 20 percent effective.

Another research carried out by Arıkan was carried out to analyze the attitudes of middle and upper class of men and women towards divorce in 1996. She found out that divorce was accepted in the case of adultery and severe conflict between the spouses. Moreover, people who lived in the cities found divorce more acceptable than people who lived in the rural areas. Women's decision to get divorced was found acceptable by 89 percent if there was a mental mismatch between the spouses. Men's decision to divorce was found acceptable by 99 percent if they were betrayed by their wives.

Likewise according to the research of Ersöz (1999) on the attitudes of the civil servants towards divorce 76 percent of men, and 61 percent of women declared that they would not think of divorce if they had problems in their marriages.

In 1992 Family and Social Research Directorate General (Aile ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Genel Müdürlüğü) found out that in the case of extremely unhappiness divorce was acceptable among people. In 2008 the same institution stated that 86 percent of the university students regarded divorce positively when the spouses do not get along well – 90 percent of the female students, and 83 percent of the male students. In another research by the institution (2006) it was specified that men mentioned adultery by 29 percent, irresponsibility of the wife by 18 percent, disrespectful behaviors toward their family by 16 percent to be the reasons for divorce. However, for women the reasons were defined as the irresponsibility of the husband by 21 percent, adultery by 21 percent, violence by 17 percent, the husband's alcohol usage and gambling by 12 percent. Another research by the institution (2008) hypothesized that as the level of the education and financial status increase, the rate and speed of divorce increase. This hypothesis

was verified by the results of the research. The institution's comprehensive research on the reasons for divorce in 2009 declared that divorce is a very complex experience to explain by one factor. There are many social, cultural, economic, and psychological factors. According to the findings of the research, some problems start at the beginning of the marriages such as the expectation that the recognized ill-matched characteristics of the spouse would change. The spouses who did not face any problems at the begining of their marriages decided to divorce because of miscommunication, and financial problems. The control of the husbands over their wives was found as an important reason as well. However, it was maintained that the research that has been done on divorce displayed the fact that the perception of divorce as a pathological event has changed over time, and it has gained legitimacy.

However, Sucu (2007) demonstrated that at least in the case of Sakarya the acceptability of the divorced woman's position by the society is under the impact of her professional reputation. According to this, the highest percentage of socially accepted divorced women was among public employees whereas the lowest percentage was among domestic servants.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY AND REFLEXIVITY

For this study I communicated with two foundations in the Black Sea region, one foundation in the Aegean region, and one foundation in the Marmara region. As a result, I interviewed twenty-seven people in six different cities.

At first I considered to use the same question patterns yet, as I listened to people I realized the fact that people want to tell more than I asked. As Henry James stated, “stories happen to people who know how to tell them”, because in the real world what happens is not a story, rather we organize it as a story (Bruner, 2004, p. 691). Women seemed to know how to tell a story, so there must have been many stories in their lives. Thereupon, I adapted the method of life story interviews that would fit the needs of the interviewees to share the narrative of their lives. Fortunately, my aim was in parallel with the primary concern of life story interview which is to see how people see themselves and want other people to see them as Atkinson remarked (Atkinson, 2002, p. 127). He defined it as “a fairly complete narrative of an individual’s entire experience of life as a whole, highlighting the most important aspects”, and added that it “gives us a vantage point from which to see how one person experiences and understands life, his or her own especially, over time” (p. 126). Thus, to catch this vantage point where the self-knowledge appears, I tried not to be openly in control of the flow of the stories. In fact mostly I tried to be a “sympathetic friend” to use Titon's (1980) expression. Deutsch (2004) problematized the so-called scientifically necessary “gap” between the researcher and the participants emphasizing the importance of focusing on the “link” between the researcher and the participants. In parallel with this, thanks to the interview method, I tried to assure them that they were not interrogated by a so-called all-seeing young

researcher, that they just narrated their stories to. But in the end I felt as if I got married and divorced twenty-seven times. Considering Maria Mies's definition of the woman scholar's conducting "value-free research" as a type of "schizophrenia" (1983) I take coming to this degree of maturity as a signal of my sanity.

Most of the recorded interviews lasted for one and a half hours. The transcriptions are four hundred eighty single-spaced pages long. I shared the transcriptions with some of the interviewees so that they can add or subtract anything, but none of them demanded any change. While I was reading the transcriptions I encountered narrations that were similar to each other, and this commonality determined the themes of the research. Next chapters consist of seven sections about the subjects that emerged through the interviews. These sections are respectively related to fatherhood; how women got married; how they experienced their marriage; the economic background of the roles of the husband and wife in the marriage; the experience of domestic violence; the phase of divorce; and how women get on with their lives. Throughout the sections, I will share the narrations, and resort to different theories that are appropriate to understand them more clearly.

The list of participants and some background information about them is available below:

1. Meltem Mahinur is a tailor and a founder of a foundation for women. She is a high-school graduate. She has two children.
2. Aydan is a tailor and a high-school graduate. She has three children.
3. Aysel is a retired woman. She continued her high-school education and then graduated from Anadolu University through its open education system. She has one child.
4. Nur is a shopkeeper, and a high-school graduate. She has two children.

5. Halime is a retired woman, and a high-school graduate. She has three children.
6. Gül is a retired woman, and she continued her high-school education, and then graduated from Anadolu University through distance education system. She has one child. She has divorced two times.
7. Vildan is a high-school graduate and a teacher. She has one child.
8. Buket is a teacher, she has a bachelor degree. She has two children.
9. Nurgül is a retired woman. She is a high-school graduate. She has one child.
10. Bahar works in a small shop of an artisan. She is a high-school graduate. She has one child.
11. Menekşe lives with her family. She does not work. She has a bachelor degree.
12. Nalan is a retired woman, she is a high-school graduate. She has two children.
13. Leyla is a retired woman, she is a primary school graduate. She has three children.
14. Nesrin works in a hotel as a housekeeper. She is a primary school graduate. She has two children.
15. Nükhet does not work currently. She is a primary school graduate. She has two children.
16. Sevil is a retired woman. She is a primary school graduate. She has one child.
17. Hale works in a cafe. She is a high-school graduate. She has two children.
18. Seher does not work currently. She is a high-school graduate. She has one child.
19. Ayşe is a teacher, she has a bachelor degree. She has two children.
20. Reyhan does not work currently. She is a high-school graduate. She has one child.
21. Deniz is a shopkeeper. She is a high-school graduate. She has one child.

22. Şeyma is a shopkeeper. She is a high-school graduate. She has two children.
23. Neslihan is an accountant. She has a bachelor degree. She has two children.
24. Yaprak is a public relations specialist. She has a bachelor degree. She has one child. She has divorced two times.
25. Rüya is a retired woman. She has a bachelor degree. She has one child.
26. Candan works in a coiffeur. She is a primary school graduate. She has one child.
27. Elif is a retired woman. She is a high-school graduate. She has two children.

The interviewees were not selected based on specific criteria, however it can be seen that most of them graduated from high school, and have working experience. In addition almost all of them have children.

CHAPTER 5

THE EXTRATERRITORIALITY OF FATHERHOOD

> [My father] left us without saying anything, explaining anything, I mean we got used to [the fact that] we were left, and this caused disadvantages in my marriage, because I was always taunted with being abandoned. Sometimes even his family spoke by emphasizing our being abandoned … for example when they [in fact she meant her mother in law] talked of someone they said "she has not seen the discipline of the father", I was so injured. If the father left, if people are separate from their father, they say, "They have not seen the discipline of the father." I mean they thought only the father can discipline the child, [only the father can be] the one who educates the child. (Aysel, Appendix, 1)[1]

This section is about the way through which the participants interpret fatherhood performance that they were exposed to when they were growing up. Firstly I will touch upon the relation between the perception of procreation and fatherhood. Secondly the untouchable nature of fatherhood in women's lives, and lastly the relation between how women regard themselves and fatherhood.

5.1 The monogenetic view

Unlike conjugal power in which a man exercises power as part of his masculine sex-right, paternal power comes from the father right, which is something that has to be discovered or invented although maternity is both a natural and a social fact (Pateman, 1997). Lerner pointed out that in the historical process, Mother-Goddesses whose life-giving creativity had been strongly celebrated were dethroned by male gods. Through the development of animal husbandry, "the function of the male in the process of procreation became more apparent and was better understood. At a later stage of development we find the Mother-Goddess is associated with a partner, either a son or a brother, who assists her in the fertility rites by mating with her" (1986, p. 149). Creation

[1] Although I began the chapter by quoting Aysel's experience with fatherhood, because her narration produced much silence than an intricate questioning on fatherhood, I will not include her experience with fatherhood in this section.

myths and rituals that celebrated the supremacy of a male god can be interpreted as a change in the perceptions of mother and father (Kraemer, 1991), and the process of change continued until women's creative power through her reproductive capacity is ideologically transferred from her to a single male god and through him to men on earth (Berktay, 1998).

Delaney also demonstrates that the social meanings of maternity and paternity are not compatible with what Pateman cited. That is men as inventing paternity had conceptualized it in such a way that women were reduced to a position in which they merely give birth whereas men give life (Delaney, 1991). Delaney called it a "monogenetic" view of procreation which in Sabbah's view is explained as follows: a man who does not give birth, is equipped with the power to create. Furthermore, a woman who can give birth, is not only deprived of reproductive capacity, but also turned into a created person (Sabbah, 1995), because of the fact that the hereafter was possible only if god could revive the dead. God could not have this power unless He took the power to give birth back from women.[2] As a result of this conceptualization, a child comes from an inseminating word of God (Berktay, 1998), and the responsibility of men and women in the process was crystallized by Delaney: "Men supply the seed, which encapsulates the essential child. A woman provides only the nurturing context for the fetus. The luxuriant climate of her body is a generalized medium of nurture, like soil, which any woman can provide" (1991, p. 32). Trying to understand these implications

[2] When I was reading the book of Sabbah I was surprised, because the popular idols Lat, Menat, and Uzza which are strongly cursed by Islamic culture, and I conceptualized as male figures were the most important goddesses of their time in the Arabic world (Sabbah, 1995, p. 140). The feeling of surprise was a clue for me about both to what extent I was under the impact of attributing the life-giving capacity to a male figure, and the gendered nature of the so-called sexless god of Islam since my perception regarding these idols operate as a litmus paper of the possibility of a sexless god.

helps us clarify the general understanding of paternity that was summed by the sentence of the villagers with whom Delaney worked; “the father is the second god after Allah” because as a Muslim scholar remarked “the Muslim family is the miniature of the whole of Muslim society… The father[’s] … authority symbolizes that of God in the world” (Delaney, 1991, p. 33).

Sabbah (1995) argued that in the biological dimension of time women give birth to men however, in the sacred dimension of time it is just the opposite. Chronology decides to what extent the individuals become powerful. The first being is the god so, all power should be in His hands. All latecomers should obey Him because time is the basis of all power. Correspondingly, Lerner (1986) put forward that the advance of abstract thinking in history was represented by the symbolification of creativity into a concept, a name, the breath of life. As the divine breath creates, without any indication of any link between creativity and procreativity and anything that humans experience, human naming gives meaning and order and Adam had the power of that kind of naming. God granted that power specifically to the human male only because man had been created first. Therefore, the omission of the women’s role in procreation process, and representing men as having all the genetic endowment, and being the provider of the child leave us with the fact of being the daughters of men.

Before the interviews I expected to hear motherhood stories, however thanks to the life-story interview method I had a chance to listen to women’s own childhood confusions along with their own children’s experience with the role of fatherhood. Although Bolak (1995) emphasized the influence of mothers on the negotiating powers of wives in the marriage, the fathers emerged as telling figures in the stories of some women in general. In an interview Yıldırım Türker said “…; but here the cruelty of the

father is forgotten easily. Fathers have immunity; our culture supports the view that 'actually the father was right'" (Sancar, 2013, p. 120, own translation).[3] In some narrations, fathers were presented as the untouchables like Türker cited and at the same time as those who are guilty. Often fathers appeared as the family figures with whom women had to cope with apart from their husbands. For example, Nükhet as she was describing how she got married said:

> My father asked me - I was still timid towards my father, I still am, when he asks something I shake in front of him. That time, with a fear, he said that "I thought such a thing, I deem it suitable", I said "I do not know. (Nükhet, Appendix, 2)

When I turned off the recorder Deniz also said "I thought I did not rule the roost in my father's home, maybe I will do in my husband's home"[4] as she expressed why she got married. She complained about her father by saying "At this age I still try to overcome my father."[5] If the narratives gave rise to such a section that is because the role of the fatherhood emerged as holding a position of real privilege even if that privilege was not given by women themselves. Moreover, the narrations demonstrated that women evaluate their fathers' behavior as a woman rather than as a daughter.

Some stories were released by describing what was it like being the child of a divorced couple because some interviewees were the children of divorced couples. Their testing with fatherhood has common aspects with the children of other interviewees. I will share two stories regarding parental divorce experience of the interviewees.

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[3] "…; buradaysa babanın zulmü kolay unutulur. Babaların dokunulmazlığı vardır; 'aslında o haklıydı' şeklinde bir kültür vardır."
[4] Baba evinde sözüm geçmedi, belki koca evinde geçer dedim.
[5] Şu yaşımda bile hala babamı aşmaya çalışıyorum.

The first one belongs to Aydan. When she was six years old, her parents got divorced, but her mother continued to live in her father in law's house. She narrated how she was taken forcibly by her father. Then her father remarried, and she was given to her step-grandmother because her step mother was working as a village teacher like her father. She stayed with her step-grandmother until she can use the key to open and close the door. But until that time she shared the destiny of her step-grandmother that is when her grandmother's house collapsed, she took shelter in a room of her grandmother's sister's house with her husband and little daughter. She pointed out that her father even during that difficult time did not call her back to his home. It has to be reiterated that because the father is conceptualized as the one who gives life, in the case of divorce children belong to him (Delaney, 1991), although the upbringing of them belongs to *women*, not necessarily wives. Nonetheless, she cannot surpass her confusion on the reason behind her father's separating her from her mother. Because her father was an educated man, she first thought that he took her so that she could study since her mother lived in the village, and there was not a school in the village. However he did not support her education:

> When we were returning [from the university entrance exam] my father said that "It is okey you had one right, you lost it now. If you enter a university, fine but if you don't you don't, it is over."... Why did you take [us], why did you bring us if you did not protect? ... As the saying goes, a candle cannot give any light to its own bottom. He was neither of service to himself nor to his children. He educated many teachers, many of them were graduated from the schools, he received many awards, he was appreciated in this area … I do not know why he did not do that for me. I mean he did not make an effort so that I could work, stand on my feet, and do not depend on my husband's money when I marry. He always wanted me to marry and leave. He gave me [as a bride] to the one who asked first. (Aydan, Appendix, 3)

This is not unrelated to the fact that the traditional patriarchal system imposes that daughters leave their homes to go to the house of their husbands, thus the families of the daughters do not invest in their daughters' education as Erdoğan stated.[6]

The second story belongs to Seher whose story was a real journey of fatherhood. Her long story was triggered by her discovery that the man she believed to be her father for many years was not her father, at least biologically. In the 1960s her father went to Germany to work, met a German woman and began to live with her while his wife was pregnant in Turkey. Her mother raised her and her brother alone until she was five years old by supporting the family through her work in a cement factory as a laboratory assistant. Then she got married for the second time, and until 14 years old Seher did not know about her biological father. One day when she was helping her mother to clean the house, she opened the door of an old crate and found old letters, photographs. As she read the letters she remembered a moment in which her aunt asked her mother whether she was thinking to tell the truth, and her mother's reply: "No, I will never tell it. We are happy this way." Thereupon, she secretly wrote four letters to the four addresses on different envelopes, three of them returned back to her friend's address that she gave as a return address except the one which went to Germany. Then her father came from Germany to meet her:

> Unless you see it with your eyes, you don't understand, I do not know how I threw myself into the crowd, I mean with a reflex, but after that point, I reached this age, that day is still weak in my memory. He called me, he was talking to me, I heard nothing. I gave no reaction. I was frozen … We got in the car I said how do I know that you are my father, you look so young, because I embraced my stepfather so much that when I compare him with him, my father seemed more tired, I mean the man who raised me was more tired, but this guy was so handsome … I said, "I did not imagine a father like this," he had a picture,

[6] http://hu-wgs.org/2014/03/turkiyede-cocuk-gelinler-sorunu/

> showed it to me, my mother had the same picture as well … When I saw that picture I was shocked. (Seher, Appendix, 4)

In the car, she decided to go to Germany with her father without letting her family know. They went to her aunt in a different city, they prepared their documents there. By the way, she learned that her father had the custody, and her mother kept her and her brother away from their father for years. When she narrated this memory she merged this with another memory about how her mother escaped through the rear window with her and her brother as someone was battering the door of their house with their fists. This old escape story was refreshed by her stepfather's coming to her aunt's home. Her stepfather, his friends, his uncles, and her brother came to where she was, but just asked whether Seher was there. As she was hiding with her father, she heard her step father's voice that affected her very strongly:

> I still remember the words of my father, note this with a red line, he said the following: "Tell Seher that there are people who are waiting for her at home", I collapsed. That moment I wanted to run and fall on his neck, I wanted to go home with them, but I could do nothing. I stood, stayed. Then they went away, next morning we departed so as not to be found. (Seher, Appendix, 5)

However, she resented her decision as soon as she met her German stepmother and siblings and began to live with them. She always referred to her stepfather as a very intellectual man by the Turkish standards and narrated two events that symbolized her two fatherhood experiences:

> I was smoking under the rose I am talking about the eighties, in a patisserie I was smoking with girls under the rose, my age was sixteen, seventeen [but I suppose she was younger than that], one of our friends' father saw [us], I did not realize, I realized at the last moment, other girls threw [their cigarettes] he caught me with a cigarette in my hand … [in the evening] my father came home and did not react, he came in and as always took a shower, we had dinner, I put some fruit in front of the children, he asked me to make coffee, make it for myself also, I made our coffee, we sat in the balcony, we put our coffee, he offered a cigarette to my mother then to me. I said I do not smoke… [he said that] "Smoke with me so that nobody comes and says that Salih Kaya's daughter smokes." My father's first

> advice was this. … One day I came home from school in Germany, I was studying, my father came from work and said that bring your bag… I brought my bag, a Marlboro was picked out of my bag, one [cigarette] had been taken. Then he said "You smoke, how come you smoke?"… I was slapped for the first time, and this hurt me very much. (Seher, Appendix, 6)

After she spent two years in Germany she was awarded a medal because she was the first Turkish child who completed the school. But she remembered this award with sadness since her father left her alone at every occasion at school. His rejection to send her to Frankfurt nursing school by accusing her whether she wanted to be the mistress of a doctor became the last straw. She committed suicide by taking different drugs. So, she was hospitalized for one month, her step mother was blamed by the officials for causing the suicide. Subsequently, her father wrote a letter to her mother condemning her for not being able to raise his daughter properly because his daughter did not even know how to chop an onion. Then he accepted to bring her back to Turkey. She described the moment of her return in Turkey:

> He pulled over again, I got out, we took the suitcases, he went away rising clouds of dust … I met with two fathers, one was a blind ignorant man, one was very intellectual. They were in two opposite poles. (Seher, Appendix, 7)

Her return was welcome by her family although her father was sentenced for six months because of his political activities just after her departure, and her mother felt very lonely. After a while, she began to work since she could not continue her education from where she left in Germany. At work, she met her husband. They began to flirt with her father's permission. Throughout the interview she celebrated her father's open-mindedness although he left her in a very difficult situation that paved the way for a sudden marriage:

> As I said we came [home] and went out at certain times, when I returned from Germany I had two watches, one was a heart-shaped necklace watch, one was a wristwatch. I wore the necklace watch because it was heart-shaped, I was with

> my [prospective] husband Erhan at the bottom of the pole, we were talking, my father and mother were in the balcony… I left work at six o'clock, I came home at half past six or almost seven, from seven to eight I had time to meet with Erhan. My father permitted that much, in that one hour we talked to each other … I looked at [the watch] it was ten to eight, after a while I looked at it again it was ten to eight, I asked Erhan what time it was, he said ten past eight. I went upstairs hastily, [I said] "Excuse me father, my watch had stopped"… He did not accept, he said, "You will leave this home." He threw me out of the house at night it was half-past eleven. (Seher, Appendix, 8)

Throughout the story her mother was hardly visible while her step mother came forward more than her own mother because of her misconduct. Even when she left her home to go to Germany, her mother did not appear as vividly as her stepfather in her memories. She just drifted between two fathers, one of them was an acknowledged person in the leftist political milieu until he died, one of them was a Gastarbeiter in Germany. She drifted between two lifestyles in which the decision maker was the father. That means paternity operates and engaged with maternity as an ultimate decision mechanism irrespective of being a stepfather or not. That is why she engaged with her fathers more vividly throughout the story since she had to negotiate with them, not with her mothers. Her biological father had a right since he supplied the seed, her stepfather may not be the one who supplied the seed, but he was the one who earned a living outside the home. This is valid for Aydan's story as well. Her mother did not have a say for her own life after she got divorced let alone for her daughter as her father exercised power as the source of generating and earning life.

Other interviewees experienced this monogenetic view through their children at the time of separation. I will share one of them:

> I came here, to my mother, father because where else would I go? Was not I despised here at the beginnings, of course, I had many difficulties. To give an example [they asked] "Will you look after *his* child?" And so on. Then the child began to resent, I saw the child was oppressed, I talked to him, I said "Son, what will we do?", he said "I do not know mother, let me go to my father" then, of

> course, does a mother's heart stand it? It does not. [I said] "No son", and so on. One evening, whatever had happened, not my father, my mother, my mother packed the stuff of the child, put it in front of the door. Then a taxi was called, I sent the boy, but I was destroyed. I was destructed. I thought of death. I thought of everything. That night I did not enter home. I sat till the morning in front of the door. Then I said "You take my son back or otherwise I will go on my own or I will die." But I was determined, then they saw they could not handle till morning at home, they brought my child back. (Sevil, Appendix, 9)

The child is regarded as an asset of his father that is brought from the house of the husband to the house of the father. This is the reason both the woman and the child were ill-treated by the parents of the woman.

5.2 The father's love

Conforming to the symbolic order that is composed of language, culture, law and, patriarchy, is related to the resolution of the Oedipus complex (Derek, 2006). The father's intervention is the initiator of the process. Lacan's concept of the realm of Desire signifies the longing for a unity with our mothers in the mirror stage in which there is no separation between the child and the world it inhabits (Minsky, 1996). The father as a third term in this relationship signifies the external world. The child represses its longing to have the mother forever and created the unconscious as opposed to the conscious because being human can only come about as the direct consequence of a separation. As the child conforms to the rules of the external world, it is conditioned as a gendered subject since it enters into language, in which woman functions as the uncounscious of man[7], and sexual ordering simultaneously. In the end, the child equates having phallus with power and not having it with powerlessness (Grosz, 1990).

[7] The phallus, the sign of the power alludes to "the chain of meanings 'having' and 'not having', positive and negative, power and lack, 'masculinity' and 'femininity', opens the way to the meanings of all other signifiers. In this way the meaning of the phallus is carried over into all the other binary oppositions we use to categorise and differentiate what we call reality. (for example, nature/culture, light/dark,

Accordingly, the source of love that a father can provide belongs to the masculine gender which is able to switch easily to another dominant figure. That is because, as Grosz (1990) argued, the mother and child dyad provides the preconditions for social, linguistic, and economic exchange relations. The conditions for social, linguistic, and economic exchange relations are provided by the father who represents law, order, and authority for the child. In his absence, other authority figures like the teacher, headmaster, policeman or god may take his place to instill in the child the willingness to submit to social customs.

An interviewee, Yaprak associated being loved with having a sexual experience with men:

> I realized that ninety percent of the sexuality that I experienced or more than that was for just; oh they love me! I mean in fact I did not want to have sex, I just wanted to be loved. I was not aware of the price that I paid for it. It was only to be loved, to be approved. But there is something that is to love yourself, it is enormously with me, but that time I was not aware of it … I used to be happy when I was loved, especially being loved by men, particularly being loved by the father, being loved by the boss, to be honored. (Yaprak, Appendix, 10)

In addition to Yaprak's remarks, Candan's story might be useful as well. At the age of 8 she witnessed her mother's hanging herself, and after that time her grandmother looked after her and her two sisters. For six years, her father had been away to work in construction work. Then he decided to remarry when she was 14 years old. After the marriage, she said that her father did not recognize her and her sisters as individuals. She recounted how her stepmother treated her and her sisters badly, but she equally blamed her along with her father and grandfather:

> Actually my hatred against men rests on the past; my father and my grandfather. Because of my grandfather's scolding me; you are a woman, a girl, shut up, don't

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good/bad)." So a woman represents what a man does not want to assume, "his vulnerability, his powerlessness, his sense of uncertainty, chaos and emptiness" (Minsky, 1996, p. 160).

> eat, don't drink, step aside and so on. Our staying behind when a guest came. Not being able to cross our legs, wearing [only] skirts, nobody's knowing, hearing when we had periods. Hiding our nipples when they emerged … not being able to jump rope, the boys in the street were interested in me, but my father's eyes were also on me, coming home and taking a beating … I should have had something, a power, a force to kill my father and my grandfather. I used to think of them as two unnecessary men. But now looking over all men seem to be unnecessary. (Candan, Appendix, 11)

However, despite her fervent anger against her father, and men she does not refrain from imagining a prospective lover who is able to give her the father's love:

> When we open our eyes to life we see our fathers as men. I was cheated by the man whom I saw first, it was such a big deceive. It was such a deceive that ruined all my childhood. Because I do hate my father and I do not love my father, a prospective man should give the father's love to me. (Candan, Appendix, 12)

Her reply to my question regarding whether she wants to have her own father's love was this:

> "I do not want my father's love anymore. I have not seen him for one year, and I neither miss him nor do I want to see him. When I see him I see my childhood, I see my childhood, and I become aggressive, if I had the possibility, I would really kill him over there!" (Candan, Appendix, 13)

She is not one of those people who can easily forget their fathers' misconduct, but she does not attack the privilege that the role of fatherhood has, as long as she seeks for a man who is able to give the father's love to her. Despite the fact that she was deprived of her mother's love as a result of her suicide, she explained her absence not as an emotional deficiency, but as the reason behind her failure in school life: "If my own mother had been [alive] I would have finished university, I would have studied, and become another thing."[8] That is in this story, the mother's love was conceptualized as a driving force to attain concrete results whereas the father's love was conceptualized as an approval of being an individual. Thus, when the mother deceased her love walked

[8] Öz annem olmuş olsaydı belki ben üniversiteyi bitirmiş olurdum belki okur başka bir şey olurdum.

away with her, but the father's love is not embodied by the father himself, it is transcendental, it is beyond him.

5.3 The bloody figure of the woman

"All the evidence agrees in showing that whether the child has been forewarned or not, the event always seems to her repugnant and humiliating" Young (2005, p. 100-101) quoted this sentence from Beauvoir as arguing about menstruation and expressed that this shame is caused by the reluctance of the girl to assume the subordinate feminine status. She added that her research on contemporary women's perception of menstruation confirms Beauvoir's attitude. This is not unrelated to the daily operations of culture in which women proved that they can do anything while menstruating, for example, they go to work, play ball, wear skimpy swimsuits. But at the same time they feel the imperative to hide that it happens. Two messages coexist. The message that the menstruating woman is perfectly normal entails that she hides the signs of her menstruation. I believe most people hear some usages from women around them like "kirliyim" (I am dirty), "hastayım" (I am sick) to express their menstruation. Kristeva (1982) argued that polluting objects within the body are categorized by two types that are excremental and menstrual. Menstruation is experienced as an abject both by men and women because it is a symbol of our origins in a female body. It is regarded as abject because it signifies the fear of losing the border between self and other that we have constructed in our infant struggle to separate from our mothers (Young, 2005). Furthermore, for women menstruation blood which occurs uncontrollably indicates an out-of-control status that we believe ends our childhood (Grosz, 1994).

While I was interviewing, I saw that some women had a tendency to imitate male gender inspired by their fathers and other men around them throughout their childhoods.

In two of the stories the tendency was crystallized. The following was Candan's answer to my question about whether she had an image of a man when she was a child: "When I was seventeen-eighteen I tailored a pair of man's trousers, I was going out with a white shirt and a tie … it [wearing them] was very good, enjoyable."[9] I also asked her about an image of a woman and her answer was this:

> No, I did not have, no… woman is an emptiness, a very weird emptiness inside me. It is that the woman I met first was my mother then my grandmother, I mean after I lost my mother, woman, there is no woman in my head… I did not have the profile of a woman, I can reveal many men because there were men around my left and right, back and forth. I mean, in the village uncles were men, those were men, women were not visible, women were oppressed, they were cooking behind, you could not see any woman here and there… When I menstruated first I was told not to tell it to anybody, [I understood that] it was a shame, to be woman was a bad thing… Femininity was presented to us as a bad thing, woman was the third or fourth thing in the world, woman exists just to be fucked. Woman exists just to give birth. Woman makes bread… I understood that to be woman is a bad thing. I have been correcting this for last two years… My grandfather had imposed this to my grandmother, and my grandmother imposed it to me. (Candan, Appendix, 14)

Bourdieu (2001) argued that representing the vagina as an inverted phallus is a continuation of the masculine principle as the measure of all things. He argued that the perception of sexual organs is constitutive of the social relations of domination. Men belong on to all things external, official, public, straight, high and discontinuous, while women belong to the things that are internal, damp, low, and are assigned to the tasks that are private, hidden, even invisible or shameful. Candan seems to have the recognition that Bourdieu pointed out. He stated that when women's thoughts are framed in accordance with the relation of domination, this cognition is an act of recognition. But indeed he heralded the possibility of a cognitive struggle to resist this symbolic

[9] Ben mesela on yedi on sekiz yaşımda falan böyle erkek pantolonu diktirmiştim böyle beyaz gömlek kravatlı filan böyle onunla geziyordum … Ya çok güzel, çok zevkliydi.

imposition. Another interviewee, Ayşe also began her story by touching upon her experience of being a girl:

> I used to feel that my mother's weaving my hair was undermining my self-esteem, my honor… I was playing with boys, but after a certain hour what are the girls not supposed to do? They shouldn't be in the streets. I was beaten by my family for the first time because of that. Why, because after a certain hour you were outside, you were playing with boys. Then when I began to go to school, the uniform of the school, I would wear a skirt, I have never worn one, I rejected to wear any, it was very hard for me, I was imagining to cut my hair, look like a boy, and go like that, I wondered how it would be, I thought about this, because that was the model I imitated. I imitate [boys] I mean my sexual orientation was not that, I know this now, but at that time… on my own I was trying to ensure equality [between men and women]. (Ayşe, Appendix, 15)

Also, her answer to my question regarding whether she had an image of a woman when she was a child was as follows:

> No in fact, there has never been a figure of a woman, because I always modeled, took men as models. What is it? Their own lifestyles, how was it? They could say whatever they wanted to say. It does not matter. When a woman says, the words she uses, her sitting position, tying up her hair, her smiling, all of them is an effect. I do not know if it is because of that, I have never accepted to be a woman actually, I mean the role of the woman that is given to us… I will give simple examples, what is it? The role of a girl who helps her mother, no, I preferred to help my father, he was interested in repairing, this is my domain, I wanted to repair a radio by disassembling, I still do it. (Ayşe, Appendix, 16)

These explanations remind us of Young's article (2005) "Throwing Like a Girl" in which she elaborated on Erwin Straus' work which expresses the differences between boys and girls. She said that women engage with things with timidity, uncertainty, and hesitancy, because women are expected not to use their full bodily capacities. Because if a woman experiences her body freely, she might be exposed to a bodily invasion in subtle ways or in an extreme form which is rape.

Consequently women experience their bodies as objects as well as subjects since a patriarchal society defines a woman as a mere body. This is because, as Young (2005) in her another article stated, subjectivity is constructed by looking. By looking, the

subject conditions himself against the objects. However in phallocratic order the gaze belongs to the male gender. Candan and Ayşe tried to escape from the fact that the more a girl assumes her status as feminine, the more she becomes fragile and immobile. Furthermore, both of them specified that they were sexually abused when they were children. Sexual harassment is one of the ways to humiliate women through their bodies. As Lerner (1986) remarked, men and women might be biologically different, but how these differences are interpreted is the result of culture. So, women's sexuality and the capacity of reproduction have been interpreted as factors that make women vulnerable, in need of protection or special treatment by the patriarchal culture (Grosz, 1990). It seems that the way of transferring the procreation capacity of women to men is concluded in such a way that this capacity along with women's bodies has been interpreted as the source of women's inferiority.

As a result fatherhood emerged as a privileged decision mechanism in women's lives, and I tried to explain what kind of means is used to secure this privileged position. I focused on the monogenetic view of procreation in which women just give birth and men give life. According to this, a woman is a container which protects and nurtures the child while the man has the real genetic endowment. So, the child belongs to the man while the responsibility to care of the child belongs to the woman. As a result, fathers have the ultimate authority to make decisions about their children's lives. This power is consolidated by the fact that men are the ones who earn life. Moreover because men represent the law, culture and language the fathers were represented as the ones who have the authority approve or disapprove women's existence. In addition, it can be said that the monogenetic view of procreation has an impact on women in terms of their self-

perception as an inferior human being because they regard their reproductive capacity as something shameful.

CHAPTER 6

ENTERING THE NEST

Fox (1975) argued that love marriages are expected to exist among modernized people while arranged marriages are expected to be among traditional segments of the population. Because love match is the evidence of a contact before marriage between the prospective couples, this may affect family honor. This is indeed related to the expectation from women to protect their hymen until marriage. However, Hart (2007) remarked that researchers who equate love with modernisation, urbanisation,Westernisation, and thus individualism might miss the point that feeling of love is not modern or Western, love is a human potential. Hart interviewed women in Turkey and showed the hybridity of marriages. She showed the possibility that a romantic love can emerge before or after the marriage ceremony in an arranged marriage as long as families allow the couple to create a romance before they marry. Similarly, a modern, well educated woman who has premarital sex might choose to get married anyone because of her guilt regarding her lost virginity as Ozyeğin (2009) showed in her article. Thus dividing marriages into two terms that correspond to the dichotomy of traditional and modern may not be revealing, because so called traditional arranged marriages might pave the way for love while a modern love match might push a young woman into an early marriage to restore her honor.

Sirman (2004) defined honor crimes as the violation of women's right to work, to travel, their rights to their own bodies, and their rights to live. In the light of the definition, the marriage institution seems to be structured in a way that it serves to reproduce the concept of honor. As Koğacıoğlu (2004) implied honor should not be

attributed to a pre-modern tradition, because modern institutions evoke traditions in subtle ways.

The hierarchical mechanism which is run in collaboration with both traditions and the modern institutions begins to work at the house of the father where the decision to marry is taken. This mechanism is the very root of the significance of the decision process as long as marriage comes forward as an obligation of the parents to see that it happens (Delaney, 1991). It seems to be a familial decision in the narrations of the interviewees. So, I believe that to approach the marriages of the interviwees focusing on the decision processes that were cited in the stories will reveal different power mechanisms in the lives of the interviewees. Bearing in mind the fact that every interviewee is a unique person, I tried to find common features in their marriage processes. Since they live in similar social realities in terms of gender and class hierarchies, common features in the decision processes to get married emerged.

In this context, what I am trying to show is the ways through which different hierarchies operated in their decision processes. "I loved that guy, then anyway you do not have another choice beyond loving."[10] This sentence belongs to Aydan, and led me to think much about the position of women as agents. From this perspective four routes to marriage emerged, I will touch upon them respectively: dictated marriage that refers to the condition in which women are forced by their families to marry, and child marriage is also included in it; marriage as an escape plan which refers to the condition in which women decide to marry on their own due to the living conditions of their families; marriage of necessity that refers to the condition in which marriage emerges as the most practical solution for women due to challenging situations; lastly love marriage

[10] Sevdim o adamı. E sonra, sonra da zaten daha sevmekten başka bir çaren kalmıyor.

that refers to the statement of the woman that her reason to marry was love. I will continue with examples for these four routes.

6.1 Dictated marriage

The first story belongs to Meltem Mahinur whose marriage is a trap story. As Delaney (1991) stated because marriage within the patrilineal group is the guarantee of loyalty and the honor of the group, she married her cousin. Like Seher, she also by coincidence learned the fact that her biological father was not the man who raised her. Then she met her uncles, and one year later when she finished high school her uncle asked her stepfather to give her as a bride. She was the only heir of her biological father, and her uncles wanted to keep the lands undivided. Thereupon, her stepfather forced her to get engaged, but after her objection to the fact that he did not even know where she would live after marriage, he decided to take her to the village where she would live. As she arrived there she was shocked since there was not even electricity, then she decided to talk to her fiance:

> I talked face to face to the person with whom I got engaged, I said that we cannot be together, I mean, I said this at the beginning. [I said] "Brother, take your ring back, let's break up." I broke up with my fiance there, that night, the night of the day that I came. Next day he was showing around… we visited a place, it was like a bureau of the special provincial administrations, they introduced me to somebody there. My father told me that I have lands on their [her uncle's] last visit, they told us that they found us because of that. [That day] They said that "We see that you broke the engagement, you do not want to be with our son, we won't force you, but you have lands inherited from your father, tomorrow [can] you come to sell them?" I said I would grant them, I had no interest in the lands, they said "Sign here" then, gave me a registry for granting, I thought that I granted the lands when I was signing, my marriage was solemnized so. (Meltem Mahinur, Appendix, 17)

Other seven women who married forcibly knew that they signed to marry, but their decisions to marry were taken by their families. Especially by their fathers and women

stated that they could not oppose the decision as Aydan stated when she learned that she would marry. She said, "If my father gave me, I have nothing to say, it is over."[11]

Other interviewees who got married by force might be recognized as child brides. In the report of International Strategic Research Organisation (Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu) in 2011 Aydemir stated that every marriage that includes a girl under the age of eighteen is a child marriage, and the girl is named child bride. However, the description of child bride changes based on the type of law in Turkey. According to the civil law, girls under the age of seventeen, for the child protection law girls under the age of eighteen, and for the criminal law girls under the age of fifteen are named child brides (Çakmak, 2009). Moreover based on the criminal code to have sex with a fifteen-year-old girl is sentenced between six months and two years but only if there is a complaint (Erdoğan, 2014). But the problem cannot be solved by the law, because of the existence of the social and cultural values that normalize child marriages. Correspondingly as Erdoğan argued to approach the issue with a psychological point of view is not quite enough to understand the sociological, cultural, religious background of the issue. Along with the impossibility of claiming that none of the child marriages includes pedophilia, child marriage is different from a psychosexual problem. The report (2011) claimed that in families that experience economic troubles the solutions emerge by targeting the daughters. In such a situation, some families believe that marriage might provide their daughters with the only salvation. In addition, the traditional society approves that men marry after they have a certain level of education, and completed their military service. So an age gap between men and women is found suitable.

[11] Eğer babam beni vermişse benim hiçbir şey daha demeye hakkım yok, bu iş bitmiştir dedim.

Traditional families assume that the most suitable action of a woman is to be with her husband. Thus, as a girl marries at an early age, she could be adapted to the necessity of being in harmony with her husband in every action. Over and above in traditional societies women are presumed to be domestic so at every age she is assumed to manage a house. Leyla was the youngest bride among the interviewees, and her marriage was to protect her honor just in case because her father was not available:

> I was living in Malatya, when I was twelve my mother forced me to get engaged with my husband without my permission… I did not want to, I was young, I did not know what marriage or engagement was. I was playing in the street, my mother forced me to get engaged with him because he was a relative of my brother in law. He was stuying. He is seven years older than me. He was nineteen years old, we have stayed engaged for two years, but I did not want it at all, I started to love him when there was six months left to my marriage. (Leyla, Appendix,18)

Most of the dictated marriages were child marriages, and women were persuaded to marry under psychological pressure or violence by their families.

6.2 Marriage as an escape plan and marriage of necessity

As opposed to dictated marriages, there were more mutual sharings in premarital processes of marriage of necessity and marriage as an escape plan. Women's experiences point out that women in marriage of necessity are the ones who shared most before marriage. It can be argued that an agency in the stories of marriage as an escape plan and marriage of necessity becomes more visible since women actively sought for suitors that correspond to their needs. As Giddens (1992) asserted women's discovering themselves was related to leaving the parental home, and for most women it meant to marry. Thus, most women "identify entering the outside world with forming attachments" (p. 53). Likewise some women just wanted to have a freer life, to break away from parental control, but did not challenge the order of the society. Candan

clearly stated this situation saying “I could not show the courage to separate my house” to set up an independent life on her own despite her emphasis upon that when she was getting married she arranged her wedding, bought all necessary things on her own.

After the section on divorce it will be more obvious that marriage was just a means or a temporary state for a freer life for some of the women. However, particularly women who experienced a marriage of necessity went between being an independent woman and the hardships of the independence. Being a woman who performs courtship practices does not mean that she is released from all previously legitimated traditional constraints. So, I will share two extracts to exemplify both marriage as an escape plan and marriage of necessity. The first extract belongs to Menekşe for whom marriage seemed to be the best escape plan from the conditions of her family:

> We are Georgian, let’s not call it a rule, but this is how they say, I cannot find the exact definition now, in old times our ancestors came here in the war time, they had been bound to each other, there is loyalty among the Georgians, this influences home life. I mean we have many guests… I was grown up in a family that was in a crowd. It was enjoyable in childhood times, but as I was getting older, because you are the daughter you are expected to do housework, do the honors… I am not the enemy of any guests, but it was unbelivable, even my friend still asks me “Is your home still like that?” It is possible even if one does not live within it, it disturbs the one outside. Maybe because of this I did not welcome an arranged kısmet [a prospective groom] here, because I’ve always tought that if I marry someone here, my home would be like my mother’s, grandmother’s homes. People always would come to me, so I would be disturbed … to get rid of the atmosphere of the house I could not choose [my husband] properly, I made the wrong marriage. (Menekşe, Appendix, 19)

Like Menekşe, other seven women who stated that they married to escape from the conditions of their families actively searched for the best suitor for their needs, and decided to marry on their own even if their families did not approve.

Next extract belongs to Rüya who was a politically active as a young woman during the September 12th coup d’etat, thus she had to leave the country for a couple of

years. In the process, she experienced a relationship for six years, but after she decided to return to Turkey, they broke up, and she began to work in a union. Meanwhile she met her ex-husband who was released from the prison six months before she met him:

> The most important reason for my marriage, there were, how can I say, improper remarks, I mean abuse, I was abused, in Turkey a woman who lives alone, works alone… You may know these as well. Especially in the unions, it is unbelievable, I mean I call them the bosses of the unions, they are not working class, I mean they are professional paid union managers. I was very distressful. I mean because of being alone, really, and I will talk frankly there was not a man who was brave, whom I could trust, who did not conform to the order, could give trust to me around me. Or there was not in my environment. Thus soon after I met Cem, I trusted him, I also wanted to have a child, I was 28 years old, I loved children. (Rüya, Appendix, 20)

The number of the participants who stated that they married because of necessity was three, and three of them were educated working women who lived alone when they married.

6.3 Love marriage

While women are not as passified as women in dictated marriages, women in love marriages seem to be passified. The latter is another form of the former by implying the fact that men look at women only things to overcome, and only love objects as Firestone (1970) argued. Fromm (1956) asserted that "*care, responsibility, respect and knowledge"* are components of love. He explained care as an active concern for life and growth of that we love. According to him responsibility means being able to respond to the expressed or unexpressed needs of another person. However he warned that responsibility could turn into domination if there is no respect. He conceptualized respect as an ability to recognize a person as s/he is. A person would want the loved person to grow and unfold in her own ways, and wouldn't expect him or her to serve him or her. In this context, women's experience of love refers to unequal power

dynamics which leaves women in a vulnerable position because of the lack of respect described by Fromm.

All women who referred to love as their reason to marry were liked by their ex-husbands, as was the case with Hale, and preferred by them as their viwes. Hale's narration shows how love might be experienced by women in unequal power dynamics. Her husband had seen her as she was walking in the street and because he knew her acquaitance, one week after she met her ex-husband through the acquaitance. As a result of her husband's desire, they got married fourty days later:

> My husband sat opposite to me and said "I want to marry you." That night the first thing he said was this. He had been fallen in love with me, I mean very much. I was twenty one years old. I had never flirted. I had never had any friendship with a man, I was so serious… My husband was a very handsome guy, he was well developed, he was very nice, he had lived fast… he had the possibility to hang out with women. When he saw me he said "Okey, I found the girl I would like to marry." I was impressed of course by his appreciation of me. But we have not flirted, he came and asked my family to give me as a bride. (Hale, Appendix, 21)

It is clear in the extract that she is proud of being a girl who is suitable to marry. Other seven women who stated love as their reason to marry did not give any place to mutual sharings like Hale. They just stated being preferred by their ex-husbands. Moreover, they shared that they married because their ex-husbands were the person they kissed first or their first lovers or the most assertive suitors. This demonstrates that the participants experienced love in unequal power dynamics, and were treated as a love object rather than a subject who is capable of establishing her own criteria.

In conclusion, this section was about the motivations of women to get married and there are four routes to marriage; dictated marriage, marriage as an escape plan, marriage of necessity, and love marriage. Women's agency is more visible in marriage of necessity and marriage as an escape plan, because they actively searched for men who

were the most suitable to meet their needs. Also these women were the ones who had more mutual sharings with their husbands before they married. Interestingly, women who stated love as their reason to marry did not have much mutual sharings, they just stated being preferred by their ex-husbands. This points out the fact that love is experienced in unequal power dynamics.

CHAPTER 7

A FEMALE BIRD IN HER NEST

In this chapter I will be discussing what it feels like to be a female bird in the nest for the participants. To be more specific, I will be trying to find the answer to the following question: with whom did women have to negotiate, and for what? The analogy of the female bird invites an image of a woman whose givings will never end, who is the very resource of cheerfulness, who gives her love endlessly. However, based on the narrations it can be claimed that women were captivated by the ethics of the female bird that can be defined by being a good housewife and a good mother.

Bora and Üstün (2005) found that the explanations regarding being woman or womanhood were three times more than the explanations regarding man and manhood. Furthermore, women used these explanations more than men and at the same time are evaluated by the common images of the housewife and the mother. Thus, women have such a commonality that almost all women of every class share. So, being a good housewife and a good mother as the most significant components of womanhood are the weak spots of most the ex-wives, and the ex-husbands attacked these spots on purpose. But the problem is that even if these attacks were restricted to these spots, women experienced an insufficiency that surrounded all aspects of their lives as Rüya narrated:

> My feeling about being under control, I mean a person becomes clumsy thinking if I do this like that, will he be angry with me? Will he criticize me? I began to live through something that I was not familiar with. I began to lose myself. I began to think not according to me, but according to him. In fact, it was not a situation that I could handle, but I tried very much. In the end one day I was taken to the emergency room of a hospital because of these three; anxiety, panic attack, and depression… I had psychotherapy for eight months, and throughout the psychotherapy the doctor asked the following questions: “Well, when you did this, did your mother in law feel good?” “Yes, she felt very good.” “Well, what did your husband think of this?”, “He did not like it.”, “Well what did you think when you did this?” I said, “I do not know, I do not remember.” Actually I

> realized that I lost my criteria. It was always according to that, according to this, let's not pick a quarrel, let's not discomfort. Eventually someone, that psychiatrist, my psychiatrist asked me "What do you want to do?", someone asked me this six and seven years later … It took a long time, and it was hard to get rid of this. I mean after one repressed oneself that much, and especially [taking] that pressure as the price of the happy family, my son, my beloved husband, because I loved my husband, it was very hard to assume this [pressure] as a price of that [the happy family]. (Rüya, Appendix, 22)

The extract from the story of Rüya has common features with other stories in which women clearly stated that they could not do anything without their husbands' permission. Moreover, they internalized this way of living:

> Once Aydın [her son] and me came to the grandmother [her mother]. We asked also the permission [to go to]for grandmother's home. But there was no cell phone and so on. He had been out, the grandmother [her husband's mother] had been out, my mother's home was 20-25 minutes walking distance, we went to her home because Aydın became very happy. When we returned I said that "Aydın, if nobody asked where we were, do not say it", because we would come home before them. Then he said "Okey mother", but I felt sad because of this. If the child had some other idea, he would not trust me any more then. So, I did not go to anywhere he [her husband] did not allow. (Aysel, Appendix, 23)

Aysel's account clearly showed that honor is an internalized form of a woman's social standing vis a vis others (Sirman, 2004). Hence, the woman is constantly supposed to verify her social standing in relation to her sexuality. At the same time, she is aware of the fact that the same process is carried out by other people. More than half of the participants declared that they did not even go outside without their husbands' permission. They were expected to continue their lives as "capital bearing objects[12]" whose value is attributed to the family or the husband (Skeggs, 2004). In other words, their role in the family is to turn economic capital into symbolic capital which is related

[12] "Bourdieu identifies various forms of capital (power), including economic (e.g., wealth), social (e.g., social connections), cultural (e.g., artistic taste), symbolic (e.g., prestige), linguistic (e.g., vocabulary and pronunciation), academic, (e.g., tertiary qualifications), and corporeal (e.g., physical attractiveness)" (Thorpe, 2009, p. 493).

to honor and prestige that can be owned only by men in a patriarchal society (Thorpe, 2009). The process of turning economic capital into symbolic capital is carried out by the female habitus that is the thoughts, perceptions, and actions that seem to be normal and inevitable to women, and operates to make the female body perform for the gaze and the discourse of others (Bourdieu 2001). Thus, the woman has to learn the female art of living which is the most operative component of her behavior to protect her honor.

Here I would like to share a very clarifying example for the conditions of this female art of living which caused a clash of characters inside a woman. Gül is a very clarifying perpetrator of this clash. She expressed that while she was in the secondary school she was very self-confident. She was interested in sports. Yet, after she got married her identity was divided into two parts, one belonged to the woman who worked outside, one belonged to a wife:

> Gül: I was beaten excessively much at home, I was suffering, I could not do anything to him, my strength was not enough, but I was like a terrorist at work, I was fighting for my rights… [but at work] they called me terrorist, they said "You are searching for your rights."
>
> Esra: The woman at work is like the girl in the secondary school?
>
> Gül: Heh, heh, heh! [She approved] Why? Because I was oppressed by him, I had to.
>
> Esra: You were changing.
>
> Gül: Yes, I was changing, but I was just the opposite outside.
>
> Esra: Which one was the real?
>
> Gül: Real me was at work, the one who was outside. When I divorced I said I found my essence. (Appendix, 24)

The situation is not different for women who lived with the husband's family. Moreover, if we consider the involvement of the families in the marriage process, it might be said

that to be the bride constitutes a larger denominator in the identity of a woman than being one party of a couple, at least for the woman who lived with or close to her husband's family. Hence in this context it would be pointless to expect personal compatibility between the couples to become as important as between the bride and the husband's mother. Aydan, for example, had to compromise with her husband's family because she has lived with them for fourteen years, and this situation disturbed her because her living conditions were not compatible with her expectations from herself as a mature woman:

> They were conservative about this subject. I mean if you go out you had to ask your husband for permission beforehand as you see him off, then you ask for the permission of your mother in law during breakfast, when you see your father in law off you ask for permission … asking for permission of that, asking for permission of this was enough. In the end, I was thirty-five years old when I came here … I talked to my husband, I said "Do something, show your authority, say my wife is under my responsibility, if I permit, it is okey, I know where she goes, you do not have to know, say something, protect me!" He got out of it saying "I do not put in a word about the thing between you, do whatever you do." Be accustomed to this, be accustomed to that slowly, I made them get accustomed slowly, but I realized slowly this act took away many things from me. Nothing about me remained. Be accustomed to this, comply a little bit with his order, then I realized there was nothing called Aydan. (Aydan, Appendix, 25)

She seemed to be fully compromised with her husband and his family, her attitude did not even change although she complained of asking for permission for everything as a thirty-five-year-old woman. In fact her story includes a sexual harassment within the family. Her situation as a bride who was sexually harassed by her husband's father shows what kind of ways are left open to deal with such a situation for women who are supposed to keep their nests intact:

> I began to feel like a scapegoat, as if I was a loose woman who makes a man who has a saintly face, and is "namazlı abdestli" [someone who prays regularly] feel different feelings. I was praying, I covered my head, I devoted myself to that way. I was praying until mornings, "My god please help me, help me, why do I

> feel this, help me." I covered my head so that he comes to his senses. (Aydan, Appendix, 26)

It is not a coincidence that she covered her head as a first reaction. She assumed the role of the most agreeable woman in the context of honor in Turkey. Insulting herself rather than her father in law seems to be the result of the masculine gaze that women are expected to internalize, filter, and interpret their behaviors based on the preferences of it. In fact, her narration exemplifies under what condition a woman in her position dissolves her compromise with her husband's family. More clearly, she dissolved her compromise as she regarded it as a threat to her honor within the family. That means honor might have a stronger influence on a woman than her personal expectations from herself as a mature woman.

To put in a nutshell, it can be said that women sustained their marriages by conforming the rules that made them perform for the gaze and discourse of others. This approves what Koğacıoğlu (2004) said, because she claimed that modern institutions favor traditions in subtle ways. Accordingly, most of the women said that they did almost nothing without getting the permission of their husbands. This leads to a clash of characters within women because as mature women their expectations from themselves were in conflict with the expectations from being an ideal female bird.

CHAPTER 8

THE LEADING ZERO: AN UNEMPLOYED HEAD OF THE FAMILY

> The expectation from the husband is different, you do not expect from your husband what you expect from your brother, you do not expect from your husband what you expect from your father, I do not know, you do not expect what you expect from your boyfriend, you get angry with your father, then you may not speak with him, you get angry with your brother, you may not speak with him, you get angry with your child, you may not speak with them… [but] you get angry with your husband, you say the worst word to him, then you can yell in the bed "Get bread when you come home in the evening", you can say this, the relationship between the husband and the wife is such a relationship. (Deniz, Appendix, 27)

This chapter is about the changing economic countenance of Turkey and its effects on the performance of manhood and womanhood. Firstly I will touch upon how it affects manhood then the changing features of employment in Turkey and its relation with womanhood.

8.1 Demasculinization of the men

While I was listening to some narrations I imagined two adjoining zeros representing the man and the woman, then suddenly a positive number settles between them. This number in this analogy represents the status of being employed, and turns the zero on its left side that represents the husband, into a leading zero, while the zero on its right side turns to a placeholder zero which adds value to the number. So, the category of male as always being represented on the left side of all dichotomies which falls into a disadvantaged position by being an unemployed head or representative of the family.

Hochschild (1990) asserted that there are different histories of industrialization for men and women. When the industrial economy led money to replace the land as the basis of power, men based their power on their wages. In her work on masculinities Sancar (2013) explained that industrial capitalist production flourished with the

concentration of male labor power in heavy industry by excluding women workers, thus letting them work in less paid jobs without social security. This sectoral separation advanced in union with a new family model in which the woman provides with her free domestic labor, and the man as the person who subsidizes his family became the head of the family. The point is that to be the head of the family became the most common strategy of the dispossed men to acquire a respectable status within the society. Nevertheless, as opposed to femininity which is "an ascribed status rather than to strive for", masculinity is "an achieved status, one that is permanently achieved" (Kandiyoti, 1987). Kimmel (2002) argued it is only achieved in a homosocial environment, in the public sphere, more specifically in the workplace. Because the evaluative eyes belong to men, manhood has to be proved in the eyes of other men. That is why men in the capitalist market are so willing to sell their labor power without regard to the exploitation relations; the privilege of being the head of the family can be acquired only by working. That is to say, the class unconsciousness that men experience has been realized or interpreted as a requirement of manhood (Sancar, 2013). Marital relationships between men and women were found to be the most resistant relationship to change, turning the order of the marital relationship into another form is regarded as a loss of privilege by most men (Boratav, Fişek and Ziya, 2014).

However, in the end the reality is that the position of the head of the family is a very fragile privilege. Therefore, the man who is unwilling or rejects to work is interpreted in the context of incompetent manhood rather than by a class based rejection (Sancar, 2013). I should also clarify that I did not use the status of unemployed as ILO does because ILO recognizes a person as unemployed on the condition that the person

searches for a job. Thus, rather than being unemployed, the unwillingness to work reduces the prestige of a man. It symbolizes "the process of demasculinization."

Aydan's descriptions of her husband illustrate this concept very well. After she left home because of the sexual harassment, her husband separated their house, then she reunited with her husband. But he went bankrupt. Meanwhile, since she had been a home tailor throughout her marriage, she began to work as a tailor in a firm considering to be retired in her old age. After the bankruptcy, she persuaded her husband to get divorced not to be responsible for his debts as his wife. But it was just a procedure, they continued to live together for a while, then her husband had to live separately because of his claimants who were waiting in front of the door. Afterward, she understood that she was pregnant to her third child, and her husband promised to make things better. So, she decided to give birth yet, she was fired because of her pregnancy. In the end, she bought the ingredients to prepare börek [a kind of patty] with her last twenty-five liras, and sent to her friends. After her friends began to recommend her *börek* to other people in their "güns" [gün means day, and it is used for the days women get together respectively in their friends' houses], she began to sell *börek* on order. Throughout her pregnancy she worked and after the birth her husband's weak position came into prominence: "After the birth, my husband was not as I wanted him to be again. The guy who was caring, protective, self-confident was gone, he was just a slowcoach."[13] Her description of the days after the birth of her third child suggests the fragile position of the man as the head of the family:

[13] Doğumdan sonra da kocam istediğim gibi değil. Kavrayıcı, kollayıcı o gözeten, kendine güvenen o adam gene yok, bi hımbılın teki.

> After three days I got up, there were many orders, everyone was waiting for *börek*, the dessert, the religious festal was coming, and I prepared the festal orders… By the way my husband was aware of the situation, he was aware of the fact that I showed a superhuman effort, he was astonished… he brought the stuff to me [to help] but I wanted to split his head with the rolling pin. I was so nervous. While I am doing this why do you stay at home? While I was struggling for nine months I prepared *börek* hitting the head of my baby to the bench, you are sitting in the inn till the evenings!... I said to him "Do something!", [he said] "What would I do? Is there any job that I do not work in?" I said, "Everybody goes to Russia, Arabia, works in the constructions, does something"… I felt estranged from my husband. (Aydan, Appendix, 28)

Like Aydan some women began to work to earn money after they get married while some of them worked outside before they got married and quit working because their husbands did not permit them to work. One of the women who began to work after marriage was Nükhet. Her story of beginning to work is interesting. While she was voluntarily working in the school council of her children to get away from home, the principal of the school got in touch with his friend who had a belt company so that Nükhet could work for him at home. Thereupon the owner of the company sent a woman worker to teach the job, and the principle reserved one small room in the school for Nükhet and her trainer illegally. Until the inspectors were notified about the situation she learned the job, and began to work at home.When I asked whether she thought to work in the firm not at home she resented her husband's behaviour towards the children: "I have worked for four months, almost every night he threw the children into the street... I could not do because I did not know what they would live at home."[14]

The interesting side of her working experience is that because she worked alone at home when she thought she would not finish her job, she organized women and children around her, and paid them per piece. Nonetheless, her neighbours blamed her

[14] Dört ay çalıştım, her gece aşağı yukarı çocukları kapıya atıyordu … Evde nasıl bir şey yaşayacaklarını bilemediğim için yapamadım.

for prostitution because of the traffic of the house. Apparently being married was not enough to constitute her honor, she was expected to sit at her home, and directed all her efforts towards the house as other housewives, even if her husband did not contribute to the income of the house.

Out of the stories of women who worked before marriage emerged an image of a woman who tried to assume all kinds of responsibility on her own:

> He was neither aware of the bills nor dues. Nothing… He came from Nazilli, he came from a village of Aydın, Nazilli… I thought he does not know the dues, the bills, he does not know this, and that. By thinking this I assumed all responsibilities, and all of them fell on me and I suddenly felt that I was crushed under them … he was unemployed, he had no money, I had such a thing to oppress men, while he had no money the home was provided, and the rent was paid by my money. He was not aware of the things, but it was not a good thing. I mean while I was doing this to repress my emotions, as I thought to repress my own oppression, in fact, I took all the responsibility. I did not do a good thing, afterward I was crushed under the burden, and I tired, and maybe this tiredness was reflected my marriage differently. (Candan, Appendix, 29)

Some women like Nesrin were not comfortable with being a woman who assumes all responsibility on her own:

> As he began to work, he worked for one month, fifteen days, and quit because he was quarrelsome … he was drinking alcohol, irresponsible, he did not take any responsibility of home. Nesrin buys the coal, Nesrin pays the debt to the grocery, then what do I do with the husband? I do not need a husband. What would I do with him? Why do I provide for one more stomach? (Nesrin, Appendix, 30)

Hochschild (1990) asserted that "two-job marriages" are vulnerable to three types of tension, one is between the husband's expectation from the wife and the wife's expectation from the husband. Another one exists between the desire to live an old-fashioned life in which the wife is at home and the husband works, and the economic necessities. Third tension is between the need for housework and the devaluation of the housework. Although the couples in these narrations did not live two-job marriages, the first and second tensions are felt in the narrations. The representation of the husbands in

these narrations showed how women regard men if the husband does not get a bread when he comes home in the evening. They were portrayed as incompetent, more clearly as “demasculinized”, and the demasculinization process shows the fact that what makes generating life meaningful is earning life. Men, as Faludi (1999) described, being “mythologized as the ones who make things happen” fell into an ambiguous situation, as the image of blue-collar manhood, the man who can provide for his family on his own began to fade. Kıray (1985) stated that men in metropolitan life fail to carry out the duties corresponding to their classic responsibilities. They do not provide for the family income that is the most traditional role. Faludi’s quotation from one of the men who experienced a layoff clarifies the issue from the point of view of men. After layoff, he said, “‘There is no way you can feel like a man … I. Feel. I’ve. Been. Castrated.’” (1999, p. 65). In parallel with this, Sennett (1998) in *The Corrosion of Character* defined character as “the ethical value we place on our own desires and on our relations to others” (p. 10), then stated that good qualities of a character do not bring about a good work anymore, since the modern institutional structure has favored short-term, contract labor. Therefore, the market that is framed by the slogan of “No long term” changes the meaning of work, and corrodes loyalty and mutual commitment. Loyalty is no longer the guarantee of a lifetime employment (Faludi, 1999), because men cannot construct a character and self-worth through loyalty to an employer for a whole life, and a mutual long-term commitment (McDowell, 2003).

8.2 Feminization of the employment

This demasculinization process coincided with the feminization of the largest employment area. Since 1970s Turkey has been experiencing a rapid urbanization due to the government’s efforts for industrialization and modernization, and these efforts

caused a shift from agriculture to industry and the service sector (Dayıoğlu, 2000). According to the results of Turkish Statistical Institute, the service sector had the highest employment share with 50 percent as opposed to agriculture with 23.6 percent, and industry with 26.4 percent in 2013. Another research on the employment rate of women in 2014 showed that the majority of working women with 49.9 percent are employed in the service sector, while 32.9 percent of them are in agriculture, and 16.1 percent of them in industry. These results indicate the fact that in the post-industrial society the employment area has been feminized. To clarify what feminization means the features of the service sector should be accounted. It is a sector in which the success, as Hochschild (1975) explained, is dependent on the feeling rules that we might feel their "silent presence" when we witness, for example, a good performance of a receptionist. It functions based on the exchange of intangibles through a social relationship between the producer and the consumer of the service. Thus, it requires to act or to pretend to like the job, and to care the customers since the employee is an integral part of what is sold. Accordingly, women seem to have advantage in performace of emotional labour because traits like sensitivity and caring are parts of the social construction of femininity (McDowell, 2003). Indeed, the feminization process establishes a ground on which women could turn the events into opportunities. As Huppatz's research on feminine capital and caring work showed, women can take an advantage of feminine capital which is "the gender advantage that is derived from a disposition or skill set learned via socialization, or from simply being hailed as feminine" (2009, p. 50). Nesrin's narration exemplifies this kind of capital quite well:

> I went to do cleaning work to banks in Mecidiyeköy, Esentepe… the man said to me that, I guess he got, he saw how cleaning is done properly, I began to clean the dust of the tables, he said, "You, go upstairs, clean the room of the director",

> he asked "Where are you working?" I said, "I work in a hotel"… I cleaned it such that … next day the director had asked "Who cleaned my room?" [the man] said that "Is there anything missing?", [he said] "No nothing is missing, it was cleaned amazingly good, whoever did this, I want her to come to my apartment, I want to meet her." My father was alive at that time. The person who brought us there came home, I saw she was sitting, I asked "Necmiye Hanım why are you sitting here, why did you come?" she said, "I came to take you" I asked "where?", she said "The director of the bank said that nobody can clean my room except her" my father said "You jackass, you did your stuff there hıh?" then he said to the woman that "I am always proud of my daughter, she has been never wrong, she has never shamed me." (Nesrin, Appendix, 31)

It seems that women who are expected to work at home so that others may live, by taking advantage of feminine capital, can proudly perform in the service sector which functions so that others feel good. Low-skill, low-paid jobs in the service sector are the extensions of housework, and they do not contradict with the roles of women. So, as Huppatz (2009) argued the feminine capital operates within constraints, because even in these jobs that can be defined as extensions of housework, the upper echelons of the organizations such as management related positions are male dominated.

As Hochschild (1990) argued changing economic opportunities and needs impact women more than men, and women began to perform like "their *fathers* used to do" in life. Thus, women seem to assume the role of the father from whom they learned working is just to support the family. Accordingly, some of the women compared their ex-husbands with their fathers in terms of assuming the responsibility of the home, and discredited their ex-husbands. This is plausible because their fathers' generation could construct a good character through loyalty to a boss. This is also a consequence of the fact that as women work, more or less, they adapted their self-worth to the new base of power; money or wage. However, assuming the role of the father is not the only similarity with men. The housewives who begin to work are comparable with the male farmers who migrated to the big cities. The difference is that while men were integrating

with the emerging economy women eased their transition. However as women have been integrating they have to face with two clashing responsibilities; home and work. Bolak (1995) specified this situation as invisible power dynamics in the household that permit the woman to work as long as she is able to keep up her domestic mission. But if the woman performs both at home and works as the man is not able to perform the role of the head of the household the woman's performance can be named as fatherly womanhood because they both provide for home, and do the housework.

In conclusion, for men to be the head of the family became the most common strategy to have a respectable status in society. But it is a fragile status because manhood is an achieved status. Because the evaluative eyes belong to men, manhood has to be achieved in homosocial environments, more specifically in the workplace. Men who are not willing to sell their labor power are not interpreted on the basis of a class based rejection, they were regarded as incompetent men. This process of unemployment symbolizes the process of demasculinization. In the stories unemployed men were portrayed as incompetent, they were demasculinized. However, while men have been demasculinized in the post-industrial society which is framed by short-term, contract labor, the employment area has been feminized because the service sector dominated the economy of Turkey. Low-skill, low-paid jobs in this sector are the extensions of housework and women seem to take advantage to be employed. I can say that women seem to assume the role of the father from whom they learned that working is necessary to support the family. So, the women's performance can be named as fatherly womanhood because they both work outside and do the housework.

CHAPTER 9

CAN MY HUSBAND BOTH BEAT ME AND LOVE ME?

> One day … I was beaten, I did not think of myself, I was looking for Aydın, I was looking for Aydın, his mother [her husband's mother] had bought something like a cabinet with legs next to the cooker, it was covered, there was an emptiness under it, as I was looking for Aydın I found him under the cover, he entered a small place so that he protected himself, because he could only protect himself, he was so younger he was not at an age to protect me, I found him there, and said that "Aydın these things happen in the family", and later I understood that I did such a wrong thing. One day I was beaten, Aydın began to comfort me saying "Mother, such things happen in every family, don't they?" (Aysel, Appendix, 32)

This chapter is about the pervasiveness of domestic violence among the participants. I will approach to violence in terms of the attitude of the state towards domestic violence and the accepted nature of violence among people.

9.1 The state and violence towards women

There is a philosophy of marriage that women provoke men to be violent. It means that the man as the head of the household is the boss. In old times being the boss meant having the right to beat or even kill the wife, like masters had the right to kill their slaves. Today, it means that the wife deserves to be beaten under certain circumtances (Jacobson and Gottman, 1998). In the extreme case this understanding stands for the power the husband has over his wife including controlling her right to life. This is not unrelated to the victimology which seeks for the responsibility of the victim in the crime, and provides the so called scientists with a base to blame women especially in the cases of sexual violence. Between the years of 1940 and 1970, sexual violence was based on the idea that it happenned by the invitation of the victim woman, and on psychopathology which assumed that sexual assault or violence is the result of irrational uncontrolled behavior or sickness. It means that the violent man has no responsibility. This approach obscures the reality that it is a social problem, and ignores the cultural

and structural context in which it occurs (Scully, 2013). Wife abuse was also approached from a psychiatric point of view, and as the sociologists became involved in the issue, they attacked the myths that family violence was not so prevalent and was just confined to mentally disturbed people (Gelles, 1985).

In parallel with the research that has been done, the narrations showed the fact that the family that is described with such adjectives as safe and warm, is one of the most violent institutions (Altınay and Arat, 2009). To explain the causes of violence the process of transition to post-industrial society which has separated men from their traditional breadwinner role has been appealed. It has been suggested that this process paved the way for a crisis of manhood which pushes men to resort to agression to restore their role of manhood. Thus, violence seems to be a compensation for the crisis of manhood or demasculinization that I mentioned in the previous section. Yet, it is stated that this explanation fails to acknowledge the fact that men who are frustrated at their class attack women instead of attacking their more obvious class enemies (Walby, 1991). However, firstly the best part of the explanation is that, it tried to find the reason in social processes rather than psychological ones, which attribute no responsibility to men. Secondly, I would like to elaborate on the possibility of men to recognize men's more obvious class enemies let alone attacking these obvious guilty groups.

Navaro (2002) argued that the identity politics between the Islamists and the secularists was part of the story of Turkey's engagement with neoliberal economy, and the Islamists have a crucial role in the market as much as the secularists had. This is what we have been witnessing today. The religious business community is dominant today, and with the power of the government economic discourse is Islamized (Tuğal, 2009). The economy that has been merged with the local culture that created its own

norms in working life. Correspondingly, Durak's work (2013) on the relationship between the employees and the employers, and piety embodied how the popular logic of subjection has been determined by the pious bourgeoisie's legitimacy patterns. Durak explained this with the concept of cultural hegemony that defines the boundaries of every practical aspect of daily life. Under this cultural hegemony, wage labor is interpreted by the employees with the criteria that the hegemonic class submits. More clearly, the culture of the working class was restricted to the patterns of the hegemonic class. The given inequalities are explained by the employees with a reference to religious attributions like patience, examination, and tevekkül that is trust in God. The Islamization of the relationships in wage labor creates an utopic compromise which lets the employees regard themselves on the same side with their employers.

In this context, it can be argued that the class enemies seem to be less obvious, moreover they seem to be appropriately masked. Yet, this does not mean that some men do not try to attack their class enemies. But the problem is whom *they* identify with as their class enemy. I would like to touch upon the increasing violence against the doctors in recent years. The Turkish Medical Association has released reports regarding the reasons for increasing violence against doctors.[15] The experts appeal to the transformation in the health system as an explanatory factor along with the culture of violence. They have a significant effect on it, but I would like to point out the fact that the doctors are presented as people who are greedy for money by the politicians.[16] The doctors are warned publicly in the political rallies by the politicians to take their hands

[15] http://www.ttb.org.tr/siddet/images/file/itocalistay.pdf
[16] http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/ezgi_basaran/hastayla_doktoru_performans_ayri_dusurdu-1085655

off people's pockets.[17] Moreover, they are presented as "upper-class mujahids"[18],[19] That is to say, men who are equipped with religious attributions to explain the inequalities they experience in working life, are openly motivated to invent other class enemies to attack. Therefore, the class analysis of violence towards women should not be underestimated just because men do not attack the group that Marxist tradition has labeled as their class enemies. Thus, it is not surprising that men who experience class unconsciousness as a matter of manhood, do not identify their class enemies by Marxist terms.

Likewise the state is not so willing to work against men's violence towards their wives. According to the research by Human Rights Watch in 2011 even if women declare the violence, the officers by giving more importance to the protection of the family, tend to force women to live with their batterers. When the victims are sent to the courts, the prosecutors may be reluctant to convey the issue to the judge. The final decision of the judges also may take a long time or they may ask for medical and other evidences that are not required by the law. If the protection order is released, the officers do not control the victim every week as required by the law. The measures are really insufficient, although the rate of violence against women is very high – 42 percent of all women above 15 years old, and 47 percent of women who live in rural areas – that is almost 11 million women are exposed to physical or sexual violence.

If we think of the issue regarding the neoliberal policies of the government that tries to impose a more conservative way of life as Yazıcı (2012) argued we see that the

[17] http://www.zaman.com.tr/bulent-korucu/doktor-efendi_2296428.html
[18] http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/yildirim_turker/hekimin_cani-1085743
[19] "üst sınıf mücahitleri"

government has been employing both a condemnation for the decaying families of the West which is the center of neoliberalism, and has been carrying out neoliberal social policies under the shield of a conservative discourse on family. The family was chosen by the government among other prospective suppliers that are the state and the market for individual needs, and presented as "the best agent to alleviate 'social burdens' on the state." Erdoğan's remarks on people who die alone and are noticed when they begin to smell in the West along with an ideal Turkish family which is composed of "grandparents, parents and children" implicitly refer to a patrilineality. Yazıcı underlined this fact in her article by citing that she heard stories in which the woman is criticized because she does not want to look after her husband's parents, but never just the opposite. Yazıcı's remarks make it possible to see the fact that the concept of the individual of the state has masculine gender. Because of the fact that women are the primary caregivers in the family, they are not the individuals whose rights for social care are searched for.

I had the chance to listen to two different stories which included the police intervention through which we can watch the state's attitude towards domestic violence. I will begin with Neslihan who moved to Canada with her savings. After she moved, her husband moved there as well, but she got divorced there then came back to Turkey. The day she planned to leave him, she arranged a transporter when he was working, but, unfortunately, both the transporter and her husband came home at the same time. As she was caught by her husband, he began to shout at her, when she was narrating this she got amused because he was saying something like "So you washed the curtains because you

wanted to move out, but I thought [you washed them because] everything was fixed."[20] While he was shouting he was unpacking the stuff. In the meantime, the police came home, then her struggle began:

> The police came, [and asked] "Where is the gun?", [I said] "Wait a minute, which knife, gun? There is no knife, no gun", [they said] "We understand you lady", no they do not say lady, [they said] "We understand you, you are scared." To carry out the laws, I mean the law is not everything. We need such a thing of course. In this situation [I thought] they will get the guy, they will put him in prison. I mean there was not anything to put him in prison, he did not even throw anything aggressively, in comparison with what I had lived in Turkey this situation was not serious enough to put him in prison … I was begging, "Please go, I understand there was a complaint, but there is no violence in this home" I was telling what happened, "This guy did not know anything when he was coming, he came, he just came home, I was caught, he is right to get angry, but I can handle with that much of anger, there is no problem, please go, we are mature to solve our problem." … I was like a dancer to defend the guy from whom I was escaping, I was getting divorced. It was very funny, but I could not do anything. They escorted us [until she and her child reached their new home]. (Neslihan, Appendix, 33)

To prevent the idea that the measures are flawless in Canada, she also mentioned the story of one of her Turkish women friends in Canada who was killed by her ex-husband although the police was informed about his death threats.

Next story belongs to Nükhet who started the divorce proceedings with her husband but continued to live at the same home. One evening while he was drinking alcohol her mother came home, and she got angry with him because he was drinking alcohol in front of her grandchildren. Then she threw the bottles into the street. In the meantime Nükhet's sisters came home, then she prepared *börek* for them, and put the tray on the coal stove to cook. But her husband got angry and attacked them, and did not let them go out, but her daughter escaped to the grocery and telephoned the police, the

[20] Demek sen onun için perdeleri yıkamıştın, ben de sanıyorum ki her şey yoluna girdi.

police did not take it seriously until the grocer talked to them. After the grocer persuaded them that the man would kill his wife the police came:

> In the beginning the police did not walk in, [they asked] "Is there anyone who has a complaint?" I was raising my hand, the neighbor put my hand down. I was about to tell something, she did not let me… I was looking at the police as if I was begging not to go. They got out and said that "If you have any vehicle take this woman to somewhere [they meant hospital], clean these broken glasses in the street", there were beer bottles everywhere. By the way the police got in the car, as they were going through the street you came, people were doing something to make me stay at home, I escaped with panic. I was running behind the police car, they did not notice me, I had a sister in law upstairs, the wife of my brother, she hugged my waist behind me, she made me sit on the street, said "Don't go, God damn him, leave him to Allah, don't go." (Nükhet, Appendix, 34)

Nükhet's anecdote displays not only how the police deal with domestic violence but also people's tolerance towards domestic violence in general. The approach of her neighbors and relatives points out a general acceptance of domestic violence as something that should be dealt behind the doors in private.

9.2 Accepted violence

Scully (2013) in her book on rape asserted that sexual violence depends on cultural norms, the power relationships between men and women, the social and economic position of women in society, and the prevalence of other forms of violence in the society. So if we consider Galtung's remarks on cultural violence which "makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right – or at least not wrong" (1990, p. 291), we see the fact that violence against women is legitimized through cultural means. The title of this section indicates a widespread acceptance of a total submission of women to their husbands. A husband has a right to love and beat his wife. As Connell (2002) stated "men who batter wives/partners are not cultural heroes", but "in the informal culture of neighbourhoods, workplaces and pubs, husbands have been expected to keep wives in

their place, and a man who cannot do this has been regarded by other men with a degree of contempt." Thus "a controlled use of force, or the threat of force, has been widely accepted as part of men's repertoire in dealing with women and children." Violence against women especially by husbands who always have a possibility to get involved in such an action on behalf of honor, makes it seem to be "right" or at least "not wrong." In this context, only violence against women for a personal pleasure may seem to be unacceptable, but if it is for a sexual pleasure, not surprisingly the issue might be more problematic because a husband has a right to love his wife as he pleases. This is consolidated by a deficiency of the law which does not approve that rape is possible within marriage (Pateman, 1997). However, it should not be hard to estimate that a man who batters his wife may sexually abuse her at the same time.

Most of the narrations were full of violence, and women rationalized the violence towards themselves or sympathized with their batterer husbands as a first reaction. I will share just two of them:

> I was exposed to violence when I was pregnant, my waist was kicked, I spent my three and three and a half months between home and the hospital. Such is life ... Then, I mean I experienced so many things. So many … We liked to watch films at home, the mother came from the village, I invited her, we had popcorn, he had bought shelled peanuts, in the kitchen he had said that "My mother likes it very much", and put on the table. I did not hear this. I was busy. We ate, drunk, the mother went upstairs. I was going out of the room, I was bringing the dishes to the kitchen, he kept my hair, pulled towards himself through my back, I thought he was kidding, he was kidding, then I said "Fırat it hurts, I am sensitive, my hair", he kicked my waist saying "You did not give the shelled peanuts to my mother on purpose", I said "Which shelled peanuts?", he said "I bought as I was coming from work, I said 'my mother likes it'", I did not hear, I did not see it on the table, because I put many things on the table… He could attack me saying "Why the salt is not here" or because I reached out my left hand, he was like this. Then he sat and cried saying "How come I beat you, how come I hurt you", then I was comforting him saying "Don't be sad, my pain has gone." (Reyhan, Appendix, 35)

The husband in the story of Reyhan resorted to distorting the reality by performing the role of the victim. Thus Reyhan comforted her batterer husband although she was the real victim. Jacobson and Gottman (1998) stated that this emotional abuse is a tactic called gaslighting which is a systematic attack on the perception of wife, and its ultimate form is to gain control of the wife's mind. As a result, the woman relies on her abuser to interpret every event and tries to sympathize with her abuser. Aysel's remarks illustrated these descriptions very clearly:

> I was trying to find excuses for what he had done. I thought he was battered by his father when he was a child or for a while I thought because he was the only one male child of the family, he was raised as a spoiled child up to an age without any responsibility. (Aysel, Appendix, 36)

Scully (2013) cited that cultures prepare the ground for deviant behaviours that are approved in certain circumstances as well as normal behaviours. The society pretends to regard violence against women as deviant behaviour, at the same time it does not reject violence against women in certain circumstances, at least as Connell (2002) remarked "a controlled use of force, or the threat of force" is accepted as a component of a relationship between men and women. So, the problem is the very acceptance of this "controlled use of force", the very acceptance of violence in certain circumstances. How can we be sure that men do not go to extremes behind the closed doors in a society in which violence against women is approved in relation to some valid reasons or acceptable circumstances? Precisely for this reason, Gül's way to rationalize violence towards her for almost twenty years is not peculiar to her. It is related to internalizing the man's position as the guard of honor. The man as the guard of honor has the right to beat his wife because he loves his wife passionately so, he cannot resist jealousy:

> That time I loved him very much, I mean, he beat me because of trivial things. I thought it was because he loved me, so he was jealous of me and so on, then I

> was reading books, on television there was a doctor or something he was talking on violence, he said that when you are exposed to violence, look in the eyes of that person, I was hiding that I was beaten, because I went to the work [I said] I fell from the bus, the minibus had an accident and so on, I was hiding, but in the last incident, after the doctor … said look in the eyes, and when I looked at his eyes, I saw the pleasure of the violence, while he was beating me I saw that pleasure in the sparks of his eyes, and I was disgusted, and I realized that he did not beat me because he loved me, [he beat me because] he took pleasure. (Gül, Appendix, 37)

As in the case of Gül, women talked about their husbands' violence in relation to their love and jealousy. This might be the result of experiencing love in unequal power dynamics in which love turns into a domination because of the lack of respect as Fromm (1956) argued.

Additionally alcohol, and getting drunk emerged as another way to rationalize violence with a cause and effect point of view. As Hale remarked, there is an image of a man who "did not know what he did because of drunkenness."[21] Most of the violence stories were marked by an emphasis upon the usage of alcohol to explain violence. However, MacAndrew and Edgerton's anthropological research on drunken comportment is sufficient on its own to refute the perception that drinking alcohol and battering necessarily mix. MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969) did not reject that drinking alcohol results in "a marked impairment in our ability to perform at least certain sensorimotor skills", but they rejected the view that alcohol is a moral incapacitator. They demonstrated that the way people behave while they are drunk is not determined by the alcohol's toxic assault on their moral judgment, but by the society's expectations concerning the state of drunkenness. Thus, rationalizing violence against women by drunkenness is just one of the approved excuses if we consider the fact that people in every society have a wide range of socially acceptable excuses. As any society has the

[21] Sarhoşlukla ne yaptığını bilmiyordu.

capacity to prepare a tolerated ground for deviant behaviors, alcohol rather than the operation of gender might be defined as the primary cause. Unfortunately, the diagnosis designates the intervention so, any prohibition of alcohol will not solve the problem of violence.

9.3 The role of a satisfied wife

While narrating their experience of violence women emphasized their ability to act in the presence of a third person who did not know that she was exposed to violence. This implies the fact that relationships have an audience, and women as being responsible to maintain the "public biography of the relationship" (Vaughan, 1990), have to join the social rhythm of the chirpings of the so called female bird. This responsibility as a part of being a good wife or an ideal woman forces women to perform the role of a satisfied wife. The most obvious statement of this performance belongs to Reyhan who said "I used to be beaten in the evening, [then] begin a new day with a smiling face next morning."[22] Another reason to cover up this condition that was presented by the interviewees who got married despite their families is not to be overwhelmed by their families. Women clearly stated their fear of being contempted by their families because of their wrong choices. As a matter of fact, women who got married at the request of their families did not to resort to hide the violence they experienced.

In addition if the woman cannot act in the presence of a third person she should be tight-lipped to consolidate her incapacity as a performer as Gül stated:

> My husband did it first. [He said] "The secret of the house should not be betrayed." You are young, you do know nothing, you learn everything from him. The secret of the house should not be betrayed. The secret of the house should not be told. That is so, that is a sin. You could not tell, pour out your troubles to anybody, but it should be. At first it should certainly be told to your mother,

[22] Akşam sopa yerdim ertesi sabah gayet güler yüzle insanlara güne başlardım yani.

> father. A reliable person around you. The secret of the house is betrayed to a person who does not gossip, talk scandal. Sister, if your husband beats you, say it! (Gül, Appendix, 38)

It can be clearly seen that the husband functioned as a second fatherhood for Gül. He tried to train her as if she was a child by teaching her what is suitable to do for a married woman.

Almost all women had different violence stories. So, I tried to explain violence by focusing on structural and social context, and by ignoring victimology and psychopathology which put no blame on men.

CHAPTER 10

HEADING FOR THE BACK DOOR OF THE NEST

While arguing about the importance of women's oral history, Gluck (1977) mentioned "the rhythm of 'everywoman.'" The interviews will reveal this unique rhythm of every woman without overlooking the "social rhythm" that implies a pattern (Vaughan, 1990), in how women took the decision to get divorced, how they divorced, how they were reacted, and how they handled with the negatory reactions.

Almost all narrations touched upon the existence of a family pressure along with the pressure of the husband. Sometimes the families appeared as the reinforcements of the husbands. In fact, the whole experience of divorce is an area where both private and public patriarchy coincide with each other against women. I believe that in a culture that is run by the classic patriarchy to cite the efforts of women to get divorced is as significant as citing the drawbacks of divorce in women's lives.

However, every narration emphasizes the importance of being an individual who is able to think of her own decision's pros and cons, and the fact that the marriage established a second fatherhood embedded in the husband from which women tried to escape. Some of the narrations refer to divorce as a confrontation place with the fathers. Moreover, it is very precious to regard the significance of the meaning that a woman might attribute to divorce, and of her struggles to achieve the status of divorced before everything else. Thus, I will present examples to concretize the union of the forces of both private and public patriarchy against women, and the heterogeneity of women's interpretations of divorce.

10.1 Confrontation with fatherhood and divorce as a success

Women whose fathers held the decision-making mechanism confronted with their fathers instead of their husbands when they were divorcing. Although divorce occurs between the couples it seems that it might be the only way to oppose to the power of the fathers as a decision mechanism. Meltem Mahinur's story is a very clarifying example of this possibility.

The fact that their children were afraid of their quarrels was one of the crucial reasons for taking the decision of divorce for Meltem Mahinur. When she shared her decision with her husband, he offered to separate their rooms, but she opposed to this saying "Will I accomplish my duties as a wife? I will. Will I cook for you? I will. Will I not be responsible as the mother for your kids? I cannot do this Tahir. We need to end this."[23] When his family learned about her decision, they took her to *hacı*s and *hoca*s [religious specialists] saying people had casted a spell on them, she did not object to this since she believed that they had to be persuaded through the way that they could understand the issue. When she mobilized to realize her decision firstly people were surprised:

> People were shocked, [they said] "How come?" well, it happens like this … as I attempted to get divorced the town got shocked also, because for the first time a woman was attempting to divorce her husband. In general men, divorced, their husbands, I mean women, and you know so to speak [a man] changes first the car, then his wife, it was revolutionary that a woman divorced her husband. (Meltem Mahinur, Appendix, 39)

Then as she searched for a lawyer, the first lawyer she found tried to obstruct her since she is a woman:

[23] Ben yine aynı eşlik görevimi yapacak mıyım yapacağım sana yemek yapacak mıyım yapacağım, çocuklarının annesi olarak görev alacak mıyım bunu yapamayacağım Tahir dedim. Bizim bu işi bitirmemiz lazım.

> Here I came, I searched for two lawyers, one lawyer, it was very interesting, said, "Take her [out of here]! She is just twenty-eight years old, she is at the age to get married, is it easy to be a widow in this society? Take her [out of here]!" He did not even say this to my face, he talked to my relatives who came with me, [he said] "take this girl [out of here]!"… I am an individual there, tell me, tell me about its hardships, then I tell you why I decided [to get divorced]. He did not say to me, he said it to people who were with me, but I got out of there, went to another lawyer. (Meltem Mahinur, Appendix, 40)

This is very striking because it clearly displays the fact that according having a right on paper is not enough unless a proper background to carry out the rules is not established. After that lawyer she went to another one:

> He talked to me face to face like a father he said "Daughter you decided to get divorced, it is a very difficult decision, but the worst decision is better than the best indecision. Your decision is very difficult, do you have the courage to stand behind it?" I said "How, I mean, in what sense you asked this?" The year was eighty eight. He said "A woman wants to get divorced, and she will do this in a town, I mean you will get divorced, to be a widow is not easy. Moreover you have two children. Do you have courage to deal with these hardships? Because you took a very difficult decision." I said, "Ahmet Bey, the unrest that I lived at home is worth fifty divorces. It is worthy. I experience such an unrest that is worth fifty divorces." He said, "Then it is your decision." He just understood me that day. (Meltem Mahinur, Appendix, 41)

Unfortunately, her efforts had a price. As she was getting divorced her stepfather was invited to persuade her not to divorce, and she had to confront with both her stepfather and father in law at the same time. But firstly, her father in law tried to persuade her:

> [Her father in law] said to me "Please my daughter, for my sake, if I ask you to drink a cup of poison", I was asked to drink a poison to sustain my marriage, I said "Uncle, I have never disrespected you, you made me marry by force although you knew I did not want it, yes, there are two children, [but] even if there were ten children I will finish this marriage because I cannot stay in the same room with your son for more than one second. I am in such a situation that if your son asks me to stand up here then sit there, I can stab him. Can you take this responsibility? Then would you say that I asked the child to drink the poison? Would you say that I am responsible for this?" He stayed frozen. There was no answer. (Meltem Mahinur, Appendix, 42)

After this conversation her stepfather was invited, and I would like to share this meaningful confrontation:

> They had called my stepfather so that he would persuade me. I do not forget that day. It is still in front of my eyes. I took Diazem because my nerves were so broken that, think about it, you sued for a divorce, you struggle against all individuals of your family, against the whole society. I took Diazem, after half an hour I said I can talk to you now. I confronted with two of them, both my father in law and my stepfather … They both [said] she does not need any lawyer, she is her own lawyer, and I heard such a threat [they said that] one bullet is more than necessary for her, let's finish her job by a half bullet. My stepfather was a police, he had a gun. I said "Not a half bullet, even if you need one fourth of a bullet, use it, I do not care, it is over… After this moment I will set up my own life on my own, I have lived until my eighteen as you wanted, with your truths father, and you made me get married, you found it suitable. I have lived for ten years for this environment, for this family, for them, after this moment I will live for myself. Excuse me." (Meltem Mahinur, Appendix, 43)

It is very significant that she did not confront her husband. She confronted with her own experience with fatherhood. Although she divorced her husband, in fact her narration implies that she rebelled against fatherhood that operated as a decision-making mechanism throughout her life, and in her condition divorce was the only means to do this. In addition, other authority figures such as the lawyer in her narration might be regarded as the fatherhood's public representatives, and she also had to confront with them to realize her own decision to divorce.

As Meltem Mahinur Halime struggled to reach the status of being divorced, yet it can be said that she sustained her marriage to end it at the most appropriate time. Although her husband has graduated from law school, he did not work as a lawyer because after the school he decided to live in the village by growing and selling hazelnuts. In the meantime, Halime continued to live in town as before, but she went to the village during the time of nutting. Though she decided to get divorced after her first child, her mind was changed by her mother. Her unrealized decision was actualized after

she came upon her high school friend who worked in the Social Security Institution. She visited her friend at her home, after she explained her situation with her husband, her friend suggested her to have an optional social security because she was doing handwork and sold to people. It made sense, and she did what her friend suggested. After years she retired, and after an attack of her husband in front of her daughter she decided to get divorced:

> I said, "Father, I do not want to live this life anymore. I decided to get divorced, I have sustained a bad marriage for thirty years under the same roof separately [from him]. I cannot stand it anymore." My father said "Okey my daughter, if you decided, get divorced…" I had promised my God, I was saying to my God "I will be retired, I will make possible for my children to continue their studies, then I will decide to get divorced." I have carried out all my plans by one by, and I have achieved success. (Halime, Appendix, 44)

Particularly the last words that I shared seem to echo those from a business meeting, they made me feel this while I was listening to her as well. Her story points out to the significance of how a woman forms a self-knowledge by creating her own story out of her experience of divorce. Like Halime some women also sustained their relationships with their husbands to end it in the most appropriate time. In addition, being retired seems to be influential for her parents to accept her decision to divorce, because throughout her marriage she always went to her family's home to escape from the violence of her husband, but she was sent back each time.

The heterogeneity of feelings and reactions that divorce may give rise to was described by the participants differently. For example, when Yaprak separated from her first husband because of his violence towards her, she said she was very proud of it:

> It was a source of pride to say "I got married, then I got divorced…"I had something [a will] to announce to everybody that I got divorced. My mother said that, "Daughter, you are twenty-two years old, you are so young, why do you say everybody that you got married and divorced." I said "Is there anything more important than that to write on a CV for reference." I mean, I had a marriage

> period and I got divorced… I began to narrate this without details… I constructed a narrative … just like in the Independence War, I mean [after] so many tough things were handled… I announced myself as the hero of myself. (Yaprak, Appendix, 45)

> After I get divorced I have never regretted because I divorced. Every day I am more and more thankful because I get divorced … [After the court] I took my first breath in the civil registry. Let's say that we got divorced at half past eleven, I was in the registry at twenty to twelve, they are side by side, I was in the registry, I said "[I want to]change the identity card, [because] I got divorced", they said "okey", the process was initiated, but I was not displayed as divorced [in the registry], I said "How come, I just got divorced". In the end the man asked "When did you get divorced?", I said "Ten minutes ago", they laughed in the room, [he asked] "Ten minutes? A document is required to come to you from the court." We got divorced on September 11, the document came to me on December 7th to declare that we divorced, that day as soon as I got the document I went to change my identity card. (Reyhan, Appendix, 46)

These examples show the fact that the impacts and interpretations of divorce may vary, and even it can be something to celebrate.

10.2 The social environment against the husband

Gül's divorce process was initiated by her neighbors. Since they witnessed that she was beaten by her husband very heavily, they organized and went to her family to tell them their daughter's situation. Then her father invited her without saying anything, she went to her father's home, then her father did not let her go:

> He said, "We will not let you go…" [but] my son was there, what would I do, I know the guy would not give [him to me], because he was using him … my mother said that "He is a kid, he cries cries, [then] stops. Do not mind" … then he [her husband] called me … he said "Take the child" we met at the corner of my mother's home, he gave me the child, then he gave his identity card, then I sued for divorce. (Gül, Appendix, 47)

As for her second divorce her remarks were these:

> I began [to go to] Qur'an course… I met [with] the *hoca*s of the Qur'an course here later, they are so good. They uncover the skills of the person very well… my oppressed side has gone… nobody can beat me brother! If he beats me I can beat him as well. Why? There is tit for tat in our religion. When my husband… was hitting me I hold his hand. I said "If you hit me, I will hit you" by looking at his

> eyes, then he stepped back… if I did not hold his hand, catch it in the air it would continue. (Gül, Appendix, 48)

Although this event occurred in the first year of her marriage, she divorced in the fifth year. She explained this with the pressure to be happy, although it was his second marriage as well, she tought that the woman is always found guilty, and hesitated to divorce for the second time. It was interesting to hear this, because as a woman whose first divorce process was initiated by her neighbours she still hesitated to be found guilty by people. Her story is a breakpoint for the union of the forces of private and public patriarchy as a consequence of her husband's heavy abuse.

10.3 Taking the support of the children and acting to persuade the husband to divorce

In this context the stories have another commonality. Women struggled to persuade their husbands in the process of divorce, but the terms and conditions were determined by men. So, women tried to comply with them to reach the status of getting divorced peacefully. Buket's narration is one of the examples of this fact. She cited that she understood in the second day of her marriage that she could not sustain it, but she could not go back because of the fear of her family. In the interview she questioned herself by saying "I got married by not asking the question of what do I seek for in a man, what do I expect from a marriage."[24] As she became aware of the fact that they have almost nothing in common, she decided to get divorced. When she started to realize her decision her son wanted them to get divorced in following year because he was preparing for the university exam. Since she was afraid of not being able to divorce later, she divorced but continued to live at the same house with her ex-husband until her son took the exam:

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[24] Bir erkekte ben ne istiyorum bir evlilikten ne bekliyorum o soruyu hiç kendime sormadan evlendim.

> I persuaded him by saying "We wiil get divorced, but we will stay in the same home for one year for you…" Assuming a humble attitude [but actually] with a nausea I persuaded him [as well] saying "Do not worry we are the first couple who, after getting divorced, got out of the court by holding each other's hands." But I served him in every way, including sexuality. Frankly speaking, I persuaded him by acting. (Buket, Appendix, 49)

It seems that the things that are defined as the duties of a wife such as acting might turn into a means to persuade their husbands.

In the case of adult children, some women got support from their children to communicate with their husbands about their decision to divorce. Moreover, some of the women were convinced by their children to end their marriages. The story of Hale exemplified how women got the support of their children. After she decided to get divorced when she was twenty-eight years old, she had just one child, and she was stopped by her husband's violence. However, she did not give up her decision in her forties, and was supported by her two children as well:

> We sat down at the table, Gökhan [her son] said that "Father we want to talk to you…" I was not talking at all… he said "Father it worked up to now, I do not want my mother to cry anymore." Because in that days at two, two and a half past I was crying here till morning… I forgot, it was in the past, but I remember what Gökhan said, because I was so nervous, I mean I had an anxiety that he would pick a quarrel, do something… He talked, talked, talked, it was good. Everything ended. I said that "Look, let's give time to each other, maybe I will get better after one year, I will feel better" because my nerves were damaged, I always cried. I cried for everything, I was in a situation that I could not do anything alone. There was a panic on me, an anxiety because I was always afraid that he would pick a quarrel out of something, I was scared … I said "In the future we can be together again", I deceived him that way. (Hale, Appendix, 50)

The revealing part of her story is that most of the confrontation with her husband is carried out by her son when he began to study at the university, which means when he became an adult person. She cited that the person whom her ex-husband respects most in the world is their son. So, her son appeared as the most appropriate mouth to communicate her sufferings to her husband. Her son had the ability to stop or at least to

slow down her husband's anger. But if we consider the fact that she emphasized that she was in a situation in which she could not do anything on her own it is very understandable to resort to the most available support resource along with acting.

Like in the story of Hale, some stories showed that women acted together with their children. It is very important in terms of the fact that divorce is recognized as inherently bad for children by the popular wisdom. However, Furstenberg and Kiernan (2001) in a longitudinal study found that the effect of divorce depended on the timing of it, the gender of the children and behavior of the parents. They warned not to put the whole blame on divorce and mentioned that it is significant to sort out the precursors and the consequences of divorce because parents who harmed each other might have undermined the development of their children as well. They argued that almost all theories from economic, psychological and sociological perspectives maintain that children suffer from marital dissolution if their parents are "able to collaborate effectively in childrearing" when they stay together. Yet, narratives did not refer to such a collaborative childrearing. Moreover, two interviewees praised their husbands' fatherhood just because they did not intervene in childrearing at all. Above all, their narrations approved what Delphy (1976) argued. She implied that marriage and divorce seem to be two faces of the same coin in terms of the fact that child care is assumed by women whereas men are exempted from the responsibility irrespective of being married or divorced.[25] Having children transformed a marriage to a family as Bernard stated

[25]The research which was conducted by the financial and technical support of the Bernard van Leer Foundation on domestic violence towards children displayed that fathers assume less responsibility for both housework and childrearing at home (2014, p. 62). Thus, it can be said that the situation is not peculiar to the interviewees.

(1982) thus, popular wisdom seems to serve the sacred institution of the family under the pretext of protecting children.

To end this section I believe the remarks of Bohannan are really enlightening on the issue because he invited us to question ideas that pretend to serve the needs of children:

> There is a traditional and popular belief that divorce is 'bad for children.' Actually, we do not know very much about it. […] if the child's way of dealing with the tensions in the emotional divorce if his parents is to act out criminally, he has turned to delinquency. But other children react to similar situations with supercompliance and perhaps ultimate ulcers. The tensions in divorce certainly tell on children, but the answers the children find are not inherent in the institution of divorce. The more fruitful question is more difficult: 'How can we arm children to deal with themselves in the face of the inadequacies and tensions in their families, which may lead their parents to the divorce court?' At least that question avoids the scapegoating of parents or blaming it all on 'society' – and it also provides us a place to start working, creating new institutions. (Bohannan 1970, p. 48-49)

CHAPTER 11

CREATING YOUR OWN PATH

> If anything, during that period, what I felt uptight about was that people were responding with sympathy and pity, as if I had been the one whom pain had been inflicted. I found myself responding as they expected me to, with a long face and saying how tough it was. But what I wanted was for people not to define it as a painful situation. From some of your close friends you want sympathy, just because you can also tell them the full situation. And I experienced this. But what I wanted was for someone to just say, "Well, congratulations. Get on with your life. It's not the end of the world. It's not a bad thing. It's something that happens. It has not been bad in my eyes." (Vaughan, 1990, p. 145)

This section is on life after divorce that deserves much speculation. The divorce experience was defined by most of the interviewees as a relief despite every socio-economic challenge. When Nükhet narrated her after-divorce period she uttered the following sentence: "I lost my mother in 2003, she has gone. [So] I divorced [but] I could not realize the joy of the divorce."[26] However, she at the same time explained the same period as follows:

> I did not go out as much as possible. I did not open the curtains. I waited for the weather to get dark. I preferred seeing one person at night when I went to the grocery store to seeing ten people during daytime. I did not go out because I thought someone would say something, or ask something, or turn her head when she saw me. (Nükhet, Appendix, 51)

These statements seem to be contradictory, however, Kalmijn and Monden (2006) put forward that a divorce can have three different effects on the well-being of a person. The first one is crisis effect, that is the experience of divorce can be highly disturbing and emotional, and this could lead to a reduction in well-being. Secondly, it can be the end of a supportive partner relationship which ultimately causes a decline in resources. Thirdly, it can be a relief from the troubles of marriage. More importantly, people may

[26] Annemi 2003'de ben kaybettim rahmetli oldu. Ben şimdi boşandım boşanmanın sevincini yaşayamadım.

feel the relief while they experience their life as stressful and turbulent. In their research Kalmijn and Monden tried to test the escape hypothesis which argues that for a person who has a poor marriage, divorce has a less negative or even positive effect on the well-being of the person. They found that when women are dissatisfied with their marriages and feel that they are treated unfairly in their marriages, divorce causes a smaller increase in depressive symptoms rather than a decline. Moreover, women who experience verbal and physical aggression in their marriages show an increase in their depressive symptoms after divorce. They explained this by the possibility that the problems which people have while they are married, continue after divorce. The divorced woman lives in a general dependence on a male-dominated society. This is another form of patriarchy which subordinates women in public arenas (Walby, 1991). Thus, a divorced woman has to search for normative approval of the society. So, the ex-husband being aware of this fact uses this situation as a weapon to threaten the woman as was the case with Aysel:

> Even after we got divorced, I felt that I struggled so much to persuade him on the subject of honor. It is very interesting. Think of it, I said that "We took a vacation with Aydın", [he asked] "Where did you go?" I could not say it is not your business. I said that, "You know, I have a friend called Döndü, we were neighbors, they had [a house] in Erdek, we went there, stayed with them." I made this explanation, and this person hung up the phone all of a sudden, after half an hour, forty minutes he came, and as soon as I opened the door, he hit my nose … he could see my weak spot, I do not know why but he tried to hurt me with this subject, honor. He said you such and such woman how did you go, and I could not say it is none of your business. I am not with you anymore. I do not have to explain anything to you. Not to let people hear [I explained] I presumed that people would believe in his bad words, when he said that bad words. (Aysel, Appendix, 52)

She stated that her ex-husband threatened her for years, even when the police was intervening he used to show the act of beheading to threaten her, and these lasted until her lost father came back. However, the reason for the fact that an ex-husband can

threaten or attack his ex-wife easily is that he *still* assumes himself to be the guard of his ex-wife's honor. It should not be thought as a consequence of divorce, because divorced women might experience the loss of the continuity between the promises of their socialization and their eventual lifestyle, that Kandiyoti stated (1987). But men, because being a man is "an achieved status", do not give up the requirements of it, and guarding honor is the core of being a man. All these threats and attacks are just because the marriage is regulated in a such a way that men are given the role of the legal guards of honor in the first place.

However, Levine (1982) argued that a divorce is a progressive act against the traditional family structure in Turkey. Being divorced might make a positive difference because women can choose the ways in which they relate to the patriarchal authority (Kohen et al., 1979) In line with this idea, such a transition is evident in the narrations. First of all, women talked about an increase in their self-confidence. For example, the words of Nükhet, as a woman who told that she, with her daughter, had to dig the garbages to find anything for heating because her father did not share his coal with her because she was divorced, are very important. She cited this:

> Certainly now I feel more powerful. I think nobody can destroy me. My self-confidence returned. Before everything, you struggle on your own … I feel really powerful, I mean this means I make people feel what I feel. (Nükhet, Appendix, 53)

To show this she gave an example that when she needed men for the alteration at home she went alone to *kahve* to call a man without hesitation although this may be inappropriate for other people. It seems that all things she had to do alone contributed to her self-image to be more powerful. In addition, she criticized other women who divorce but complain about their situation:

> For example, some say that "If I had known that it was that much difficult, I would not have divorced, I would endure." Some prefer this. But I say why? I say why do you become the slave of a person? (Nükhet, Appendix, 54)

Hale made a comparison between her eighteen-year-old state and her after divorce self, and said that "I am fifty years old, but now I am the old Hale."[27] She seems to be right to make this comparison because as she cited while she was eighteen years old she went to England alone to learn English, she was socially a very active person, however just after she got divorced she could not even go to Sultanahmet from Kadıköy by ferry. She said that her son tried to persuade her that she is capable of doing such a simple thing alone. She added another memory in which she and her daughter and son went to the cinema at night, but while they were returning she panicked so her son kept her arm and said "My father is not at home, look, three of us are here, we are going slowly, do not be afraid."[28] It took four years to get rid of her fears.

Elif also expressed a similar story. She pointed out that although she was a self-confident woman her ex-husband's jealousy created a great pressure on her, and after she got divorced she realized what kind of transformation this pressure made on her confidence:

> After I divorced I had a chance to observe myself, that confidence has gone. I mean, I could not talk to people and look at their eyes, especially looking at men's eyes. I was talking by turning my eyes away, I saw that he has changed me without noticing in many ways. (Elif, Appendix, 55)

She said that she could get rid of this in time. Indeed beginning to work is an important factor for this. After she was divorced at twenty-nine years old she participated in a training of a famous company to be a beautician, and she was found very successful,

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[27] Hani elli yaşındayım ama anca şimdi eski Hale'yim.

[28] Babam evde yok dedi bak biz üçümüzüz dedi yanındayız dedi yavaş yavaş gidiyoruz hiç korkma dedi.

then she worked as a beautician, and retired. When we talked to her she was working voluntarily in a music association.

Bahar argued that she feels better, because she lives freely at home: "Because it is me. It is me. At my home, I sleep if I want, I clean if I want, I do nothing if I do not want [to do]."[29] She lives in the same neighborhood with her ex-husband. She cited that she is still threatened by her husband, but since she is known in the neighbourhood by people, and she works as the well-known photographer of the neighbourhood, she feels safe. This is maybe the reason while she emphasized her freedom at home, she remarked that she made sure not to do anything inappropriate. That is indeed related to her sexuality and implies something like a contractual relationship with the society rather than with just a man.

Although she is a teacher and worked while she was married, Buket did not have the control of her own financial flow, because her husband kept all bank cards including hers. She cited that she learned how to use an ATM after she divorced. Moreover, she said her financial situation improved after she was divorced since her earnings are not spent for his husbands' pleasures anymore:

> Now I am good, I am so powerful. I stand straight, I am happy, there is a small emptiness in one corner of my heart. When I look back, when I ask whether I should not have divorced, I answer question as follows: if you did not get divorced, you would be unhappier, unhappy till death, now you deal with this process by being less unhappy, then you will die happily. (Buket, Appendix, 56)

Since Şeyma managed her husband's store because he did not want to work, after she got divorced she set up her own business and made a career as an artisan. However, she

[29] Bu benim. Ya benim. İstersem yatıyorum evimde istersem temizlik yapıyorum istemezsem bir şey yapmıyorum.

claimed that because she did this twenty years ago, she experienced a sexist treatment towards herself:

> When a man sells lemon, and does not have any job, and has ten homes, married ten [women], nobody asks him "How do you make a living?" Now, a person whom I have just met [asks] "What do you do?", [I say] I divorced, yes I have two children. I have [a] store." The man still asks me "How do you make living?" I mean people say that there is no difference between men and women in Turkey, I do not believe in this at all… The woman is a being just to marry or maybe this has been recently surpassed, it is not seen that way, but during the time I divorced this was the case. Thus, you are forced to have a serious appearance. You have a tough appearance. You become more formal towards people, but how much you are serious [it is not important]. I was working with a firm in Unkapanı… it was a big company, it is still good there, one day we were talking with Fuat, he asked "Do you get along with Avni?" I said "It is okey", Avni said "I stalked and stalked, I saw it would not work." I mean you manage a store, you are in a good position, you buy stuff with your money from a company, still there is this mentality, you are divorced, let's try her first. [They ask] "How do you make a living? Does a man provide for you? There is no man in your life." A man has to provide [according to them]. (Şeyma, Appendix, 57)

After she revealed this memory she emphasized that she wanted her daughter not to make a man pay her account, while she wanted her son to know how to do housework.

Likewise Meltem Mahinur opened her own store, but before coming to that point she got divorced, but since she did not have any place to stay, she continued to stay at her husband's home after the divorce. Then she went to Istanbul to stay with a relative, and because she has two identity cards with two different names and surnames, Meltem's life froze after high school, while Mahinur got married, had children and got divorced. Thus, although she wanted to go to a dress designing course, she could not since a primary school certificate was necessary, and Mahinur, her older self, was not officially graduated from primary school. So, she finished the primary school by entering exams in five days. Then she went to the course and began to work as a designer. However, since she was afraid of being judged by her two children when they grow up, she quit her new life, and returned to her husband and children to try again.

Yet, afterward she became certain that she could not be with her ex-husband. One day she went out to buy a brassiere, saw a store to rent, and rented that store to use it as a fashion house. She was able to rent the store since after she got divorced she took back her lands she inherited from her father and received some bank credit using those lands. In addition, she borrowed from her cousins who live in Germany. She still runs that fashion house, and more importantly she is a highly respected woman in her town. However, she criticized people because they are sexist and prejudiced towards women:

> Of course we had hardships, you are a divorced woman, there are social pressures on you. Your behavior is judged, questioned, there are doubts. To be a divorced twenty-eight-year-old woman is not easy. I mean to be divorced, at an age people get married [is difficult] you are a divorced woman with two children, and you have to gain some place in the society. You try to create a place scraping with your hands that a married woman gains easily. They question you, something biased occurred, for example, when you go to a dinner, I mean when we go to a social dining, your drinking a glass of [alcohol] might be gossip or when you go to a wedding your makeup is talked about. Your vent is talked about, your dancing is talked about, but I did not dignify them, I always go on. My children are always with me, because I went to play billiards with my children, for example when I was playing billiards, [people said] "Look at the woman, she is playing with her children." [People said] "Look at the woman, she is drinking rakı- I hear these. My answer is this, I make my own money, I eat on my own, I drink on my own, I have nothing to explain, I have respected this society, this society has to respect me as well… I have respected the society, I acted according to the rules of the society, I said one day this society would respect me and it has respected me. (Meltem Mahinur, Appendix, 58)

In this process, she participated in a training for women's entrepreneurship that was given by an English firm in the context of European Union. Then she went to a meeting of a confederation to represent her city like other twenty-four representative women. In the meeting her remarks influenced other women:

> Everybody around the table was introducing herself… it was my turn, you were telling how you became a woman entrepreneur, I said that "I did women's entrepreneurship by divorcing my husband, and after divorce to make my living set up a business, my aim was to provide for my children, and myself. Now I learned that it was women's entrepreneurship. I mean, I learned in this project that, that entrepreneurship was a women's entrepreneurship"… Other women,

> after me, explained their marital status. Many of them were divorced. (Meltem Mahinur, Appendix, 59)

Then she specified that because she had many troubles when she was getting divorced, she and her friends established an association at her fashion house. In time they rented a place so, their activities increased, when I was there one room was used as a music room since they were forming a women's choir. She shared their activities in years, and the association is really very active, and influential in the city.

Nur also started to work as a shopkeeper with the aid of KOSGEB (Small & Medium Enterprises Development Organization) and divorced. After she divorced, she has stayed for one year at her family's house. Then rented her own house, and bought the stuff in time:

> These are very difficult, but I am very peaceful. I do not care about the society at all Esra. I do not care about anything. There were days in which I was so unhappy, [but] the society has never known what I was going through … We are not the kind of people who live in the margins, if it seems to be inappropriate that I have fun in a bar, in a restaurant, people [should] get used it to. I divorced the husband, and I refused to be a captive, I do not care anymore about that kind of things … If I have a tiny right to have fun to wander, I cannot steal it from myself because of a fear of society. I cannot take back what had been stolen from myself, years do not come back, none of them … Thank God, I say this is just a process, it will pass. But I am very peaceful… I do not live in an unhappy marriage, [today] I do not sleep with a man who beat me yesterday … I continue my life not as if it was a university [student's] life, but as a different life, I was born for the second time. I wonder what happiness is like. (Nur, Appendix, 60)

She made a clear distinction between women who work and women who do not to define her identity: "I am not a woman who is weak, in need of the credit card of a man. I think that women cannot talk to me in my platform, they cannot. To talk to me, she has to face with me with her own bread."[30]

[30] Ben bir erkeğin kredi kartına muhtaç, aciz bir kadın değilim. Bence o kadınlar benim platformumda benimle karşılıklı oturup konuşamaz, konuşamaz, konuşması için kendi ekmeğiyle karşıma gelmesi lazım muhatabım değiller.

Nesrin made a similar distinction between herself and other women who work but do not consider the code of honor. She gave examples from her own friendships at work emphasizing that there are many women who, in contrast to her, are willing to sleep with men in return for money. In addition, her remarks on describing her current situation point out that her marriage and working experience seem to leave an effect of belligerence towards men, but particularly towards her ex-husband: "I am a perfect person. I am worthy of one hundred men who are jerks. Really. Now, go to my husband, and I tell you, if you will find any money on him [to buy] cigarette, I am a bastard. You cannot. But now I can put some money [on the table] if you want."[31]

Likewise, Ayşe made a comparison between herself and her ex-husband and cited that her ex-husband, thanks to her, could start a new life on his own for the first time. She said that she taught him how to start a new life, and although her ex-husband is older than her, he, at the age of 39 could manage to have an independent life on his own. While she was talking about her own life she emphasized how her relatives began to appreciate her although she is the only woman who divorced in her family:

> People used to question why I got divorced. Now, they congratulate me, even for other women in the family I am a person of distinction. Why? There is a role model who does what they cannot do. A woman's standing on her own feet without being dependent on a man in her life … There is a tendency in the society to put a man in the house. People who see it is not the case for me began to address me as a model. For example, my cousins, I have many cousins who are seventeen, eighteen years old, for them, by the way, this is their own interpretation, they interpret me as an unreachable character. (Ayşe, Appendix, 61)

[31]Dört dörtlük bir insanım on tane de yüz tane de erkeği cebimden çıkarıp pislik diye oraya atarım. Gerçekten. Şu anda git benim kocama cebinde bir sigara parası bulursan şerefsiz evladıyım, bulamazsın ama ben istediğin parayı çıkartayım sana şu anda.

However, she mentioned the fact that even if she is not dependent on a man, she is dependent on her children. She said she is shaping her whole life according to her children.

Similarly, Sevil also talked about how she is perceived by her relatives. She cited an anecdote that her two nieces wanted to divorce their husbands, and consulted her about it. She said since their children were very young, she presented her situation negatively on purpose, but after she learned that they were exposed to violence she encouraged them to divorce:

> [I said] "Be patient", I have nephews, they are young , [I said] "Do not destroy [your nest", I was presenting my state negatively so that they would not destroy their nests. [I said] "Do not [divorce your husbands], there are children, do you think that I am okey, do not think I am good", I was positioning myself as being in an undesirable situation, because I did not want [them to divorce]. Their children were very young… [but] [in the begining] if they had said they were exposed to violence, I would not have done this. (Sevil, Appendix, 62)

Nurgül touched upon a similar anecdote when I asked her what she felt while she was married:

> What did I feel? He is the father my of child. I have to endure. I should not feel weak in the eyes of my family, I loved, I got married. To divorce was a shameful act that time, it was not on the agenda like today. It is now. That time when I got divorced everybody in Bulancak looked at me, in a small place everybody was looking at me, but I have stood on my own feet, and then many [people] got divorced who took me as an example. They divorced saying nothing happened to her, it would not happen to us. Moreover, one day when I went to a tour, one woman said to me "Can I talk to you? Please. How do you stand on your own feet? How do you stand straight, make all people laugh?" I asked "Why [not]?" She asked "Aren't you afraid in a place like Bulancak. I was thinking of it [divorcing], but I could not. How did you do?" Many people said this to me in the tour I mean in public. (Nurgül, Appendix, 63)

Gül and Aysel were two women who while were married continued their education, and completed their university studies through distance education. Gül said that she persuaded her first husband saying her pension would be more if she could graduate

from the university while Aysel decided to do this after she began to work as a secretary, because she was ashamed that she left the high school.

Gül, after getting divorced her first husband, had troubles with her son, but she oriented her son to sports, and said they get along well now. She works in the Qur'an course voluntarily, and she is a very sensitive person. She shared anecdotes about how she tried to help women who are exposed to violence and university students who come from other cities to her city. Moreover, the thing which makes her very proud is her courage to tell that she is a divorced woman while she is together with other women. She thinks her courage impresses other women, because divorced women are expected to be invisible.

Aysel as another retired woman lives with her mother, and when we talked about being a powerful woman she was not sure if she is a powerful woman because she is a woman who was beaten for years. However, when I asked her current fears, and concerns she, like an investor, criticized herself because she bought a home by installments, which is not in a fine environment.

Vildan was another woman who was concerned about being powerful because she thinks that since she seems to be powerful her feelings were ignored. Moreover, after she got divorced, people around her began to see her differently, she said especially men saw her as a "monument of sexuality."[32] However, she said that "I thought the more I sacrifice my life, the more I look like them,"[33] and she added that she achieved to be a woman who does not hide under the name of her husband.

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[32] Cinsellik abidesi.

[33] Ne kadar ödün versem o kadar onlara benzeyeceğimi düşünüyordum.

Since the average age of the interviewees is around the mid-forties, the children of most women were graduated from the university and began to work. The most common feature of the women is their commitment to their children's education, and for most of them success is defined by their children's ability to sustain their own lives. In line with this there is a feature that I would like to touch upon which is more visible in this section, that is the emphasis of women on creating a new life on their own after getting divorced. This emphasis reminds us of the myth of the self-made-man which was popularized in America in the nineteenth century by the biographies of poor men who made a fortune. This kind of manhood was an answer to the question about what kind of manhood would dominate the nation in a newly established capitalist economic life. The proving ground for these self-made-men was the public sphere, particularly the workplace (Kimmel, 2002). Although, it operated in a different context, the narrations evoke the myth, and it seems that an image of the self-made-woman who creates herself forms the ground on which women construct their own identities. Most of the women stated that they are in a better condition because they have been working. This implies the fact that "the source of honor" for women has been changing. Hochschild (1990) asserted that a woman's honor was deduced from her relation with her husband, her home, but as the cash economy spread, making money has become the dominant source of honor. Accordingly, women presented themselves superior to their own old states first, then to housewives or other women who sustain unhealthy marriages. Working and providing for the home emerged as something to be proud of.

In addition, I have to specify that there was an emphasis upon a wisdom which was acquired through the drawbacks of both marriage and divorce. The narrations of hardships the women went through during the process of getting divorced are not to be

regarded as a victim-narrative. The most obvious clue to the transcendence of victimhood is that even if women did not specify clearly that they feel stronger after the divorce, they said that they encourage women in unhappy marriages to divorce their husbands. This might be related to the fact that almost all of the participants are in their forties, and have passed ten years on the average after the divorce. So they seem to have reached the point of a successful divorce which was defined by Bohannan as the ability of the divorced person to understand his or her reasons to marry, which factors were influential in choosing the spouse, his or her intrapsychic problems which caused marital problems, and the factors that caused divorce.

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSION

The research demonstrated that marriage might turn into a problem which cannot be solved within its own terms for some women. The result of this situation is the heterogeneity of the effects of divorce on women. This might be a reflection of Levine's (1982) conceptualization of divorce as a progressive act against the traditional family structure in Turkey.

Accordingly, the themes that the narrations gave rise to began with fatherhood which symbolizes the source of power within the family. It showed how fatherhood affected women's lives, and it was linked to how women regard themselves as a woman. Then, I discussed how women decided to get married and I indicated four different routes based on the motivations to marry that emerged after analyzing the narratives. There was not any woman among the interviewees whose marriage was free from the conditions which were defined by private or public patriarchy. Some were forced to marry as a result of the private patriarchy they experienced at their fathers'home while some accepted private patriarchy as a safeguard against the public patriarchy. In the next chapter I tried to open the door to the private lives of the interviewees and share what they had to undertake to sustain their marriages, and how this process transformed their characters. Women experienced a clash of characters between their public representations and their experience of themselves at home or between their own expectations from themselves as a mature woman and their actual positions. In the eight chapter, I tried to relate the role of the manhood and womanhood to the economic countenance of Turkey, and how this general picture of Turkey influenced men and women in their marriages. The changing economic structure of the country has brought

about a demasculinization process for men which was exemplified by the narrations as well. Furthermore, this process coincided with the feminization of the main employment area which is the service sector in which most of the interviewees are involved. The section pointed out that men's experience of manhood is different from their fathers' experience of manhood; both because of the confusion that living a metropolitan life creates, and the short time nature of the current economic structure which is framed by the slogan of "No long term" as Sennet (1998) argued. It was interesting to observe that women have performed as their fathers did, as Hochschild (1990) remarked. So, women seem to perform a fatherly womanhood that implies to work to provide for the family, like their fathers, along with fulfilling the role of a housewife. In the ninth chapter, I touched upon violence towards women along with violence stories of the interviewees and tried to elaborate its causes from a class perspective. For men who cannot perform properly their manhood as the head of the family, violence seems to be a compensation for the crisis of manhood. This approach has been criticized by questioning the fact that working class men attack their wives instead of attacking their class enemies (Walby, 1991). I tried to address this critique in the context of Turkey, by focusing upon the Islamization of the economic discourse as Tuğal asserted (2009), and the effect of this Islamization on defining the real class enemy by the working class men. Also, the role of the politicians who are engaged with the Islamization of the economy in creating fake class enemies for the working class to attack. Lastly, I touched upon the accepted nature of the culture of violence, and how women dealt with this fact. In the last two chapters I portrayed how women decided to get divorced, what kind of reactions they had to face, what they did after the divoce and how they interpret their divorce experience. These two sections indicated the importance of noticing the efforts of women to get divorced in

a culture that is run by the classic patriarchy in which the rules of marriage establishes a second fatherhood embedded in the husband from which women try to escape. Women's interpretation of their experience of divorce firstly evokes the myth of the self-made-man which Kimmel (2002) elaborated, and as working and providing for home emerged as something to be proud of it seems that women's "source of honor", as Hochschild (1990) named it, has been changing. So, an image of self-made-woman emerged out of the narrations.

At the end of the chapters which I devoted to the interviews, it seems to be plausible to look at women's lives through the filter of divorce. Although it showed the loss of the continuity between the promises of socialization of women and the eventual lifestyle that Kandiyoti stated (1987), the pressure in terms of honor continued. However, as Kohen et al. (1979) argued, women can choose to some extent how to relate to the patriarchal authorities, and as far as the interviewees are concerned, they found their own ways to be accepted by the society. Some assumed the role of the woman who struggles on her own to provide for herself and her children, while some of them assumed the role of the woman who is aware of her own rights in the context of being a citizen or in religious terms.

In conclusion, one of the implications of the research is that some extremely important drawbacks after a divorce such as financial problems and overwhelming responsibility on the shoulders of women are not inherent in divorce itself. Some drawbacks are related to the division of labor with which women are not introduced by divorce, such as assuming all responsibility of children. The narrations showed that financial problems are in fact one of the main reasons for women to take the decision to get divorced. Thus, it could be argued that women who are accustomed to these

drawbacks through their marriages are prepared by their marriages for an alternative life. To conclude, it is significant to be aware of what kind of meaning divorce might have for women, and I hope that I was able to demonstrate women's process of being empowered after their divorce through the narratives of women supported by relevant research.

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APPENDIX

ORIGINAL TURKISH QUOTATIONS

1. [Babam] hiçbir söz hiçbir şey söylemeden hiçbir açıklama yapmadan bizi terk etmişti yani artık onu kanıksamıştık terk edildiğimizi ve bu benim evliliğime çok şey oldu, dezavantajları oldu çünkü hep başıma kakıldı hep terk edilmişliğim yeri geldi ailesi bile konuşma esnasında ee bizim terk edilmişliğimizi öne sürerek konuşmalar yapıyordu … mesela birini anlatırken baba terbiyesi görmemişler diyordu benim çok ağrıma dokunuyordu eğer babaları bırakmış gitmişse babalarından ayrılarsa baba terbiyesi görmemiştir diyordu. Yani terbiyeyi verenin sadece bir baba olabileceğini düşünüyordu hani çocuğu eğitenin demek ki. (Aysel)
2. Babam sordu bana, bende zaten bir ürkeklik vardı babama karşı, daha hala bu yaşta olmama rağmen vardır, bir şey soracağı zaman böyle ben ya, karşısında yaprak gibi titrerim. O zaman da böyle bir korkuyla, ben böyle bir şey düşünüyorum dedi, uygun görüyorum dedi, ben bilmiyorum dedim. (Nükhet)
3. Şey dedi babam gelirken tamam dedi bir hak, hakkın vardı onu da dedi kaybettin dedi, kazanırsın kazanırsın kazanamazsan kazanamazsın bitti bu kadar … Niye aldın, niye getirdin madem sahip çıkmayacaktın … mum dibini aydınlatmaz derler ya ışıtmaz, kendine, kendi çocuklarına faydası olmadı. Birçok öğretmen yetiştirdi, o okullardan birçok mezunlar verildi, bu alanda birçok ödül aldı takdir aldı … Bilmiyorum neden yapmadı. Yani çalışayım ayaklarımın üstüne durayım hani evlendiğim zaman da bir koca parasına muhtaç olmayayım diye bir çabası olmadı hiç. Evlensin gitsin başımdan diye bir gözle baktı böyle hep. Zaten de ilk isteyene verdi hemen. (Aydan)

4. Görüyorsun gözünle anlıyorsun kalabalığın içine kendimi nasıl attığımı bilmiyorum yani o bir refleksle ondan sonra inan bu yaşıma geldim o gün hala beni gözümün önünde şeydir yani o sahne ee siliktir şöyle silik. Bana sesleniyor benimle konuşuyor ben hiçbir şey duymuyorum bende tepki yok yani dondum kaldım … sonra arabaya bindik arabada dedim ki ya ben nerden bileyim sizin benim babam olduğunu siz çok genç gösteriyorsunuz çünkü şimdi bu üvey babamı da o kadar benimsemişim ki demek ki hani kendimi yani onunla onu karşılaştırınca bir de o dönemlerde babam daha çökmüş hani beni büyüten adam daha böyle çökmüş daha bir şey bu adam desen hani daha böyle bi filinta gibi bilmem ne … bir baba hayal etmemiştim hayalimde dedim, bir tane resim çıkarttı, uzattı bana aynı resimden annemde de var … Ondan sonra o resmi görünce ben şok oldum. (Seher)
5. Babamın bir lafını hala unutmam orda da bak bunu da bir not yani bunu kırmızı çizgiyle, şunu dedi bir tek Seher'e söyleyin evde onu bekleyenler var dedi ve ben yıkıldım. Yani o an böyle koşup boynuna sarılmak da geldi içimden onlarla birlikte atlayıp eve gitmek de geldi içimden ama hiçbir şey yapamadım. Durdum kaldım. Ondan sonra ee sonrasında işte bunlar gittiler biz de ertesi gün sabah hemen artık izimizi buldular diye hemen yola çıktık, gittik. (Seher)
6. Sigarayı gizli saklı içiyorum sene seksenlerden bahsediyoruz, bir pastane köşesinde gizli saklı sigara içiyoruz kızlarla yaşım 16 -17, bir arkadaşın babası gördü, ben fark etmedim son anda fark ettim diğer kızlar attı beni elimde sigarayla yakaladı … babam hiçbir tepki vermedi her zamanki gibi geldi duşunu aldı yemeğimizi yedik çocuklara meyve koydum dedi ki kızım kahve yap kendine de yap kahvelerimizi yaptım balkona çıktık ee balkonda kahvelerimizi

koyduk anneme sigara tuttu ondan sonra bana sigara tuttu. Yok baba ben sigara içmiyorum dediğimde … kızım benim yanımda iç ki bana kimse gelip de Salih Kaya'nın kızı sigara içiyor demesin. İlk nasihatim babamdan bu olmuştur … Sonra bir gün okuldan eve geldim Almanya'da, ders çalışıyorum babam geldi işten dedi ki çantanı getir … götürdüm çantamı, okul çantamı içinden bir paket Marlboro sigarası çıktı bir tane alınmış. Ondan sonra sen dedi işte sigara içiyormuşum nasıl sigara içersin … ilk tokadını o zaman yedim ve bu benim çok ağrıma gitti. (Seher)

7. Apartmanın yanına gene çekti o yan tarafa arabayı ben indim valizleri indirdik tozu dumana kattı gitti … İki baba tanıdım ben biri kör cahil biri de tam tersine çok aydın. İkisi de uçtaydı. (Seher)
8. Şimdi dedim ya hani babam biliyordu biz saatli giriyoruz çıkıyoruz diye Almanya'dan gelirken babamın Almanya'daki babamın aldığı iki saat vardı biri kalp şeklinde kolye şeklinde bir tane de kol saati ee tabii kolye saat takılı boynumda kalp şeklinde olduğu için onu takmıştım yine biz direğin dibinde eşim Erhan'la oturuyoruz sohbet ediyoruz babamla annem de balkonda … altıda işten çıkıyorum altı buçukta evde oluyorum yedi gibi, yediden sekize kadar bir saat Erhan'la konuşma zamanım var. O kadar müsaade etti babam, o bir saat içinde konuşuyoruz … ben saatime baktım sekize on var aradan bir zaman geçti tekrar baktım sekize on var Erhan'a sordum saat kaç sekizi on geçiyor dedi. Eyvah dedim apar topar bir yukarıya çıkışım var, babacım işte kusura bakma valla bak işte saatim durmuş … Nuh dedi peygamber demedi o zaman dedi ki gideceksin evden. Saat gecenin on bir buçuğu beni evden dışarı attı. Saat gecenin on bir buçuğu beni evden dışarı attı. (Seher)

9. Annemin babamın buraya geldim tabii çünkü başka nereye gideceğim burada horlandım mı ilk dönemler tabii ki baya zorluklar çektim. İşte şöyle de onun çocuğuna mı bakıcan şöyle de böyle de ondan sonra çocuğun zoruna gitmeye başladı baktım çocuk eziliyor aldım onu konuştum oğlum ne yapalım dedim bilmiyorum anne ben babamın yanına gideyim dedi ondan sonra tabi anne yüreği dayanıyor mu buna dayanamıyor yok oğlum falan. Bir akşam işte ne olduysa babam değil de annem annem çocuğun eşyalarını topladı koydu kapının önüne gece. Ondan sonra işte taksi çağırıldı oğlanı gönderdim ama ben bitmiştim. Benim bitiş noktam artık tamamdı artık ölümü de düşündüm her şeyi düşündüm o gece içeri girmedim sabaha kadar kapının önünde oturdum ondan sonra ya dedim oğlumu geri alacaksınız dedim ya ben dedim gideceğim alıp başımı gideceğim ya da öleceğim dedim ama kafaya koydum, ondan sonracığıma baktılar baş edemiyorlar sabaha kadar evde gidip çocuğumu getirdiler. (Sevil)
10. Şunu keşfettim ki benim yaşadığım cinselliklerin yüzde doksanı geçmişte belki daha fazlası sadece şey içindi; ah beni seviyorlar. Yani aslında sevişmek istemiyordum sadece sevilmek istiyordum. Orda ee yani bunun için ödediğim bedelin farkında bile değildim. Sadece sevilmek için sadece onaylanmak için. Oysa yani kendini sevmek diye bir şey var ya artık o kadar koskocaman önümde ama o tabii o zaman hiç bundan haberim … sadece ben sevilirsem mutlu olabilen biriydim ve özellikle erkekler tarafından sevilmek özellikle işte baba tarafından sevilmek patron tarafından sevilmek onurlandırılmak saygı duymak yani eril dediğimiz şey. (Yaprak)

11. Erkeklerden nefret etmem de yine çok eskiye geçmişe babama ve dedeme dayanıyor. Çünkü dedemin bizi işte azarlamasıydı kadınsın, kızsın sus yeme içme kenara çekil filan. Bir misafir gelince bizim hep arka planda olmamız. Bacak bacak üstüne atıp oturamamamız etek giymemiz, yok işte adet olduğumuzda hiç kimsenin bilmemesi, duymaması. Göğüsler çıkınca saklanması … böyle bir şey olmalı bende bir güç olmalı bir kuvvet olmalı dedemi ve babamı öldürmeliydim. Hayatımda iki tane gereksiz erkek diye düşünüyordum mesela. Oysa ki aslında hemen hemen şöyle bakınca hepsi gereksizmiş bütün erkekler. (Candan)
12. Ya ben ilk gördüğüm erkekten kazık yedim öyle böyle bir kazık değil yani. Çocukluğumun tamamen yerle bir olduğu bir kazık yedim o yüzden babamdan nefret ettiğim için ve babamı sevmediğim için gelecek insanın bana baba sevgisi vermesi gerekiyor. (Candan)
13. Ben babamın sevgisini istemiyorum artık. Ben babamı bir yıldır görmüyorum ve ne özlüyorum ne bir şey ne görmek istiyorum onu gördüğüm zaman böyle çocukluğumu görüyorum ya. Ya çocukluğumu görüyorum ve hırçınlaşıyorum orda var ya elimden gelse gerçekten onu orda öldürebilirim! (Candan)
14. Yoktu … kadın boşluk çok acayip bir boşluk bende şöyle bir şey tanıdığım ilk kadın annemdi sonra babaannemdi. Yani annemi de kaybettikten sonra yani ee kadın benim beynimde kadın yok … bende bir kadın profili yok yani hani erkek çok çıkartabilirim çünkü sağım solum önüm arkam her yer erkekti. Yani köy ee köyde amcalar erkek, şunlar erkek kadınlar hep yoktu ya piyasada kadınlar hep bastırılmış arka tarafta yemekte, aşta, şurda burda hiçbir kadın göremiyorsun … Yani ben ilk adet olduğum zaman bana ayıp kimseye söyleme dediklerinde

bunun bir ayıp olduğunu kadınlığın kötü olduğunu [anladım] … bana kadınlığı hep şey gösterdiler kötü, kadın bu dünyada üçüncü dördüncü şey işte kadın sadece sikilmek için var. Kadın sadece doğurmak için var. Kadın ekmek yapar … Anladım ki kadın olmak kötü yani. Bunu ne zaman taa düzelttim düzelttim yani son iki senedir belki de düzeltiyorum yeni yeni … benim dedem benim babaanneme bunu aşıladı benim babaannem bana bunu aşıladı. (Candan)

15. Annemin saçımı örmesi bile sanki benim gururuma ya da ne bileyim onurumu zedeliyormuş gibi hissederdim. Ee forma almasını istemiştim babamdan karşı çıkmıştı hani sen kız çocuğusun nasıl olur diye. Tabii ki ee köyde sürekli erkeklerle bir arada ee oyunlarımız oynuyoruz falan fakat belli bir saatten sonra hani kız çocuğu ne yapmaz dışarda bulunmaz. Ee yani o yüzden ben sadece herhalde çocukken yediğim dayağı o sebepten yemişimdir aileden. Neden işte belli bir saatten sonra sen dışarıdasın neden erkeklerle oyun oynuyorsun şeklinde. Ee tabii daha sonra ilkokula başlayacağım zaman benim için işte o okulun üniforması etek giyeceğim hiç giymemişim reddetmişim çok zor gelmişti bana ee hayal ediyordum işte saçımı kestirsem erkeğe benzesem o şekilde gitsem nasıl olur hani bunu düşünmüştüm çünkü hep onu görmüşüm model almışım kendime. Ee model aldığımı düşünüyorum ee yani cinsel yönelimim bu değil hani bu şu an biliyorum ama o dönem … o eşitliği kendimce sağlamaya çalışıyordum. (Ayşe)

16. Yok aslında hiçbir zaman olmadı kadın figürü bende çünkü erkekleri model aldım. Nedir işte ee kendi yaşam tarzları, nasıldı istedikleri zaman istediği şeyi söyleyebilir, sakıncası yok. Kadın söylediğinde kullandığı kelimelerden, oturuş şeklinden, işte saçını bağlayışından, gülümsemesinden işte bakışından hepsi

etken … Ee fakat ondan mıdır bilmiyorum ben hiçbir zaman kadın rolünü de kabullenmedim aslında hani bize biçilen kadın rolünü … basit örnekler vereyim mesela, nedir, ee hani kız çocukları anneye yardım eder rolünü, yoo ben babama yardım etmeyi tercih ederdim hani o tamir vesaireyle uğraşırdı benim ilgi alanım o ne bileyim bir radyoyu bile içini açıp tamir etmek istemiştim hala bile yaparım yani. (Ayşe)

17. Nişanlım olan kişiyi işte aldım karşıma dedim ki biz seninle yapamayacağız yani ben bunu daha baştan da söylemiştim. Al yüzüğünü kardeşim ayrılalım biz. Ben orda nişanlımdan ayrıldım o akşam geldiğim günün akşamı. Ertesi gün beni gezdiriyor… bir yere uğradık il özel idarenin bir bürosu gibi, orda yine bir akrabamla tanıştırdılar beni ee babamlar falan topraklarım olduğunu söylemişlerdi zaten bir önceki gelişlerinde hani o yüzden seni aradık bulduk demişlerdi, dediler ki sen madem nişanı attın, ben oğlumuzla yapmak istemiyorsun birlikte olmak istemiyorsun biz seni zorlamayacağız ama senin babadan kalan toprakların var bunları yarın gelip de hani ya satarsan ya edersen ben size hibe ederim demiştim. Benim toprakta gözüm yok, tamam o zaman buyur bir imza at dediler bir defter verdiler önüme ben oraya hibe ettiğime dair güya imza attığımı zannediyorum benim nikahım öyle kıyılmış. (Meltem Mahinur)

18. Ben Malatya'da yaşıyordum on iki yaşında annem beni eşime nişanladı benden izinsiz, ben hiç istemedim, evlenmeme altı ay kala ben onu sevdim ama tabii ben çocuğum beni sinemalara götürüyor annem de geliyor ben gitmiyorum ya annem de benimle geliyor … evlendik, tayinimiz çıktı biz Konya'ya gittik

öğretmendi kendisi … Annem beni küçük yaştan verdi buna hani baba yok Malatyalıyız biz Doğu'da ne olur ne olmaz diye. (Leyla)

19. Ee biz şimdi Gürcüyüz ee Gürcülerde şöyle bir ee kural demeyeyim de nasıl, ne derler şimdi tam tabirini bulamıyorum ee çok ee eski zamanlarda savaş zamanında buraya geldiği için atalarımız burada ee birbirlerine daha çok kenetlenmişler daha bağlanmışlar Gürcülerde daha tutuculuk bağcılık bağlılık vardır mesela bu da ev hayatında şeyi de etkiliyor yani mesela bizim gelenimiz gidenimiz çok… Sürekli kalabalık içinde bir ailede büyüdüm. Çocukluk zamanında bu çok zevkli geliyordu tabii ama büyüyünce biraz genç kız olduğun zaman kız kız çocuğu olduğun için de temizlik yapman bekleniyor misafir ağırlaman bekleniyor … Ben misafir düşmanı değilim kesinlikle ama inanılmaz, hatta ben arkadaşıma anlattığım zaman sizin ev hala mı öyle der mesela. Olabilir, dışarıdan fenalık gelir yani içinde yaşamadığı halde. Ben belki bundan olayı buranın içinde ya da görücü usulü kısmetlere sıcak bakmadım çünkü hep şöyle düşündüm yani ben buranın içinden evlenirsem benim aile, evim de anne, annemin evi gibi olur diye düşündüm. Ee hep bana da gelirler ben rahat olamam yani böyle çok huzurlu olamam diye düşünüyordum … o ev ortamından da kurtulmak için tam belki seçemedim yanlış bir evlilik yaptım. (Menekşe)

20. Ee ben yani evlenmemin en büyük nedeni etrafımda o kadar yani ne diyeyim sarkmak kelimesi de yani tacize çok çok tacize uğruyor Türkiye de ee tek başına yaşayan tek başına çalışan ki sen de belki bilirsin bunları. Özellikle sendika gibi bir ortamda, inanılmaz yani sendika patronları diyorum ben ona işçi sınıfı falan değiller, yani artık paralı profesyonel sendika yöneticileri. Çok çektim. Yani yalnız olmaktan çok çektim hakikaten ve yani açık söyleyeyim etrafımda şöyle

mert sözüne güvenebileceğim, şey ee bana güven verebilecek ee şey düzene uyum sağlayan bir açısı olmayan falan erkek yok gibi bir şeydi. Ya da benim bulunduğum ortamda öyleydi. Dolayısıyla Cem'le tanıştıktan çok kısa bir süre sonra böyle bir güven geldi bana bir de çocuğum olsun istiyordum artık 28 yaşına gelmiştim çocukları çok seviyordum. (Rüya)

21. Böyle oturdu karşıma eşim şey dedi ben sizinle evlenmek istiyorum dedi ilk dediği bu oldu daha o gece. O bana ilk görüşte aşık olmuş zaten yani çok fazla şey. Ben yirmi bir yaşındayım hayatımda hiç flört etmemişim, hiçbir erkeklen bir arkadaşlığım olmamış çok ciddiyim … Şimdi eşim çok yakışıklı bir adamdı hani böyle boylu boslu çok hoş çok hızlı yaşamış … öyle kadınlarla gezmiş dolaşmış beni görünce tamam evleneceğim kişiyi buldum demiş. E ben de tabii etkilendim beni o kadar beğenmesinden. Ama hiç flört etmedik yani hiç şey yapmadan çünkü hemen gelip istedi. (Hale)
22. Kendimi aşırı kontrol altında hissetmem, artık hani böyle beceriksizleşir ya insan ya bunu böyle yaparsam acaba kızar mı acaba bunu böyle yapsam eleştirir mi hiç alışık olmadığım bir ee süreç yaşamaya başladım. Ya kendimi kaybetmeye başladım hep kendime göre değil, ona göre düşünmeye başladım, benim çok becerebileceğim bir durum değildi aslında ama çok denedim sonunda aslında bir gün işte anksiyete ve depresyon ve panik atak üçü birlikte acile kaldırıldım … sekiz ay psikoterapi gördüm ve işte psikoterapide ee sürekli bana şu tip sorular mesela doktor soruyor şimdi peki sen bunu yaptığında kayınvaliden kendini iyi hissetti mi? Evet, çok iyi hissetti. Peki eşin bu konuda ne düşünüyor? E o pek hoşlanmadı. Peki sen ne düşündün bunu yaptığında? Valla bilmiyorum, hatırlamıyorum diyorum. Yani kendimle ilgili aslında

kriterlerimi kaybettiğimi fark ettim. Hep ona göre buna göre yani aman kavga çıkmasın aman huzursuzluk olmasın diye nihayet birisi bana o psikiyatrist işte psikiyatristim sen ne yapmak istiyorsun altı yedi yıl sonra biri bunu sordu yani sen ne yapmak istiyorsun? … Ama çok uzun sürdü ve çok zor bundan çıkmak yani insan kendini bu kadar baskıladıktan sonra ve özellikle de işte o baskılamanın bedelinde mutlu bir aile tablosu, işte oğlum, sevdiğim eşim bilmem ne çünkü eşimi seviyorum ben, onu onun bedeli zannederek bunu bu şekilde yaşamak çok ağır geliyor insana. (Rüya)

23. Aydın'la anneanneye gelmiştik, anneanneye de izin alıyorduk yalnız ama biz o zaman cep telefonu yok vesaire yok, kendisi şeyde dışarıda babaanne gezmede biz de Aydın'la, evimizin arası annemle 20-25 dakika yürüme mesafesi mesela, Aydın'la anneanneye gittik, Aydın da çok mutlu oluyor diye dönüşte Aydın'a demiştim ki Aydın kimse sormazsa sana nerede olduğumuzu söyleme olur mu çocuğum demiştim çünkü onlardan daha önce eve girecektik. Ondan sonra, tamam anne dedi ama sonra ben buna çok üzülmüştüm ya çocuk başka türlü anlasa mesela bana güveni kalmayacak o zaman diye, o yüzden izin vermediği yere gitmiyordum. (Aysel)

24. Gül: Evde ben o kadar dayak yiyordum eziyet çekiyordum adama karşı bir şey yapamıyordum gücüm yetmiyordu ama iş yerinde terörist gibiydim iş yerinde hak arıyordum… o yüzden bana şey diyorlardı terörist diyorlardı sen çok şeysin işte hakkını arıyorsun.

Esra: İş yerindeki siz lisedeki o kızla aynı sanki?

Gül: Heh heh heh! Çünkü neden ondan ben baskı duyduğum için ben mecbur kalıyordum başıma gelene.

Esra: Değişiyordunuz.

Gül: He değişiyordum ama e, şeyde dışarda bambaşkaydım dışarda.

Esra: Hangisi gerçek sizdi?

Gül: Gerçek ben dışarıdaki ben çünkü ben hatta ben dedim ki eşimden ayrıldıktan sonra dedim ki ben, ben özümü buldum.

25. Bu konuda biraz tutucular. Tek başına bir yere gidemezsin. Yani eğer öğleden sonra çarşıya çıkacaksan önce bir giderken kocanı yol ederken kocandan izin alacaksın, ondan sonra kahvaltı yaparken kayınvalidenden izin alacaksın, kayınpederini yol ederken kayınpederden izin alacaksın… Ondan izin al, bundan izin ama bir, bir yere kadar yani. Sonuçta ben de ee otuz beş yaşlarında filan olmuş oluyorum buraya geldiğimde… kocamla konuşuyorum artık yani bi bir şey yap. Otoriteni bir koy, benim karım benden sorumludur de. Ben izin veriyorum tamam de. Be.. ben, ben bileyim nereye gittiğini siz bilmeseniz de olur de, bir şey de. Azıcık sahip çık bana. E ben sizin aranızdaki şeye karışmam, ne yaparsanız yapın ben karışmam diyip o da öyle çıkıyor işin içinden. İşte yavaş yavaş yavaş yavaş ona alıştır, yavaş yavaş buna alıştır, yavaş yavaş alıştırıyorum ama bu onları yavaş yavaş alıştırmam benden birçok şeyi alıp götürdüğünü fark ediyorum sonra sonra. Ben diye bir şey kalmıyor ortada. (Aydan)

26. Ben böyle kendimi günah keçisi gibi hissetmeye başladım işte. Sanki böyle nur yüzlü, namazlı abdestli bir adama başka şş.. farklı duygular hissettiren, ee böyle ee hafifmeşrep bir kadın gibi hissetmeye başladım. İşte namaz kılıyorum, kapan… kapandım, kapanıyorum, böyle kendimi o yöne verdim işte. Sabahlara kadar dua ediyorum Allah'ım ee yardım et bana, yardım et bana hani niye böyle

hissediyorum, yardım et. Hani şöyle bir kapandım, o da kendine bir çekidüzen versin… (Aydan)

27. Koca olarak beklenti daha farklı kardeşinden beklediğini beklemiyorsun babandan beklediğini beklemiyorsun ne bileyim herhangi bir erkek arkadaşından beklediğini beklemiyorsun bak babana kızıyorsun ne bileyim ya konuşmasan oluyor, kardeşine kızıyorsun konuşmasan oluyor çocuğuna kızıyorsun ona bile konuşmasan oluyor … kocaya kızıyorsun kardeşim en ağır lafı söylüyorsun ondan sonra yataktan ekmek al da gel akşama, bunu diyebiliyorsun bu böyle bir ilişki karı koca ilişkisi. (Deniz)
28. Üç gün sonra kalktım ayağa, siparişler birikmiş, herkes börek bekliyor, tatlı bekliyor, bayram üstü ve ben lohusa lohusa bir bayram siparişine hazırlandım … eşim de durumun farkında, insanüstü bir çaba gösterdiğimin farkında o da hayret ediyor bana … böyle bana şey getirip götürüyor hani oradaki açıkları bana getirip götürüyor ama ben oklavayla kafasını yarmak istiyorum, o kadar hırslıyım. Ben bunu burada yaparken sen, niye evde oturuyorsun? Ben bunu bu kadar çabalarken, ben dokuz ay karnım burnumda, bu açkıyı tezgaha dayana dayana,çocuğumun kafasını oraya vurdura vurdura açarken sen hımbıl hımbıl iş hanlarında oturuyorsun akşama kadar … sen bir şey yapsana diyorum. E ne yapayım ben ne yapayım nerde çalışayım iş mi var çalışmıyorum. Da dedim ki herkes yurt dışına gidiyor Rusya'ya gidiyor, Arabistan'a gidiyor inşaatta çalışıyor, bir şey yapıyor … [Sonunda] artık kocamdan soğudum. (Aydan)
29. Ne evin faturasından haberi vardı ne aidatından haberi vardı ne bir şeyden … Nazilli gibi bir yerden geldi işte Aydın Nazilli nin küçük bir köyünden geldi … ne bileyim belki dedim aidatı bilmez faturayı bilmez onu bilmez şunu bilmez

diyerekten her şeyi böyle birden elime alınca sonra hepsi üzerime kaldı ve ben birden altında ezildiğimi hissettim … işsizdi parası da yoktu ya bir de benim zaten erkekleri ezme gibi bir şeyim var onun zaten parası yokken benim olan paramla da hem ev geçiniyordu hem biz geçiniyorduk hem de evin kirası yatıyordu filan yani. Mesela yani onun hiçbir şeyden haberi olmuyordu ama o bu iyi değilmiş. Yani ben bunu yaparken kendi duygularımı bastırayım ee ezikliğimi bastırayım filan diye düşünürken aslında ben birçok yükü de almışım. Bunu da hiç iyi yapmamışım daha sonra bu yükün altında ezildim ve yoruldum ve belki bu yorgunluğumu da evliliğe farklı yansıdı mesela. (Candan)

30. İşe girerdi bir ay çalışırdı on beş gün çalışırdı çıkardı geçimsizliği yüzünden … İçki içmesi vardı, ee sorumsuzluğu, hiç evinin şeyini üstüne almazdı mesuliyetini. Kömürü Nesrin al, markete Nesrin gör borcu Nesrin öde, ben o zaman ne yapayım kocayı. Koca bana lazım değil ki. Zaten görmüyorum kocalığını. Ne yapacam onu niye onu fazla bir boğaz bakayım? (Nesrin)
31. Ben çok Mecidiyeköy'de şey de Esentepe'de banka temizliğine gittim … bana [görevli] adam dedi ki demek ki anladı, temizlik nasıl yapılıyor gördü adam, ben masaların üstüne silmeye başladım, sen dedi üst kata çıkacaksın müdürün odasını temizleyeceksin … ben orayı bir temizlemişim ki … ertesi gün oraya oranın sorumlusuna demiş ki benim odayı kim temizledi, demiş ki abi bir şey mi kayıp hayır hiçbir şey kayıp değil demiş ve çok muhteşem bir temizlik olmuş kim temizlediyse demiş sadece o gelsin benim daireme tanışmak istiyorum. O bizi oraya götüren kişi babam o zaman sağdı, eve gelmiş, baktım oturuyor Necmiye Hanım niye oturuyorsun sen burada niye geldin dedim. Seni götürmeye geldim dedim dedi, nereye dedim valla bankanın müdürü dedi ki dedi

ondan başka kimse benim odamı temizleyemez. Babam bana böyle yaptı eşşoğlueşşek dedi orda da mı marifetlerini gösterdin dedi. Ondan sonra ama dedi kadına dedi ki ben dedi her zaman için kızımla gurur duyuyorum, hiçbir zaman bir yanlışı olmamıştır, hiçbir zaman benim kafamı yere eğmedi dedi. (Nesrin)

32. Bir gün… dayak yiyorum kendimi düşünmüyorum Aydın'ı arıyorum Aydın'ı ararken böyle ocakların yanında annesi böyle örtülü bir dolap gibi bir şey almış bacaklı altı boş ve Aydın'ı araya araya en son o örtünün altında buldum küçücük bir yere girmiş böyle demek ki kendini koruyor çünkü zaten ancak kendini koruyabilir beni koruyacak yaşta değil. Çok küçüktü, onu öyle orda bulmuştum ve ona demiştim ki Aydın ailede olur böyle şeyler demiştim ve ne kadar yanlış yapmışım ben onu daha sonra anladım. Bir gün ben dayak yediğimde Aydın beni teselli etmeye başladı, anne her ailede olur değil mi böyle şeyler dedi. (Aysel)

33. [Polis] gelmiş bana bıçak nerde silah nerde diye. Daha bir dakika ne bıçağı silah yok bıçak yok sizi anlıyoruz hanımefendi ya hanımefendi demezler neyse sizi anlıyoruz hani korkuyorsunuz [gülümser] tamam mı şimdi yasaları uygulamanın da işte böyle komik yasa her şey değil ama bak bizde çok lazım böyle bir şey de, ben bu durumda ay adamı götürecekler hapse atacaklar, yani hapse atılacak bir durun gerçekten yok hani elini bir şeyi sert bile atmadı, sadece bağırdı, gerçi o da biliyorsun hani verbal abuse diyelim neyse şiddet diyelim ama hani benim Türkiye'de [gülümser]yaşadıklarıma göre bu benim için o anda adamın hapse girmesini gerektirecek bir durum değil… yalvarıyorum lütfen gidin, anlıyorum sizi şikayet gelmiş ama bu evde bir şiddet söz konusu değil öyle bir şiddet yok olanı anlatıyorum bu adamın hiç haberi yoktu gelirken geldi ki eve geldi ki hani

normal bir evine uğramış ben yakalandım dedim onun için öfkelenmekte haklı ama yani bu kadar öfkeyi ben kaldırabiliyorum bir problem yok siz gidin, biz sorunumuzu çözebilecek şeydeyiz, olgunluktayız… Ben boşadığım kaçtığım adamı savunmak için dansöz gibi ortalıkta dolaşıyorum. Acayip komikti ama yani hiçbir şey yapamadım tabii. Biz böyle hep beraber eskort yaptılar bize [yeni evimize gidene kadar]. (Neslihan)

34. İçeri girmedi ilk önce polis zaten, kapıda şikayetçi olan var mı ben elimi kaldırıyorum komşu elimi indiriyor … Gitme diye böyle yalvarasıya bakıyorum polisin yüzüne kapıya kadar çıktı bu bayanı dedi aracınız varsa bir yere götürün şu cam kırıklarını da süpürün sokaktan dedi, her yer bira şişesi. O arada polisler arabaya bindi böyle bu… geldiğiniz sokağı böyle giderken şu köşedeyim zaten giderken ben o arada evden bir panikle böyle kalmam için onlar bir şeyler yapmaya çalışırken kaçtım, polis arabasının arkasından nasıl koşuyorum, adamlar beni fark etmedi, yengem var üst katta kardeşimin eşi, erkek kardeşimin, arkadan belimden bir sarıldı böyle tuttu oturttu yola, gitme dedi bırak dedi, Allah belasını versin Allah'ından bulsun dedi. (Nükhet)
35. Hamileyken de ilk şiddetimi gördüm, belime bir tekme atıldı üç buçuk, üç buçuk ay boyunca ben hastane ev arası hamileliğimi yatarak geçirdim. Öyle. Sonra böyle… şey ya o kadar çok şeyler yaşadım ki o kadar çok ki… böyle film izlemeyi seviyoruz evde, anne de köyden gelmiş çağırdım, mısır falan patlattık falan. Kabuklu fıstık almış bana da mutfakta demiş ki annem bunu çok sever demiş, masanın üstüne koymuş. Ben onu duymadım, iş yapıyordum, anne yedik içtik, bir şeyler, anne yukarıya çıktı, bana Fırat tam odadan çıkıyorum şey tabakları götürüyorum mutfağa, saçımı böyle tuttu çekti beni kendine arkadan,

ben şaka yapıyor diyorum adam, şaka yapıyor bana sonra bir baktım canım Fırat canım acıyor filan diyorum, hassasım ya diyorum, saçlarım falan, belime bir tekme attı sen benim anneme mahsus kabuklu fıstık koymadın diye. Hangi kabuklu fıstık dedim, e ben aldım işten gelirken getirdim ya dedi, söyledim ya annem bunu seviyor, ben duymadım, masanın üstünde onu görmedim mutfak masasında çünkü bir sürü bir şeyler var ben alıp alıp koyuyorum… niye sol elimi uzattım diye bana çok rahat küfürlerle saldırabilirdi yani böyleydi. Sonra da oturup ağlıyordu ben sana nasıl vurdum ben sana nasıl kıydım diye bu sefer ben onu teselli ediyordum. Üzülme bak canımın acısı geçti. (Reyhan)

36. […] her bir yaptığı şeye de mesela kendimce bir kılıf uydurmaya çalışıyordum. İşte çocukluğunda o da babasından şiddet görmüş diyordum veya bir dönem ee bir evin erkek tek erkek çocuğu olduğu için belli bir yaşa kadar sorumluluk verilmeden çok şımarık yetiştirilmiş diyordum. (Aysel)

37. Ben o zaman onu çok seviyordum ben yani bana mesela en ufak bir şeyden bana dayak atıyordu. Ben hani ben sevdiğinden işte kıskanıyordur şudur da budur da hep böyle şey yapıyordum ben. Sonra ben bu kitaplar falan okuyorum işte televizyonda artık bir şey doktor mu konuşuyordu artık neyse işte bu şiddet üzerine demişti ki böyle ee çok yani böyle bir şiddet gördüğünüz zaman o kişinin gözlerinin içine bakın. Ben tabii bunları ben şiddet gördüğümü falan hep saklıyorum çünkü iş yerine gidip geliyorum ya yok kapı vurdu yok otobüsten düştüm, yok minibüs işte kaza yaptı yok şu oldu yok bu oldu ben hep onu saklıyorum ama son şeyde artık onu ben o şeyden sonra ee doktor … gözünün içine bakın dedi ve ben onun gözünün içine baktığımda onda şiddet zevki gördüm. Yani o bana dayak atarkenki o zevki ben gözlerinin içindeki o

kıvılcımda gördüm ve ondan tiksindim ve ben anladım ki bu bana beni sevdiğinden değil beni sevdiğinden vurmuyor bu, zevk alıyor. (Gül)

38. İlk kocam onu yaptı. Evin sırrı verilmez [dedi], küçüksün ya bilmiyorsun her şeyi ondan görüyorsun. Evin sırrı verilmez, evin sırrı anlatılmaz, o şöyledir, o günahtır. O şöyledir, o böyledir hiç kimseye bir şey anlatamıyorsun, derdini dökemiyorsun ama anlatmak lazım. En başta annene babana muhakkak anlatmak lazım. Güvenilir kişiye hani çevrendeki. Şey yap, laf üzerine laf katmayan, seni koruyabilecek birine evin sırrı verilir. Kocan seni dövüyorsa söyleyeceksin kardeşim! (Gül)
39. Şok oldu insanlar yani nasıl olur [dediler] evet böyle oluyor … boşanmaya kalktığım zaman ilçe de şok oldu çünkü ilk defa bir kadın kocasını boşamaya kalkıyor. Genelde erkekler kocalarını boş şey ka, kadınları boşarlar ve hani vardır ya tabiri caizse böyle önce arabayı sonra eşini değiştirir diye e bir kadın kocasını boşaması bir devrim niteliğindeydi. (Meltem Mahinur)
40. Burda geldim, geldim iki tane avukat aradım bir tane avukat çok enteresandır ya götürün bunu dedi yirmi sekiz yaşında dedi daha evlenecek yaşta dedi dul kadın olmak kolay bir şey mi dedi bu toplumda dedi götürün, benim yüzüme bile söylemiyor, yanımdaki gelen akrabalarıma söylüyor götürün bu kızı evine … Ben orda bir bireyim bana söyle, bana zorluklarını söyle, ben de sana neden karar verdiğimi söyleyeyim. Bana söylemiyor yanımdakilere söylüyor ama ordan çıkıp başka bir avukata gittim. (Meltem Mahinur)
41. Beni karşısına alıp bir baba edasıyla kızım dedi boşanmaya karar vermişsin dedi çok zor bir karar dedi ama en kötü karar dedi en iyi kararsızlıktan iyidir aldığın karar dedi çok zor bunun arkasında durabilecek cesaretin var mı dedi. Nasıl

dedim, yani hangi anlamda sordunuz, ee seksen sekiz yılı bir kadın kocasından ayrılmak istiyor, bi yani bir ilçede yapacak bir de bu ayrılmayı yani boşanacaksın dul bir kadın olmak kolay değildir dedi. O bir de üstelik iki tane çocuğun var dedi. Bu zorlukların üstesinden gelebilecek cesaretin var mı dedi. Gerçekten çok zor bir karar almışsın çünkü dedi. Dedim ki Ahmet Bey benim evde yaşadığım huzursuzluk dedim elli tane boşanmaya değer dedim. Değer, yaşamamı elli tane boşanma davasını yaşayacak kadar huzursuzluğum var dedim. O zaman sen bilirsin dedi bir tek o beni anladı o gün. (Meltem Mahinur)

42. [Kayın pederi] lütfen kızım diyor benim hatırım için diyor ben diyor sana desem ki bir bardak zehir iç. Evliliğimi sürdürmem için benden zehir içmem bekleniyor. Dedim ki amcacım sana şimdiye hiç saygısızlık etmedim ve bu evliliği hiç istemediğimi bile bile zorla evlendirdiniz beni evet iki tane çocuk oldu, değil iki tane çocuk on çocuk da olsa dedim ben bu evliliği bitireceğim çünkü dedim ben artık oğlunla bir saniye bile aynı odada kalamayacağım dedim. Öyle bir haldeyim ki dedim oğlun bana kalk şurdan şuraya otur dediği an onu bıçaklayabilirim dedim. Sen bu sorumluluğu üzerine alabilecek misin dedim. Der misin o zaman ki bu çocuğa bu zehri iç demiştim bunun sorumlusu benim diyebilecek misin dedim. Dondu kaldı tabii hani verebilecek cevap yok. (Meltem Mahinur)

43. Üvey babamı çağırmışlar ki beni ikna etsin oturttursun diye geldi o da. Ki hiç unutmuyorum o günü hala gözümün önünde, bir Diazem aldım sinirlerim çünkü o kadar laçkalaşmıştı ki artık düşünün bir boşanma davası açıyorsunuz, tüm ailenizin bireylerine karşı, tüm topluma karşı bir mücadele veriyorsunuz bir kere. Aldım Diazem'i yarım saat sonra şimdi sizlerle konuşabilirim dedim.

Çıktım ikisinin yanına… İkisi kendi aralarında bunun avukat tutmaya ihtiyacı yok zaten kendi kendinin avukatlığını yapıyor ve şöyle de bir tehdit aldım, buna bir kurşun çok yarım kurşunla işini bitirelim bunun diyor üvey babam polis ya hani elinde silah. Valla dedim değil yarım kurşun çeyrek kurşuna bir ihtiyacınız varsa buyrun harcayın hiç gözümde değil, bu iş bitti dedim … bundan sonra kendi hayatımı kendim kuruyorum, ben on sekizine kadar baba senin istediğin gibi yaşadım dedim, senin doğrularınla yaşadım ve beni evlendirdiniz layık gördünüz, on yıldır da bu çevre için bu aile için bunlar için yaşıyorum bundan sonra kendim için yaşayacağım dedim. Kusura bakmayın artık dedim. (Meltem Mahinur)

44. [Babama] dedim çekemeyeceğim artık dedim buraya kadar geldi doldum artık ben bu hayatı daha yaşamak istemiyorum dedim ayrılığa karar verdim gitmeyen bir evliliği otuz sene dedim aynı çatı altında ayrı yaşadım artık daha dedim tahammül gücüm kalmadı babacığım dedim, tamam kızım dedi kararını verdinse ayrıl dedi babam … Allah'ıma söz vermiştim kendimi emekli edeceğim çocuklarımı okutacağım ondan sonra ayrılığa karar vereceğim Allah'ım diyordum onları planlarımı tek tek tatbik ettim ve başarıyı elde ettim. (Halime)
45. Evlenip boşandım demek benim için bir gurur kaynağıydı … herkese boşandığımı ilan etmekle ilgili bir şey vardı, annem falan diyordu ki ya kızım sen yirmi iki yaşındasın çok gençsin ne gerek var hani evlenip boşandığını söylüyorsun falan ben de hani bundan daha önemli bir şey mi olur ki hani CV'de yazılacak referans yani, hani ben evlendim ve evlilik dönemi geçirdim ve boşandım … Ee detayları paylaşmamakla beraber hani insanlara ee -la bunu paylaşmaya başladım … bir hikaye ee ördüm … ee hani tam Kurtuluş

Savaşı'ndaki gibi yani bir sürü meşakkatli bir şeylerden geçilmiş … kendi kendimin kahramanı ilan ettim kendimi. (Yaprak)

46. Ayrıldıktan sonra bir an bile pişman olmadım boşandığıma her gün daha da şükrediyorum iyi ki boşanmışım diye hatta… ondan sonra hemen soluğu hükü, nüfusta aldım, saat diyeyim ki on bir buçukta boşandık ben on ikiye yirmi var hükümetteyim yan yana zaten, şeydeyim nüfustayım. Adam dedim ki işte şey dedim kimlik değiştirmek dedim boşandım da dedim tamam dediler hemen işlemler başlatıldı, bir türlü şey boşanmış çıkmıyorum, nasıl olur diyorum boşandım ben diyorum adam en sonunda dedi ki ne zaman boşandınız dedi, valla on dakika filan oldu dedim bir kahkaha bastılar, odada. Nasıl on dakika ya sana daha mahkemeden kağıt gelecek [dediier], 11 Eylül'de boşandık Aralık'ın yedisinde bana kağıt geldi boşandınız diye o gün ilk evrakı alır almaz gittim kimliğimi değiştirdim. Yani böyle. (Reyhan)

47. Biz dedi seni dedi bırakmayacağız dedi … oğlum orada ben ne yapacağım, vermez bu adam biliyorum çünkü onu kullanıyor … annem dedi ki çocuk dedi ağlar ağlar durur dedi kızım dedi sen dedi şey yap dedi boş ver dedi … sonra telefon açtı … ee çocuğu gel al dedi annemin köşesinde, evinin köşesinde buluştuk, orada çocuğu bana verdi… sonra ben tabii boşanma davası açtım. (Gül)

48. Ee Kur'an kursuna falan başlamıştım… burdaki tanıdığım Kur'an kursu hocalarını sonradan tanıdım çok iyiler. Yani insanın beceri yönlerini çok güzel ortaya çıkartıyorlar … ee ezik yönüm bitti … Beni kimse dövemez kardeşim. Ya o beni dövüyorsa ben de onu döverim. Niye? Dinimizde bizim kısas var. Ben işte o kocam benim elini tuttuğum zaman, attığı zaman bana hava atacağı zaman

vuracağı zaman tuttum onun elini. Sen bana vurursan ben de sana vururum dedim gözlerinin içine baktım ondan sonra geri çekildi … ben onun elini tutmasaydım havada yakalamasaydım onun devamı gelecekti. (Gül)

49. İşte dedim merak etme boşandıktan sonra ilk defa el ele çıkan çift biziz bilmem ne hep onun gönlünü yapa, alttan alarak içimden midem bulanarak ama her türlü hizmetini cinsellik de dahil yaparak ee rol yaparak açıkcası ikna ettim. (Buket)
50. Oturduk masaya, dedi ki Gökhan baba dedi biz dedi seninle konuşmak istiyoruz dedi … ben hiç konuşmuyorum … baba dedi buraya kadar artık dedi ben dedi annemin ağlamasını istemiyorum dedi çünkü ben artık son zamanlarda her gece iki, iki buçuk şurda şu camın önünde burda sabaha kadar ağlıyorum … unuttum geçmiş gün sade Gökhan'ın o söylediği lafı unutmuyorum çünkü o kadar heyecanlıyım ki hani kavga çıkaracak bir şey yapar mı acaba endişesi var … konuştu konuştu tamam çok güzel, her şey bitti dedim ki ona bak dedim birbirimize süre tanıyalım, belki dedim bak ben de bir sene sonra daha bir kendime gelirim çünkü sinirlerim bozuk hep ağlıyorum. Her şeye ağlıyorum tek başıma nerdeyse hiçbir şey yapamayacak haldeyim hani böyle bir panik üstümde bir heyecan çünkü devamlı neye nerden kavga çıkaracak korkuyorum … sonra dedim ilerde bak tekrar birleşebiliriz hani onu da öyle kandırıyor[d]um. (Hale)
51. Mümkün olduğu kadar işim olmazsa dışarı çıkmazdım ben. Perdeleri açmazdım. Beklerdim ki hava kararsın, hani gündüz çıkıp da on kişiyi göreceksem gece bir kişiyi göreyim markete giderken. Ya birisi bir şey diyecek veya bir şey soracak veya beni görünce kafasını çevirecek diye çıkmazdım. (Nükhet)
52. Ayrıldıktan sonra bile ben namus konusunda onu ikna etmek için uğraştığımı hissettim çok ilginç. Düşünün, diyorum ki ben ee biz Aydın'la tatile gittik

diyorum nereye gittiniz siz tatile gittiniz, sana ne diyemiyorum mesela. Diyorum ki biz hani sen de tanıyorsun altlı üstlü otuyorduk arkadaşım var ya döndü işte onların Erdek'te onlara gittik onlarda kaldık. Bu açıklamayı yapıyorum ve bu insan telefonu pat diye üzerime kapatıyor yarım saat kırk dakika sürüyor sürmüyor ondan sonra bu insan atlıyor geliyor ve kapıyı açar açmaz yumruğu burnumun üzerine indiriyor … benim zayıf tarafımı görebiliyor her nedense beni namus, bu konuda yaralamaya çalışıyor. Bilmem ne kadın siz diyor nasıl gidersiniz diyor ve ben diyemiyorum sana ne. Ben artık seninle beraber değilim. Sana hesap vermek zorunda değilim. Sırf etraf kavgayı duymasın, sanıyorum ki onun söylediği sözlere o bana aşağılık kelimeleri sarf edince etraf da inanacak. (Aysel)

53. Ben kesinlikle şu anda kendimi çok güçlü hissediyorum. Hani beni kim şu anda diyorum kimse yıkamaz. Bir kere özgüvenim geldi, her şeyden önce tek başına mücadele ediyorsun … ben şu anda gerçekten çok güçlü hissediyorum kendimi. Yani hissettiğimi de hissettiriyorum gibi bir yere geliyor. (Nükhet)
54. Mesela kimisi diyor ki ya bu kadar zor olduğunu bilseydim boşanmazdım herifin kahrını çekerdim diyor. Kimisi öyle tercih ediyor. Ben diyorum ki niye ama? Niye diyorum bir başkasına köle olasın? (Nükhet)
55. Ayrıldıktan sonra tabii kendimi gözlemleme imkanım oldu, ee o güven gitmiş yani özellikle insanlara bakarak özellikle erkeklere bakarken konuşamıyorum gözlerine bakarak falan böyle gözlerimi kaçırarak falan konuşuyorum aa bir baktım beni değiştirmiş aslında birçok konuda farkında olmadan. (Elif)
56. Şimdi iyiyim, çok güçlüyüm dimdik ayaktayım, mutluyum. Ee kalbimin köşesinde çok küçük bir boşluk var, geri dönüp baktığımda bazen zorlandığımda

boşanmasa mıydım dediğim olduğunda o soruya şöyle cevap veriyorum kendim; boşanmasaydın daha çok mutsuz ölene kadar mutsuz olacaktın şimdi az mutsuz olup bu devreyi atlatıp mutlu olarak öleceksin. (Buket)

57. Erkek limon satsın bir işi olmasın on tane evi olsun on evli olsun hiç kimse gelip de sen neyle geçiniyorsun demiyor. Şimdi ben yeni tanıştığım bir insan işte ne yapıyorsun boşandım evet iki çocuğum dükkanım var neyle geçiniyorsun diyor adam bana, yani. Ee hani Türkiye'de kadın erkek ayrımı yok filan diyorlar ya hiç inanmıyorum buna … Ee kadın işte evlenilecek bir şeydir ya da hani belki son zamanlarda kırıldı o o kadar şey bakılmıyor ama benim boşandığım dönemlerde böyleydi onun için böyle bir ister istemez ciddi bir görünümün oluyor daha bir sert görünümün oluyor daha bir resmi oluyorsun insanlarla ama ne kadar resmi olursan ol hatta Unkapanı'nda firmayla çalışıyordum … büyük bir firmaydı hala oranın en iyilerindendir ee Fuat'la konuşuyoruz bir gün ee Avni'yle nasıl aran dedi dedim iyi, Avni de dedi ki asıldım asıldım baktım bir şey olacağı yok, öyle. Yani sen dükkan işletiyorsun iyi bir yerdesin bir firmadan mal alıyorsun paranla mal alıyorsun o bile dul kadınsın işte bir deneyelim önce hep o mantık vardır yani, neyle geçiniyorsun sana bir erkek mi bakıyor bir erkek yok hayatında. İlla bir erkek bakacak. (Şeyma)

58. Tabii ki sıkıntılarımız oluyor dul bir kadınsınız toplumsal baskılar var üzerinizde yaptığınız her hareketiniz yargılanıyor sorgulanıyor acabalar var. Ee ki yirmi sekiz yaşında dul bir kadın kalmak kolay bir şey dğeil yani dul olmak insanların evleneceği yaşta iki çocuklu dul bir kadınsınız ve toplumda bazı yerleri edinmeniz gerekiyor. Hani evli bir kadının çok rahat edindiği yeri siz tırnaklarınızla kazıyarak elde edip etmeye çalışıyorsunuz. Sizi sorguluyorlar,

peşin hükümlü bazı şeyler oluyor, atıyorum işte bir yemeğe gittiğinizde yani sosyal bir yemeğe gittiğimizde bir kadeh bir şey içmeniz dedikodu olabiliyor ya da bir düğüne gittiğinizde makyajınız konuşuluyor yırtmacınız konuşuluyor halay çekmeniz konuşuluyor ben ama hiçbirine paye vermedim hep üstüne gittim. çocuklarım hep yanımdaydı çünkü çocuklarımı alıp bilardo oynamaya gidiyordum örneğin bilardo oynarken ay kadına bak be çocuklarını da almış bilardo oynuyor. Kadına bak be nasıl lıkır lıkır rakı içiyor, geliyor kulağıma aynen cevabım şu kendim paramı kazanıyorum kendim yiyorum kendim içiyorum kimseye verilecek hesabım yok, ben bu topluma saygı duydum bu toplum da bana saygı duymak zorunda … [ki zaten] beni ilgilendirmiyor toplum demedim topluma saygı duydum toplumun kurallarına göre hep hareket ettim o toplum da beni bir gün mutlaka sayacak dedim ve saydılar da. (Meltem Mahinur)

59. Herkes kendini tanıtıyor masada … sıra bana geldi, ee nasıl kadın girişimci olduğunuzu anlatıyorsunuz. Ee dedim ki ben işte ee kadın girişimciliğine kocamı boşayarak yaptım dedim ve boşadıktan sonra hayatıma idame ettirebilmek için bir iş yeri açtım dedim iş yerini açmamın dedim gayesi çocuklarımı ve kendimi hani idame ettirebilmek bunu şimdi öğrendim ki kadın girişimciliğiymiş dedim yani o girişimciliğin bugün bu projede kadın girişimciliği olduğunu öğrendim … Benden sonra diğer kadınlar medeni durumlarını açıkladılar birçoğu boşanmış. (Meltem Mahinur)
60. Çok zor bunlar hep ama çok huzurluyum. Toplum da umurumda değil Esra'cım. Hiçbir şey artık umrumda değil o kadar çok mutsuz kaldığım günler oldu ki toplum benim hiçbir zaman ne yaşadığımı bilmedi … biz zaten uç yaşayan

insanlar değiliz ha benim bir gidip bir barda eğlenmem bir restoranda eğlenmem abes kaçıyorsa alışsınlar, ben kocayı boşadım ve mahkum olmadım, umrumda bile değil artık hiç o tarz şeyler… bu kadarcık da bir eğlenme ya da gezme hakkım varsa onu da milletin korkusu yüzünden kendimden çalamam, kendimden çaldıklarımı alamıyorum artık gelmiyor yıllar geri, hiçbiri gelmiyor … şükürler olsun ee bu bir dönem diyorum geçecek diyorum ama huzurluyum artık gereksiz, mutsuz bir evliliği yaşamıyorum, beni döven bir insanın ertesi gün koynuna girmiyorum … üniversite hayatı değil de farklı bir hayatla hayatımı devam ettiriyorum ben yeniden doğdum. Mutluluk nasıl bir şey onu da merak ediyorum (Nur)

61. Ben bir erkeğin kredi kartına muhtaç, aciz bir kadın değilim. Bence o kadınlar benim platformumda benimle karşılıklı oturup konuşamaz, konuşamaz, konuşması için kendi ekmeğiyle karşıma gelmesi lazım. (Nur)
62. İnsanlar neden ayrıldığımı sorgulardı şimdiyse hani tebrik eder ya da hatta ailedeki diğer ee kadınlar tarafından hani parmakla işaret edilirdim. Nedir? Onların yapamadığını aslında hani yapan bir model var. İşte kadın kendi ayaklarının üstünde tek başına durması hayatında bir erkek olmadan ona bağımlı olmadan… eve bir erkek sokma hep toplumda bu var yönlendirme. Mesela bende bunun olmadığını bir daha sonra ayakta durduğumu görenler hani onlar da model alarak işaret etmeye başladı. Mesela benim kuzenlerim işte on yedi, on sekiz yaşlarında çok fazla kuzenim var şimdi bunlar için ben ee kendi yorumları bu arada bu, hani ulaşılmaz karakter olarak yorumluyorlar. (Ayşe)
63. Sadece sabret sabredin, yeğenlerim işte çocuk var yıkmayın işte siz biraz da tabii kendimi düşürüyordum böyle ki yıkmasınlar yuvalarını yapmayın çocuk

var siz, siz zannediyor musunuz ben mutluyum siz zannediyor musunuz ben rahatım yerinde, bakma benim böyle olduğuma diyorum biraz da mahcup gibi duruyorum onların yanında, niye öyle, çünkü istemiyordum çocukları çok ufak … Şiddet gördüklerini söyleselerdi öyle yapmazdım. (Sevil)

64. Ne hissediyordum? Çocuğumun babası, durmak zorundayım, annemlere mahcup olmayayım sevdim aldım diye. Ee boşanmak da o zaman daha çok ayıptı şimdiki gibi gündeme gelmemişti, şimdi gündemde çok, o zaman ben boşandığımda bütün herkes geçerken Bulancak'ta bana bakıyordu, küçük bir yerde, herkes bana bakıyordu ama ayaklarımın üstünde durdum ve ondan sonra beni örnek alan bir sürü [kadın] boşandı. Ona bir şey olmadı bize de olmaz diye boşandılar ve şimdi de hiç kimse çıkıp aa bak buna bir şey olmadı diye benden bir sürü örnek aldı. Hatta bir gün bir kadın tura gittiğimizde dedi ki bana sizinle görüşebilir miyim dedi ne olur dedi, siz nasıl ayaklarınızın üzerinde duruyorsunuz, nasıl dimdik oluyorsunuz dedi, bütün insanları güldürebiliyorsunuz dedi. Ben neden dedim, ya Bulancak gibi yerde korkmadınız mı dedi, ben de onu düşünüyordum da yapamadım dedi. Nasıl yaptın dedi ve bunu kaç kişi bana turda söylediler, herkesin içinde yani. (Nurgül)