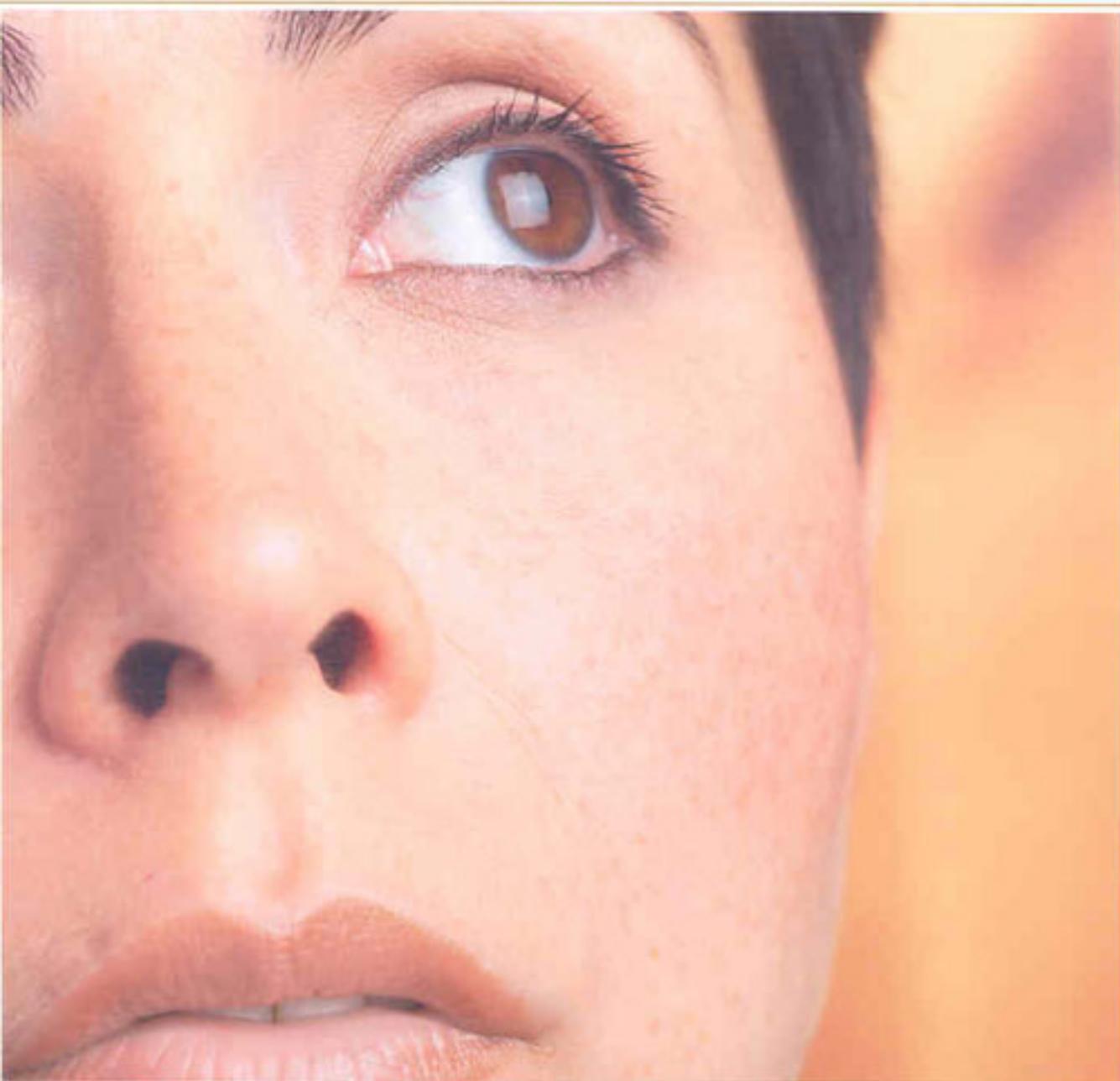


*The Dynamics of
Honor Killings in
Turkey*

PROSPECTS FOR ACTION



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Foreword

In September 2000, 191 World leaders gathered at the United Nations in New York, at the dawn of a new millennium, to reaffirm their commitment to the UN and its core values and principles. Through this Millennium Declaration, the world leaders recognized their collective responsibility to uphold the universal principles of human dignity, equality, and freedom from the fear of violence, oppression, and injustice. “equality” is defined as the recognition that the equal rights and opportunities of women and men must be assured.

These same principles are at the heart of Turkey’s ambitious reform and development agenda, which is also in line with its process of accession to the European Union and the EU political criteria which emphasizes respect for, and protection of, fundamental freedoms. In spite of this important progress, however, Turkey is still facing serious challenges to gender equality related to women’s participation in social, economic and political life. According to the 2005 Gender Empowerment Measure, Turkey ranks 76 out of the 80 countries that are ranked within the GEM for gender equality and participation. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is working with the government, civil society, and the UN family in Turkey to increase women’s political participation and to increase their opportunities and choices in the social and economic sphere.

However, one of the most significant challenges that continues to undermine women’s freedom and equality in Turkey is the persistence of honor killings. Through this report on “Dynamics of honor killings in Turkey: Prospects for Action”, UNDP and UNFPA are seeking to further contribute to the discussion and debate in Turkey about honor killings through perspectives from a cross-section of society: women and men of varying ages, educational levels, and social backgrounds; public officials; religious leaders, non-governmental organizations; and the media. Importantly, the report provides examples where public officials are committed to actively protecting the rights and fundamental freedoms of citizens and to dispelling the notion that killing based on the concept of honor is acceptable in a democratic society. Equally important, however, the report also highlights examples where public officials support beliefs and promote an environment in which honor killings, and thus the extreme violation of women’s rights, is deemed permissible.

Such examples illustrate the vital Turkey’s democratic institutions can and should play in promoting the protection of women’s rights through rule of law and through upholding the universal principles of freedom and equality. It is also abundantly clear that dispelling the notion of honor killings as acceptable is shared responsibility among all seg-

ments of Turkish society: public officials, including educators, police, lawyers and judges, legislators, the media religious leaders, youth organizations, communities and families themselves. For this season, the report provides specific recommendations for training state employees, NGOs, community leaders, schools, and youth on gender equality, and creating mechanisms through which issues of “honor” can be resolved through discussion and mediation rather than violence.

Without recognizing and addressing the issue of honor killings, Turkey will continue to face challenges in achieving its own ambitious reform and development agenda. UNDP and UNFPA urge serious consideration to the findings and dynamics of the report, and to pursue its recommendations as a vital contribution to promoting Turkey’s reform agenda by eradicating the acceptance and practice of honor killings.

Jakob Simonsen
UNDP Resident Representative

Foreword

I am pleased to introduce the Dynamics of Honor Killings in Turkey: Prospects for Action report.

As part of the UN system, UNFPA is committed to the protection and promotion of human rights for all, including women and girls. We believe that the ongoing murder of women in the name of honor is the most shameful human rights violation in Turkey. The underlying notion that familial and particularly male honor is determined through the control of women leads to the exclusion of women and girls from the public sphere, education, the formal economy and political decision making. Most pressing, as documented herein, this honor system results in the needless murder of women and girls across the country. Although many participants in the study thought of honor killings as something distant over which they have no control, UNFPA believes that it is the responsibility of every citizen, along with government officials, including those at the highest level, to actively combat the murder of women and girls in the name of honor.

One of the most important first steps in eradicating murder in the name of honor is to instil hope that the situation can be changed. As documented in this report, when even a single individual decides to take action against honor killings she can have an enormous impact on the problem. And

when individuals with institutional backing decide to take action, this impact increases dramatically.

This report is a critical first step towards eradicating honor killings in Turkey. There has been little qualitative research to date and only one quantitative study published. This study, therefore, constitutes a key contribution to our understanding of the experience and dynamics of honor crimes in Turkey, and the larger honor system which rationalizes and indeed requires these crimes. This report is particularly timely; the passage of the new Penal Code has increased penalties for honor crimes and commitment to their eradication and the results of this study can feed directly into the work of Parliament's Investigatory Commission on Honor Killings and Violence Against Women and Children. It is only with understanding of the complex dynamics underpinning honor crimes presented in this report that this legislation can be successfully implemented.

Until every Turkish citizen, along with government officials, takes responsibility for the protection of the lives of all people, including women and girls, the country's greatest 'shame' will be its collective and individual failure to protect women and girls from brutal and needless murder in the name of honor.

Anne-Birgitte Albrechtsen
UNFPA Representative

Foreword

The Honor Killings Project is a study which was conducted by the Population Association with the Support of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

The Population Association was established in 2004 to carry out activities in the field of demography, to participate in studies carried out by different disciplines in this field and to support those working for these studies, to contribute to the dissemination of information produced during demographic studies and to ensure professional solidarity, communication, collaboration and interaction among those working in the field of demography and population related issues.

The Population Association set up a core team called the “Honor Killings Work Group” from among members of the association, in order to carry out and this project and the studies of the group were conducted under the leadership of Assoc. Prof. Filiz Kardam.

The objective of the project was determined to be the placement of honor killings in a wider framework of perceptions of honor and related values, the gathering of information that could constitute the basis for future action plans and the sharing of findings with relevant institutions.

In this project, along with the evaluation of information regarding honor and honor killings, the views of those working in the subject were also obtained and in depth interviews were held both with non-governmental organizations in Istanbul, Adana, Şanlıurfa and Batman and with professionals related to the subject and the women and men living in different neighborhoods of these four cit-

ies, with the support of non-governmental organizations.

We would like to extend our thanks to the United Nations Population Fund for designating the Population Association to work with them in such a project that has great importance for Turkey and to Ms. Meltem Ağduk, who provided all sorts of assistance at different stages of the project.

I would also like to thank on behalf of the Population Association, Assoc. Prof. Filiz Kardam, the project coordinator, who made a great contribution to this study, Ms. Ilknur Yüksel, who helped her at every stage of the project, Mr. Mesut Deren, who undertook responsibility for the field component of the project and all interviewers who were assigned in the field study.

We would like to extend our gratitude to the non-governmental organizations that supported us during the field study of the project and particularly to all NGO representatives who participated in the workshop organized in Ankara on 11 December 2004 for all their support.

The people who shared the events they witnessed and the experiences they lived with us during the project are probably the ones who deserve the greatest thanks of all. The stories we heard from them were the most important contribution to the creation of this report. We hope that the lessons learned from these stories contribute to preventing similar events from happening again.

Assoc. Prof. Turgay Ünalan
President of the Population Association

Introduction

The general purpose of this project was to understand the notion of honor and the dynamics of honor killings in Turkish society with the overall aim of providing feedback for a comprehensive action program on this issue. As stated in the research proposal, this purpose was refined through a workshop which prepared the ground for the qualitative field research in Istanbul, Adana, Şanlıurfa and Batman.

A report on the workshop which was conducted in Ankara with 32 participants on December 11, 2004 and an interim report on the data collected in Istanbul during 6-30 January 2005 were submitted in the first half of 2005. The workshop, which was attended by academicians and activists from different lines of work and from cities with relatively more frequent honor killings, gave us the opportunity to refresh and reframe our knowledge of honor and honor killings as well as a chance to obtain new contacts in the field which proved useful when we started data collection.

The first stage of research was conducted in Istanbul. In addition to providing us with abundant data on varied perceptions of honor and honor

killings, the Istanbul component of research deepened our understanding of the difficulties of research on this issue, especially in terms of reaching victims of honor crimes and/or their families. It also gave us the opportunity to test our questionnaire guides again (they were initially tested in Ankara) this time with a larger group of people from different backgrounds. We also experimented with holding discussions on the same topics as the questionnaires with small groups (as at NGOs or in universities) as well as going into coffee houses and starting a conversation with people and implementing interviews with small groups (2-3 people) under appropriate conditions in natural settings.

In light of the experiences in Istanbul, field research was subsequently carried out in Adana during February 17 – March 5, in Şanlıurfa between March 20 – April 10 and during April 10 – April 25 in Batman.

This report attempts to gather the results from qualitative research in the four cities dealing mainly with perspectives on honor which actually prepare the ground for honor crimes and legitimize the penalties for so called 'dishonorable conduct'.

The experiences of the research team in each city and a preliminary discussion of the findings in different cities encourage us to believe that, although the socio-structural differences in each city inevitably affect the nature and consequences of ‘dishonorable conduct’, there is enough similarity to make general evaluations. Whenever necessary, reference is made to tendencies observed in individual cities. Different cases of ‘dishonorable conduct’ narrated by interviewees are also analyzed to understand what factors affect the penalty in each case. All this and the information obtained from individuals, professionals and NGOs on action proposals regarding this issue is used to discuss prospects for action at the end of the report.

Before going further, one point should be emphasized. Although rich data were collected in the four cities and worthwhile observations were made, it should not be forgotten that this is a qualitative study. We have neither used a random sample nor implemented strictly structured questionnaires appropriate to obtain results for statistical analysis. Therefore, the findings that we present here cannot be generalized. One should be careful to state them only as different inclinations and tendencies that

exist among the groups of people we interviewed. We cannot say anything about the statistical weight and prevalence of these tendencies among the population in these four cities, let alone in Turkey.

Nonetheless, the qualitative approach utilized in this research is uniquely suited to assess the actual dynamics of honor killings in Turkey. It is only by speaking with people in their native environments and asking open-ended and flexible questions on the topic in the course of interaction that a sense of how honor is perceived and maintained in both daily life and extreme circumstances can be developed. It is essential to know that these perceptions and approaches exist (and sometimes very strongly) in society and how they come into being and are supported if appropriate action is to be taken to stop honor crimes.

Methodology of Data Collection

Scope and target groups

On the whole, 195 interviews were conducted in the four cities (App. I), more than double the number stated in the project proposal. Among these, 38 interviews were done with NGOs, 71 with professionals and 86 with people living in different districts of the four cities. App. II gives information on the quarters where the study was carried out; App. III shows the professionals interviewed in the four cities and App. IV gives information about the NGOs included in the study.

The individual interviews done in different quarters included women and men of different ages who had migrated to that city from various regions in Turkey. In each city, an attempt was made to collect general information on the socio-economic structure of the quarters (from earlier research, local administrators and local professionals) in order to reach people from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds. Eighteen of the individual interviews were implemented as group interviews including 2-8 and sometimes more people (App. I). Some of these were arranged, including people from a certain NGO or with a group of young female or male university students. However, sometimes groups developed spontaneously when an

interview was being implemented at a coffee house or at home. Although we cannot denote these interviews as 'focus groups', the natural interactive situation still proved beneficial in most cases by encouraging people to talk more openly about sensitive issues.

The target groups included people living in each of the four cities (either migrants from other regions or those native to that city), related professionals and NGOs, especially those engaged in women's problems or human rights issues.¹ Our last target group was victims or likely victims of honor killings and their relatives or close friends. In Istanbul, this last group proved to be both difficult and risky to reach. We could only reach such cases through NGOs or professionals, but most of the time they did not want to risk the safety of individuals who were still under threat. Therefore, despite using personal relationships to make special arrangements we could still only reach one woman and an Imam who had supported a victim.

Using information obtained in Istanbul regarding honor related cases, we contacted the lawyers handling these cases and the local administrators who were directly involved with similar events. In Adana, however, all they could give us was information on the cases and some related court files.

¹When quoting interviewees, the city in which the interview was done, sex, age, city of origin if a migrant and, if necessary, their level of education is given. In quotations from professionals, NGO workers and victims some of this information is not included in order to protect anonymity.

Although some of them had promised that they would try to establish direct contact between us and the likely victims or their relatives, it was not ultimately possible. Therefore, our interviewers started to work as ‘half detectives’ in the districts where some of these events had taken place, trying to get information and hoping to come in closer contact with the victims’ relatives.

The experiences in Istanbul and Adana showed us that it is almost impossible to reach victims and their families unless we have personal connections who trust us who are also quite close with the people in question. In Şanlıurfa it was reported more than once that once an honor crime has taken place the family prefers not to talk about it, even among themselves, let alone with strangers. Although through the ‘right’ personal contacts or just by coincidence during the implementation of interviews in the districts we did reach several victims of ‘dishonorable conduct’ or their relatives, this could not be depended upon. Therefore, we tried to collect as much data as possible from people (who were sometimes very close witnesses of the incidents) and tried to enrich this information by crosschecking the events with others and obtaining information about the court cases (if there was a trial) from lawyers or judges. In all your cities, and

especially Şanlıurfa, people related many stories of ‘dishonorable conduct’ to us which ended in various penalties, including murder.

Data collection, transcription and evaluation

The field research team was composed of five members, four interviewers (three females and one male) and a field coordinator. The field coordinator was primarily responsible for the overall organization of research and establishment of contacts, however he also participated in the implementation of interviews when necessary.

All team members had a social science background and had some experience with qualitative research and in-depth interviewing. In addition, most of the interviewers participated in the workshop in December which gave them a basic introductory framework regarding honor and honor killings. Before the start of field work we had a day of training on qualitative methodologies, the objectives of the research project and the interview schedules to be used. Prof. Dr. Belma Akşit, from Başkent University and a member of the Population Association, contributed to the training session with a presentation on qualitative methods

and Leyla Pervizat, who is doing a doctoral study on the issue in Marmara University, contributed by presenting theoretical aspects of studying honor killings and describing her work as a lobbyist. After the training, each interviewer had to conduct and transcribe at least one interview. There was a final day of training to go over their interviews and implementation problems and revise the formulation of some questions as necessary.

Two forms of data collection schedules or interview guides were used during the study with minor modifications: one for the individuals (or groups) and the other one for NGOs. However, when using the individual interview guide with professionals, some of the topics were not discussed to allow for discussion of their work experiences with violence, honor crimes, victims of violence, etc. Also, when interviewing likely victims of honor killings or their relatives some of the questions were handled with special care and the interviewer was specifically careful not to hurt these people's feelings or create an overly emotional situation. Since the questionnaire forms were not rigidly structured, the interviewers could conduct them in a flexible way according to the willingness and interest of respondents in order to get the richest data possible.

Although the field work was quite hard and the narratives could easily lead one to depression (a problem reported by the interviewers after the Adana component), the team members were able to maintain their work. In some of the cities the number of interviews done exceeded projections from the project proposal. In order to replace team members who could not work as long as necessary due to prior commitments, one new interviewer in Adana and two new interviewers in Batman joined the team. All three were women who had qualitative research experience.

With the exception of some of the interviews with professionals most of the interviews could be recorded. Since the interviewers tried to work in teams, when possible one of them was responsible for taking notes.

The interviews were also transcribed by the field team and each was responsible for transcribing his or her interviews when in the field. This was usually achieved although we had to obtain outside transcription support at times, especially in the case of Şanlıurfa when the interviewers had to continue work in Batman without any break between the two cities. The length and the quality of the interviews differed according to the interview situation,

the willingness and communicative abilities of the respondent, the location of the interview, etc. The interviews on average lasted between 1 and 4 hours and the transcripts are between 15-30 pages long. Group interviews, of course, were much longer.

The research coordinator worked together with the field team for a few days in Istanbul and Şanlıurfa. After the project began, the project team met five times (after the survey in Istanbul, after completion of Adana, and three more times after the field work was finished) to evaluate progress and make decisions about further work. These sessions were not only valuable for insuring systematic progress and overall assessment of the research, but also made us a team fully engaged in the issue and enjoying work together.

Voluntary members of the field team also contributed to the evaluation of data necessary for the final report. They read some of the interview transcripts with a focus on specific topics and gathered and systematized the penalties for 'dishonorable conduct'. Evaluation of the collected data was also discussed together with some members of the field team.

Perceptions of Honor

An overall evaluation of the results in four cities shows that how people perceive honor is affected by their age, background, education, residence (rural or urban) and social relations.

Some of the respondents approached honor as 'the most important thing and above everything else in their lives' though they could not define it more concretely. Although we encountered this approach in all four cities, it was most common in Şanlıurfa. A young man, a university student in his 20's, stated that "In Şanlıurfa everybody lives for their honor", a belief which was expressed in many of the interviews there. These responses were more prevalent among people with a rural background who had not spent much time in other surroundings. Most of these respondents had strong family ties and sometimes tribal (particularly in the case of Şanlıurfa) relations and in most of the interviews the importance of religion in their approaches to life could be felt. However, there were also young people, sometimes even with an urban background, who used extreme expressions in their discourse. The statements below reflect some of these cases:

"Honor is the reason for our living now. That means we live for the cause of honor now. I don't know, but without honor life has no meaning. . . It is okay if you don't have money, but you must have dignity." (Şanlıurfa, from a group interview with male university students, age 19-22)

"Honor surpasses everything, especially among us Kurdish people or people from the East, the concept of honor is at the foreground." (Adana, female, age 31, from Siirt)

"It is very big; it is something for whose sake people are killed." (Şanlıurfa, female, age 16, left school during 3rd grade)

Honor with a focus on women and women's sexuality

A strong tendency among the respondents in all the provinces was to relate the concept of honor with women, women's sexuality and the control of women. Chastity, having no extra-marital relations, dressing properly, conducting oneself according to expectations and knowing one's duties according to traditions were some of the points emphasized here. Most of the time young men were hard-liners while the middle aged seemed to be comparatively tolerant. Some of the respondents related this view as one they supported, but others talked about it as the general view of 'society' or 'others' as in the case of some NGO activists. They expressed their standpoints as follows:

"Why should a person work? Why should he live anyway? This is first for his honor and second for daily bread. If a person has hunger, he can eat something small and feel satisfied. However, if one loses his honor, there is nothing to be done, no return. . . what is honor? It is your wife." [The word used here is 'helalin', meaning someone over whom you have a right; someone permissible for you] (Istanbul, male, age 25, police officer)

"As the older people say, 'horse, woman and gun'; these three things are sacred. Honor is the betrayal of your wife, she starts to have relations with other men. . . In the event, a person lives for his honor and dignity. And your honor is your wife. If she

betrays you, your dignity is trampled.” (Adana, male, age 39, police officer)

“In our questionnaires, when we ask what honor is, 70 per cent state that it is a woman. Even the women themselves. . . .” (Batman, female, works at a women’s NGO)

“Honor is not only related with sexuality. But what is understood by sexuality is quite wide. In Batman, a girl was executed just because she wanted a song in the program ‘from all lovers to those beloved’. In Mardin the same happened when a girl went to the cinema and to another one when she wore trousers to a wedding. . . .” (Batman, female, age 31, NGO activist)

“We have a culture which states that honor equals woman. When I say woman equals honor, what is her honor for example? Her views, her hair, the way she sleeps, her skirt, or I don’t know, maybe some other part of her.” (Adana, female, age 39, from University Women’s Center)

“Honor is better than anything else! One should be aware of the value of honor. A clever woman will not bring disgrace to her honor, she knows the value of honor. She protects herself from men. . . . The woman who wonders around all the time is no good. . . . Woman stays at home. I mean, being outside too much, talking with strange men, is no good. . . . you should protect your dignity also for ‘sehpe’ [meaning sahip, the owners of a woman that is the father, the uncles, the brothers].” (Şanlıurfa, female, age 70, illiterate, Şanlıurfa native)

“If one surrenders, then she is honorable; if you don’t comply with, if you argue back, if you commit suicide, if you risk death in order to get married with the one you love, then you are dishonorable. . . . if you have a free soul, you cannot be honorable. . . .” (Şanlıurfa, age 30, from a group interview of women, middle school)

“. . . honor then becomes the sovereignty of my husband, my older brothers, so it is not related with my personality, but with the society.” (Istanbul, female, age 32, lawyer)

“Honor is in the monopoly of men here, that is father, brother, uncles from father’s and mother’s side; it does not belong to individuals. . . . Now, maybe we have a different dress on ourselves than before, in our houses we may have a different life style, but the concept of honor has not changed at all.” (Şanlıurfa, female, from a group interview of women at a women’s NGO, ages 26-45)

A similar approach to the control of men over women was also expressed in Istanbul by a young migrant woman who said that men usually act as

“guardians of honor,” always keeping a watchful eye on their activities. (Istanbul, female, age 21, high school)

On the other hand, from men’s perspective, the control of women was very important in determining their own honor, as expressed in interviews with Imams:

“Honor is everything for me. . . . If I were married, in that case, the girl whom I married would be my honor. My sister is my honor too, so are my relatives, the daughter of my aunt and the daughter of my uncle are also my honor. That is, all of them are my honor. Everything happening around me and all my family line are my honor.” (Batman, male, age 24, Imam)

This view was also expressed as part of the orders of God in the interpretation of an Imam in Adana:

“Honor is to live as it is ordered by our religion. The borders of honor should not be passed. I mean, honor is to keep oneself away from the places forbidden by God, not to try to cross the borders. For example not only his wife, but also his mother, his sister and his neighbor are a man’s honor. . . . A man should be careful to protect the honor of others as he is protecting his own.” (Adana, male, age 30, Imam)

Girls’ chastity, marital infidelity and divorce were also discussed in terms of honor with a focus on women and the control of women’s sexuality.

Young men, especially those who had migrated to the city from rural areas, emphasized more strongly the control of how women dress, whether or not they should go to school, whether they should work, with whom they should be friends and how they should behave. Young men ages 18-25 were rather hard and intolerant on the topics of virginity and divorce. It was observed that with age came some degree of increase in tolerance. The excerpts below from interviews with young and middle aged men express some of these differences:

“In my opinion now, in these times primary school. . . . in my opinion it’s enough for someone to finish primary school. Because women are increasingly outside, discord [with religious connotations] is also increasing, discord is growing and oppression is increasing. Oppression is also increasing people are perishing. . . .”

no now they say to work I mean, let's say your, I mean there's a married couple, they work together, that's something different. And that woman leaves alone and walks around, goes somewhere, I mean that's not good, I don't see that as fitting. But if there's an essential job, she goes from here to there, for that essential job, we don't say no to that." (Batman, male, age 23, left high school, from Diyarbakir)

"For example there are pants, if you wear them, the person's body lines are visible. I'm against this kind of pants. I'm against this kind of pants... there could be this style, I mean a bit of a full section. When the whole body form shows I can't support it..." (Batman, male, age 24, left high school, from Gercüs)

"In the end for a girl, I'm talking about for here, honor is what's important for everything. Virginity. When virginity is lost the girl has no meaning...A girl without virginity has no importance for me." (Batman, male, age 26, high school, Batman native)

"Before she shouldn't have had a relationship [before marriage]. For example, for example you like someone, you try to learn about them for example as your first job. You liked, you saw someone outside. For example you'll research their family, where they live, where they're from, what they've done with whom... from the smallest to the largest everything will be researched. According to that a decision will be made but now whether or not you take [marry the girl]..." (Şanlıurfa, male, age 22, from group interview with male university students)

"[an honorable woman] should be tied to the home, should be tied to her husband... she must not behave in any way that invites gossip. She should be tied to the home. She should not bring any empty talk to her family in any way. She shouldn't in any way reveal outside things that go on within the home. She must not call, say 'mom, my husband hit me or I can't get along with my husband... because of this I have to get divorced or I have to leave this person'." (Batman, male, age 25, Batman native)

"Divorce, I'm definitely against it. Once I take someone, marry her, after I say 'this girl is my honor' I can't think about this girl under another man. Either I'll kill myself or I'll kill her. This is my opinion. I definitely can't think about someone who is my wife, someone who is my wife according to Allah's command, someone who is my honor, being with someone else. I mean I won't even think about it." (Batman, male, age 24, left high school, from Gercüs)

"I'm definitely against divorce. If my wife is unfaithful to me, I will either kill her or if she has a brother, an older brother, I will tell him 'You kill her.' Or I'll kill her. In other words, I cannot bear that woman to deceive me." (Batman, male, age 34, left high school, from a village of Batman)

"In the old times our grandfathers thought that the women wearing veils were honorable. There is nothing like that. One should have honor in her heart, it doesn't matter whether she is covered or not." (Batman, male, age 35, elementary school, from Siirt)

"If my wife deceives me, instead of killing her, which means also killing myself and destroying the life of my children, I will divorce from her." (Batman, male, age 40, high school, Batman native)

"A girl, she can elope. Maybe we weren't going to give her. If he wanted maybe we weren't going to give her up. Eh, but the girl went of her own accord. Eh, do we have a right to kill her? Do you have the right to determine a person's freedom? It must not be so." (Istanbul, male, age 64, from Tunceli)

"A man can say, 'father marry me', he can say 'mom marry me'. A girl should also be able to say this. I mean this exists in a muslim society. I mean a girl can also say to her father, 'dad I want to get married' and he can also say 'do you have any thoughts? Eh, after this why let there be these kidnappings, these murders..." (Şanlıurfa, male, age 55, Şanlıurfa native)

On the whole, women were not as sectarian as men, particularly young men, in matters of honor. Older, illiterate women with rural backgrounds and/or with strong religious ties and uneducated young women who live in a closed, traditional environment were exceptions. Although a large group of women also based their concepts of honor on the sexuality of women, many of them did not think that single women become dishonorable when they elope with their lovers. Those with daughters were also supportive of their education and made an effort to prevent their husbands from marrying them too early.

Women also thought that there should be divorce especially when there is marital infidelity. However, they seemed to refrain from expressing these views as society looks down upon divorced women and most of them are not confident since they don't have economic security. Moreover, especially in the case of marriages with relatives, when the

couple did not want to be together any longer the families insisted on the continuation of the union, giving more importance to the relations between the families than to the happiness of their children. The statements below reflect some of these views:

"A lousy husband is better than the streets." (Batman, female, age 42, literate, from Siirt)

One woman talked about how her husband beats her. When he does, she says:

"I feel like killing the children. At that moment I think about killing myself. If you go back to your family, they won't support you. In the East it is like that. You may die, but not go back. Even if we are very hungry and in need, still we are obliged to stay, there is no alternative. You have to live and bear all this. (Batman, female, age 32)

How should honorable men and women behave?

As described above, honor is a property of women which is controlled by men. Women should passively obey the rules of conduct accepted as honorable while men have to actively make women obey these rules. As a result, 'honor' was usually formulated as something obliging both men and women to behave in a certain way. Women, in terms of "being careful about themselves, especially in their relations with men" and men, in terms of "having an attentive eye on their women" as stated by our respondents.

One of our respondents in Istanbul, a psychologist, stated that society's differential treatment of honor and honorable conduct for men and women reflects itself in the situation of raped boys and girls and their rehabilitation processes. Defining the different roles into which boys and girls are socialized, she explained how sexual relations are not allowed for girls before marriage and that they are expected to experience sexuality only to make their husbands happy and bear children; men are expected to be more active. "Therefore," she said,

"being raped disturbs this scenario for girls. Chastity on the other hand is not a problem for boys. Or, if a boy is assaulted sexually, he is not considered by others as filthy as the case is for girls. Girls losing their chastity are considered as women who can freely be together with all kinds of men. . . . As a result, the

girls approach the society and accuse themselves much more than boys and they definitely need a longer process of rehabilitation." (Istanbul, female, age 24, worked with abused and drug addicted children)

Related with different expectations for men and women in terms of honor, the excerpts below from an interview with an Imam (Adana, male, age 30, Imam) present a perfect example of the traditional, patriarchal approach imposing strict control of women. This tradition is tightly wrapped in holy stories and religious instructions. He expressed his views on the expectations of honorable conduct for a man (as husband and son) and a woman (as wife and daughter) thusly:

"A good husband should first of all live as dictated by our religion, because our religion does not dictate anything bad. The husband should treat his wife fairly. Although his wife is obliged to work under him, still he should not look down on her. For example instead of saying 'hey you, go and bring me a glass of water' he can request from her by saying 'please, will you bring me a glass of water'. He should not be cruel to her. . . ."

"A good son must have first of all proper manners and morals. . . . He should respect his father and mother. . . . He should give the money he earns to his parents; the pocket money he gets from the family is sufficient for him. He should be well aware of his secular [worldly] and religious duties."

"The daughter should be decent. It is not good if she goes around and talks with everybody. She should be respectful to her family, sisters and brothers. Girls should not work. This doesn't go well with honor. This is shameful. If everybody looks at her at the workplace, if she is in a wrong environment, well this is honor; you never know what is going to take place. And when the family loses its honor then it becomes miserable. For this reason it is better if the girls don't work. It is much nicer if they get married when the time comes."

"An honorable woman always obeys what her husband says. She should not go against her husband. If she goes against him then he will be deflated. She should be careful about how she dresses; her clothing should not be provocative. She should be loyal to her husband. If she has eyes on others all the time, then that family will not have a happy life. The woman should always be attached to her husband. She should spend more time with him than with others. This is so anyway Another thing is that a woman should

not make the secrets of her husband open. She should not tell them to anyone else. . . . If the woman gives out the secrets of her husband, then there will be no peace in the family. . . . As they say 'a husband both loves and beats.' Okay, if someone beats all the time, one can not hold it, however when it is from time to time, to make it known among others, will disturb the peace in the family. A woman can open herself like a flower only on the side of her husband. For example, if the woman is ill and the man washes the dishes for one or two days this is not shameful. Also, when the woman does something wrong and goes and begs pardon from her husband, this is also not a failure. . . ."

"Look here, a woman with honor is very important. She is at the cornerstone of morals and society. If the women are out of order, then the society will be out of order. As it is said 'if the woman does not fawn [in the sense of showing desire] that thing will not happen.' I mean this is in the hands of women. If she is living according to her religion, she will be honorable. A woman should always obey her husband, she should not have eyes outside and she should have good morals. If we had an Islamic education today, things wouldn't be like this. . . ." Then, he continued with a story on how an honorable woman could discipline a man with eyes for her to find the right way.

What the Imam expressed was repeated by someone connected to the Department of Religious Affairs. Although he also approached honor basically with a focus on women and sexuality, he framed it within national traditions, religion and loyalty to family. He described living with honor as follows:

"Now, honor is not having any relations with illegitimate people [he might have meant not having illegitimate relations] and man and woman not having relations with outsiders [probably meaning extra-marital relations] and living according to our national traditions and norms, leading a life with dignity, with loyalty to our family and acting according to the basic principles of a Turkish and Muslim family in terms of conduct opening the way to adultery." (Şanlıurfa, age 54, university)

The expectations for men and women in line with so called 'national traditions and norms and the principles of Islam' as clearly defined by the Imam in Adana were not only the views of religious men, but they were accepted and repeated in various forms and degrees by a large number of our respondents from different sections of the population. Sometimes the explanations put more emphasis on the culture and society, sometimes on the

principles of religion. However norms, traditions and family were words of key importance most of the time. It should not be overlooked that even for men working in NGOs (and sometimes in responsible positions), this approach to honor is valid to a certain degree. Their interviews also reflect that even if they have opened some space to women in decision-making and participation in society they still want everything to be basically under male control. In other words, they are against girls being forced into marriage at early ages and they think that girls should be sent to school, however they do not accept that women can be equal to men in all respects, so men have to practice strict control over how they dress, where they go, with whom they go, etc.

What is allowed or forbidden for women to be considered honorable was stated by some of the respondents (including activists at some NGOs) as follows:

". . . Women certainly need to be protected. In a sense they are not as strong as men. . . . I never put any restrictions on my sister. Because there's still your family leader, there's my dad. She has her thing [family to protect her]. (Batman, male, age 29, NGO manager)

"Now a girl, a woman walking around like this aimlessly at night, during the day, I don't find this fitting." (Batman, male, age 52, NGO worker)

". . . Blue jeans, very short skirts, and relatively free behavior. . . all these started after the 90s. . . . I mean young girls going to cafes with their boy friends, going around hand in hand, sitting somewhere together. . . . I don't think all this is very natural." (Batman, male, age 38, high school, an NGO manager)

". . . when a man passes from the street, the women should be inside their doors; this is the way with us." (Istanbul, female, age 77, illiterate, from the Eastern part of Turkey)

"For example, in this region it is not normal for a girl even to have a male friend" (Şanlıurfa, male, age 32, Şanlıurfa native)

"Sometimes there are such things for example, when a girl in the 6th or 7th grade writes a letter to her male friend this is considered dishonorable. . . ." (Batman, male, age 32, from Şanlıurfa, teacher)

". . . for example here in a tribe, you are not allowed to love. If a girl loves someone they will kill her, they will not let her live.

If a girl runs away, it is not possible for her to live I mean here.” (Şanlıurfa, female, age 27, left middle school, Şanlıurfa native) of misunderstanding with one’s wife as reflected in the words of the men below:

“...when the girls are older then we take them out [talking about school]. This girl for example can get out of order among the males there, we have a fear of that.” (Batman, male, age 56)

“Since we have this so-called case... [Trying to say honor], how can I say it, how can a girl go to school with men after she grows?” (Şanlıurfa, male, age 60, left elementary school, Şanlıurfa native)

“...For example we as Turks want to have strong family relations. Why? Because this is our honor. We want to care for [the honor of] all those in our society, but we cannot do this. Family relations and honor are very important for us, both in our religion and in Turkish society. However, these have weakened a lot. ... A woman who lives in accordance with traditions is a woman with honor. If a divorced woman comes to Adana alone, think of it, how can she protect her honor? If the family ties of a woman are weak, then the probability for her to remain honorable is about 5%.” (Adana, age 54, left middle school, from Tarsus)

“...this difference between men and women is given by God. Lifelong, [women] are obliged to have a relation [meaning sexual] with a single man. This is the way they are created. ... You don’t want to give harm to the [girl] you love, so you don’t have sexual relations with her before you get married; before the marriage contract [nikah] she is not your wife [meaning there can be no sexual relations].” (Şanlıurfa, male, from a group interview with male university students ages 19-22)

While discussing the honor of men the respondents were also asked about having more than one wife as well as betrayal of a wife with another woman. Having a ‘Kuma’ (a second wife) was something accepted as quite normal by people interviewed in different districts of Batman and Şanlıurfa (but not professionals or NGO activists), especially by those with a rural background and tribal ties. However, there was a difference along gender lines. Women were generally against it, but they had to accept it since divorce is not a better alternative under current conditions; divorce is not socially accepted as explained above. In the case of men, the response was different. The tendency among men, young or old, was to accept second marriages as something normal and not as an incident of betrayal. In fact, it was a way to prevent infidelity or the problem

“When a man betrays his wife how will the woman be influenced?”

“I mean for me it’s the same thing. However since a woman cannot be unfaithful the husband must also not be unfaithful. Does he want to be unfaithful a lot? Then convince the woman, get married again; “[in the sense of taking a second wife]”; (Batman, male, age 26, Batman native)

“If a man betrays his wife, then if the woman does the same thing he shouldn’t get angry... But if the wife is bad-tempered, what does the man do? He says I won’t divorce you but I will bring home another wife. He can bring one home, I mean he brings [her] home.” (Batman, male, age 56)

Another point of discussion was men’s relationships with other women and under which conditions their behavior was denounced as dishonorable. Young university students discussing this expressed their views as follows:

In terms of men’s honorable behavior, there seem to be double standards:

“If a young man goes and flirts with women in groups outside his immediate circle of relatives and neighbors, it is called debauchery and accepted; however when he does it with the women around [relatives and neighbors], then this is called ‘dishonorable conduct’.” (from a group interview of young university students, female, age 19-20)

Other perceptions of honor

Perceptions of honor beyond those which focus on women and women’s sexuality were based on morals more generally. This inclination was more common among people with an urban background, leading more individualistic patterns of life as well as those with professions demanding higher levels of education and those involved with human rights and gender equality issues in NGOs or political parties. Their discourse included decent human relations in general, working honestly, etc.

In most of the interviews with professionals there was a tendency to discuss ‘honor’ at two levels: the dominant social understanding of honor which they considered narrow and crooked and their own concepts of honor. They would rather view it in

terms of morals and moral behavior concerning all aspects of life and as something personal, something in the minds of people and related with principles of living and working as human beings.

While discussing the issue, some of them also explained how the prevalent understanding of honor affects their own lives and even the practice of their professions. Within this framework a journalist in Istanbul somewhat sarcastically stated, "when somebody says honor I can not think of anything else, but women's honor!"

(Istanbul, female, age 42, journalist). She continued by saying, "It is said that many institutions in Turkey have collapsed, only women are defending themselves, a fortress of honor, representing all that is lost and gone!...If you ask me, honor is a very destructive concept." She also explained that the criteria for honor are very different for different people and places.

One of the professionals interviewed in Istanbul was a forensic doctor. He said that society's negative approach towards victims of sexual violence makes it difficult to make such cases visible and analyze them:

"Now from the perspective of forensic medicine there is a group of problems with evaluating sexual assault cases. First, these kinds of events are given very little room for visibility. The reason for this limited room for visibility is society's negative approach to this topic, refusal to support victims, aggressive fear of reprisal, the reasons, in other words, in line, generally forensic medicine is involved in this topic, and because of the victim's fears she cannot prove the event." (Istanbul, male, age 42, medical professor)

Some of the people who have different concepts of honor stated clearly that society views the honor of women and men differently, but they themselves think that everybody should have an understanding of honor for themselves. The way they looked at honor somewhat reflected that they were leading more individualistic lives (or at least that they wanted to) rather than being bound to the society or allowing society to control their lives, although they were well aware of society's norms.

Although the tendency on the whole was to defend a more individualistic and broad understanding of 'honor', with these respondents distancing themselves from the dominant social discourse which relates it with 'women and sexuality' (as

stated by a young man, age 25, university graduate in Istanbul), when asked specifically about the honor of men and women, the characteristics they mentioned were still not very different from those reflected in the group above. They did not mention issues such as chastity or seduction of men (or women), however, attachment to family and children and faithfulness of partners to one another appeared again as leitmotifs.

The statements below from the interviews of some of the respondents show how they have tried to distance themselves from narrower ways of conceptualizing honor. Some of these placed emphasis on the importance of making a living by oneself without being dependent on others or misusing others:

"... Honor should not only be taken from the side of a woman. For an honorable man, his work is also his honor. I mean, to be able to maintain his family is his honor. If somebody's labor doesn't include exploitation of others or if his income is rightly earned, then it is valuable... Then, this person has honor and dignity. For me the most dignified person is the toiling worker." (Adana, male, age 56, elementary school, Muhtar, from Malatya)

"... They say that your wife is your honor, okay, that is also true, but that is not all. Honor is not only related with marriage. I had to migrate from my village, I've got to live under these miserable conditions; I have to get support from others. This is also a matter of honor..." (Batman, male, age 35, elementary school, from Siirt)

"... honor is not something between the legs of a woman; it doesn't mean that there should be adultery or that a woman should become a whore. One can steal something and that is also dishonorable." (Adana, female, age 31, from Siirt)

Relating honor with people's economic conditions, a tradesman in Istanbul stated that, "An honorable person in other words, like I described, doesn't have eyes for someone else's bread, house, job, wife, or husband. He is occupied with his own work. His honesty can inspire others." (Istanbul, male, age 45, university)

Others emphasized honesty, being straight and fair in relations, having pride and self-respect:

"For me honor, dignity and pride are all interrelated with one another. But above all, honor means to be honest." (Şanlıurfa,

male, age 59, elementary school, Şanlıurfa native)

"First of all, honor means acting honestly. That means one should not lie and steal. Also one should be respectful of the rights of others." (Adana, male, age 51)

Others identified honor with the society, the nation and/or the country, and with doing something for society above everything else, though they did not entirely leave out women as reflected in the statements below:

"The people in our society consider honor as a possession and a woman as property. And therefore they consider that they have the property right over women. I believe that for me honor is first of all the country, the land on which you live and breathe. And then to be able to give something to your country, to keep it secure. The nation is also our honor. And maybe on the third level, come family and woman . . ." (Batman, male, age 29, an NGO manager)

"Honor is everything for us. Woman, land, country . . ." (Batman, age 38, high school, an NGO manager)

" . . . for example now a person's wife is his honor, but his land is also his honor. Everything can be his honor. Above all, his land is his honor." (Batman, male, age 43, high school, Imam)

In a similar way an Imam in Istanbul underlined all the values as well as motherland and flag as symbols to be included in the definition of honor. He stated that the concept of honor is much wider than an understanding of honor which doesn't go beyond the honor of a man's wife and daughters. He said one should be definitely responsible for others in terms of honor. (Istanbul, male, age 40, Imam)

Among people with Alevi background there were some differences in interpretations of honor. A rather distinct example was provided by a man from an Alevi sect who interpreted honor as something exaggerated in the minds of people and perceived in various ways by different people. According to him the families would not have a problem related with 'honor' [he meant that they would not end up looking for extra-marital relationships] if the couple had a healthy dialogue on every problem, including sexual problems, for if they talked about it openly, they would find a solution. (Istanbul, male, age 48, elementary school, from Eastern

Turkey)

Dialogue between partners was also emphasized by another man of Alevi background in Şanlıurfa who stated that:

"Honor is in the brain of a person for me. Excuse me, but I do not accept an understanding which places honor between the legs of women. A human being is honorable with what he has in his brain . . . Of course a person will need sex as he needs eating and drinking. Of course these relations should be carried on within the norms of the society, I mean flirting and all should not be so open that the girl's family feels offended. However, girls and boys should get to know each other before marriage and my wish is that it will continue in this way . . ." (Şanlıurfa, male, age 50, university, Şanlıurfa native)

Among some professional women and NGO activists as well as among women who have contact with women's NGOs (in spite of differences in their educational level and background) and among some young female university students, interpretations of honor from a woman's perspective could be traced. However, this group was quite small compared with the categories stated above. Most of these women emphasized that honor is something which should be the individual responsibility of each person about herself and about nature and society, disregarding that person's gender. If a person is responsible for her actions then she should be able to live openly and defend what she has done.

Just the opposite of some men finding women guilty even in incidences of rape, some of these women blamed men as the creators of problems related with honor and perpetrators leading women into immoral deeds and as a result causing decay in society and social relations (Istanbul, female, age 32, elementary school, Istanbul native). One other woman tried to describe honor as being honest to other people, being dependable and also sensitive to social problems (Istanbul, female, age 43, elementary school).

These views were expressed by women from different sections of the population as follows:

"It is not related with the values of the society. According to me, everyone who can confess openly what she/he has gone through is honorable. I mean, they have to stand behind what they have done and claim it. There are many women who are married, sitting in their homes and degrading the women in social

houses [referring to brothels]. However, in their own lives there is dishonesty and hypocrisy. This is dishonorable." (Adana, age 31, female, journalist)

"As you know we are living in a feudal society. Honor is considered to be the loyalty of two people to one another. However when the woman has a relationship with someone else or even talks with him this is considered dishonorable and she is even killed for this reason. What kind of an understanding of honor is this? I cannot understand this. Then they give a 12 year-old girl to a 60 year old man in exchange for sixty billion liras. Is this being honorable? I don't perceive honor as such." (Adana, female, age 45, Adana native, NGO activist)

"I have never considered honor as something related with sexuality or sexual relations. . . I consider someone who does not harm nature, other people, who doesn't exploit anybody and such. . . I mean someone with human values is honorable. Outside this, the sex life of people concerns only themselves. . . The patriarchal viewpoint reduces everything to the body of a woman and every day we encounter many things giving support to such views." (Adana, female, age 31, women's NGO activist)

"I mean, things are beyond our power sometimes, people are raped by force. I think this has its source in men. It's the men who lead the society astray, but women are held responsible for it. They usually say that 'if the female dog does not fawn, the male will not go after her, but I don't think this is right. I mean if the men had self-control, nothing as such would happen.

- All these suicides also take place because of men and young men.

- They also happen because of families. If a person really cares for her freedom, when that freedom is restricted she feels depressed. When one does not feel at ease, then she will be carried into depression." (Batman, female, from a group interview with young unmarried women at a women's NGO, ages 17-25)

"Honor first of all reminds me of personality . . . I mean being immoral lies in the personality. . . a reasonable person is responsible for his/her behavior, for himself/herself." (Adana, female, age 21, university student, Adana native)

From honor based on the control of women and women's sexuality to honor crimes

In general, the perceptions of honor discussed in this section can be organized in the following categories:

1. Honor is a concept related with women, sexual relations between men and women, girls' chastity and virginity and marital infidelity. Women are held under the control of men for the sake of defending the family, norms and traditions. This seems to be the most prevalent approach in the four provinces and in different groups of the population. We observed that more among women, especially younger and educated women, negative views are developing against this approach.

2. Honor is a broader concept that should include morals and decent conduct related with leading an honest life in society, at work and in the family. Individuals can choose to live like that if they want to. Sometimes people do this for themselves and their children, and sometimes for their society, nation, country or all of it. This kind of understanding stated in various ways was more frequent among professionals with higher education and position, NGO activists and people native to large cities. Emphasis on land and country was more visible in men, especially in Batman.

3. Honor, as it is generally conceived in our society, is destructive because it limits people's freedom, especially women's, by placing them under the control of men not only in their own family, but in the whole society. This approach is apparent in some of the professional groups (especially women), young female university students, women working in NGOs and women with links to women's NGOs.

The most prevalent approach regarding honor also prepares the ground for the oppression of women by putting strict control over their lives and giving the men in the family the right to handle them as property. Consequently, they are not sent to school, they are forced to get married at early ages (often with men they don't know and without any legal marriage contract), they are given as exchange to end certain family disputes and they have to accept their husbands' second wives (kumas). They learn the norms of honorable conduct for women in their community in their early years of socialization and if they don't abide by these norms or go even a little bit off track they deserve to be punished. Even if they are not killed for the sake of honor, they may be forced to leave their village or town or to marry inappropriate people. An understanding of honor which oppresses women also puts pressure on men, especially if they cannot guard and control women as is expected of them.

Under certain circumstances, they too can become victims. We will give examples in the next chapter while analyzing cases of so-called 'dishonorable conduct'.

Constructing honor over the bodies of women and the control of their sexuality by men in a way legitimizes honor killings in people's minds, especially when it is clear that the woman has committed adultery.

In Istanbul, we found that people generally differentiated 'töre' killings [meaning those with family council decisions] from other honor killings. They had a strong tendency to distance themselves from 'töre' killings by describing them as a problem concerning a certain region and its people. People who migrated to Istanbul from the Black Sea Region insistently stated that they had honor crimes but not 'töre' killings in their region. And among migrants from East or Southeast Anatolia, some people stated that in their city or in their family they never had 'töre' killings. And lastly, a man from Şirvan (Southeastern Turkey) who told some stories about such crimes also stated that in his family they did not have 'töre' killings; their 'töre' (morals and customs) were contemporary, probably meaning that they could find peaceful settlements to such disputes. With different motives, most of the people interviewed wanted to distance themselves from 'töre' killings as much as possible. The statements below reflect some of these views:

"At the basis of 'töre' killings what lies is not honor actually, but economic reasons. They are still getting bridal money and they don't want to lose it. . . These occur in places where the educational level is low, feudal relations are not broken completely, in Southeastern Turkey. . ." (Istanbul, male, age 45, university)

"Töre killings happen more frequently in the East, there are clans there and what they do is execution without verdict. . . the honor of the family is more important there." (Istanbul, female, age 21, Istanbul native)

"Töre killings usually occur in the East, but not in Tunceli where I come from." (Istanbul, male, age 64, elementary school, from Tunceli)

"What occurs in the Black Sea Region is that in case of infidelity the person kills the wife. For example, if my wife deceives me taking this to the courts is unusual. These things end in murder. The Black Sea is the place where honor killings occur most frequently, after Southeastern Turkey." (Istanbul, male, age 32, elementary

school, from the Black Sea Region)

"Töre killings are something different. . . It is brutality. I'm from Şirvan, but I did not hear about it in our place. Maybe in Şanlıurfa, Adana, Mardin. . . However, when there is dishonorable conduct, the morals dictate to kill. In my family there are family councils, but no killing decision has been taken. In my family morals are more contemporary. . . According to me, 99% of honor killings take place spontaneously depending on the situation at that moment. . . but in 'töre' killings some people decide that it should be done." (Istanbul, male, age 33, elementary school, from East Turkey)

"'Töre' killings also concern honor, however it seems as if honor killings are more individualistic, while the others are collective. In the latter, many people, a clan takes the decision. Therefore, we can consider it then an organized crime." (Istanbul, female, age 42, journalist)

"So there is definitely a difference between the case of the man killing the woman who has betrayed him and the man killing his daughter who has run away with her beloved. . . 'Töre' killings are more frequent in the East and Southeast. (Istanbul, male, age 24, teacher at the elementary level)

"In essence they are the same, only different in form. . . In honor killings, the whole society takes the decision, in the other one there is a shared mechanism which decides." (Istanbul, female, 42, teacher, NGO activist)

"We should not separate these two from one another because both of them are nourished by the patriarchal understanding in society. . . honor killings take place in many places, but they are shown as if they belong to the Kurds. . . when we say that there is a difference in degree, it seems as if we can stand against 'töre killings', but can not do anything against the others." (Istanbul, female, age 32, lawyer)

Most of these tendencies as reflected in the expressions of the respondents in Istanbul have continued in different degrees in the other provinces of the study. However, the respondents did not emphasize so much the differences between so-called 'töre' and honor killings especially in the case of Şanlıurfa. Although they said that in the case of so-called 'töre' killings the mechanisms may differ and more people get involved, still the basic motive remains the same as they are both killings for the sake of honor. Some people also said that 'töre'

killings in general comprise killings related with disputes were among families and/or tribes such as blood feuds, and those for the sake of honor are a smaller group under it. In this study we were only interested in collecting stories of honor killings (whether or not they were the result of family council decisions). 'Töre' killings related with other disputes were left out.

Some of the respondents in Adana and Batman also stated that honor killings are rare in their provinces except perhaps among migrants who still live in their tribal networks. In Şanlıurfa on the other hand most of the respondents accepted the incidences of 'töre' killings in their region. However, the respondents compared the possibility of ending a dispute over 'dishonorable action' in various ways, including bargaining for peace-making in different ethnic groups. It seemed that, although most of the respondents did not support the killings straight out, they saw no other alternative under the rules of tribal living and intense social pressure. Even among young male university students the issue was discussed cautiously by stating that they were against the violence embodied in honor killings, but that the norms of conduct dictated by 'töre' should be kept because they discipline people and teach them manners. Some also stated that one can be tolerant of honor killings by individuals because people may be forced to do it spontaneously under certain conditions; however 'töre' killings are not acceptable because they are consequences of people's living in tribes. Some criticized tribal organizations and their way of handling the issue by saying "this state has courts, security forces, laws, decisions that people can use. . ." (Şanlıurfa, male, age 51)

Some of our respondents reflect their thoughts and feelings about the issue as follows:

"There is some difference between the killings for the sake of honor and 'töre', because different regions of Turkey have different norms. There is a difference between West and South East or there are different things being done in North and South, however honor killing is a more general concept. Acting against a person who has behaved dishonorably is a condition wide spread in Turkey. I mean it doesn't only cover certain regions.

However the case of 'töre' killing is somewhat far from us. In our surroundings we can find a certain number of crimes for the sake of honor between man and wife for example. . . 'Töre' is seen among people with a certain pattern of living. . . The reasons are

different in the case of 'töre', however we do not know everything about this concept." (Adana, female, age unknown, lawyer)

"Whether the name is 'töre' killing or not, there is actually no difference. . . I mean when it is 'töre' killing then the people tend to think that there are factors which will legitimize this. They think that there are things leading that person to commit a crime, that he has lost his self-esteem. Such views create a basis of legitimacy for the crime. . . and sometimes people are forced to kill even if they don't want to. Otherwise they will be considered dishonorable." (Adana, female, age 45, NGO activist)

"I don't see any difference between them. Because when you consider why women are killed in 'töre' crimes, is it for the sake of honor. They are killed because they are dishonorable. The reason is the same. I mean when you probe a little into what has happened in a 'töre' killing you find this out." (Batman, male, age 32, teacher, from Şanlıurfa)

"Honor killings are more individualistic although in the 'töre' killings there is again the issue of honor." (Batman, female, age 28, lawyer)

"Killings of 'töre' are very deep rooted and they can cover anything. Honor killings are only related with a woman's honor." (Şanlıurfa, one of the participants in a group interview with female university students, age 19-20)

"They are both the same, they say as I have said before 'our morals dictate so, and therefore we are doing it; this is a matter of honor and our morals are against it.' This is the way." (Şanlıurfa, male, age 35, elementary school, Arab background)

"Both the honor killings and the 'töre' killings are for the sake of honor. But in the first one the individual is important and in the second one, the family." (Şanlıurfa, one of the participants in a group interview of male university students, age 19-22)

People's reactions against these killings and how they evaluate the reasons which lead to these crimes will be handled in detail in the coming chapter after we analyze some cases of 'dishonorable conduct'.

Cases of 'dishonorable conduct': causes and consequences

As we explained in the introduction, reaching victims and victims' relatives was particularly difficult in this study. Therefore, we decided to collect information on events related with issues of honor and honor killings from the people we interviewed. Accordingly, especially after the Istanbul component, we made a special effort to elicit information about such cases.

Most of the people we interviewed were either witnesses of such cases (in fact, sometimes very close witnesses) or had heard the story from others. In this chapter we will attempt to bring together the stories told by the people we interviewed in İstanbul, Adana, Şanlıurfa and Batman as well as the experiences addressed in the victims' and their relatives' interviews in the four cities. As much as possible, court files were also reviewed in order to better understand the conditions under which these events occur, the determinants of the penalties given to women (and also men) for their 'misconduct' and people's reactions.

We were selective in the cases that we took for analysis. First of all we took cases that were explained as clearly as possible without any ambiguities. Second, we restricted ourselves to stories related by people who were close witnesses such as: the victim herself/himself; a close relative; a neighbor; someone from the same village; the lawyer defending the case; the reporter who had made the news; the NGO activist who tried to help the victim herself or her family. We were also careful not to double count, leaving out events when they were explained more than once by different people. Using these criteria, we ended up with 115 cases of which 49 were honor crimes.

115 cases is a seemingly large group. However, we should not overlook that most of these stories are told not by those directly involved, but by outsiders with their own points of emphasis. How the victim might have felt herself or himself is left out as well as many other details. Although we know that most of these events took place in the last five to ten years, we do not know exactly when they took place. Since we don't have a representative population sample and did not use a methodology appropriate for statistical analysis, we cannot make statistical estimates on the frequency of such events. The fact that most of the respondents came out with a story to tell should give us an idea of the prevalence of cases of so-called 'dishonorable conduct', but not their degree of occurrence. Therefore, the numbers stated under each category do not say anything to us about the number of cases that occurred in a certain time period and/or place. They only show us how many cases we had to work with to arrive at the conclusions presented herein.

Although the stories were tinted by the colors selected by each narrator, we could still see that there were differences between the events despite apparent similarities. Each time, the conditions surrounding the victim or the likely victim were different and a variety of factors determined the development and conclusion of her/his story. Since the stories did not always include all the details we did not have a complete record of the situation. Going through the stories, we could see that two key determinants of the victim's case were her marital status and the nature of the 'dishonorable conduct' at issue. By categorizing all the cases in terms of these two factors, we ended up with six different groups:

- A married woman having an extra-marital relationship
- A married woman running away with a man
- A married woman leaving her husband or getting divorced
- A divorced woman having a relationship with another man
- A young, unmarried girl having a relationship
- A young, unmarried girl running away with a man
- A woman (married or unmarried) being kidnapped and/or raped

Further evaluation of the cases under each category gives us hints about the reasons behind the penalties given in each case as well as people's reactions as narrated by the respondent.

A married woman having an extra-marital relationship

Since the concept of an honorable woman as accepted by the majority is someone 'loyal to her husband' and an honorable man is someone who considers somebody's wife as part of his own honor, in this case both the woman and the man involved in such a 'dishonorable' action deserve to be killed. There were about 20 such stories related to us, about 14 of which resulted in murder (of either the woman, the man or both). Most of the time, this 'dishonorable' act will be punished and the 'honor' of both families will be saved when the woman's husband or any close relative kills both the woman and man.

Respondents emphasized that in such cases the fact that the woman is married is very important; people do not question it if the husband kills the woman and the man with whom she has/is thought to have a relationship:

"They do not at all forgive a married woman. Then they kill both of them, also the man I mean. Then nobody goes to court. Both of the families, on the side of the woman and the man, accept this." (Adana, female, age 44, elementary school, from Şirnak)

"They [the lover's family] also find it right. Nobody has accused anybody. Because of honor, since it is a matter of honor, if it is right and if the man is acting right, then nobody says anything. Nobody claims anything, from his [the lover's] side, I mean." (Batman, male, age 46, did not go to school)

In such cases, respondents explained that it is not sufficient for the man to get a divorce from the 'dishonorable' woman because there is always the possibility that she can return to her lover. Divorcing the woman will not clean either the man's or the family's honor. A woman who is married to a man is considered his belonging and his honor (divorce does not entirely change this situation) and a man who is having a relationship with a married woman is trying to usurp property which belongs to someone else.

Although a woman is owned by her husband and husband's family, after she gets married, this doesn't completely curtail her family's responsibility. Especially in Şanlıurfa, women's families were called 'owners' and when the woman is sent back for various reasons to her family, it was said that 'she is given back to her owners'. Therefore, when a woman is unfaithful to her husband, she is involved in 'dishonorable conduct'; her husband, her own family and her husband's family feel responsible and sometimes there is cooperation between them to solve this problem. Most of these cases reflected such interactions. On the other hand, the lover's family did not usually get involved; there was silent approval of the woman's family's decision. This is a result of the understanding that 'honor' is based on a woman's body and the 'owners' of a woman (her husband and her family) are obliged to protect the woman's honor, in other words, her body and sexuality. Their dignity as a man and as a family depends on this.

The following story about a man in prison who heard that his wife was having a relationship with another man reflects the cooperation that can happen between the husband and the families on both sides. The man came to the village on a one-day leave and he and his father-in-law killed his wife:

"Then, the man comes out and goes to his father-in-law. . . He says, 'look here, your daughter has done so and so. She is pregnant. What does she deserve?' He answers: 'This woman deserves to be killed. Whatever you say, I'm on your side.' That's what the father says. . . Then they sent the girl to the grave and covered everything up. The man [the lover] remained. What does he deserve? This time, the husband's family killed this man. . . Then, neither the husband, nor his father, nobody talked about this. The issue was closed. They covered it up. They cleared it up. . . ." (Batman, female, age 42, did not go to school, from Siirt)

The stories reflect that although gossip about having a relationship may create a serious problem, in order to kill the woman, the husband or the family members usually make plans to confirm this and find concrete evidence which will legitimize the murder for the public. Catching the lovers in bed or the woman becoming pregnant when her husband is in military service provides enough evidence that definitely justifies the killing. If a person kills his wife on the basis of gossip without any concrete evidence, then it becomes harder to gain legitimacy. The dialogue below reflects a young man's views on this issue:

"I think the woman was taking a man to their house. Her husband was informed about this. He followed them and learned that it was true. And then he killed. Otherwise, usually people wouldn't do it.

-Would you yourself investigate in such a case?

-Surely, I would investigate. First I would have evidence and then do whatever is necessary." (Batman, male, age 26, high school, from a village of Batman)

Of course, there are many other factors that affect the consequences in such events. There are cases in which the man (the lover) comes from a stronger family in terms of tribal relations and therefore he will not be killed or the husband is convinced that his wife is innocent and it was the man who had an eye on her. In one such case, the husband killed his friend who wanted to have a relationship with his wife.

The cases that did not end with any murderous act reflect different perspectives on honor, but in some of them the woman suffers from a penalty even if she is not killed. And sometimes both the wife and the husband who has not killed her suffer isolation or are forced to leave the region or city.

In the case of a man called Osman Ağa, obviously well-to-do, when his wife left him his decision was to leave his wife immediately, divorce her and take the children from her. Later he married another woman and had four more children. The person who told us his story commented as follows:

"...what is better? Would it be better if he had killed? The other one [the woman] has killed herself at any rate by going astray. Let's think. Would you respect such a woman if you were introduced to her? Would you? One should think of herself/himself..." (Adana, age 54, elementary school, from a village in Tarsus)

In another case, the brother-in-law harassed the woman and wanted to have a relationship with her. Although the husband trusted his wife and was definitely on her side he was still under pressure from family members and neighbors. They bothered him continuously by saying that his wife was leaving the house every day to meet a soldier and that if he wouldn't kill her himself they would do it themselves. As a result of this pressure, the man had to leave the village and migrate to another city. The woman who told us his story was from an NGO which supported this family. She related the position of the man in the village like this:

"... It is very interesting do you know, nobody would say hello to this man. We walked together in the center of the village, the man greeted everybody but no one responded to him. Why? Because there was such gossip about his wife and the man still walked with dignity. This is impossible. Just because he did not kill his wife and did not clean his honor." (Batman, female, age 30, university, Batman native)

This case is important because it also shows the importance of support from NGOs or other organizations when people are under pressure from their environment. In the case of this man, the governorship in the city to which the family migrated also cooperated with the NGOs to help him find a job, etc.

If there is no serious evidence of a relationship between a man and a woman, it may also be possible for a respectful or powerful person in the area to act as a mediator; the families may be convinced to solve the problem by driving the man (the person harassing the woman) out of town, to a far away place.

However, respondents also related that the victims are not usually so lucky and even if they are not killed they may still encounter tragic events. In Batman two young 'kumas' related just such a story of one of their relatives. A young woman who had to marry a relative instead of the person she loved was seen in a car with her lover. The family members decided that this 'dishonorable conduct' deserved a death sentence, but her husband protected her and convinced the family that they would go away for a while and not be seen around. However, this precaution was ineffective as her husband's relatives cut the woman's nose to penalize her on their return home. Afterwards, the pressure on this couple, especially the woman,

continued and later, although they had a child and wanted to be together, she was forced to divorce. The reason behind the 'nose cutting' (which was also practiced in another event of honor publicized in May 2005) was interpreted as follows by one of the narrators of this story:

"- Why did they cut her nose?

- To be an example for others. Since she degraded their honor, they would also belittle her in front of others.

- Why is it the nose after all, not a finger or an arm?

- If it is a finger, then she can conceal it easily.

- So they cut the nose because they want it to be visible.

- Yes.

- If something like this had happened to you, for example people talk that you are seen with a man, would your husband do the same thing?

- He would. He would do it easily. He wouldn't have any mercy." (Batman, female, age 29, elementary school, from a village of Batman)

Punishing women by cutting off their body parts was also mentioned in other interviews. The dialogue on this issue in one interview was as follows:

"... Is the dignity of a husband affected if the woman is involved in dishonorable behavior? Of course. Both at home and outside, it is affected.

-What happens for example? What do they say to that man?

-For example, they exclude the man. They say: 'Why don't you stand out and do something when your wife is doing such things. You can cut her nose. You can harm her in some sort of way. Why do you close your eyes to this?'" (Adana, age 31, literate, from Siirt)

These cases show that a married woman's extra-marital relationship is an important form of 'dishonorable conduct' deserving death, especially when there is evidence. If not, or if the husband trusts his wife and does not want to kill her, the relatives on both sides may force them to leave their homes or they may take drastic measures such as cutting her nose, which leaves the woman with a sign that she must carry her whole life. This is not only a lesson for them, but also an example for other women who may attempt similar actions.

A married woman running away with a man

This is also a form of extra-marital relationship in which the woman has decided to leave the husband

and go to her lover or leave her home and go to another place with her lover. This is definitely considered an action which deserves capital punishment, a very serious offense which is defined as 'running away from the marital bed'. Our respondents related five such stories. In three of these, either the woman, both the woman and the man or somebody from the family was killed and in the other two the verdict was the same but could not be accomplished for various reasons.

In one of these cases, a young woman married by force to an elderly man escaped to her lover and she was killed on the street by her brother. In another case, a married woman had eloped with a married man and it was decided that each family should kill their own child. Plans were made, however the eloped couple had already escaped to a European country after going to Istanbul. When the girl's family lost the hope of finding them they ended up killing the brother of the lover. Since honor is regarded as something belonging to the family, in a way this action helped to clean the family's besmirched honor.

In the case of a woman thrown into the Euphrates we can also observe both the need and importance of organizations that can help save women's lives. In this case, a 19 year old girl from Şanlıurfa was married to her uncle's son in line with regional traditions. However she was raised in Antalya and this marriage was totally against her wishes. After a while, she ran away with her lover. However, her father and uncles found her, brought her to Şanlıurfa, tried to suffocate her with a scarf and threw her into the Euphrates. Since she could swim well she tried to act as if she was drowned and managed to remain alive until she was saved by some people and brought to police headquarters. Learning her story the police authorities did not give her back to the family, instead sending her to a hostel. The police officer who knew the case stated that:

"She went to a hostel in Ankara afterwards. They make them go from one hostel to another in order to make the family lose her track. After a certain time, if the girl wants she can leave the hostel." (Şanlıurfa, male, indeterminate age, police officer)

The hostels mentioned here are under the control of the Social Services and Child Protection Agency and they provide protection for young boys and girls between the ages of 13-18 who are placed there under certain circumstances (such as being

an orphan or half-orphan or if the family cannot care for the child, etc). The victims of honor crimes can neither get psychological support there nor live there for longer periods. Although their lives are saved temporarily, they remain at risk.

In the last case in this category a woman left her home and went to her lover's house. The lover and the members of his family, especially his uncles, stayed behind the woman, aware that she would be killed if they gave her back to her family. The person who told this story was closely related to the man's (the lover's) family. She said that the woman's family wanted a girl in exchange from the man's family, however there wasn't anyone suitable to be given. Then the leaders of some large tribes tried to mediate but without any success. The family has not forgiven this woman. The man's family had to leave the village and go to Adana:

"... We also came to Adana for this reason. They [the woman and her lover] migrated here and then we came after them. They were forced to leave the village. In Adana people lost track of them. They couldn't find them. The woman no longer lives now, but her family still says that they want a girl from our family..." (Adana, female, age 45, elementary school, from a village of Şırnak)

In this example it seems that how the man's family handled the situation was an important factor that helped to save the woman's life. However, we need more information on the power relations between these families; it seems that the strength of a family's tribal connections can determine the consequences of such events in one way or another.

A married woman getting separated or divorced

If a married woman wants to divorce her husband or leaves her husband this is also considered 'dishonorable conduct' which deserves punishment. At the same time respondents in Şanlıurfa told us that there were cases in which men divorce their first wives when they want to have a second wife and the second wife insists on official marriage. In those cases sometimes the men send their first wives to a lawyer to open a divorce case (Şanlıurfa, female, unknown age, judge). There were also cases in which the women's family and relatives forced the woman to divorce if they decided that the husband's conduct was improper or that he couldn't fulfill his responsibilities to the family. However, if a woman decides on her own to divorce, then this is considered a devious step.

Four cases under this category resulted in murder. In one case, a woman who returned to her family when her husband was at military service was killed by her husband's brother. In another case, a woman who left home and went to another city to get a divorce from her husband was killed by her 19 year-old son. In a third case a woman given as 'berdel' to a deaf and dumb man was killed by him after getting a divorce. The person who told the second story stated that:

"I visited this family later and also had meetings with the women in that area. It was a very sad situation because most of the women were saying that she deserved to die. I felt very bad when women said something like that so I had meetings with these women to learn why they were saying so... They said 'she shouldn't leave her home; she should be with her husband; one can be loved or beaten, but this is her fate and she should bear it. "This was how they were approaching the situation." (Adana, female, age 40, elementary school, local administrator)

In the last case in this category, a woman who was treated with violence at home wanted to divorce her husband. Her family, however, resisted this and wanted to kill her. The woman sought protection from an NGO and with their help her family was convinced to accept her divorce. The situation was related by an NGO activist:

"The woman did not want to return home to her husband and she was on the street for three days. She was in a very bad condition. When we took her to her family they said, 'if you were not with her, we would kill her.' Yes these were the first words of the father which affected me a lot... The reason is this. How can she be away from home for three days? This is enough reason to kill a woman. The issue here is honor. Normally, the family did not want her divorce. They thought that once you are married, you remain married until you die. If she had gone home alone, this would cause her death definitely." (Batman, female, age 27, elementary school, NGO activist)

A divorced woman having a relationship with another man

Five such cases were reported of which four ended in honor crimes. The case of a divorced woman is not very different from a married woman (if not worse) because her body and sexuality are under very strict control by her former husband as well as her family and relatives. Since she is divorced,

she has done something unacceptable and she is looked upon as somebody with the potential to go against the rules and take devious steps. The story below, told during a group interview, gives us some clues about the situation of divorced women:

"A man divorced from his wife. After a few years his neighbor wanted to get married with his ex-wife. Then the man warned the neighbor by saying that if he gets married with this woman, they should go away from the village. 'We are close neighbors, she is my former wife, if you bring her here, I will kill you.' The man said: 'I'll do what I want'. After a year, the ex-husband killed the person who had married his former wife with a gun. He was of course sent to jail. Then the Muhtar of the village called his council to a meeting and said: 'Friends, let's take a decision to forbid the divorced women from this village to marry anyone, whether they are their neighbors, uncle's sons or somebody else.' After that no such event took place. It is really not good anyway..." (Adana, male, age 49, elementary school, from Adiyaman)

Such cases reflect not only that the control of the husband over the woman remains after the divorce, but also that this is something expected and confirmed by relatives and neighbors. Besides, if the divorced woman is sent back to her own family, the family takes over the role of the husband and feels responsible for her conduct. As a consequence, if a divorced woman who had a relationship with a man is killed by her family members, this murder is approached as something 'that had to be done', 'something inevitable' by the people in their environment. Even in police interrogations, sometimes the attitudes of policemen can be very empathetic toward such people compared to other cases of murder. A journalist in Adana reported his observations in such a case as follows:

"The woman was divorced and she had relationships with other men. People around start to provoke her son. Then the son goes and kills the lover of his mother. I was in the room when the police interrogated him. I saw how the police officers were acting toward him. They were in a way praising him by saying 'good for you; here, have a cigarette, have a cup of tea on my account' etc..." (Adana, male, age 30, journalist, Adana native)

Under this category, we have only one case where a divorced woman and her lover were not killed. In this case, the man wanted to get married with the divorced woman however the woman's father did not give consent because there were already a lot of rumors about their relationship. The person who related this event said that,

"Her father said, he definitely said, I won't give her, I could give my wife but I can't give my daughter. Because everyone around will say 'ok, it was true, that's why she got divorced.'" (Batman, female, age 23, primary school, from Siirt).

The only alternative for the man then was to elope with the woman who was six months pregnant. In this case, we were informed that the woman received support from her mother and the man was a powerful person in the family. After the couple ran away, the man's family also left that place because they were afraid of revenge.

A young unmarried girl having a relationship

25 cases could be placed under this group and half of the cases ended in murder; either the girl, the man or both were killed.

There is a large variety of actions which can be interpreted as 'having a relationship'; there can be a sexual relationship; the boy and girl can be seen together (wandering around, in a café, on the street, etc.); the girl can fall in love, etc. All of these can be denoted as 'dishonorable conduct' as shown in the following story:

"I think the man said let's go around by car for a while and the girl accepted this and the man brought her back to the village; this is very dishonorable indeed, how can a girl go around with a man like that... She was killed in a few weeks. The man [was killed], a year later." (Şanlıurfa, female, age 31, higher education, from Siverek)

However, since the chance of getting married is greater in the case of young, unmarried women, death can be avoided more easily. Still, it seems that, as in the following case, when a marriage is out of question then killing is the only way to save honor:

"...The girl was pregnant; they could not hide it any longer. When the family learned about it they tried to make the girl lose this baby by pressing on her belly and doing many other things, but they couldn't succeed. If she had lost the baby, then they would get her married with a relative and cover everything up. But now, everything was visible. The girl's lover was an idle man, 40 years old. He was married and had two children but he couldn't make their living. Then the wife's father kicked him out by saying that he himself could take care of his daughter and the

children. The man married again and had two more children, but he couldn't take care of his family. On the other hand the girl's father was a strong tribal leader. He wouldn't give the hand of his daughter to a poor peasant working on his land as wage laborer. The man was killed by the brothers of the girl." Then the family also wanted to kill their daughter, but somehow she found a way to escape and they are still looking for her. (Şanlıurfa, male, age 55, university)

The girls are punished with death especially when they become pregnant or if there is much gossip going around about the affair. In such cases it is very difficult for the girls' family members to go out in public with their heads high and they feel that they have to do something to save their honor.

On the other hand, some of our respondents were definitely against the killing of girls and they thought that marrying them off was a good solution. One of them told the following story:

"I had a friend and he had a girl friend. He loved her very much. I heard that they were caught in bed, the woman was killed and the man is still hiding. We have denounced these people... They had loved one another, okay what they did was not right, but one should not do this. They should have called them before everybody heard about this affair and they could have gotten them married in an appropriate way... If people hear about it, then they would probably blame them, make them feel ashamed later when they have a home or start a family. That's why I have put it that way." (Şanlıurfa, male, age 35, elementary school, Şanlıurfa native)

In all these cases it is the girl's family who is taking action to kill both their daughter and the man involved in the affair, while the man's family is not involved. Since honor is based on women, here again the honor of the girl's family is in question while the man's family is not affected.

In the cases below that did not end in murder different factors played a role and various kinds of penalties were invoked such as:

- The girl's mother and sisters strongly resisted and did not allow her to be killed; they were excluded from the tribe.
- The girl's brother saw her with her uncle's son (no sexual relationship). Both were beaten by their families and both families are now treating one another as enemies.

- The girl was seen while she was talking with her lover from the window; she committed suicide.
- After understanding that they cannot get married to the man with whom they have had a sexual relation, girls left the town or applied to different organizations for protection.

In the cases that end in marriage we cannot in the least say that they are all happy. First of all, in most cases there is a long period of anxiety during which the girl is threatened with death. During this period, important people, community leaders, tribal chiefs or NGOs may act as mediators. Even if the girl is allowed to get married, she may be forced to get an abortion if she is pregnant, the couple may be forced to leave their village or town, the woman may be forced to become her lover's second wife without formal marriage or she can be married with someone other than her lover. In most cases there is no wedding ceremony and no dowry or bride money which is quite degrading for the woman. In addition, sometimes the family breaks all contact with the daughter, refusing her totally. All these also affect the status and respectability of the woman negatively in her husband's family and may open the way to further problems.

The case of a victim interviewed in Batman shows how a young girl's life changed drastically when she had an innocent love affair at the age of 14 which her family strongly opposed. When the father learned that she had a boyfriend at school he suspected that she had lost her virginity and took her to get a virginity test which simultaneously negatively affected her relationship with her family and brought her closer to the boy. The father threatened her with death if he continued to see her with the boy; the path opened for her to leave school. She attempted to run away with her boyfriend, but was not successful. The boy wanted to marry her and accepted all the conditions put forth by the father (including a large sum of money), but the father still didn't accept him because he was a Turk. In the meantime the girl became pregnant and the family forced her to have an abortion and wouldn't give her permission to marry. The girl's relatives started to threaten the boy with death and harass his family. In the end, tired of all of this, the boy had to end the relationship. The girl, angry and hopeless, went to the police and complained that the boy had intercourse with her against her wishes. The boy was arrested. Now the young girl lives with her family in another city under strict discipline and control. Some of her relatives acted as mediators bringing her back to her family. She

says that her father was also under threat because some of their relatives pressured her father not to give her hand to a Turkish man. She related that her father said to her,

"If you run away with this boy, even if you go to the end of the world, I will find you and kill you." "Kurdish people have such a notion of honor," she added, "but I think they don't know what it is. What they call honor is when the daughter is in love with someone they should separate them. Then they think they have become honorable. They think honor is something like that." (Batman, female, age 17, left school at 8th grade, from Mardin)

A young unmarried girl running away with a man

There are 29 cases in this group, five of which ended in murder. It is interesting that among these stories the proportion of death penalties is lower compared with the cases of married women having extra-marital relationships as well as unmarried women having relationships with men. One of the reasons behind this could be the fact that this position prepares the ground for a bargain to marry the couple. As in all cases, community reactions are crucially important. If the event is known, people start to gossip and the family is socially excluded because they have not correctly interfered in the face of an immoral act. Then the family feels obliged to kill in order to protect their prestige. If the girl is pregnant or the man doesn't want to get married because of his prior marriage or her engagement, these circumstances create complications which increase the likelihood of murder. The expressions below from different stories reflect such complications:

"Since nobody has eloped from their tribe before, this is a very big shame for them; they are a very big tribe. 'How could such a thing happen? They started to go after them. They have used 35 billion liras worth of fuel. 10-15 cars were going around in different places of Turkey... Then the girl was found and killed. They are after the man now. Even if the man lives a hundred years they will find and kill him... If not, that tribe will be excluded totally. But when they get rid of them they say 'we have cleaned our honor, after this we can go around with dignity.'

- How do they act toward such families?

- They don't even greet them. At every occasion they say, 'Look here. Your daughter was kidnapped a while ago.' Often they say it in the face of the family. When everything is over they feel relieved."

(Adana, male, age 53, did not go to school, from Şanlıurfa)

"A man fell in love with a girl, kidnapped her and brought her here. But the girl had two older brothers, quite calamitous... He said 'I'll marry her', had sexual relations with her and then gave the girl back to her family. And the girl was pregnant at that time. The man's family did not want this marriage, because the man was married anyway and had two children." (Şanlıurfa, female, age 18) In this story it was related that both the girl and the man were killed by the girl's family.

"-They ran away together. Both of them... Both of them were killed. The family members killed them.

- Because they ran away? So, didn't they intend to get married?

- The woman was engaged, but she did not like him. She did not want him, so she forced the man to elope. The woman forced the man.

- So they found and killed them. Were they married then?

- No, they were not married. We found them; they came to us. But people heard about it later and started to talk about it. So they had to kill them. If the girl wasn't engaged maybe the issue could be handled differently. Then it became a question of honor. This is what I mean by honor.

- Do you give countenance to this?

- Yes, I do."

(Batman, male, age 18, high school student, from a village of Batman)

In contrast, in the cases which ended with rather peaceful solutions, some of the relatives usually acted as mediators and convinced the father or brothers to marry the girl to someone else. This person is usually a relative and the couple is asked to leave the village or town and go to a far away place. In this case, the girl is a victim even if she is not killed because besides being forced into an unwanted marriage, she becomes an outcast, as depicted in the following story:

"My elder sister, the eldest one had run away with a man. There is no honor killing or bride money in our traditions. But since she had gone with someone not particularly liked by my father, it was decided to give her to our aunt's son (from the father's side). It is always like that in our region. There is no murder, but we always clean our honor. So we made the others accept this not by killing anyone, but by doing what is proper for our dignity and morals to be able to live with pride. This is our honor. We cannot just disregard it.

- What did you do to the man?

- Nothing. My father only took back my sister without any dis-

pute. And we migrated to Adana.

- But your sister had run away because she loved him. Isn't that right?

- Our girl children, I mean our women are weak with respect to love and everything. They love very much. Women are more sensitive than men. Therefore, there is almost no woman that could not be deceived. . . . The other side [meaning the man's family] was not a family appropriate for us. . . . Therefore we took my sister back."

(Adana, male, age 54, elementary school, from Tarsus)

The girls are not only victims when they are forced into marriage; they may still suffer even if they get married with the person with whom they ran away. In the interviews different stories of such cases were narrated. In one of these, the man was practicing intense violence against the woman which he rationalized by saying 'since you ran away with me, you would also do it with others.'

In another event which was related to us, a girl tried to elope with her lover. The family brought her back and opposed her marriage with the boy. The family was divided over whether or not to kill her. As a way out, the family tried to convince her to commit suicide, even providing her with poison and watching her take it. After ingesting the poison, however, the girl insisted on being taken to the hospital. Out of fear, the family took her there. Although she revealed the truth and initiated a case while in the hospital, the case was later dropped due to familial pressure. She has since married her lover and has no contact with her family. In many cases, the girls' family's negative attitudes continue even after the couple gets married.

Often, respectable religious men, community leaders, city or district governors, well-known people with power and status and even some ministers try to affect the families so that the problem is solved peacefully. Their attempts, however, do not consistently end in positive results. Even if the family accepts a peaceful solution, different forms of bargains are possible. In one case, the bride's (the girl who had run away) sister was made to take the place of the bride just a day before the wedding. In many other cases, this situation leads to 'berdel' where the woman's family wants a girl from the man's family without paying any bride's money in an effort to recompense their damages. For peaceful settlement, 'berdel' can be either proposed by

the man's family or demanded by the woman's. If the girl who ran away was already engaged to someone else, the form of 'berdel' may change to include girls from the man's family to be given to the family of the man engaged with the girl. The exchange procedures may become more demanding and complicated in that case. Below are narratives of such cases:

"...at the end my son eloped with this girl. . . I also had a daughter. Then the girl's father said: 'if your son kidnapped my daughter, then you should give your daughter to my son' . . ." (Batman, age 56, illiterate, born and bred in Batman)

"That girl was engaged to the son of her uncle. On her night of henna [a special ceremony among women a night before the wedding bidding farewell to the girl starting her married life] the girl left the house and escaped to her lover. They ran away together. So in place of that girl the girl's family got two girls from the man's family, one for the groom to be and the other one for a nephew. The girl is still not allowed to come to her father's house although he has forgiven her and did not kill her. When there is a 'berdel', in exchange of blood, then they are not allowed to visit their families." (Adana, female, age 45, elementary school, from Şırnak)

'Berdel' is not the only way to bargain for the life of a girl who has besmirched the family honor. Depending on the economic position of the man's family and the status or bargaining power of the girl's family, other types of exchange are also possible such as giving presents to the girl's family including large amounts of money, a house, a car, guns, etc. Guns, which have a significant meaning in terms of honor in the case of Kurdish people, according to some of the respondents, were also given to seek forgiveness (Adana, female, age 45, from Şırnak). Money is also coming to have increasing importance in the peaceful solution of honor cases. One case was related in which the bride money was increased to incredible amounts by threatening the man's family to kill their son; the family had to sell their houses to be able to pay the amount (Batman).

The cases where girls are sent out of their villages or towns never to come back again can lead to different consequences. One such family accepted their daughter again after she had given birth to her first child and came to her father's house with the child

to ask for forgiveness. However, in another case the fact that the girl was forced into exile led to her suicide. In all these cases it is very important to have some family members backing the girl, supporting and defending her. The dialogues below reflect this:

"The girl called home, she had missed her parents, sisters and brothers. . . . Every time she called they said: 'Your father shouldn't hear this or he will kill us.' And then the girl committed suicide. I think she also wrote on her hand 'I did not know that life could be so cruel!'" (Batman, male, age 50, lawyer)

"I have a sister who ran away with a man. . . . I was in the family council when they were talking about what had to be done. Some said 'we have to kill', some said 'what else can be done? I said at that time: 'No, the man has taken himself a wife. We have already given two lives before. And now, if our brother will go and kill his sister, both the sister and that person will be lost. I cannot accept this, I cannot allow this. Forgive her.' She wouldn't run away anyway if she was mature enough, she was a child. She was about 13-14. I was also a mother to her and as a mother I could do anything to prevent this.

- Would you go against the family council?

- Of course I would. Because I was in the council in the place of my mother. My mother was the daughter of a tribe. If she was there she wouldn't allow this to happen anyway.

- If your uncles and brothers of you mother all said that she should be killed, would you still go against that decision?

- Yes, I would. I would go against it. I said to my uncles, 'look here we have suffered so much. I said that. . . if you also want to lose me take me with her, I shouldn't witness this death sentence.' I have answered them so. They wouldn't kill me anyway, so when they understood that I was against it, thank God they did not go against my wishes."

(Adana, female, age 45, elementary school, from Şirnak)

"for example the daughter of my uncle fell in love. The man was also in love with her. But my uncle did not give her to this man. . . . Then they had to run away together, but her family took her back from him. They beat the girl so much, it was worse than being dead. . . . Then they wanted to put her in the basement. My uncle was saying, 'we'll kill her', 'we'll strangle her there and then in the morning we will say this girl is dead and then we will bury her.' And then the girl's grandma was there, she yelled: 'If you kill my grand child I will go and complain about you' If she hadn't done this, they would probably kill her in the

basement. . .

- But they didn't?

- No, they did not. The girl was taken out of the basement. And then they gave her back to her lover again."

(Batman, female, age 42, did not go to school, from Siirt)

" . . . I was of course in the family council. As her future husband, since according to traditions she was my wife to be. . . . And as I'm the son of both her uncle and aunt. And also, since I was the prospective chief of our tribe. Therefore, I was the person to solve this problem. . .

- So. Can you tell us how it happened a little bit?

- I found them. Both the boy and the girl. . . . My family members were going to a wedding. They said if you want kill the boy only or both of them. I said 'I'll do whatever is necessary'. . . . After they left, that evening I went with my car and brought over a registrar to their place and they became officially married. . . . As I took the registrar back, I also sent them to X province where I have a friend. . . . They can stay there for a while. After they have a child then they won't kill them. Then everything will be finished and covered up. They will say 'don't come here'. They can get along with their own possibilities.

- I understand you support people who love one another.

- Yes, there is nothing wrong here. They loved one another. The boy is also a very good man. If he was not so, I would not think a moment to place a bullet into his head. No problem! In such a case one should not think, but go to jail. I would stay in jail for a while. Maybe I would stay three months or so. Of course I know that life is important, but how can one bear such dishonor. . . . However, this boy called me right after they ran away. He said: 'The girl is with me, she is safe; if you want you can come' and he also gave the address of their place. He wasn't afraid. He was ready to take a risk under those conditions.

- So, he loved her very much.

- This is the reason I did not kill him.

- The only reason?

- They loved one another. Usually these things do not reach a happy end, but since they told me everything I wanted it to end that way."

(Sanlıurfa, male, age 19)

Usually when such events did not end in honor killings the people from the family supporting the girl were not just ordinary people but those with significant status in that community or tribal group in terms of their age or position. It is important that such people risk their position by engaging in such an activity; unless people are strong in one way or another they are unable to handle such

a situation. Even then they do so under the threat of relatives. Often they have to cut their relations with the tribe and may become excluded from their social surrounding. All this was related to us in the story of the young man above who could solve the problem as he liked and stay alive mainly because his mother was from a very powerful tribe, so most probably the people on his father's side did not risk going too far. In this case, both the man himself and the couple are still alive.

As we emphasized at the beginning of this section, another issue that is important in determining how such events end is how much they are heard about in the community. If people are gossiping about the so-called 'dishonorable conduct', then the family feels obliged to take some action as is expected by the people around them. What is being said about the event and how it will affect the status and dignity of the family seems to be much more important than the event itself. Therefore it was observed that, in some of the cases, the families try very hard to conceal such events from the people around them. One example was given of a family that tried to conceal that their daughter had run away with somebody by saying that she was killed in a traffic accident; they even went so far as to accept condolences for her.

There are also cases where the girls married neither the man they ran away with nor any other person. In one of these cases, the girl herself came back to her family after a while, but since she was afraid they would kill her, she was placed in a women's shelter. In the other cases in which the girls returned to their families, the families changed residence or migrated to other places and the girls continued to live with them. In another such case, the father and the older brother left home after the girl who ran away with a man at a very early age returned. The man did not want the girl and she was pregnant. The father and brother did not want to kill the girl, but could not carry this dishonor. The problem was solved by the uncle maternal who tookover responsibility for the family including the mother, the girl, the girl's baby and other siblings. However, the girl's older sister was given to her maternal uncle's son as bride (related by a teacher in Şanlıurfa, female, age 34).

As these cases show, certain mechanisms have been developed to solve the problem of young girls leav-

ing their homes to go to their lovers or eloping with their lovers, without killing the girls and their lovers. However, this is highly connected with the conditions surrounding each case. And, even if the girl's (and the lover's) lives are saved, the girl and sometimes other members of the family, especially young girls, have to compensate for this in one way or another. Girls are 'given' as wives to relatives whether they want it or not; they are 'given' as second wives or unmarried girls from the family are 'given' as 'berdel' without asking their wishes.

A woman (married or unmarried) being kidnapped and/or raped

Among the stories told by the respondents, 27 of them reflect cases where a woman was kidnapped without her wish or she was assaulted and raped. Among these, there are cases where very young girls (12 and 14 years old) were raped. Seven of these cases ended in honor killings.

According to the people who related such stories to us, rape is definitely a significant issue of honor and the reactions can be directed against the woman, the man or both. Since kidnapping and rape take place against a woman's desire, women are usually considered victims in such cases. However, the number of those who approach women as guilty in such incidences is also not negligible. In particular, if the woman becomes pregnant it complicates the situation for the family and prepares the ground for her, and sometimes the man's, death. On the other hand, many people think that if the woman assaulted is not married, then she can marry either the rapist or another man who will accept her. And of course, a man accepting a woman who is not a virgin is usually old, handicapped, divorced or already married. So, the rape incidents which do not end in honor crimes may nonetheless result in potentially difficult unions.

The statements below show how people defend the murder of a woman even if she was assaulted and raped by force:

"... if I were in their place I would finish it.

- Did the girl also want it?

- No, it was against her wishes. But nevertheless I would also kill the girl... Now if the whole family is affected by this, if their dignity and honor is affected, it is better to strike it out totally rather than carrying it the whole life long..." (Batman, male, age 23, left high school, from Diyarbakır)

Kadriye Demirel was killed by her older brother because she was pregnant, raped by her maternal uncle's son. In Şanlıurfa, a female NGO activist related to us her observations at the burial ceremony which also showed the attitudes toward raped women. This shows again that it is not important even if the girl is a victim and has been assaulted. What is important is that the family honor needs to be 'wiped clean':

"I observed it at her (Kadriye Demirel's) funeral, she was killed by her brother anyway and the brother was in jail... Usually mothers do not cry after the dead in such cases, however I think the fact that the victim was taken up by women's organizations and other NGOs had encouraged the woman and aroused her instincts as a mother so that she started to cry by her grave. At that moment her younger son (9 or 10 years old) warned the mother by kicking her and saying 'Why do you cry after all? Cry for our brother who is in jail instead of that whore. He will stay in prison for so many years...' Then one starts to think about the young people who become murderers. Families put so much pressure on them, saying that they could clean the family honor, then they are forced to kill their sisters. In other words, it is different when people themselves feel that 'it is our honor, we have to go and kill', but when the family forces the young person by saying that he must kill, this is his task, etc., this situation is really more complicated." (Şanlıurfa, from a group interview of women at a women's NGO)

In some of the kidnapping and rape cases, it is reported that the rapists and in fact some other men from the rapist's family can also be killed. However, since the people telling these stories have only emphasized the aspects considered important from their own perspective, we do not have detailed information on the social status of the families involved and the balance of power between the families which may have played a role in determining the consequences of these events.

In one such case the family members also tried to kill the victim to get rid of her and, in a way, close the topic completely. One respondent related a case in which 30 men from one tribe were burned to death following the kidnapping of an engaged girl from that tribe and then the whole tribe was forced to migrate. The following excerpt is from an interview with a woman belonging to that tribe:

"Can you believe that the reason we migrated here is only one girl? Maybe we have 100 or 150 families here; we have all come here for that reason. They burned these people alive.

- All 30 of them?

- Yes. 30 people from the same family. Burned alive. I was shocked when I first heard it. How can that happen? How can one burn people alive?"

(Adana, female, age 31, from Siirt)

In another incident, a mentally retarded young girl was raped. The brothers of the girl offered her in marriage to the man and said that they would pay all wedding costs, all in an effort to avoid gossip. The man did not accept. They found mediators to convince him, but again he refused. In the end, they shot the man dead. Later, they threw the girl in a water channel. Somehow the girl was not hurt; she was saved and then she was sent to another place through organizations. However, the family is still after her. The police officer relating this story stated:

"... this is the first time they shot a man, usually they kill the woman... But the man... the brothers really tried hard to bargain with him; they said to me 'We did not intend to kill, but the girl was mentally retarded, she could not do it with her own wish.' But they also threw her... I said when it is so, why did you throw her in the channel. This girl would not do such a thing if she was conscious of it. They said 'we had to do it'."

(Şanlıurfa, male, unknown age, police officer)

When a girl is raped by a man, since she is no longer a virgin it is usually believed that the best way to solve the problem is to get them married, especially if the man is not already married. If the man is already married and the raped girl is pregnant, this creates a more complicated situation and usually ends in the girl's murder. An example of this is the case of Güldünya who was killed by her brother three months after she gave birth to her child. The Imam who had protected Güldünya at his home for about six months related to us that when he was working in the village many such incidences had taken place and he had helped them to reach a peaceful solution usually by marrying the girl to her rapist. In the case of Güldünya this didn't work out because the man was not only married, but married to Güldünya's uncle's daughter, and the woman didn't even want to see her again in the village. Besides, Güldünya's family was quite poor while the man was well-to-do. Under these circumstances the Imam could not act as a mediator to establish peace between the families. (Istanbul, male, age 65, retired Imam from Siirt)

The practice of marrying girls to their rapists was also reinforced in a way by the former penal code in Turkey which stated that when the rapist gets married to the woman he raped, his penalty is suspended, and when he remains married for five years then the penalty is absolved. This is no longer valid, however there are hints of such influence in some stories of rape related to us that ended in marriage:

- "How did the father of the girl [the one raped] react in this case?
- What can he do? He will give the girl by force. So he didn't say much.
- So the girl did not want it [to get married]
- No, she did not. But she had to."

(Adana, male, age 37, high school, from Elazığ)

"The girl is actually obliged to do this [marriage]. There is no second road for them. They don't have an alternative." (Batman, female, age 23, elementary school, from Siirt)

"The boy was only 17 at that time and the girl about 11-12. . . He assaulted and raped the girl and thinking he had killed her, he buried her. Then the friends of the girl looked for her and found her where she was buried. . . Then the boy was given 14 years sentence. As punishment. Then the girl got well after a while, she was healed. The boy was in prison for two years. Then, the boy's family went to the girl's family and said: 'okay, we will accept your girl as bride, but you have to withdraw your case against our son, so that he gets out of prison.' Then the girl's family thought that when this girl is older, who will want to get married with her anyway. So they accepted this and withdrew the case. When the boy came out of prison, the girl was around 15-16. . . And now they are married. However, she has some lesions caused by being raped at such an early age and she cannot have children for a while. . . Sometimes I ask myself what does the girl think when she sees the boy. Doesn't she remember anything? I, myself could not look at his face. . . this is very sad. You can remember that incident every time you see him. This is incomprehensible to me. On the other hand the boy's family is very satisfied with the girl. They care a lot for her. She gets whatever she wants.

- Is the girl happy?
- She is also satisfied. She has forgotten everything that happened. Anyway, the girl is not so, I mean she doesn't think so deeply over it. She is interested in what is there today, but not

about tomorrow." (Batman, female, age 22, elementary school, from Mardin)

On the other hand, a young girl who was raped by an acquaintance (and still conceals the event from her family) thinks that men assault and rape girls believing that they will have to get married with them, as another way of practicing power. And that's why she doesn't want to give in to this:

"And then that feeling of emptiness. . . His laughter and his words, 'If you want we can have a religious wedlock.' Such bewilderment! Was it some kind of captivity, was he following me all the time, I really do not understand. He thought that after this [incident] I was going to be totally dependent on him. . . I never thought as he did. I'm not dependent on him. By doing such a thing he can never force me into marriage. I'm conscious of this and I would rather die than do something like this. . ." (Adana, female, age 21, university student)

In contrast with the cases above there are incidents in which the man's family doesn't want their son to get married with such a girl who is raped and is no longer a virgin! This kind of understanding again shows the gender differences in standards related with the concept of honor and that it is mainly the responsibility of a woman to protect her body from a man even if that man is a rapist. Excerpts from some interviews reflecting such cases are given below:

-. . . that person was arrested, but was released on bail.

- So nobody wanted to get them married?

- No, nothing like that happened. Of course the girl's family expected this, because such an event took place, people's attitudes toward them had changed; they all think negatively about them. Think about it. You are in a society and let's say not all the people, but many have negative impressions about you. In order to get out of this situation you may think that to get them married is more rational. But the boy's family did not want this. They reflected a very self-confident position.

- Where did their power come from?

- What can it be, of course material wealth. They were a rich family, even if he was sentenced they would find a way to get him out; there was no problem there. . . The girl's family was a powerless, disadvantaged family, so they had to migrate from that place. (Batman, female, age 24, psychologist)

- "Now, it is something like this. I was there when that event took place.

Somebody came and told us about the rape incident. In Petroskent, seven men had raped one girl. One of them loved the girl and when they were together he was not very careful, so the girl lost her virginity. Then his friends also had intercourse with the girl. The boy, not wanting to carry the responsibility alone brought over his friends and fooled the girl that even if she is together with them, she still belongs to him.

- So, did she really get married with that boy?

- I heard that the boy's family gave money to the girl's family so that they would not sue their son. And they have said to them that this girl has been raped by seven men, so she is not suitable for their family. And they said that they will go away from this place. They have given a large sum of money to her family and the girl did not get married with any of them.

- God oh god, their son raped this girl and they can still say that this girl is not suitable for their family. He is the one who raped!

- It is so, but they have a social environment. They talk about it as a psychopathic case. And when she is raped by seven, then she remains all alone. They have solved the problem with money." (Batman, male, age 21)

When the rapist doesn't want to marry the girl, the family may be confronted with such negative reactions from people around that they have to leave town as in the example below:

"This event was heard all over Silvan. And people in Silvan accused the girl by saying 'what was she doing in their house anyway', 'She actually felt something toward him' such things. [The girl was raped by her friend.] And nobody said something about the boy's family, but the girl's family was criticized everywhere. The father could not go to the coffee-house. The man could not even go shopping because of pressure and the family decided to leave the town and settle somewhere else." (Batman, female, age 24, university, from Diyarbakır)

All of the cases we cited above are related with unmarried women, mostly very young girls. In the case of kidnapping or raping a married woman, the people's reactions are even harsher and more brutal. They tend to think that under such circumstances the best solution would be to kill the woman.

Among the stories related to us under this category one is of a woman kidnapped together with her child. She was kidnapped because of an issue regarding her husband's job. When she escaped from the kidnappers she went to her older sister's house.

Both her family and the husband's family reacted very negatively and they decided that both the woman and her husband should be killed to resolve the situation. They also tyrannized the older sister since she was supporting her and threatened her with death. As a result, the older sister threw the woman out of her house by saying 'I cannot take care of you any longer, I also have a family myself.' Then the woman went to a public organization and stayed there. (Adana, female, unknown age, social worker)

The story we documented of a married woman being raped while in custody resulted in a family council decision to kill her. The woman related her story to us herself; we reached her in Istanbul through the NGO activists who were helping her at that time. She was assaulted and raped while in custody. Her story is rather complicated and bears many conflicting points, but she tried to show us clearly that her family members reacted very negatively when they heard that she was assaulted, rejected her as their daughter and decided that they should kill her when she is free. Moreover, she related that her father threatened her mother by saying that if the mother goes against their decision then she will also be 'put in the [same] grave.' The woman related that she was supported by several people from women's organizations so that she could lead a life on her own. (Istanbul, woman, age 28, did not go to school)

On the other hand there are also some families, although not many, who own the problem and try to support their daughters in incidences of rape. How the families handle such cases depends on their socio-economic circumstances. However, most of these people live in cities and have the opportunity to establish contacts with NGOs or other organizations. For example, in one of these cases, the mother of a mentally handicapped girl who was raped told her story to a friend working in a women's organization. She kept it a secret because she thought that if the family learned about it, they could kill the girl. It was solved by sending the university student who had raped her for psychological treatment and the girl also did not receive any sanction. In three other cases, the families of the raped girls applied to related organizations and informed them about the offense; some of them got support from organizations and some of the victims received psychological support. Excerpts below are from these cases.

In the incident below, the interviewee's uncle's daughter was kidnapped to be sold to a brothel and after a short while she was found in a different province:

- "Of course we will take action and sue. This is our most natural right. If we don't do it then other girls will also be kidnapped. Of course we are making nothing like a vendetta or honor killing out of it. If we were conservative and narrow-minded, we wouldn't make a legal complaint, but go and kill them. Nothing like that happened. Their families also came to us and offered us a huge sum of money. We did not accept it. My father did not accept it.
- Didn't you do anything to the boys?
- No, we just complained legally. We decided to leave justice to do whatever is necessary. . .
- How does the family react now toward your uncle's daughter?
- Very positively indeed. It is okay. As if nothing has happened. She is engaged now and sometime later there will be a wedding. There is no problem. We cannot punish the girl. If we punish this girl who has gone through hell for a week, she will lose her mind. She will become totally crazy. And we are acting pleasantly toward her. 'Something happened which is unwanted' we said. We took her around so that she would feel better morally; we have done everything for her to forget about this event." (Adana, male, age 20, high school)

In another incident, the father sued the person who raped his daughter and kept his daughter away from his family which was pressuring him to kill the girl:

"The father said 'I cannot do this; I cannot kill my daughter. I'm thinking like this, I'm against such things, but I'm also afraid that if I don't do it they will have someone else do it. . . This girl is yours; I haven't seen or heard this.' He brought her over and we started to protect her [talking about a political party]. . . We also had her participate in some activities. It is important to make her feel that she is not alone. If she thinks she is alone, she will not be able to cope with it." (Adana, female, unknown age)

Among the cases related to us four of them were about women who took refuge in various organizations and political parties (either through members of their family or people trying to help them) and political parties. This kind of protection is important for saving the life of the victim, however the organizations often do not have the services or opportunities to keep women longer or support them psychologically and economically. Especially when the organizations are not so aware of the critical situation of the victims, their help to these people

remains very limited and sometimes they are unable to prevent the tragic end. For example, most of the time these victims are placed in SHÇEK (Social Services and Child Protection Agency) hostels if they are younger than 18 (or sometimes in the women's shelter ['guest house'] of the same organization if they are older) and when the family learns that they are in a certain hostel, they may convince the directors of these places to give the woman back. One woman was killed by her family after she was taken back from a hostel.

Experiences of 'dishonorable conduct' and honor killings: factors involved, responses and interpretations of causes

The cases above show that, in certain communities, different types of so-called 'dishonorable conduct,' based mainly on local norms for how a woman's body and sexuality should be controlled (whether she is married or not), have different consequences. They do not always end in the killing of the woman, man or both; there may be more peaceful negotiations which entail bargains usually over the body of the victim or other young women in the family as in the case of 'berdel'. The girl's family's decision to attempt peaceful negotiations has nothing to do with what the girl and her lover want as individuals. It is determined totally outside them by the community of which they are a part. The family members who make the decision are also a part of the community and they are bound by its rules outside of which they don't seem to have a social existence. The control of women's sexuality is one of the important mechanisms by which many other relations are controlled in the community which deserve further study.

The stories demonstrate that in each case various factors and combinations of these factors affect how the so-called 'dishonorable conduct' is experienced. Although we did not have complete and deep enough information on all these cases still it is possible to distill a number of factors which are crucial in determining the dynamics of honor killings or the responses of others toward 'dishonorable conduct'. We consider that the factors below have importance in terms of understanding and interpreting each case:

- **Marital status of the women involved:** In spite of the complexity of each event, it seems that married women get more severe penalties, while in the case of an unmarried girl the possibility of a 'peaceful

settlement' is higher. The fact that women are the 'property' of their husbands once they are married, but the former owners (i.e. the woman's family) of that 'property' still have responsibility over it and the husband's family also has a say makes everything more complicated, leaving very little room for bargaining. The complications may increase further when both the woman and the man involved in so called 'dishonorable conduct' are married.

- **The social and economic status of the parties involved:** It seems that a rich family or a powerful tribe will hardly accept their daughter's 'dishonorable conduct' with a man from a poorer or lower status family. However, when the man is rich there may be possibilities for different types of settlements such as giving high bridal money to the girl's family or paying large sums of money to them to leave town and cover up the event completely. Of course, in all these cases it is also important where these people live, how closed their community is and how widely the news about the event spreads.

- **The social environment/social pressure:** In communities where kinship ties are important and people's relationships outside their narrow circle are quite limited, especially when they are residing in a village (or in the city, in quarters where most of the people are either related to one another or know each other), then familial reactions can be quite brutal to the 'offender(s)' of honor. In a closed community information and rumors about such events spreads very quickly, relatives start to interfere and the family is under pressure to do something to regain its prestige. When the family doesn't want to act exactly according to the ways and means infused from the people around, then the only alternative remaining is to move to another place. Sometimes migration to other places and getting away from relatives and close friends may enable the family to end up with comparatively milder penalties regarding the case. Weakening a person's tribal connections in one way or another may also have a similar affect.

No matter how close the ties are between people, if the family is successful in keeping what has happened a secret, then the possibility of making peace or covering it up without a penalty may increase. Of course, there are certain situations when it becomes extremely difficult or impossible to hide the affair, to marry the couple or to cover it up through bargaining. These occur when the woman

is pregnant or when the abductor/rapist refuses to get married or when there is a large gap in the economic and social status of the families involved. In such cases community reactions usually lead the families to take very extreme measures.

- **Ethnic and religious background and relations:** For the people we interviewed the norms related with marriage, family and honor such as the importance of marrying with an uncle's sons, chastity, bride money and giving girls in exchange [berdel] carried importance both in terms of economic power and the social integration of tribes. They existed as mechanisms which, through the control of women's bodies and sexuality, allowed for the enactment of other forms of power relations. In fact, the power and ethnic background of a person's tribe as well as the power of her/his family in the tribe affected the reactions of the family in cases of so-called 'dishonorable conduct' and their resolution. It was also emphasized that Kurdish and Arabic tribes have different inclinations for the solution of these problems; in Arabic tribes making peace through monetary exchange seems to be more common. Although the data we collected is not sufficient to be able to explain these differences, we can still highlight them as requiring further analysis.

Similar things could be said about believing in certain religions or sects. We have limited information based on concrete incidents, the role of religion and especially Islam which is dominant in this area. Although people base their honor-related attitudes and actions on their religious beliefs, the situation overall is quite contradictory. While some people stated that they killed the woman or man because the religion dictates it, others stated that religion (meaning Islam) is against taking people's lives since life is given to us, and can only be taken, by God. Also, as was often referred to by Imams and other religious people, it is almost impossible to definitely determine a case of adultery because according to some hadiths four trustworthy men from the community must witness the people during sexual intercourse. And when adultery is uncertain, then the death penalty should not be given.

Regarding the differences in religions or religious sects on this issue, our Sunni and Alevi respondents' comments reflect some differences in the way they perceive relationships between men and women and consequently how they react to matters of honor. The interviews with some of our

Alevi respondents emphasized that the honor of both women and men is their own dignity. Although they stated that there is control of the family over matters of honor in Alevi families, in case of 'dishonorable conduct' they usually find a way to make peace. They also stated that in order not to open the way to divorce, the couple should get to know each other well (Şanlıurfa, male, age 50, university).

- Mediators or support from public organizations or NGOs: In many cases, respectable people from the region or relatives who are trusted by the parties involved can act to change the direction of events and help the families make peace. These people either interfere when they hear about the event by themselves or are called to help by some of the relatives or people of that area. Another factor which can change the flow of events is the intervention of public organizations or NGOs. This can mostly occur if the case has been transferred to security forces or other public institutions by the victims themselves (when their life is threatened) or by other people who want to help the victims. In such cases victims can be protected by the organizations at least for a certain period of time and their lives can be saved. However, protecting such victims is a very critical issue and women's shelters are insufficient in number and institutional capacity to give services in such cases; even the smallest ill-judged action may end up causing great harm.

In addition to the factors above, we can say that education, having experience living in places (especially urban areas) other than one's birth place and having connections with organizations and parties which work to prevent honor crimes may all influence the aftermath of 'dishonorable actions'. If the father of the girl or one of her close relatives is a person with an urban background or if he is comparatively educated and has contacts with NGOs or political parties, the family may start to think differently at least when it comes to killing the girl.

The people who told us stories of 'dishonorable conduct' and honor killings had markedly different approaches. In general, these approaches can be grouped under four headings:

1. Those giving full support to honor killings: These people openly stated that a dishonorable person deserves death. If there is no killing, people will be encouraged to act dishonorably and

such events will continue. These people are rather fervent supporters of honor killings and therefore they criticize the increase of penalties in case of such crimes.

2. Those giving conditional support to honor killings: These people hold that killing is not right, no one would like to do it, but that you never know what might happen if you are confronted with such 'dishonorable conduct'. For example, if a man witnesses his wife's disloyalty and is also provoked by others to take action, then he could lose control and commit a murder. People in this category also tend to find the victim wrong or guilty since she has deceived her husband.

3. Those approaching honor killings as an inevitable act which results from social pressure: These people argue that it is inevitable for individuals to kill for the sake of honor mainly as a result of social pressure. They state that it is very hard for people to bear humiliation and exclusion especially when they are poor, powerless and illiterate. This is a more subtle way of giving support to honor killings.

4. Those totally opposed to honor killings: Part of this group rejects killing people even if they are guilty of 'dishonorable conduct'. For them, to kill a human being is wrong in principle. Another part defends their ideas by basing them on religion and stating that no one has the right to take a life given by God. Some of these people propose that 'dishonorable conduct' should be solved by marrying the woman by force or making peace through some form of compensation. Others in this group again reject honor killings as a whole and do not consider the person involved in so called 'dishonorable conduct' to be guilty.

People supporting honor killings fully or conditionally can take different stands depending on the marital status of the woman involved and the nature of the action itself. For example, killing may be deemed legitimate for a married woman while an unmarried woman may be married as a solution. People who strongly support killing without considering the marital status of the woman may change their opinion if she is raped or if it is obvious that she was forced into a relation. In such cases they may consider the woman to be a victim who should not be killed. However, there are also people who think that even raped women are guilty and should be killed. The rape of children

or very young girls usually receives a very negative reaction; the victim is generally considered innocent. However it was also related to us that it is not allowed to kill minors according to religion, so people sometimes wait to kill them when they grow up. But we have no such cases at hand.

The respondents offered a variety of explanations for honor related events and honor killings which we have organized into 7 different categories as presented below. The categories are not mutually exclusive; in fact, most respondents called on more than one explanation in their interpretations.

Explanations based on social, economic and demographic factors:

In this category people explained honor issues in terms of the social and economic conditions of the regions where they occur most frequently or by the conditions of the people involved. Actually, the main points of emphasis were the social and economic 'backwardness' of the areas, the social and cultural characteristics of societies where feudal or tribal ties still exist and the conditions causing change. People talked about underdevelopment, but also about how social change and urbanization is opening the way to new values, including those related with women's status and gender relations. Within this context the problem was discussed with different points of emphasis by making reference to the broader, structural aspects of society or their everyday experiences of what some have summarized as the 'perverse order'. The issues mentioned particularly were poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, primitiveness, strong traditions, marriage with relatives (primarily with uncles' sons), forced marriages at young ages, polygamy, etc. People emphasizing these factors usually blamed the state for not employing the right policies to solve the problems in the region in question.

Interviewees in Istanbul, especially Istanbul natives, discussed honor killings as a rural problem particularly in the underdeveloped, geographically distant regions of the East and Southeast. These respondents' sense of the East/Southeast and honor killings was largely drawn from what they read about these events in newspapers or watched on TV. Their position was more like that of a distant observer, analyzing a problem that belongs to 'others'. They said that the problem can only be eradicated by changing these conditions; they largely blamed the state for not doing what was necessary

and expressed pity for these people. It was surprising that in Şanlıurfa also, similar evaluations were made by young university students with an urban background. They stated that honor killings do not occur in the urban settlements of their province, are a problem of rural areas and are changing over time. The statements below reflect how people in different cities expressed this view of honor killings as a problem of rural and/or underdeveloped areas:

"Educational level is very important. Whether it is in Siirt or Kars it is not important. Niğde is not a big city either, but the educational level there is quite high. Honor killings based on 'töre' wouldn't happen there. But in the East and Southeast of Turkey, the lifestyles there, the fact that feudal ties are still strong, that there is a patriarchal family, unfortunately in this region honor killing is considered a solution . . . whatever the landlord or the chief of the tribe says is regarded as law." (Adana, male, age 50, university, retired teacher, Adana native)

" . . . People there are not given education . . . The only cause of 'töre' killings is the state, landlords, imams, mullahs and sheiks . . . The primary responsible body is the state . . . and the last is the family council." (Adana, male, age 17, high school, from Diyarbakır)

" . . . I hold him [meaning the government] surely responsible. If he wouldn't do so, he could have placed some factories and some jobs to Batman . . . Look here, how many people are in Batman now? Where are they? All of them are in Istanbul, in big cities. Why do they go there? For daily bread." (Batman, female, age 42, did not go to school, from Siirt)

" . . . It is because individuals cannot act as individuals. If the people here could act as individuals, then they would probably act according to their own decisions and at that time they would be able to stand against family, tribe and village decisions . . ." (Batman, female, age 28, lawyer)

"When women have control over the economy, the man starts to feel downtrodden. Then the problems start, because men have a power by nature, given by God; power and courage. Men cannot bear this situation and then divorce, killings, such things occur . . ." (Adana, male, age 54, elementary school, in Adana since childhood.)

"Having the power of being from a tribal community can make

people minimize the importance of committing a crime, 'so what if a boy from the tribe goes and stays in prison for a while' they may say. . . ." (Şanlıurfa, male, age 53, journalist)

"...now here I blame the state. Everything begins with the state. Don't blame these people, you live in this society, you have to carry this out, or you can't live in that society. The state says I'm bringing education, job opportunities and opening a state factory. The factory's foundation is laid. . . the landowner is already rich, he lays a foundation, he gets money from the state, he goes behind the state's back and doesn't follow through with it, what happened, I mean there's a vulgar display of wealth here. This really troubles me." (female, age 45, from group interview at a women's NGO)

Explanations which emphasize patriarchal relations:

The defenders of this approach tried to explain that such crimes occur as a result of men conceiving it as their right to control women, especially women's sexuality, using power over the powerless. They discussed the question in relation to gender roles, the negative role of media reproducing the commonly accepted gender roles, rape and its consequences, the issue of making girls marry their rapists, how the legal system serves patriarchy, etc. Among the supporters of this approach there were people from different professions such as psychologists, lawyers, journalists and activists from different NGOs (especially from Istanbul-based NGOs, though there were a few from other cities as well). In Istanbul, it was interesting to learn that this group also comprised women at younger ages, including those from migrant families, who had found an opportunity to go outside their immediate circles and got involved with different NGO activities.

Some women and men with this perspective usually placed importance on the development of women's consciousness in the struggle to stop violence against women and honor killings. In Adana, a local administrator (a 31 year old woman) stated openly that women should be the primary agents in the struggle for themselves; they should not leave it to others.

Explanations based on the role of the family:

People supporting this approach usually complained about how families were changing, how the ties between family members were loosening and stated how important it was to give children

good training on norms, traditions and religion so that they don't go astray and have relationships with improper people. However, some respondents also discussed the negative sides of the family in terms of the pressure on young boys and, particularly, girls. This approach was expressed most strongly by migrant families in Istanbul, though it surfaced in all four cities. People compared former generations with the younger ones or traditional men with more 'modern' ones (who don't have a strong grip over their wives) or complained about young people who are under the negative influences of TV, etc.

Related with the socialization process of children, some interviewees emphasized 'holding the youngsters strictly under control and teaching them the fear of God' and others (especially professionals such as teachers) stated that too much pressure on children would give the opposite results. A seventeen year old young woman who had survived some dramatic honor-related events told us that young girls are running away from home to become guerillas in order to free themselves from family pressures. She also explained that it is not considered dishonorable to go to the mountains and become a guerilla, while it would be regarded as dishonorable to go to a woman's NGO (Batman, female, age 17, left middle school). This issue was discussed in interviews in different cities:

"One has to have a good family above everything, good family, good relations. For example if my friends are thieves, I will also become a thief. . . if a woman goes along with a whore, then she will also become a whore. . ." (Istanbul, male, age 29, elementary school, from the Black Sea Region)

"Families do not show affection to their children here, therefore we have these events. If I am not happy in my family then if a man tells me that he loves me, is in love with me, if he is concerned with me I will go away with him. Why? I'm in love with affection. Since I do not get any affection at home I go with eagerness." (Batman, female, age 19, did not go to school, from Gercüş)

"My daughter will never run away with a man because I have given her a good base [meaning in terms of morals] at home." (Şanlıurfa, male, age 35, elementary school, Şanlıurfa native)

"Most of the young girls in Şanlıurfa are depressed because of the restrictions on them; some of them find a solution in running away from home, even going into the streets. Women also have

internalized some of the taboos on them so much that they hold themselves strictly under control. . . ." (Şanlıurfa, from a group interview of women at a women's NGO)

- "There's a huge pressure. . . I could also bring this out with statistics, young girls between ages 15 and 20, 90% are depressed, going out looking in Urfa.

- They find the solution in eloping or they fall into a bad path.

- Their psychology is completely broken these girls who will be future mothers, wives.

- Because they weren't given free space for themselves, they can't go to the movies, it's forbidden. A women's coffeeshop was opened, I couldn't take anyone there.

- They say, 'our fathers will kill us.' The cinema, for example, our association organized a free movie screening . . . there were some open scenes and at first the cinema was completely full, the open scenes were seen, women, there weren't any men in the theatre anyway, most of them left.

- In other words women themselves are also putting pressure on themselves, what will happen if I watch this.

- Well these women are also depressed.

- Women in Urfa have no kind of social life."

(Şanlıurfa, women, from group interview with women aged 26-45 at a women's NGO)

Destitution of men as a result of social pressure:

The people defending this approach highlight the pressures on men or tell stories to show how men are under the influence of their social environment and that they are actually forced into committing such crimes. The social forces are so strong that the men have no other choice if they want to be a part of their community. In the words of a respondent in a group interview in Adana, "they kill so that the whole tribe from age 7 to 70 will not be deported. And then they praise the murderer" (Adana, male, from a group interview). Therefore, men may prefer to go against the law of the state in order to not go against the morals and traditions of their own community. They want to continue their existence in that community holding their heads upright. This is what they have been taught since they were small children. It was also related that men who commit honor crimes have a prestigious place in prison, greatly respected by the other prisoners. And of course such an act may help them to achieve a higher status in their community. On the other hand, the most important point is the fact that an exaggerated interpretation of the power of social pressure may end up legitimizing the perpetrators

of honor crimes (as well as seeing the whole family involved in the murderous act as the victim of the society); the exaggeration of the power of the social and economic conditions legitimates the murders and murderers especially in certain regions.

Emphasis on external social pressure was more common among men and women (including some professionals, especially in Şanlıurfa) who were close witnesses of honor crimes. Most of these people have heard more stories about honor crimes or had more direct experiences related with these crimes in their families, in their villages, etc. Among professionals, the idea of men as victims of social forces appeared in interviews with lawyers, social workers, NGO activists, etc. The following expressions reflect their positions:

"What else could we do? This is our social structure. People would mock us if we hadn't done it. They would degrade us. I also don't agree with these things, but it had to be done. Our family, how would they hold their heads up if we hadn't done it?" (the words of a family member of an honor killing victim, related by an informant, male, age 28, university graduate, NGO activist in Istanbul)

"Human beings do not become monsters suddenly; society puts pressure on them; rumors start and then the family feels that they have to 'clean' their honor. It doesn't matter whether you are educated or not, they place a gun in your hand and force you to kill your sister. Nobody in the village greeted a man just because he had not killed his wife depending on rumors." (Batman, female, age 30, from Siirt, NGO activist)

". . . They said 'I go to the bakery he doesn't even look at my face; I go and sit at the coffee-house, nobody greets me' and one of them stated that he moved to Istanbul to keep himself away from this murder, but they telephoned him continuously and even said that 'if you don't come and kill, we'll come there to kill you'" (Şanlıurfa, age unknown lawyer; relating the statements of convicts of honor killings)

"They are not regretful. They have reached the status which they had lost. This is the critical point of the issue. If a person raises his status with a killing, if you have left the society like that, next time people will commit the same offense." (Şanlıurfa, male, age 50, lawyer)

"When people say 'act like a man' even that can become the cause of murder. You know, a woman is considered to be a second status citizen in the society, sort of incomplete or deficient as the saying

goes [making reference to the term 'eksik etek' which is used for women] . . . So, I remember that even to be associated with a woman can lead people to commit a crime." (Adana, male, age 30, journalist, Adana native)

"Our morals have become the morals of TV . . . This has caused the degeneration of our customs and ethics. There should not be any magazine programs . . . Programs such as 'televole' should be forbidden. Indecent programs provoke people." (Adana, male, age 39, high school, Imam)

· Explanations emphasizing personal factors or a moment of insanity:

A comparatively smaller group of people among those interviewed underlined personal factors, especially in the case of honor killings not based on family council decisions. Although they said that people can kill other people only if their psychology is disturbed or only at a critical moment of insanity, they also said that one cannot empathize with these people unless she/he goes through the same experience. In most of their stories, it was always the women betraying their husbands. The stories sounded very similar: the husband learns about the woman's infidelity from various channels, traces it and sometimes catches the lovers together. Losing control in such a situation was emphasized by many respondents:

"If your wife sleeps with someone else, for example, what can you do at that moment? You will kill both of them, but is this a solution? However, our traditions and norms do not allow us to tolerate such things. . . Also, one cannot control himself under those conditions. As I said before, man lives with his honor and dignity." (Adana, male, age 44, left university, from Elazığ)

In such cases, the person who carried it too far or made a show of it by talking about the incident on TV programs, etc., was also regarded as guilty, preparing the ground for their tragic ends. People offering such explanations also usually defended that the same should apply in the case of women who are betrayed by their partners or treated with violence by them. Then the women had the right to reciprocate and have relationships with other men. However, the stories told were always about men killing or attempting to kill their wives.

The role played by the media:

Most of the respondents considered the media's role to be negative, provocative, discriminatory and only exhibitionist, not analyzing deeply or offering any solutions. Although the media does not cause these events, indirectly it encourages and provokes them, especially through magazine programs on TV. Such programs were highly criticized by many of the respondents as in the Imam's words below:

· Insufficiency of organizations:

This issue was mentioned especially by people trying to support the likely victims of honor crimes. They stated that their efforts to save women's lives were sometimes unsuccessful because there were either no organizations to protect them properly or the organizations were unable to provide sufficient help. Professionals and NGO activists also related their constraints in such cases in all four cities and the organizations tried to protect the victims mostly by leaning upon their individual relatives. For example, in Batman the Center for Women's Support tried to plan a project to establish a crisis unit which would work together with the administration of muftis (Müftülük) and the police. However, the project was not accepted by the city governorship. They believe that if a woman is under threat or goes to the police to get protection, there is a need to work together with them and if necessary to get in touch with the families. Usually NGOs cannot do this alone and may need the support of religious authorities. Also the lack of organizations protecting women, supporting them psychologically and helping them to stay on their feet also plays a negative role in the sense of leaving them alone open to all kinds of risks.

What can be done to stop honor killings?

General overview of proposals

This section will comprise, first, a short overview of respondents' proposals for actions to stop honor killings and, secondly, a list of specific suggestions made by individuals, professionals and organizations, taking the last two groups together as was done in the earlier Istanbul report. We will present suggestions from all four provinces together because of their overall similarity. If suggestions were made only in a select province(s) their name(s) will be noted in parentheses. Finally, we will present our own evaluations and suggestions for an action program to stop honor killings.

First of all, there are similarities between all four cities regarding suggestions for action. Outside of some professionals, NGOs and people who have relations with political parties or NGOs, the majority of people seemed not to have thought seriously about action proposals. Even the individuals who were at the very heart of the issue, knowing and carrying the burden, were rather reluctant to make any proposals and when they did make suggestions they were quite general. One reason for this could be the pervasive sense of hopelessness which emerged in the interviews; many respondents see honor killings as something that cannot easily be changed. They have become part of their lives. Also, their suggestions were in fact very general demands rather than specific issues which could be handled in action programs. However, they still pointed out problems they could not solve alone, for which they need support.

This sense of hopelessness, which was more pronounced in Batman and Şanlıurfa, reflected both

an acceptance of honor killing as a matter of fate, which is very hard to change, and a sense of powerlessness and despair in the face of such an enormous problem. This was particularly evident in the approaches of older, uneducated women and young and illiterate girls living in relatively conservative and closed communities in the city. On the other extreme, young educated people, especially the young university students in Şanlıurfa, seemed quite optimistic and talked about how much things have changed and that honor killings exists only in rural areas. So in these two contrasting views honor killings are seen either as pervasive and impossible to stop or marginal and changing with time.

The first perspective, which often involves a sense of great desperation, is important because it can negatively affect an action program. People must first believe that things can change and that they can become agents of change if they are to have any interest in action programs. However, sense of community belonging and obligation to follow the community's own rules means that they often cannot act as individuals. Their parents, their family, their clan or tribe and their fellow villagers are always more important than their own selves. So, it is crucial for any kind of action program to include activities to sweep away feelings of hopelessness and empower people, especially women, in various ways to be able to act as individuals.

Although small in number, there was a group of people, mostly men and particularly young men, who stated that it is almost impossible to change the traditions and values that lead to honor related crimes. In fact, some of them said that they are

against violence, but 'töre' (morals) are important and necessary for the protection of the society and family and the decent upbringing of girls. They concluded, therefore, that something should be done to clear away violence, but morals and customs should stay.

Among some NGO activists and politically engaged people the existence of the Kurdish political movement was identified as an important means of politicizing and liberating woman. This would of course have consequences for the status of women, relationships between men and women and issues of honor.

Consciousness raising activities and basic education, especially for girls, was emphasized in all four cities as well as the need for women's shelters, emergency hotlines and stations to which women under threat can apply and be sheltered in urgent cases.

Changing the laws to increase death penalties for honor crimes was considered ineffective by individuals while some of the NGO staff and professionals thought that such legal changes could deter people from committing crimes if executed properly. However, in the regions where honor killings are more frequent, especially in Şanlıurfa, there were people even among the professionals who stated that the punishments would not change the social necessity to kill and that to spend long years in jail can be seen as less important than lifelong loss of honor. Furthermore, as reported by some respondents, people can find ways to make honor killings look like suicide in order to avoid higher sentences.

Proposals

Proposals by individuals

1. Related with economic structure and development

- Feudal relations in Turkey's East and Southeast should be abolished
- The state should invest more in the Eastern regions of Turkey
- Employment opportunities should be increased and unemployment decreased
- Tribalism and clan relations should be abolished
- Employment possibilities for women should be increased

2. Related with education and training

- New generations in the East should have better educational facilities
- People in regions where honor killings are more common should be given awareness raising training
- Special awareness and consciousness raising programs for parents should be implemented
- Both formal education and training should include topics to change male dominated views
- Programs in religious and cultural education should be implemented (Şanlıurfa)
- Adults and youth should be educated to change mentalities
- Spouses should be trained in communication (Adana)

3. Related with legal changes

- Penalties should be higher, including capital punishment for honor killings
- Punishments should be given to all people involved in the action (Adana and Şanlıurfa)
There shouldn't be frequent amnesties (Adana)
- Punishments should not be so heavy because it is destructive for family members (Şanlıurfa)
- State laws should come before tribal norms

4. Related with gender relations, women's rights and status

- Educational facilities for girls should be increased
- Women should be trained in women's rights to have more self confidence
- Young girls' consciousness should be raised through informal meetings at the quarter level
- The number of jobs for women should be increased

5. Related with the establishment, development, cooperation and work patterns of organizations

- Political parties (DEHAP was stated by name) and NGOs should be strengthened not only in number, but also financially
- Women's shelters and emergency telephone lines should be established
- 'Discussion rooms' should be established in mosques and in different quarters of the city (Şanlıurfa)
- Agricultural engineers, teachers and imams should work together to educate people (Şanlıurfa)

6. Related with the media

- Serials should deal with these issues in a serious way and the programs should be more informative

- Programs which have a negative effect on young people and encourage them to behave dishonorably should not be broadcast

7. Other

- Families should be more careful and protective when raising their children
- Families should: give their children proper religious training and teach them to fear God; socialize their children in terms of traditional values and beliefs (Istanbul and Adana)
- Dialogue should be established with families involved in such crimes to foster communication and give psychological support (Istanbul and Adana)
- Marriage patterns should change: marriages should not be arranged; young people who love one another should be allowed to get married
Young people and especially girls should not be pressured
- There should be a sexual revolution changing the understanding of sex relations (proposed by one young woman, a victim of rape in Adana)
- State officers and local administrators should gain acceptance from the local population in order to develop trust (Batman and Şanlıurfa)
- People over 70 should be done away with! (This suggestion, made especially by young girls and women in Şanlıurfa who had contact with NGOs, was a symbolic formulation touching upon the need for a change in generation for an overall change in mentality to be possible. This need was expressed by quite a number of people in all the provinces.)
- Respectable and trustworthy people should act as mediators between the families in cases of disputes due to honor (Şanlıurfa)
- Interest in the issue should be evoked; it should be made public and brought nearer to people (Adana)

Proposals by

Professionals and organizations

1. Related with economic structure and development

- Economic development programs for Eastern Turkey should be implemented
- Precautions to end tribalism should be implemented
- Feudal relations should change
There should be more employment opportunities for women
- Politicians should not give support to the tribal

- system and feudal relations (Şanlıurfa)
There should be more investment in education and employment (Şanlıurfa)

2. Related with education and training

- There should be training programs for adolescents
- There should be sexuality education in schools (Istanbul and Adana)
- The state should work together with NGOs to raise public consciousness
- NGOs should work on different training programs for individuals and related professionals such as police officers, lawyers, judges, doctors, teachers, etc., informing them about gender and their responsibilities regarding honor related crimes and their victims
- Training programs specifically related with the content and practice of 4320 (Law for the Protection of the Family) should be implemented
- Rehabilitation programs for young convicts of honor crimes should be implemented (Istanbul)
- Training programs for Imams to give them a more active role regarding honor crimes should be implemented
- Training programs to change the culture of violence in general should be implemented (Istanbul)
- All the organizations working on human rights or women's problems should include this issue in their training programs
- Training programs, especially for women on their legal rights, should be implemented
- There should be more educational opportunities for every age group
- There should be more comprehensive basic education, including teaching rights to students starting from the 4th-5th grade
- The general approach of formal education should change to be more critical
- Teachers should be trained to be able to feel more empathy for children and adolescents
- Mothers and fathers should be trained to understand their children better, become more aware of various problems and become conscious of things as a family (Batman and Şanlıurfa)
- There should be formal education and trainings to change the views of men; trainings for family members, especially fathers, by psychologists and sociologists on issues of domestic violence (Batman)
- Special training programs for teachers on gender issues should be implemented
- Training programs in schools on domestic violence, human rights and women's rights should

- be implemented (Batman and Şanlıurfa)
Training programs not only targeted to change women, but also men, should be implemented
- (Batman and Şanlıurfa)
Local people and/or people who know the region well and speak the languages of the region (Kurdish and Arabic) should work on the training programs
- **3. Related with legal changes**
The Turkish Penal Code should be changed to cover all honor crimes; necessary changes in laws should be made to be able to interfere in family affairs when necessary (Istanbul)
Laws should not be based on local values and traditions (Adana)
Sexual assault and rape should be given heavy punishment
Penalties should be higher and even death sentences should be given to the perpetrators of honor crimes
People should be informed about higher sentences (Şanlıurfa)
- **4. Related specifically with gender relations, women's rights and status**
 - There should be a quota for women in political parties (Istanbul)
 - Text books in schools should be changed to include information on gender roles, the history of the women's movement and related subjects
 - Opportunities should be increased for girls' education and campaigns of the state or other organizations on this issue should be supported. Young girls were emphasized in terms of education and other types of consciousness training; it was stated that it is very important in terms of changing the fate of all girls even if one girl from a village can complete her education and has an occupation.
 - Opportunities should be provided for women to gain economic independence
Suggestions on training programs as stated above under the category of 'Education and Training'
 - All kinds of programs to help women stay on their feet should be implemented (Şanlıurfa)
- **5. Related with the establishment, development, cooperation and work patterns of organizations**
Women's centers should be established and supported
NGOs should work in cooperation with related state institutions such as SHÇEK (Social Services and Child Protection Agency) to train and disseminate information about honor crimes
NGOs should cooperate with municipalities, local government, the National Ministry of Education and other public organizations on activities regarding violence against women and honor killings
- Local governments and municipalities should establish counseling centers for women
Emergency hotlines should be established for women victims
NGOs and universities should work together on these issues
Family centers should be established in different districts organized by municipalities and NGOs to give counseling and training programs for families in local languages (Batman)
Organizations offering psychological support for victims of violence should be established
Since honor crimes have social, economic and cultural aspects, many organizations and professionals such as sociologists, psychologists and religious leaders should work in cooperation (Batman)
NGOs should increase in number and effectiveness to be able to successfully lobby the government
Local government and religious leaders should work together on these issues (Batman)
NGOs should collaborate to formulate demands from the state, local government and community leaders such as Muhtars, Imams and teachers (Batman)
In order to gain people's trust, NGOs should include or be able to draw local people respected by the community into their activities (Batman)
In the police headquarters and court-houses there should be experts on violence, honor crimes, etc. (Şanlıurfa)
Rehabilitation programs and emergency stations, especially for girls running away from home and/or who have been raped, should be established (proposed by police officers in Şanlıurfa)
High level state administrators or gendarmes should interact with the villagers and discuss these issues (Şanlıurfa)
- **6. Related with the media**
 - The media should make programs to increase social sensitivity as well as knowledge on the issue
Local media should be used more effectively
 - TV programs should reflect social problems and also provide information on related issues such as changes in laws; they should be informative and educational
 - The media should empower women

The media should adopt a more responsible, objective and unbiased approach to these issues; special TV programs should be made on the problem (Şanlıurfa)

There should be films, TV serials and documentaries on women's issues and rights

The media should not restrict itself to the event, but emphasize the mentalities beyond each event; it should not encourage such killings by the way it presents the phenomena; it should also present cases of verdicts in a critical way (Şanlıurfa)

7. Other

Ombudsman units should be established in different institutions (Istanbul)

Imams, with the support of the Department of Religious Affairs, and community leaders should be used in awareness raising programs

Families should socialize their children properly
Progressive and leftist parties should develop political programs on this issue (Istanbul; in Adana and Batman this was stated as the need to strengthen certain parties)

There should be a healthy dialogue between husbands and wives

There should be scientific investigations on the issue

Campaigns on the issue such as that executed by KA-MER should continue

Media, local government and NGOs should all be responsible for this issue (Şanlıurfa)

Thinking about an action program: Possibilities and constraints

It is challenging to design an appropriate action plan, all the more so to design one that will be useful in all the provinces. However, we can at least specify how one should deal with honor crime cases, which activities should be given priority and potential possibilities and constraints.

Important considerations

No room for hopelessness: Any action program regarding honor related crimes should first of all initiate activities to reduce widespread hopelessness and desperate acceptance, especially in provinces like Batman and Şanlıurfa where such events take place more frequently. This also has a negative effect on NGO activists. In order to overcome this, NGO activists (especially those who are not natives of that city) can work more closely with people in the districts in an effort to gain their trust. Local press and TV stations can give information on the

NGOs, the importance of their work, what kinds of people work there, etc. Local media can publicize the 'good cases', their success stories as well as their problems, so that people can learn how they work, who they are and how they can be helpful.

Each case is unique: This study shows that although the motives for honor crimes are very similar, many interrelated factors (as summarized at the end of chapter 4) are decisive in determining how the story develops and ends. Therefore, if we are able to intervene at any point (as professionals or NGOs), we must be sensitive to these particularities. Understanding the conditions and the status of the family of the victim, their tribal relations if any (which plays a crucial role in terms of 'töre' killings), the social and demographic characteristics of the people involved and the degree to which the event is publicly known is important. There is no wholesale solution to the problem if we are going to save the life of a potential victim. Therefore, in police stations, counseling units at municipalities (if any exist) or NGOs where the victims apply or are brought by their relatives there should be experts who have experience in understanding such cases and who can talk with the people in their mother tongue.

Relations with the victim's family: NGO activists, professionals or community leaders trying to help the individual victims should be aware of the fact that the victims are not fully free to make their own decisions. Although the woman is going through a very personal problem, the case still involves the whole family and sometimes even the whole tribe. Therefore, proposing a solution on an individual basis may not be sufficient to solve the problem. It may be necessary to engage with members of the family (which is usually very hard when there are family councils which operate quite secretly), however links can be provided through respected local administrators, community leaders, people who usually act as mediators, etc. In some cases establishing a dialogue with the family may involve risks and it should not be done, but in many other cases it may be useful if the 'right relatives' are found. Under certain conditions, preventing a possible solution by totally excluding the family or family members may worsen the situation for the victim. This is a very critical relationship which requires a sensitive approach in every event.

Building up trust: Especially in the southeastern provinces of Turkey the local population mistrusts

the state and, because of this, may not be cooperative. Disinterest in laws and in the functioning of the legal system is partly a product of this distrust. Local governors, mayors, higher level bureaucrats and the chief of police must find ways of working with the local population, listening to their problems and engaging in projects to address their needs. It is important for NGOs to work together with the local governorship, municipality and related public organizations. The form of cooperation, however, may change according to the conditions of that place, the prevalent attitudes of state organizations, etc. NGOs should be open to having different partners, but also be sensitive in selecting their partners as well as deciding the terms of partnership.

Girls are at the heart of the issue: Women, and especially young women and unmarried girls, are the primary victims in matters of honor, although men can also be threatened or killed. Therefore, it is very important for the state, municipalities and NGOs to engage in activities to take women, but especially young girls, out of the home (with the approval of their families). This is important not only for the education and social participation of women, but also for society as a whole; society should get used to seeing young girls out of the home, in schools, in work places and performing different activities. As one of the honor victims, a 17 year old young woman, stated, 'girls are like birds, but even if they want to fly they don't have any wings.' Yes, the girls should be given 'wings'.

Life long training everywhere: Training programs by various organizations (public or private, NGOs) are usually planned outside the daily routines of the targeted participants as extra events. The places, forms and content of training sessions should consider the living conditions of the population we want to reach and their needs. Therefore, schools (starting from elementary), military service, coffee houses, mosques, community houses or rooms (if there are any) in districts and house visits of neighbors can all be used in one way or another as sites for trainings.

As far as the target groups are concerned in the training programs, so far the NGOs have mostly directed their attention to women in order to support them to become self-confident individuals. However, particularly in Batman and Şanlıurfa, the need to change men's perspectives, especially young men, and those of parents was emphasized. This is also an issue which needs to be considered.

Suggestions for action

Urgent needs: The need for emergency hotlines, stations and women's shelters was expressed by a large group of NGOs and professionals in all four cities not as a measure to prevent honor killings of course, but as a means to save the lives of victims in incidents of honor. Some of the cases in Chapter 4 and the experiences related by police officers, NGOs or the victims themselves and/or their relatives also show that it is both difficult and risky to protect threatened women when there are no professional organizations taking responsibility. Children's hostels are the only possibility for girls under 18, however these places do not formally accept such cases and the extent of the bureaucracy involved usually increases the risk. The emergency stations or women's shelters are necessary not only to keep women in a safe place but also to give them professional support.

The problem of establishing, managing and sustaining shelters is not new for the women's movement. Women's NGOs (especially those working on violence against women) have been struggling for shelters for years. They have formulated proposals and voiced these demands at various times and in different forms and continue to do so. However, the need remains and once again local governments and municipalities of these provinces should be made aware of it and possibilities for cooperation should be discussed.

An overall campaign on honor killings could make such needs more visible. It is important here to convince the public of the necessity of shelters and that they are decidedly not brothels, as is believed by certain sections of the population. The media can play an informative role here by having programs on local TV and radio with people from different lines of work, preferably people respected in that region, who can talk about the importance of such institutions.

A comprehensive training program: The necessity of training programs for young people, adults (men and women), NGO activists, related professionals and community leaders was mentioned by professionals and NGOs as well as by individual respondents from different age groups. A large variety of topics were suggested for the trainings such as human rights in general, legal rights, women's rights, awareness and consciousness on issues of violence, gender and gender relations, communication skills, expertise on issues of violence and honor killings, self confidence and assertiveness, etc.

The differences of the target groups and wide range of topics reflect the variety of needs and expectations as well as differences in NGO goals and programs. Many NGOs as well as some public organizations have been involved with training programs for different sections of the population for quite a number of years. Many have developed experience in this area although very few organizations have assessed their training programs. Therefore, much still remains to be done in terms of monitoring and evaluation, sharing experiences and supporting one another. This is an area where there is already work and those who have more experience should be ready to share it with people especially in provinces where there are fewer NGOs working on such programs.

NGOs need to prepare training programs in accordance with the needs and socio-cultural conditions in their area. One way to do this is to collaborate with others who have worked on the issue. NGOs working on such programs can get technical help from interested teachers as well as from women's centers in various universities. Such possibilities for collaboration exist particularly in Adana.

Since the trainings must target a variety of groups, the topics can be designated after group-specific needs are defined and different modules for each topic and group can be prepared. It is also important to bring up trainers with experience in techniques of interactive education who can serve as moderators in these programs. The training sessions can usually be organized as informal meetings in the quarters where people live and in their natural surroundings if possible, as stated above.

Preparing various materials and visual documents such as films or slide shows should also be considered an important part of training activities. NGOs can work with related university departments and have contests to award the best documentary film, or the best scenario.

NGOs working on training programs can have regular meetings on a regional and national basis to share their experiences and learn from one another. The General Directorate for the Status of Women can also participate and play an active role in these meetings since it has experience in such training projects.

NGOs and professionals working on training programs should be made aware that this is a life long

undertaking. Each time the person gives a training she/he also learns something and needs to adapt the program accordingly. What is very useful in one group or for one individual may not be effective the next time.

Activities for the family and for all family members: In the interim report we showed that most respondents, especially those who migrated to Istanbul from various provinces, directed their demands (at the macro level) to the state. This trend continued in the other provinces. Thinking that through economic and social measures for development all problems, including honor killings, will end, they placed the responsibility to provide work places, jobs, social security and educational facilities with the state. On the other hand, everything else was expected from the family. The family and especially mothers are responsible to raise children and solve all emotional and moral problems within the family. Unless they have trust, most of the time the family does not want to share its private problems with other people to get help. Moreover, throughout the study we also observed that man and women continue to lead completely separate lives even if they are married, which makes the solution of problems related with family members even harder. Therefore, it is necessary, though difficult, to find ways to work with families. Our observations reflected that NGOs working at the grassroots level in the districts with local activists speaking the local languages had better chances of understanding and working closely with the families. Then, they can be drawn into training or other types of activities. Most NGOs have developed activities for young girls and women (such as literacy courses, sewing and other vocational training courses, etc.), giving women a chance to go out of their houses, but there are not such activities for men, especially young men.

So-called 'discussion rooms' suggested by some people in Şanlıurfa can be established as a social place for different types of get-togethers. These rooms should be open to the public and in well-known places so as to avoid negative interpretations. We were told that men rent private rooms in Şanlıurfa for social gatherings with their male friends. Women have been complaining about these rooms which their husbands try to conceal from them because they suspect that men also use these places to have affairs with other women. It is crucial to distinguish 'discussion rooms' from these sexually oriented domains.

Municipalities should establish social centers in different districts where not only school children, but also young men of different ages, can go and develop hobbies. Especially in Batman and Şanlıurfa, there are very few places for young people to go and enjoy themselves.

Separate informal training sessions for family members (in different locations) could include subjects such as: communication between family members; the differences between men and women and their rights; gender relations; marriage with someone known and loved; early marriage; marrying relatives; marrying more than one woman, etc. Since all of these issues are quite sensitive, especially in large, traditional families, NGO activists have to be careful not to impose their own views, instead having participants discuss and question certain aspects of these issues.

Another point of discussion in these training sessions with family members should be the role of the mothers in honor related incidences; specific trainings should be developed that are directed to 'mothers'. People from all four cities told stories reflecting conflicting positions regarding the role of mothers in honor incidences or crimes. Some told us that in the family councils women are either absent or silent while others told us that women can have a say when they are from a strong tribe or if they are representing their dead husbands or have the ability to influence proceedings even if they are not physically present. In these stories, there was one mother who supported her daughter despite the risk of lifelong exile from her tribe and two other cases in which a grandmother and an older sister had a role in preventing the murder of a young girl.

Where the mothers stand in such incidences was interpreted in terms of the general role and position of the mother at home, being primarily responsible for the morals of her children. Therefore, even if their hearts break, the mothers do not say anything and even sometimes force their daughters to commit suicide because they hold themselves as guilty in front of the whole family and community. They feel that they are accountable.

Therefore, it is important to understand the position of mothers and have special training sessions for them to encourage them to explain and possibly question their role in these situations. It is not important whether or not these women are

victims' mothers; we can expect that the general understanding of honor and power of patriarchy in the families, especially those with tribal connections, mean that most of the mothers have confronted similar conditions.

Cooperation with community leaders and Imams: NGOs should have good relations with community leaders enabling them to share information and request their support. This is especially important when one works in smaller cities where face-to-face relations are still important and people have more trust in well-known local leaders. Cooperating with local leaders, especially in Batman and Şanlıurfa, is critical because there are power relations between different ethnic groups or between different tribes that one must understand before attempting to intervene.

In the interim report, influenced by the Imams we interviewed in Istanbul, we thought that Imams could participate in training programs and could reflect what they learned to their fellowship especially on Friday sessions attended by a large number of people. We still think that having good relations with the Imam could be important for NGO work in certain regions or districts. However, not all Imams will be very influential, especially in cases related with honor. We have observed that there are religious authorities and sheiks who are respected and obeyed to a greater extent than the Imams who are considered mere officers of the state. In addition, Imams prepare their Friday sermons according to the directives they receive from the Department of Religious Affairs and therefore it is probably better to establish systematic relations with this department. Interviews with Imams also revealed that there are important differences among them in terms of their background, education, experiences and positions on matters of honor. Religious authorities at the higher levels of bureaucracy may give sermons concerning these murders and adapt a discourse of protection of women's rights in the name of religion. Indeed, all of the Imams who participated in this study stated that killing people cannot be legitimized. However, in the way they perceive honor and honorable women, most of them were not very different than the people justifying these crimes. Therefore, cooperation with Imams is also a sensitive issue and in certain circumstances we have to be selective when finding Imams with whom we can partner.

This study shows that the role of mediators in honor incidents is crucial if peace is to be made. In some cases, district mayors acted as mediators between the families or tribes while respondents also told us that different people can mediate such as older men respected by all parties, politicians and religious leaders. According to our respondents, literacy or education is not important; the common denominator for mediators is their very decent past and respect in the community as conscientious and honest people. This sort of mediating also takes place in blood feuds, saving many lives. In the Sunday supplement of *Milliyet* on August 7, 2005, a man from Diyarbakır was introduced who had mediated and made peace in 300 cases over thirty years of which 87 involved the kidnapping of girls; he even recorded all of these events in a notebook. Although all mediators cannot be expected to have notebooks, it may still be worthwhile to find a way of reaching them in order to learn the conditions under which people make peace. Many local people regard mediation as an important means to prevent honor crimes, especially in Şanlıurfa. So having contacts with potential mediators may also be a way of establishing a link with families. Here also a point which should not be missed is how this mediation should be pursued and how to prevent the treatment of women as property.

Various activities to empower women and girls: Besides the training sessions and social activities listed above, one of the most important activities is to take girls to school and provide employment for women. Many young women who were forced to quit school due to family pressure believe that the only way to become liberated is to have an education. In the statements of a 17 year old girl this was expressed as follows:

"... I will work and earn my own money, I will make my living on my own, not on any one else's money. Then I can struggle for the things I want. If the Kurdish people don't send their girls to school, then the girls will always be oppressed." (Batman, female, age 17, left middle school)

All campaigns related with sending girls to school should be supported and families should be presented with examples of 'good cases', i.e. stories of successful girls who completed school and are working and supporting their families. Also, girls who are successful at a certain level of their education should be supported by the community through the help of local governors, municipalities and local NGOs working together.

Providing income generating activities and employment opportunities for women is another crucial activity that will help women to make their own decisions and act as individuals in time. This cannot be acquired only with the help of short-term NGO projects. Public and private investments and other policies to promote employment are necessary as well as programs training women in certain jobs or providing them with micro credit to start their own small businesses. In the long run these will help to change women's status and role in the family.

The media can play a positive role: Most of the activities stated above can be supported by the media, especially local newspapers and television, by giving more information to the public, showing success stories, relating constraints and problems, but also showing alternative solutions. Both in terms of girls' education and women's employment the media can play a positive role by reflecting the importance of these not only for girls and women, but for the family as a whole. However, as mentioned by some journalists in Şanlıurfa, one has to be very careful here because this may also create disputes if one defends norms and values totally different from local ones.

It was observed that, especially in Batman and Şanlıurfa, some young, uneducated women get most of their information about life from various TV channels as they rarely leave home and spend much time watching television.

In terms of local and national newspapers and TVs, it is important for the media to also show cases where an honor incident does not end in crime. Documentaries and film serials can be made to show the social and cultural conditions of the regions where honor crimes are more frequent. The films can reflect local perspectives as well as the changes that are taking place and alternative ways of thinking about similar issues and problems.

Disseminating information about the legal system and changes in laws: Our investigation reflected that most of the people, especially those in Şanlıurfa, did not believe that the changes in the Penal Code would deter people from committing honor crimes since social prestige and protecting family honor is more important than sitting in jail. Some people even thought that many of the cases did not even reach the court, being solved by the family itself instead. On the other hand, we have

also seen that many people, even including some of the related professionals, did not have sufficient information about legal changes. This is true not only for the Penal Code, but also for other laws on women's rights and the protection of the family. Therefore, first of all it is necessary to disseminate this information to different sections of the population. Media, especially local media, can play an important role in this activity.

In addition, how the laws are applied, including constraints and success stories, is also important in terms of showing us their strengths and weaknesses and ability to affect long-term changes. It would be very beneficial if an NGO (or an initiative of women lawyers) could follow up honor crime cases and analyze the results in order to have a systematic record of the application of the new law to 'töre' killings.

Increasing the number and influence of NGOs:

The number of NGOs working on issues of violence should increase. They should be supported by the state and local government in order to become more visible and influential. International organizations funding NGOs should not always direct their funds to well-established and comparatively better known organizations; they should also support newer and smaller projects and organizations to motivate people. NGOs or organizations supporting other NGOs or cooperating with them should be rewarded in various ways.

Of course, in order for NGOs to increase in number, gain local trust, work in harmony with one another and cooperate better with public organizations working on the issues, the normalization and stabilization of the region's political conditions is as important as economic and social development. The atmosphere of fear, violence and distrust created by long years of conflict between security forces and the PKK and the terror of reactionary religious sects such as the Hizbullah is a considerable obstacle. This atmosphere of distrust as well as economic and social problems can be felt more in Batman which is a city highly populated with displaced people from the rural areas of the region. The same conditions which have prevented the healthy development of society and voluntary organizations have simultaneously intensified the need for these organizations. Therefore, especially in cities like Batman and Şanlıurfa, but also in the socio-economically depressed quarters of Adana and Istanbul inhabited by migrants, there is an ur-

gent need for NGOs of all kinds.

Finally, we can say that this research has provided us with rich data which must be shared with other people working on the subject, academicians as well as activists, on a national basis as well as internationally, particularly with people from Middle Eastern countries. The findings point to the need for research in various related areas such as ethnicity and religion as factors affecting the role of the women in the family, changing family and family traditions in tribes, masculinity and specifically what it means to be a young man in Turkey, honor crimes in different regions of Turkey such as the Black Sea Region and Central Anatolia and comparisons of generations of women in terms of women's issues in migrant families. Topics for further research should also be discussed with activists working on women's issues and priorities should be defined together according to expressed needs.

Summary and Evaluation

Perceptions of honor that are prevalent in society determine which types of conduct are considered 'dishonorable' and punished. It is upon this foundation that honor related killings gain legitimacy. In order to better understand the conditions which legitimize honor killings and therefore enable their continuation, this study has focused on two principle issues: (1) different perceptions of honor and the factors affecting them; (2) the consequences (including murder) faced by people engaged in 'dishonorable conduct'.

The research was carried out in four cities (Istanbul, Şanlıurfa, Adana and Batman) selected from among those determined to have the highest rates of honor killings according to a 2004 UNFPA survey of honor/'töre' killings reports in three newspapers over a five year period. Respondents were generally reached in city centers. The methodology of research was qualitative and the data on the two issues mentioned above was collected through in-depth interviews and group discussions with a limited number of people in their natural environments. Purposive sampling was used to designate the respondents according to the aim of research. Since we did not utilize statistically based random sampling, we cannot generalize the results of this research. However, generalizability was not the aim of our research. The reason for using a qualitative rather than quantitative methodology lies in the sensitive nature of the issue and the lack of numerous prior investigations. We believe that we could not have obtained adequately rich data from our respondents through the application of rigidly structured questionnaire schedules. Our aim was

to understand the subject better, acquire in depth information about tendencies on this topic, and to achieve some results by putting together our observations and impressions. Our target groups in each city consisted of: native residents and migrants (taking gender and age differences into consideration); different professionals (especially those working more closely with the issue); NGO activists; victims and their relatives. A total of 195 interviews were conducted as part of the research, 18 of which were group interviews mostly involving more than two persons. The total number of the people interviewed was close to 250.

Prevalent perceptions of honor and communal surveillance

Many factors such as gender, age, place of residence, education and tribal and kinship relations affect how honor is perceived and the place it has in people's lives. It was observed that people of rural origin with strong tribal and kinship relations, whose circles of friends and acquaintances have not changed much in case of urban migration and in whose lives family and society is of primary importance tend to put great importance on honor. They see honor as the meaning and the purpose of life, something for whose sake people can be killed.

On the other hand, it is possible to say that, in spite of different perceptions among people, the strongest tendency in all cities is to consider honor as constructed through a woman's body and sexuality and the control of women. Within this con-

text, honor is a man's wife, that is, the 'lawful wife' ('helalin'), sister, or mother as well as other women in the family and even women in his immediate environment. A man is obliged to keep a protective eye on all these women. Such an understanding places women under the surveillance not only of their own fathers, brothers and husbands if they are married, but also of other men in their close circle of acquaintances. As the space of men's responsibility enlarges, the pressure on women also increases. And especially under the conditions of strong tribal and kinship ties or when people live in narrower circles based on face-to-face relations and stronger social control, this pressure becomes even more intense.

When honor is constructed through a woman's body, it entails her daily life activities, education, work, marriage, the importance of virginity, faithfulness, ability to marry the person she chooses, elopement with the person she loves and divorce. In general, women as compared to men and middle aged and older men as compared to young men displayed relatively more tolerant attitudes in their treatment of these issues. However, their views are also influenced by where they come from, whether they are of rural or urban origin, the level of their education and the kind of environment in which they live. For example, it was observed that old, illiterate women of rural origin and uneducated young girls living in a closed environment under intense family pressure were no different from men in terms of intolerance. On the other hand, the strictness of young men regarding honor, even though they may live in cities and have a certain level of education, may be connected to some contradictions they experience. Young men are socialized to control their sisters or their relatives' daughters, but they also have contact with and become friends with young women who have a greater degree of freedom, who go to school, to work and to mixed gender public places. It is clear that men would have a hard time 'controlling' these women who now have roles outside their homes and different opinions about male-female relationships; such women would not likely obey them as is expected in the men's upbringing. Since they do not know how they can draw boundaries to control such women, even young men who are university students show extreme sensitivity to the need for family discipline and training and full compliance with customs, even though they object to 'töre' killings.

A notion of honor based in women's bodies requires a more passive role for women and a more active role for men, which is also connected to national traditions and Islamic principles, which are generalized as the 'fundamental norms of the Turkish and Muslim family.' Numerous respondents in every city emphasized that this is an important element of society's culture. This understanding in a way legitimizes the existence of entirely different roles for women and men within society and, by extension, the application of different standards on the subjects of marriage, divorce and infidelity. Accordingly, 'dishonorable conduct' results in different applications and consequences for women and men and, even worse, the differential perception and justification of honor killings.

In contrast, those who defined honor in a more comprehensive sense, especially as connected to the individual himself/herself, tried to distance themselves as much as possible from the widespread notion that honor is constructed through a woman's body. This approach, which was expressed more among professionals with higher levels of education and a certain social status, native urbanites and NGO activists, emphasizes the importance of individual honesty regarding every aspect of society and the protection of children, society, the country and human values while leading one's individual life as one desires. People who approach honor in this way discuss women and the family more in terms of spouses' mutual faithfulness and devotion to the family and children.

Respondents who strongly objected to the notion that honor is constructed through women's bodies were usually professionals (especially women), young female university students and some women who are active in women's NGOs or are connected to them. Even though this tendency was expressed by fewer people, it is particularly important for this study as it emphasizes the destructive aspect of constructing honor through women's bodies and making men the guardians of women's honor, thereby limiting their freedom.

The research showed that the notion that honor is constructed through women's bodies disseminates through society as part of 'the basic norms of the Turkish and Muslim family' in a more comprehensive sense. This emerged as an understanding that was frequently accepted by our respondents in var-

ying degrees. In this way, even those who express opposition to this understanding are affected by it and may feel obliged to adjust their behavior to society's expectations. This understanding, which puts pressure on men, especially young men, legitimizes the societal surveillance and control of women. In the same way, the penalties which are given to women (and men) who are considered to behave 'dishonorably' are also legitimized.

How are honor killings perceived?

The findings of this research show that people perceive honor killings differently. People also have different views about the differences between honor killings and 'töre' killings as well as the reasons behind these killings.

An important finding is that people tend to differentiate between killings for the sake of honor and 'töre' (custom) killings where family council decisions come into play. In particular, Istanbul respondents talked about custom based killings as quite distant from them and as a problem of 'others'. Such assessments were not only observed among Istanbul natives; migrants expressed similar positions. Those who deemed 'töre' killings a problem of others saw them as particularly connected to the Eastern and Southeastern Regions due to their social structure, underdevelopment and various deprivations. They assessed other honor related murders as inevitable, more individually based actions that could happen anywhere. There were also people who thought of a man's jealous murder of his unfaithful wife as 'something that could happen to anyone'. Therefore, custom and honor related killings are differentiated from each other based on how the murder was committed rather than their reasons and consequences.

On the other hand, people in places where such events were experienced more frequently, especially those who were involved in or closely witnessed such events, did not differentiate between 'töre' and other honor killings. Overall they approached such events with more of an 'insider' perspective. Here, what was emphasized was the understanding of honor underlying these events. They used expressions such as 'it doesn't matter whether it is honor or custom ['töre'] related, they are both the same anyway, they both mean honor' to express that customs play an important role in the determina-

tion of values related with honor in their regions. On the other hand, it was also observed that there was a young, educated group (especially young female university students) living in city centers who stated that custom related killings only took place in rural areas (and were gradually decreasing) and perceived these events as very distant from their own lives even though they lived in places where such events frequently occurred.

Seeing that there are some differences between 'töre' and other honor killings is sociologically important in so far as it allows us to understand each event better and discuss potential solutions. On the other hand, one should be careful when emphasizing difference as it might result in the differential evaluation of 'töre' and other honor killings. This could lead to the belief that the latter has mitigating justifications as compared to the former (especially in terms of criminal laws). The point we should underline is that both types are murders committed with the justification of 'honor' and that we are faced with violent acts that go as far as to take the life of a human being. An approach that does not disregard the sociological differences between them while emphasizing the underlying similarity of basic rationale and consequences may help us perceive both honor and 'töre' killings as violent, criminal acts which belong to society as a whole rather than to 'others' or to certain regions. Taking collective responsibility for these murders will enable the development of preventive measures which cannot be postponed to tomorrow.

The emphasis on inevitability in honor killings

Although we observed different perceptions of honor killings based on the differences respondents perceive between honor and 'töre' killings and on how close they are to such events, the following four approaches were nonetheless observed:

- Those who openly support honor killings state that a person who committed an immoral act would deserve to die and that the people who are forced to kill them would have no other choice.
- Those who conditionally support honor killings state that nobody would wish to commit a murder, however, in case of proven adultery and/or when social pressure is unbearable, people can commit such an act.

- Others say that when people are under social pressure, especially when they are poor, weak and uneducated, it's inevitable for them to commit such a murder as they are unable to live with this dishonor.

- Others state that even if it is based on different justifications, people should not be killed due to so-called 'dishonorable conduct'. While some people in this group said that 'dishonorable conduct' would not be a crime and that punishment of such behavior would be a severe act of violence against women, others stated that the life of a human being cannot be taken either because of their principles or their religious beliefs.

It was observed that the differences in assessments were based on people's understandings of honor. Where honor was stated to be the sole purpose of people's lives and/or constructed through a woman's body, honor killings were more likely to be considered "understandable," "acceptable" acts as well. With the exclusion of those who definitely did not approve of honor related murders (including professionals, women, NGO activists, young female university students and religious officers), respondents who did not openly support such murders still talked about them as inevitable. Among the respondents who shifted blame to society rather than to the murderer by saying that the person was under intense social pressure were different professionals (including some lawyers and policemen) who closely witnessed such events.

The reasons behind honor killings

Even though most of the time people used more than one factor to explain the reasons behind honor killings, it is possible to group their explanations into a few categories:

- Connecting these events to socio-economic deprivations and underdevelopment: Many such people tend to consider honor killings to be a more distant and as a problem that belongs to certain regions (and/or rural areas) and to ethnic groups living in these regions. According to them, these events will be eliminated with the improvement of economic and social conditions.

- Connecting these events to patriarchal relations and seeing them as a consequence of men establishing control over women: In this view, which was especially expressed by some educated and professional women and those working in women's

NGOs, it was also stated that the legal system acts in favor of the powerful.

- Connecting these events to how people raise their children: While some professionals supporting this view stated that children are misdirected under extreme pressure, others (especially urban migrants who experienced different problems) mentioned subjects such as the challenges of training children well, especially in terms of providing them with proper religious training and the fear of God.

- Connecting these events with social pressure which renders people helpless: It was observed that this opinion was emphasized by a wide group of people, including some professionals, in places where such murders were experienced more frequently. According to them, the pressure imposed by the family or tribe on perpetrators of murder is so great that they prefer to go to prison rather than be excluded from their communities. Moreover, imprisonment and their treatment while in prison can enhance their prestige.

- Connecting these events with personal factors: Those supporting this view state that the shock and emotional crisis people experience when confronted with behavior they neither expect nor approve of might lead to such an act. This point was mostly expressed by people who differentiated honor killings as individual actions as opposed to 'töre' killings.

Along with these reasons, many people also mentioned that the media plays a provocative role, especially through the events they show in magazine programs. Another point that was emphasized was organizations' inadequate institutional capacity to support victims or at least provide them with temporary protection. Those indicating this inadequacy were mostly people who worked in public institutions and NGOs that support victims. The point emphasized in these explanations was that inadequate institutional capacity adversely affects the fate of victims.

The emphasis frequently placed on economic and social conditions and social pressure as the reasons for honor killings may in a way lead to insufficient focus on perpetrators' guilt, or at least cause people to approach perpetrators more tolerantly. When men are thought to be neglecting their responsibility to keep an eye on women, the same "surveillance" which controls women also reminds men of their duties by imposing intense pressure on them. However, by over emphasizing the social pressure

behind honor killings we run the risk of strengthening the legitimacy of these murders. Knowing the extent of social pressure especially in situations where people live in large families or with tribal relations, the mechanisms by which this pressure is established, its purposes and the situations in which people can take decisions in spite of social pressure is an important way to identify appropriate counter measures. On the other hand, it should not be interpreted in such a way as to remove the perpetrator's personal responsibility for the crime.

Not all 'dishonorable conduct' results in murder

In the process of evaluating more than 100 stories told by victims, witnesses or those who heard about such events from others, it became clear that while approximately half of the 'dishonorable' events recounted during this research ended in murder, in the other half different solutions were arrived at. However, even if the woman's life is saved, most of these non-fatal solutions still cause her (and sometimes the man) to suffer. As a result, those who are not killed also severely suffer for committing a behavior that society believes to be 'dishonorable'. This suffering includes being excluded from or rejected by the family, being forced to leave the place of residence and sometimes the city, being forced to marry a person who is not loved or inappropriate, being exchanged, having a body part such as the nose cut to present an example for others, etc.

The stories recounted show that the woman's marital status and the type of behavior she was engaged in affected the consequences of such events. However, in each case, the conditions of the environment and the family in question could also change the course of action. Based on this, it was observed that events that seemed quite similar to each other could result in different consequences. The events related in this research were evaluated by dividing them into categories based on the woman's marital status and the nature of the 'dishonorable conduct' in question. These were compared according to the types of bargaining engaged in and the kinds of solutions achieved. People's stories show the following:

- In cases where a married woman has a relationship with another man or is considered to have such a relationship, the woman and the man with

whom she has a relationship deserve to be killed. In such a situation, both the woman's husband and her family, together with the husbands' family, are responsible for the execution of this punishment. In such situations, the existence of some kind of proof of the event is important. In these events, the family of the man with whom the woman has a relationship generally distances itself from the situation and, even if their son is killed, they may prefer to cover up the event. In cases where the woman's husband does not want to commit the murder or her death is avoided by some other means, the entire family may be excluded from society. In such situations, the familial support provided by NGOs or other organizations is very important. Some situations were also described in which the husband's relatives punished the woman through non-lethal violence when there was no significant evidence and the husband opposed her murder.

- In situations where a married woman elopes with another person, it is again thought that she deserves to die. In such situations sometimes the position of the family of the man with whom the woman eloped, and their willingness to support her, can open some doors for bargaining. For example, some bargains entail the marriage of girls from the man's family into the woman's family.

- Situations such as the woman's wish to get a divorce or to leave her husband's home, or a divorced woman having a relationship with another man (which is viewed as if she is a married woman) can end in murder. While the woman may be punished by her husband, her son, her brother-in-law and other relatives who deem themselves responsible for her control may also execute the punishment. In cases of divorce, women are generally under the surveillance of larger groups of relatives or even a circle of people who have no kinship relation with her.

- When a single girl has / is thought to have a relationship with a man, it is possible for this to result in the murder of one or both. However, in some of these events, especially when woman can be married to a man (either her lover or someone else), a non-lethal solution may be possible. In such situations, the girl's family's decision is particularly important. Two key factors that affect the outcome are whether or not the girl is pregnant and the degree of public awareness of the event. It was also related that in some cases when a murder is not

committed, young girls can be pressured into committing suicide by their families. In such cases, if the mother and the sisters strongly object to the killing they may be excluded from the family and/or tribe altogether.

- In cases where a single girl elopes with a man, it was observed that, though the result may be death (for either one or both), different types of bargains are possible. In such events many factors such as whether or not the man with whom the girl eloped is married, his or his family's socio-economic status, whether or not the girl is engaged, if the man's family wants the girl, etc., can interconnect and determine the consequences. Quite complex bargaining, which is often degrading for the woman as she is treated as exchangeable property, is pursued. This is a process about which people's expressions include terms such as 'we took', 'we gave', 'we brought', 'we took away'; the nature of the bargaining is reflected in the use of the language. Within this process, the girls who are given from the family of the man to the family of the girl as 'berdel' in return for the girl who eloped become part of this exchange whether they like it or not. It was observed in several stories that even if the women were not killed as a result of the event, they were forced to commit suicide afterwards, marry against their will, leave their place of residence or were excluded by their families.

- In situations of sexual assault or rape, in contrast, if the girl who is raped is single, forcing her to marry her rapist is most often seen as a solution. If the rapist does not want this or his position is not suitable for it, both the rapist and the girl might be killed. In addition, the relative economic status of the families plays a role here. When the family of a wealthy man does not want a poor girl, the man's family may strike a bargain with that of the girl in order to prevent their son from being prosecuted. On the other hand, when the girl is pregnant, her murder is considered to be important for family honor. In general, it was observed that in cases of sexual assault or rape (especially in urban families or those connected with NGOs), formal institutions were applied to as well whether for support or legal redress. However, whatever the conditions may be, the families usually tend to blame the woman in situations where the woman who was raped is married. It was observed that some women facing death threats in such situations applied to institutions for help.

Evaluations related to the characteristics of the groups laid out above were made taking a minimum of five and a maximum of 29 events into consideration in each category. It was observed in each category that the social characteristics (socio-economic status, ethnic origin, religion and sect, family, kinship and tribal structure, if any) of the families of the individuals involved and their reciprocal power relations together with the extent of public knowledge of the event greatly affect bargaining and consequences.

In the events that were recounted, women (especially mothers of girls) were almost never involved in the decision taking processes of family councils. However, they usually accept the decision in one way or another. Moreover, mothers feel accountable for such events in society because the main role of women is accepted to be the maintenance of the home and the training of children. In the stories that were told, some mothers supported the penalties given to their daughters and in some instances even forced their daughters to commit suicide. On the other hand, there were rare examples of women who neither approved of nor supported the punishments and showed the courage to oppose them. In the process, they risked exclusion from their communities. This can be seen as an indication that under certain circumstances (especially when they are older or have a strong position within the family or the tribe) women can behave differently.

Similarly, some men, although few in number, did not kill their wives or their relatives' daughters despite pressure to do so. These men sometimes suffered themselves, forced to leave their places of residence and excluded by their families (or tribes). In such cases, the existence of institutions that can support the person or the family in need is also important.

What can be done to stop honor killings?

As part of the research, proposals for solutions were solicited from both interviewees and NGOs. Upon general evaluation, the first element that strikes one's attention is that very few people had thought about what could be done to prevent honor/'töre' killings except for some professionals, NGOs, political parties and some people who are connected

to NGOs. What is more important is that in environments where such events are frequently experienced, those very close to the events approach the subject in a quite pessimistic manner and have little to no hope for change. This hopelessness has even affected NGOs activists in Şanlıurfa and Batman. Therefore, eliminating hopelessness about preventing such events in places where they occur more frequently will be important to the success of any action program. People and organizations should make it known that they are sensitive to the issue and consider themselves to own the problem in order to eliminate the atmosphere of hopelessness and helplessness. Public officers, public organizations, local administrators, NGOs and the media may undertake activities, either separately or in collaboration, on the issue. When an honor killing or a person who lives under threat of death in their region starts to disturb everybody who lives and works in that region (from the most authorized public officers to ordinary people) and when nobody wants to carry this shame anymore, then finding solutions will become easier.

Studies on how to prevent honor killings may be gathered under two groups or stages: (1) activities to prevent women (or men) from being victims of honor killings; (2) programs to strengthen and transform people and institutions in the long run.

Among stage one activities, mediation mechanisms that have been used so far might be examined along with the conditions necessary to apply these mechanisms without causing women to be exchanged as property and to suffer. Social and religious leaders who are respected by families and people who work on the issue might be contacted and it might be ensured that NGOs have a say in such processes of bargaining. In order for the effectiveness of both NGOs and public institutions that would provide support to women (and other family members who are in need) to be increased, they should build capacity in this area and have opportunities to protect women under threat, provide them with psychological support and help them to become economically and socially independent individuals. The 'opportunities' of course would come with the establishment of women's shelters in sufficient numbers and capacity, with 24-hour hotlines that could help women in need. These are urgent requirements which have been emphasized by women's organizations for years. Their existence would not eliminate the reasons behind honor kill-

ings but could save the lives of women who live under threat of death. During the research, NGOs as well as some police officers discussed the need for stations where women under threat could take shelter and get psychological support in emergency situations and shelters where they can stay for longer. They said that that they could not give the necessary support to some women under risk who applied to them. The need to spread such institutions at the country level, to obtain state support for sustainability and to improve state-NGO collaboration in this area is evident.

Activities that should be considered for stage two are training programs to achieve transformation of both mentalities and actions, socio-cultural activities that could lay the ground for the elimination of honor killings and programs that could provide support to victims of honor crimes. Within this context, ensuring the participation of both youth and adults (male and female), various professionals (teachers, lawyers, imams, policemen, psychologists, social service specialists, etc.), public officers, local officials, and those working in NGOs is essential. Topics for training should include gender relations, women's rights, early and forced marriage of girls, marriage between relatives, communication within the family, violence and the consequences of violence and especially honor and honor killings. Training programs for every group or profession should be prepared and applied in a way that meets their requirements and/or fits into their daily life.

NGOs should work in neighborhoods and create centers that include activities for all family members in cooperation with public organizations and local governments. In the process, NGOs should take local facilities and requirements into consideration and people speaking the languages of the region should be available. In this way, NGOs can gain public trust and lay the ground for family members to enter into a support network outside their kinship relations. Social and cultural activities and vocational training courses might also be organized in the centers along with awareness training and consultancy activities in various subjects for all members of the family. Organization of various social activities for young men as well, besides those for young women, will not only fill a longstanding gap but also clear the way for them to meet in different environments and learn to become friends.

In the meantime, activities to strengthen women and especially young girls' ability to take their own decisions are of great importance. Campaigns organized by various organizations that support the schooling of girls and their acquisition of a profession should be supported by local governments and NGOs. Strengthening women in terms of their education and economic involvement will in the long run make them visible in society as individuals who can also do something outside their homes and play a role in the transformation of their position in the family and status in society.

Even though many respondents do not think that the recent amendments made to the Penal Code can deter people from committing such crimes, it was observed that a significant number of people (including some professionals) were not aware of these amendments. This situation was not only true for the Penal Code but also for the amendments made to laws related to the protection of women and the family. Therefore, the laws, their amendments and developments with regard to their implementation should be widely publicized not only by NGOs but also by public organizations and the media.

The media, and particularly local media, should: have an informative, critical and transformative role in raising public awareness; provide people with accurate information about both NGOs and other organizations; try to show that violence and murder for the sake of honor violates human rights by involving social leaders, religious officers, respected individuals and popular people from the worlds of science, art and sports; introduce good examples from the struggle against violence, including individual success stories and NGO activities.

Appendix I :

List of interviews

conducted in the four cities

INTERVIEWS WITH ORGANIZATIONS IN ISTANBUL (11 INTERVIEWS)	
1	AMARGI
2	FİKİRTEPE FAMILY CONSULTATION CENTRE
3	GÖÇ-DER (MIGRATION ASSOCIATION)
4	BAR OF ISTANBUL, WOMEN'S RIGHTS LEGAL SUPPORT CENTRE
5	LGBT INITIATIVE
6	THE HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
7	ÇAPA PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAUMA CENTRE
8	PURPLE ROOF WOMEN'S SHELTER FOUNDATION
9	WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS-NEW WAYS
10	PROJECT ON "LEGAL AID FOR WOMEN RAPED OR SEXUALLY ASSAULTED BY STATE SECURITY FORCES"
11	HALKEVI
INTERVIEWS WITH PROFESSIONALS IN ISTANBUL (14 INTERVIEWS)	
1	EXPERT ON FORENSIC MEDICINE, MALE
2	LAWYER, FEMALE
3	LAWYER, MALE
4	JOURNALIST, FEMALE
5	TEACHER, MALE
6	POLICE OFFICER, MALE
7	PSYCHOLOGIST, FEMALE
8	SOCIAL WORKER, FEMALE
9	OFFICER AT GENDARMA STATION, MALE
10	JOURNALIST, FEMALE
11	IMAM, MALE
12	TRADESMAN, MALE
13	LOCAL ADMINISTRATOR, FEMALE
14	IMAM, MALE

INTERVIEWS WITH INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS IN ISTANBUL (26 INTERVIEWS)	
1	FEMALE, MIDDLE AGED, MARRIED
2	FEMALE, MIDDLE AGED, MARRIED
3	MALE
4	FEMALE, GROUP
5	MALE, GROUP
6	VICTIM OF DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF SEX PREFERENCE, TRANS VESTITE, 34 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
7	MALE, 28 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
8	MALE, 20 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
9	MALE, 64 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
10	MALE, 32 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
11	FEMALE, 24 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
12	FEMALE, GROUP
13	FEMALE, 54 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
14	FEMALE, 77 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
15	FEMALE, 19 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
16	MALE, 58 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
17	MALE, 37 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
18	MALE, 48 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
19	FEMALE, 63 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
20	MALE, 29 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
21	FEMALE, 21 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
22	MALE, 33 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
23	FEMALE, 46 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
24	FEMALE, GROUP
25	MALE, GROUP
26	FEMALE, VICTIM, 28 YEARS OLD, MARRIED

INTERVIEWS IN ADANA (42 INTERVIEWS)	
INTERVIEWS WITH ORGANIZATIONS IN ADANA (9 INTERVIEWS)	
1	AMARGI
2	THE HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
3	ADANA CITY WOMEN'S COUNCIL
4	AKDAM
5	BAR OF ADANA, CHILDREN'S RIGHTS COMMISSION
6	KA-DER
7	CUKUROVA UNIVERSITY, WOMEN'S STUDIES CENTER
8	BAR OF ADANA, WOMEN'S RIGHTS COMMISSION
9	MUNICIPALITY
INTERVIEWS WITH PROFESSIONALS IN ADANA (17 INTERVIEWS)	
1	LAWYER, MALE
2	EXPERT ON FORENSIC MEDICINE, MALE
3	JOURNALIST, MALE
4	JOURNALIST, MALE
5	TRADESMAN, MALE
6	MUEZZIN, FEMALE
7	IMAM, MALE
8	MUHTAR, MALE
9	TEACHER, MALE
10	POLICE, MALE
11	IMAM, MALE
12	MUHTAR, MALE
13	PUBLIC PROSECUTOR, MALE
14	JOURNALIST, MALE
15	SOCIAL WORKER, FEMALE
16	MUHTAR, MALE
17	TEACHER, MALE

INTERVIEWS WITH INDIVIDUALS IN ADANA (16 INTERVIEWS)	
1	FEMALE, 21 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
2	FEMALE, 30 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
3	FEMALE, 35 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
4	MALE, 37 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
5	FEMALE, 55 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
6	MALE, 25 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
7	FEMALE, 21 YEARS OLD, ENGAGED
8	FEMALE, 26 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
9	MALE, GROUP
10	FEMALE, 45 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
11	MALE, 25 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
12	FEMALE, 36 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
13	MALE, 70 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
14	MALE, 47 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
15	FEMALE, 21 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
16	FEMALE, 26 YEARS OLD, MARRIED

INTERVIEWS WITH PROFESSIONALS IN ŞANLIURFA (19 INTERVIEWS)	
1	JOURNALIST, FEMALE
2	LAWYER, MALE
3	LAWYER, FEMALE
4	JOURNALIST, MALE
5	JOURNALIST, MALE
6	JUDGE, MALE
7	MUHTAR, MALE
8	TEACHER, FEMALE
9	OFFICIAL AT THE RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS OFFICE, MALE
10	MUHTAR, MALE
11	LEADER OF CEM EVI, MALE
12	EXPERT ON FORENSIC MEDICINE, MALE
13	SOCIAL WORKER, FEMALE
14	POLICE OFFICER, MALE
15	JUDGE, FEMALE
16	IMAM, MALE
17	JOURNALIST, MALE
18	TRADESMAN, MALE
19	POLICE OFFICER, MALE

INTERVIEWS WITH INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS IN ŞANLIURFA (24 INTERVIEWS)	
1	MALE, 55 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
2	YOUNG GIRLS, GROUP
3	YOUNG BOYS, GROUP
4	YAŞAM EVI WOMENS SOLIDARITY CENTER, GROUP
5	FEMALE, 20 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
6	MALE, 40 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
7	MALE, 32 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
8	FEMALE, 36 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
9	FEMALE, 14 YEARS OLD, ENGAGED
10	FEMALE, 38 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
11	MALE, 44 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
12	MALE, 45 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
13	FEMALE, 70 YEARS OLD, WIDOWED
14	FEMALE, 28 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
15	FEMALE, 16 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
16	MALE, GROUP
17	FEMALE, 40 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
18	FEMALE, GROUP
19	FEMALE, 23 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
20	MALE, FEMALE, GROUP
21	YOUNG MALE, GROUP
22	MALE, 19 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
23	FEMALE, 18 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
24	FEMALE, GROUP

INTERVIEWS IN BATMAN (50 INTERVIEWS)	
INTERVIEWS WITH ORGANIZATIONS IN BATMAN (9 INTERVIEWS)	
1	THE HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
2	EĞİTİM SEN
3	SELIS WOMENS COUNSELING CENTER, BATMAN MUNICIPALITY
4	GÖÇ-DER (MIGRATION ASSOCIATION)
5	WOMEN'S SOLIDARITY CENTER, KA-MER FOUNDATION
6	ÇATOM (MULTIPURPOSE COMMUNITY CENTER)
7	BAHAR CULTURAL CENTER
8	WOMEN'S COMMISSION OF DEHAP
9	MAZLUM-DER
INTERVIEWS WITH PROFESSIONAL IN BATMAN (21 INTERVIEWS)	
1	PRISON OFFICER, MALE
2	LAWYER, FEMALE
3	PUBLIC PROSECUTOR, MALE
4	PSYCHOLOGIST, FEMALE
5	JUDGE, MALE
6	PSYCHOLOGIST, FEMALE
7	TEACHER, MALE
8	PSYCHOLOGIST, MALE
9	MUHTAR, MALE
10	MUHTAR, MALE
11	TRADESMAN, MALE
12	TRADESMAN, MALE
13	MUHTAR, MALE
14	IMAM, MALE
15	TRADESMAN, FEMALE
16	TRADESMAN, MALE
17	TRADESMAN, FEMALE
18	OFFICIAL AT RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS OFFICE, MALE
19	LAWYER, MALE
20	POLIC OFFICER, MALE
21	JOURNALIST, MALE

INTERVIEWS WITH INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS IN BATMAN (20 INTERVIEWS)	
1	MALE, GROUP
2	FEMALE, 25 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
3	FEMALE, 41 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
4	MALE, 23 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
5	FEMALE, 24 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
6	FEMALE, 17 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
7	FEMALE, GROUP
8	FEMALE, 60 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
9	MALE, GROUP
10	FEMALE, 32 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
11	MALE, 35 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
12	FEMALE, 30 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
13	MALE, GROUP
14	FEMALE, 42 YEARS OLD, MARRIED
15	FEMALE, GROUP
16	MALE, 18 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
17	FEMALE, 19 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
18	FEMALE, 25 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
19	FEMALE, 18 YEARS OLD, SINGLE
20	MALE, 26 YEARS OLD, SINGLE

Appendix II: Information about the quarters in which research was conducted in the four cities

İSTANBUL

Sarıgazi quarter

Sarıgazi is a quarter in Ümraniye with a population of 52.000. Like Ümraniye's other quarters, most inhabitants migrated from Tunceli, Sivas, Erzincan, Ordu, Giresun, Gümüşhane, Trabzon, Bingöl, Kars, Siirt and Kastamonu. There are many children who live and work on the streets in this quarter.

Nurtepe quarter

The population of this quarter is 14.705. Inhabitants of Nurtepe mainly migrated from Sivas, Erzurum, Erzincan, Ordu, Giresun, Kastamonu, Gümüşhane, Siirt, Mus and Bitlis. Alevi and Kurdish populations who reside in this quarter migrated from the Black Sea region. Most of the population works in the industry and transportation sectors.

ADANA

Ova quarter

The population of Ova quarter is around 25.000. According to information obtained from the muhtar, ninety percent of the population migrated from Tunceli, Şırnak, Siirt, Van, Bitlis, Mardin and Batman. Most of them are internally displaced

people. The unemployment rate is approximately 70 percent. People are working as peddlers or construction workers and robbery is common in this quarter.

Kimerithane quarter

The population of the quarter is around 11.000. Most of the inhabitants of the quarter migrated from Elazığ, Bingöl, and Diyarbakır after the 19-50s. Traditionally when residents have achieved a better economic position they migrate to other quarters in Adana to be replaced by newer poor migrants. Most residents work in agriculture, but there are also some peddlers, officials and workers.

ŞANLIURFA

Sırrın quarter

The population of Sırrın quarter is about 10.000. Inhabitants migrated from the rural areas of Siverek and Hilvan. Inhabitants speak Turkish though they are ethnically mixed; Kurds, Turks and Arabs live together in Sırrın. Most residents, however, are Turkmen Alevis. 20-25 years ago most people worked in agriculture providing vegetables and fruits for the city. Now, unemployment is high and it is difficult for young people to find work. Some of them are working as repairmen and upholsterers.

Although marriage with relatives has been on the decline, it still exists. Polygamy is common among Arab residents. According to information obtained from the muhtar, there are no tribal relations in Sırrın, but people know each other and express solidarity.

Eyyübiye quarter

The population of Eyyübiye quarter is around 20.000. The quarter is old and quite poor. Most inhabitants migrated from Şanlıurfa's rural areas and people work in agriculture. Kurds and Arabs living together peaceably in this quarter. Eyyübiye is conservative, everybody knows one another and tribal relations are alive. Some people return to their villages during the summer.

BATMAN

İluh quarter

İluh is the oldest and one of the largest quarters in Batman; its population is around 20.000. Most of the inhabitants of İluh migrated from districts of Batman such as Gercüş, Kozluk and Sason. However Batman natives also live in this quarter as the city was established around İluh village. The unemployment rate is quite high and people usually work as tradesmen or construction workers.

According to information obtained from the muhtar, this quarter is exclusively inhabited by Kurds.

Yavuz Selim quarter

The population of this quarter is around 16.000 according to official statistics but it is still growing; unofficial estimates place the population at around 25-30.000. Inhabitants are mainly internally displaced people coming from Gercüş, Beşiri, Siirt-Kurtalan, Şırnak-Cizre, Hakkari, and Siirt-Botan. This quarter is one of the poorest in Batman; people mainly work as salesmen, peddlers and construction workers.

Petrolkent quarter

This one of Batman's more populous quarters with a population of 14.500. Most residents are internally displaced people coming from Mardin-Gercüş, Lice, Şırnak, Midyat, Bismil, Kozluk, Beşiri and Kurtalan. Unemployment is high and people work as peddlers, tradesmen and workers. Kurds and Gypsies live in this quarter.

Appendix III: List of professionals interviewed

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS PROFESSIONALS	
LAWYERS	7
JOURNALISTS	10
JUDGES	3
TEACHERS	5
MUHTARS	8
IMAMS AND OTHER RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS	10
EXPERTS ON FORENSIC MEDICINE	3
POLICE OFFICERS	6
SOCIAL WORKERS	3
PSYCHOLOGISTS	4
TRADESMEN	8
PUBLIC PROSECUTORS	2
LOCAL ADMINISTRATORS	1
PRISON OFFICERS	1
TOTAL	71

Appendix IV: Information about NGOs

ISTANBUL

Amargi

Amargi was founded in Istanbul in 2001, and later opened offices in Adana and Antakya. Amargi does not have a hierarchical organizational structure. It is a feminist organization to support “others” and emancipate them from patriarchy and capitalism. They organize workshops, seminars and discussion groups on these issues.

Çapa Medical Faculty Istanbul Psycho-social Trauma Center

This center has been providing psychotherapy to trauma victims since 1994. It provides this support with a sensitive approach to woman without any charge. This trauma centre, which participates in projects with national women’s organizations, has been providing counseling services as part of the Istanbul Governorship’s project on violence against women.

Fikirtepe Family Consultation Center

Fikirtepe Family Consultation Center was founded in 1995 with the assistance of Kadıköy Municipality. It organizes seminars on the foundation of the Republic, the principles of Atatürk, the place of women in Islam, women’s rights in civil law, intra-family communication and consumer rights and provides childcare for working women. It also provides free educational support to children through a network of volunteer teachers.

GÖÇ-DER (Migration Association)

GÖÇ-DER was founded in 1997 to support people exposed to migration. They work to overcome

the problems that internal migrants and internally displaced people encounter. GÖÇ-DER has representative offices in Adana, Mersin, Diyarbakır, Hakkari, Batman and İzmir. GÖÇ-DER conducts legal studies as well as activities to inform the public about the problems unique to forced migration and internal migration. The organization also carries out a health project for women in Istanbul, finding Kurdish-speaking doctors, lawyers and nurses for women who do not speak Turkish.

Project: “Leal Aid for Women Raped or Sexually Assaulted by State Security Forces”

This Project was founded in Istanbul in 1997 and has representatives in Diyarbakır and Berlin. The aim of the project is to support women who are raped and sexually assaulted by security forces. They give psychological support to women and encourage women to speak out, because most of the women hesitate to explain what they experienced. They also provide legal support to women. Moreover, they try to create a public agenda and sensitivity on these issues.

Halkevi (Public Houses, Istanbul)

Halkevleri (public houses) in Turkey were founded in 1932. Istanbul Halkevi organizes literacy courses for women and youth, guitar courses, seminars and conferences about current issues and tries to organize people in order to struggle with poverty, for education and related issues.

The Human Rights Association

The Human Rights Association was established in 1986. Its aim is: to investigate, identify and make known to individuals, the public and relevant aut-

horities human rights practices in this country; to conduct or commission scientific research on human rights and publicize developments in this field; to organize public debates, conferences, seminars, panel discussions, symposia and all sorts of meetings and demonstrations, exhibitions and competitions; to publish information; to award prizes; to carry out investigations; and to make observations in order to ensure that convicted prisoners, persons under arrest and detainees, regardless of their race, color, sex, language, religion, political opinion, are treated in a manner respectful of human dignity and to keep the public informed about these matters. The association focuses on the problems of prisons, torture, and Kurdish question, economic and social rights. They also publish Human Rights Reports as well as other bulletins and books.

Bar of Istanbul, Women's Rights Implementation Center

The center has been working in Bar of Istanbul since 1999 in order to provide legal support to women. The Center organizes seminars on violence against women and symposiums and conferences.

Women's Human Rights-New Ways Foundation

Women's Human Rights-New Ways is a women's and human rights NGO established in Turkey in 1993. Their mission is to promote women's human rights and to support the active and broad participation of women as free individuals and equal citizens in the establishment and maintenance of a democratic and peaceful order at national, regional and international levels. In order to achieve these goals they explore the obstacles to potential solutions for the implementation of women's human rights, provide advocacy and lobbying at national and international levels, develop national and international training programs on women's human rights, publish training materials and form networks between non-governmental organizations.

LGBT Initiative

This civil society initiative was founded in 1993 in order to change society's stereotypes and prejudice concerning homosexuality, create solidarity among homosexuals and to encourage people to explore themselves as homosexuals. Initiative shows movies and organizes seminars and discussions. Lambda actively participated in the work process to change the Turkish Penal Code. Lambda also partners with women's organizations to reflect the demands of homosexuals.

Purple Roof Women's Shelter Foundation

The foundation was founded in 1990 in order to provide legal and psychological support to women who are subjected to violence. They operated a women's shelter for three years. Unfortunately due to financial problems the shelter was closed in 1998. The foundation actively takes part in the women's movement in Turkey by giving seminars, participating in legal procedures related with women's issues with collaborating with other women's NGOs. They also spent 5 years as one of the organizers of the Women's Shelter Congress.

ADANA

Amargi

It was established in Adana in 2003. (see above)

Adana City Women's Council

It was established in 2002 in order to attract women to public life. The Council established a center for women who encounter violence in 2004. It covers a variety of women's organizations in the region such as the Adana Women Solidarity Center and The Association for the Establishment of Women's Shelters.

Bar of Adana, Women's Rights Commission

(see above)

Bar of Adana, Children's Rights Commission

It was established in 2004. The Commission provides help with the cases they learn about through the courts or Child Protection Institute. They plan to arrange seminars on children rights in schools.

AKDAM (The Association for the Establishment of Women's Shelters and Consultation Centers)

It was established in 1998 and opened a consultation center in 2003 with the support of the municipality and the Adana City Women's Council. While providing consultation services to women it continues to work to open a women's shelter.

Çukurova University Women's Studies Center

It was established in 1998 as a part of an academic women studies center. It has social, economic and health units to run practical activities. University students assist in these activities as well.

The Human Rights Association.

It was established in 1987. (see above)

KA-DER

KA-DER was established in 1997 in order to raise conscious about being women, to educate women about their rights and, particularly, to prepare women to be active in policy-making and leadership.

ŞANLIURFA**Bar of Şanlıurfa**

The aim of the Bar of Şanlıurfa is to raise social conscious, to encourage people to use their legal rights and to enlighten people about new laws and regulations.

Bar of Şanlıurfa, Women's Rights Commission

The Commission has been active since 1998. In 2000 the women and children's rights commissions were divided. The aim of the commission is to provide legal support to women in the region including seminars. They have help centers for women who are victims of violence.

The Association for the Support of Contemporary Life

It was established in 2002 as a branch of the Association located in Istanbul since 1990. They particularly work on the issue of women's education by persuading parents to send their daughters to school and giving them scholarships. In addition, they also organize conferences and seminars about menopause, family planning and breast cancer. They have no specific works on violence against women and honor killings.

Women's Commission of DEHAP

The Women's Commission of DEHAP was established in 2000 in Urfa to support women's participation in political and social life. They deal with women's issues in the region and organize district-level group meetings on women's issues.

Women's Commission of Eğitim Sen

It was established in 1996. The commission's aim is to prevent women from being locked at home, to value women's labor and to call women to be active in civil society.

The Human Rights Association

(see above)

Mazlum-Der

It was established in 2004 in Şanlıurfa. Their main aim and philosophy is that human beings have basic inborn rights that must be protected. They cla-

im that they exist to help people whose rights are violated without considering who they are. Their well-known slogan is that Mazlum-Der is against torturers and for the innocent no matter who they are.

Yakubiye ÇATOM (Multipurpose Community Center)

It was established in 1995 as an affiliated body of the South East Project. The center aims to encourage women to speak out in the region and participate in production, to motivate women by raising their educational level, to raise their self-confidence and to provide them with health care and income generating activities. To achieve this aim the center organizes courses on general health issues and family planning and gives legal consulting by calling local lawyers.

Yaşam Evi Women's Solidarity Center

It was established in 2004 in Şanlıurfa to help women in the region. Its activities mainly focus on raising public awareness through TV broadcasts and press releases on violence against women. The center also organizes conscious raising gatherings among women and provides legal and psychological consulting.

BATMAN**Bahar Cultural Center**

The center was established in 2000 in order to attract local people to cultural and artistic activities.

Batman ÇATOM (Multipurpose Community Center)

It was established in 1997. The center has been providing courses like reading and writing, first aid, handicrafts making, sewing and vocational courses which encourage women to be productive and active outside home. In addition to these they have been organizing vaccination campaigns and providing psychological counseling and support service to women who are victims of violence.

Women's Commission of DEHAP

The Batman DEHAP Women's Commission was established in 2000. (See above)

Batman GÖÇ-DER (Migration Association)

Batman GÖÇ-DER was founded in March 2004 as an autonomous body. All related bodies gathe-

red under a confederation without losing their autonomous structure. Their purpose is to support migrants and displaced people exposed to migration internally or internationally. They focus particularly on creating employment facilities. As a newly established organization their activities are limited to migration and related issues.

Batman Eğitim-Sen

Batman Eğitim-Sen was established in 1995 to protect the social, economic, democratic and professional rights of teachers who are working under the Ministry of Education. They deal with local social issues as well as issues related to education and training.

Batman Human Rights Association

It was originally established in 1990 and re-established in 1997 after a break due to the ethnic conflict in the region. Since then it has been active as a branch of the Human Rights Association whose center is located in Ankara. While working to raise consciousness about human rights the Batman Human Rights Association has been actively dealing with women's issues as a shareholder in the Batman Women's Platform.

Batman Mazlum-Der

It was established in 2004 as a branch of Mazlum-Der (See above)

Batman Women's Solidarity Center, KA-MER Foundation

Having participated in training sessions organized by Diyarbakır KA-MER since 2000, women from Batman established this center in 2002 and a restaurant basically to provide job facilities for women. They also opened a child day care center called 'Small Hands' and a bazaar where women can sell their products.

SELİS Women's Counseling Center, Batman Municipality

It was established in January 2005 with the collaboration of Batman Municipality and Diyarbakır SELİS. They have been providing a variety of services including training, employment and particularly psychological counseling.

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