

DETERMINANTS OF WOMEN EMPOWERMENT WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS
ON WOMEN'S GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES AND HUSBANDS' CONTROLLING
BEHAVIORS

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ABSTRACT**DETERMINANTS OF WOMEN EMPOWERMENT WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS
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There have been many legal attempts to improve women's position, but these are not sufficient to realize societal changes. One of the most important solutions to the problem of gender inequality is women empowerment. It is possible to measure women empowerment on the basis of gender role attitudes of women and controlling behaviors of husbands. This thesis tries to explain women empowerment on the basis of these two important indicators stated above. 2008 Turkish Demographic and Health Survey data was used for this purpose, and education and wealth were found as the most important determinants of women empowerment. Considering wealth can be increased through education, it is beneficial and necessary for countries and governments to give priority to education in order to protect women and empower them in family relations.

Keywords: Women Empowerment, Gender Role, Husband Control, Education

ÖZ

KADINLARIN CİNSİYET ROL TUTUMLARI VE EŞLERİN KONTROL EDİCİ DAVRANIŞLARI ÜZERİNDEN KADININ GÜÇLENMESİNİN BELİRLEYİCİLERİ

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Kadınların pozisyonunu iyileştirecek pek çok yasal düzenleme yapılmıştır, ancak bunlar toplumsal değişimler için yeterli değildir. Cinsiyet eşitsizliği probleminin en önemli çözümlerinden biri kadının güçlenmesidir. Kadının güçlenmesini, kadının cinsiyet rol tutumları ve eşin kontrol edici davranışları üzerinden ölçmek mümkündür. Bu tez, kadının güçlenmesini yukarıda belirtilen iki belirleyici üzerinden açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla 2008 Türkiye Demografik ve Sağlık Araştırması verisi kullanılmış ve eğitim ve refah, kadının güçlenmesinin en önemli belirleyicileri olarak bulunmuştur. Refahın eğitim ile artırılabilceği düşünüldüğünde ülkeler ve hükümetler için kadını korumak ve aile içi ilişkilerinde güçlendirmek amacıyla eğitime öncelik vermek yararlı ve gereklidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadının Güçlenmesi, Cinsiyet Rolü, Eş Kontrolü, Eğitim

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
ÇATOM	Multi-Purpose Community Centers
DOKAP	The Study on the Regional Development Plan for the Eastern Blacksea Region
EU	European Union
GAP	The Southeastern Anatolia Project
ICRW	International Center for Research
İŞKUR	Turkey Business Agency
KADER	The Association for the Support and Training of Women Candidates
KOSGEB	Small and Medium Enterprises Development Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
TDHS	Turkey Demographic and Health Survey
TÜİK	Turkish Statistical Institute
TÜBİTAK	The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey
UDHR	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Human rights have been a very hotly debated issue for centuries. It is often questioned and studied by many researchers. Although it is difficult to give a commonly accepted definition, it is agreed that human rights are inalienable rights that each person should have since he/she is born. Apate (2013) defines human rights as “right of an individual and rights which every human being must have against the state or public authority by virtue of his being a human being irrespective of any other considerations”. This implies that there is no justification of violations on the basis of ethnicity, religion, gender and economic status.

The understanding and the central theme of the concept ‘human rights’ have changed through time. Once upon a time, the main understanding was protection of private property. Then, it changed and prevention of slavery gained attention. With the death of millions of people in World Wars, the right to live in a safe place boosted up on the agenda. At those times, demand for human rights protection was so high that after the Second World War, United Nations came up with The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The declaration adopted in 1948 contains different themes of human rights violation and protection of human rights. What is important for this study is the second article of the UDHR. According to the aforementioned article, nobody can be

deprived of the rights and freedoms put forward in the declaration on the basis of sex.¹ In other words, this article tries to protect women against discrimination. As seen clearly, one of the important pillars of human rights is the concept of women rights. There have been many important developments for protecting women and improving their position. As stated by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), UN adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 and women rights were considered as human rights in the UN World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993.² These improvements are highly crucial in terms of increasing awareness about and recognition of women rights and prevention of right infringements.

Nevertheless, women in different parts of the world have continued witnessing violation and discrimination. Therefore, especially since 1970s, women rights and improvement in women's position have become a central issue for gender/women studies and feminist research. Besides non academic articles, there have been many academic studies in order to conceptualize women rights, determine the ways in which these rights are improved and propose policies for providing women empowerment. The theme of the current study is women empowerment. For this purpose, the meaning of empowerment which is used in many different terms and situations is limited and education is put forth as the most important determinant of it.

In its broadest sense, women empowerment can be defined as the process during which

¹ <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>

² <http://www.unfpa.org/rights/women.htm>

capacity for making critical preferences and affecting decisions is gained by women (Kabeer, 2010). In light of the definition given above, there are dozens of women empowerment indicators. Among them employment, earnings, age of marriage, age of birth, ownership, participation in politics and spousal preferences are the most obvious ones. However, the main focus of this thesis is not employment or political participation. Due to the fact that it is impossible to look at all these indicators at the same time, this thesis concentrates on a selected number of indicators.

The main purpose of this thesis is first to measure women empowerment by taking gender role attitude of women and controlling behavior of husbands as the main indicators, and, second, to study factors that affect these indicators. Attitudes towards the statements about important family decisions, argument with husband and going out without husband's permission are the selected dependent variables for measuring gender role attitude, while prevention of women from seeing female friends, limits to contact with the family, and husband's insistence of knowing where his wife is are the selected indicators for husband control. For this the purpose, TDHS 2008 data were used and age, region, residence, women's education, partner's education, parents' education, wealth quintile, age at first marriage, number of children as 5 and under and bride price payment were chosen as independent variables. It is possible to achieve empowerment through different ways, but in this study, education is expected to be the most crucial determinant of women empowerment.

Thanks to feminist ideas and activists, there have been dozens of academic works on women empowerment all around the world. In Turkey, there have been researches conducted on women status as well. Nevertheless, the issue of women empowerment has not been examined in a detail and has been reduced to increase in female employment and political participation. In my opinion, women empowerment should be understood and explained in a broader sense. To this end, rather than examining women's status in politics and economy, I intend to investigate women's standing within family relations. Although many studies are done in this field and they have common independent variables with this thesis, most of them are field researches concentrating on specific areas in Turkey. They cannot be sufficient to explain the current situation and generalize it. Moreover, they collect data mostly for explaining domestic violence or gender role attitude, not for understanding women empowerment. Therefore, I hope this thesis will fill in the gap in academia, contribute to women's self-actualization, and provide insights for policymakers to ameliorate women's capacity.

This thesis consists of five parts. In the first chapter, the reader is informed about the theme and purpose, as well as the importance of the study. The second chapter is important in terms of theoretical framework. Accordingly, definition of gender equality is presented in link with the issue of women empowerment. Then, women empowerment is re-evaluated, but in a detailed manner and some concepts related to empowerment are addressed with emphasis, giving information about different variables which affect women empowerment.

The third chapter discusses women's status and empowerment in Turkey. In this chapter, first, gender perception of Turks is touched upon. Then, position of Turkish women in different fields of everyday life is mentioned. This chapter also presents an overview of studies on Turkish women.

Information about data source and characteristics of participants in the TDHS 2008 questionnaire are given in the fourth chapter. This chapter discusses participants' attitudes towards gender relations and the nature of husband control that they face. Results of the regression analysis are discussed in the same chapter.

The last chapter starts with the discussion of general results derived from regressions in the previous chapter. After showing the significance of education in women empowerment, limitations of the study are mentioned. Finally, possible policy suggestions are proposed for achieving better results in terms of women empowerment or at least preventing from losing its value, altogether.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Considering that a nearly estimated half of the world's population is female and many live in countries where human rights are not equal, women witness gender inequality and discrimination. It is a common tradition in some developing and underdeveloped countries that women suffer from gender imbalances in most spheres of life. As asserted by Mandal and Hajra, in such countries, women enjoy power only when they are considered as the family head and a male member in the family does not exist. Otherwise, the ratio of women benefiting from autonomy is quite low (2012). Nevertheless, as indicated in the introduction of this thesis, with the increase in the number of feminist idea supporters and activists, this inequality has begun to be discussed more frequently.

The current thesis aims at investigating empowerment with an emphasis on gender role and the control of husband in marriage. It is possible to look at different indicators of women empowerment, since what is called "women empowerment" is a multi-dimensional term. At this point, before looking at specific indicators, gender inequality is discussed and linked to women empowerment. Then, a definition of and a deeper understanding on women empowerment are given.

2.1. Gender (In) equality

Although it is possible to encounter it in developed countries as well, gender inequality is a common problem faced mostly in developing and underdeveloped countries (for more information please check World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report 2013). In the latter, gender inequality is institutionalized and the attitude of the people towards gender is conservative.

Once gender inequality is heard, a negative attitude towards women comes to mind. However, inequality can happen to men as well. Nevertheless, this situation is not so common in the world and in most cases "[t]he existing institutional structure and gender relations are such that restrict women's power and mobility, vis-a-vis men" (Kaur, 2010). Accordingly, what is taken into account here is the gender inequality that women face, since throughout the history it is women who are subject to marginalization, maltreatment, and unfairness not only in public life but also in private one as asserted by Ejumudo (2013).

Before going further, it would be helpful to grasp gender inequality. Explaining gender equality can be an easy way to define what gender inequality is. The definition of gender equality is given on UNFPA's webpage as follows:

Gender equality implies a society in which women and men enjoy the same opportunities, outcomes, rights, and obligations in all spheres of life. Equality between men and women exists when both sexes are able to share equally in the distribution of power and influence; have equal

opportunities for financial independence through work or through setting up businesses; enjoy equal access to education and the opportunity to develop personal ambitions.³

According to this definition, the issue of gender inequality emerges when one of those aforementioned cases is problematic and women get in a disadvantaged position.

The term inequality contains different dimensions as put forward by Amartya Sen. According to him, instead of being a homogenous phenomenon, gender inequality is a combination of different and interrelated questions. Therefore, as he writes in his article “The Many Faces of Gender Inequality”, it is feasible to talk over distinct types of gender inequality. In the light of this statement, one can count different sides of gender inequality such as mortality inequality, natality inequality, basic-facility inequality, special-opportunity inequality, professional inequality, ownership inequality and household inequality (2001). According to this classification, the rate of female mortality is greater when compared to that of males. Boys are more desired and to achieve that aim in some places, female babies are killed. Sen continues to state that women face more difficulties in access to basic facilities like education and health. The scenario is the same for special opportunities; men benefit more from special facilities as well as basic ones. In terms of recruitment and promotion women are limited, while men enjoy such kind of opportunities more. In addition to all these, men own most land and properties and women, wives and daughters are neglected with regards to ownership. The last inequality shows asymmetric decision making power in family affairs. Due to its multi-dimensionality, gender inequality definitions change from one

³ <http://www.unfpa.org/gender/empowerment.htm>

author to other and one study to other. What is clear is that gender inequality happens at anytime in any field of life.

2.2. Women Empowerment

When facing problems as given above, academicians and women studies researchers suggest women empowerment as the solution. Thus, empowerment came into play and became the key factor for promoting gender equality. Their idea is women can overcome inequality and problems that they face due to their gender as long as they are powerful.

Empowerment is one of the terms upon which scholars cannot agree on one definition. For example, for Haque and colleagues, it is related to elimination of components which makes it difficult to gain power (2011). Therefore, women empowerment refers to the idea that barriers in front of women' access to power have been removed. Although supporting the same logic of Haque and colleagues, Surarapur's definition is a more comprehensive one:

Women's empowerment is a process in which women gain greater share of control over resources, material, human and intellectual like knowledge, information, ideas and financial resources like money and access to money and control over decision making in the home, community, society and nation and to gain "power" (2013).

According to this definition, during the empowerment process, women gain a large share of control over means. They get more involved not only in free decision making, but also in implementation of these decisions in different spheres of life. Their capacity to manage results increases accordingly. Therefore, empowerment is admitted as the solution to human and women rights problem by activists and academicians.

Empowerment is linked to self-esteem, self-efficacy, and autonomy (Zoynul & Fahmida, 2013). These concepts are sometimes used in both academic and non academic works in referring to empowerment. Despite the difficulty of having universally accepted definitions, briefly giving an idea to the reader of the meanings of these terms is helpful. Self-esteem can be defined as “appreciating one’s own worth and importance and having the character to be accountable for oneself and to act responsibly towards others.” (as cited in Scott et al., 2001). The link between empowerment and self-esteem is that empowered women have self-esteem, since empowerment includes the realization and enhancement of women’s position which is accepted as inferior than men.

On the other hand, self-efficacy is beliefs about one’s capabilities to produce designated levels of performance that exercise influence over events that affect their lives. Self-efficacy beliefs determine how people feel, think, motivate themselves and behave (Bandura, 1994). Here the linkage can be formed over capability and influence. Through empowerment, women realize they are unique, important and capable of doing things as men do.

Autonomy is another important term on the agenda as related to empowerment. It is the concept highly crucial in our case since men are more likely to enjoy the autonomy within the family and the society than women. Autonomy can be defined as “the ability to take decisions of its own and implement it in the society where the individual is living.” (Mandal & Hajra, 2012). It is viewed as normal in some countries that women suffer from social injustice and unfair distribution of wealth. It is also common that women benefit less from public services such as education and health, and face discrimination in other fields as well. As women get more empowered, their autonomy increases, and this autonomy is reflected to different fields of life. For instance, thanks to autonomy, women can choose their partners, the number of children that they have and they can determine what kind of a role they are assigned within the family and the society.

Although these abovementioned terms can be used for referring to empowerment, they may be insufficient to give the whole idea. Empowerment is more than what is reflected in these definitions. This difference makes us look at various levels and elements of empowerment.

2.2.1. Levels and Elements of Empowerment

It is possible to divide empowerment into three levels each of which contains different elements. According to Rowlands (1997), these three levels are personal, relational and collective empowerment. As its name would suggest, personal empowerment refers to inner capacity enhancement. For Rowlands, personal empowerment constitutes the basis of empowerment by giving a shape to psychological attitudes. In other words, true

empowerment process necessitates elements counted under personal empowerment below (as cited in Karsh, 2012). While women think critically, they also build self-image, enhance self-reliance and trust their capacity in this level. Nevertheless, personal empowerment is not sufficient on its own, the second and the third types should be realized for ideal empowerment. Communication is generally considered as the base of relational empowerment due to its being most problematic point in relations. Listening, understanding and respecting each other are the core values of relational empowerment. In that level, women become individuals whose ideas are paid attention to in relationships and who participate in negotiations by defending their rights. The self image gained in the first level is put into action in relations. The last one is collective empowerment. In this kind of empowerment, not personal but group identity is accepted. According to this idea, there is a common purpose of coming together and each person should contribute to the collective ideal. This needs organization, division of labor and equal participation which include collaboration instead of competition. Women are actively participating in organizations in this third level. They are the integral parts, forming group identity by assigning duty in management as men do.

When considering women empowerment, indicators in this thesis such as gender role attitude of women and controlling behavior of husbands, personal and relational empowerments are highly important. When personal empowerment is achieved women are less likely to assess roles to gender. They become more self-confident through the empowerment process, which is a sign of personal empowerment. On the other hand, relationship between wives and husbands are shaped by the relational empowerment of the former. Women are more powerful in taking decisions together with their husbands,

participating debates when they disagree and going out without waiting for husbands' consent to do that. In order to clarify what is meant by levels and elements of empowerment, Table 2.1 is given below.

Table 2.1. Elements of Empowerment

Personal Empowerment	Relational Empowerment	Collective Empowerment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Self confidence •Self-esteem •Sense of agency •Sense of 'self' in a wider context •Dignity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Ability to negotiate •Ability to communicate •Ability to get support •Ability to defend self/rights •Sense of 'self' in the relationships •Dignity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Group identity •Collective sense of agency •Group dignity •Self organization and management

Source: Varol, 2013

The most common types are economic and political empowerment and the third level of empowerment is mostly seen in these two. Nevertheless, in this thesis women empowerment is studied on the basis of gender role attitudes of women and controlling behaviors of husbands.

2.3. Gender Role Attitude and Husband Control Behavior

Since the main purpose of this thesis is to measure empowerment through women's gender role attitude and controlling behavior of husbands, there is a need to elaborate on these two important issues. For this purpose, gender and gender role issue and then husband control are now discussed in the following section and linked to women empowerment.

People justify gender differences by showing it as a part of nature. Nevertheless, as

Pongiannon and Dhanabhakym claim (2008), what is related to nature is sex not gender. According to them, sex is related to biological make up and divergence between female and male. On the other hand, gender is a creation of society. Society forms gender that is an extension of power distribution in the relations through socialization process. This process is called gender role socialization and it starts with birth and continues until death. Because it is the basic unit of the society, family plays a critical role in this socialization process. Since their birth, girls and boys learn their primary roles with the effect of their families, media and social norms. Parsons states that at the beginning of this socialization process, children monitor behaviors of people around them and identify their roles on the basis of gender. Their understanding of male and female starts to shape at this stage.⁴ Conceptualization is shaped in this socialization process in terms of how they should think, feel, and act. For instance, Basow points out that girls are thought to be warm, sensitive, and passive, as boys are tempted to be just the opposite (1992). Children are raised on the basis of this idea and the vice versa is accepted as abnormal by the family and the society.

Societies give different roles to men and women which may change over time. Gender role understanding is based on stereotypes of the society in which individual is born. In other words, the conception of what is a gender role is affected by the gender stereotypes existing in that society. Although this attitude can be an issue in developed societies, it is more radical and its effects are more serious in the developing and under developed ones. In those societies there is the common understanding that women are distinct from men. As written by Smith-Hefner in *Khmer American: Identity and Moral*

⁴ www.rcgd.isr.umich.edu/garp/articles/ecclesparsons83.pdf

Education in a Diasporic Community, this term means “suitable” behaviors for girls (1999). Using the term “rules for girls” and spreading the idea it proposes, people tried to idealize women’s attitudes towards gender roles. Accordingly, they are given certain functions to perform and limited to their own field. For instance, cleaning, cooking, care taking of children are the duties of women, while men are expected to earn money for the family. This limitation is much more severe for women than men since women have been pressured to assume these roles. Gender role attitude towards women is an extension of that “rules for girls” understanding. As a result of this understanding, women are supposed to obey pre-determined rules. They are taught to obey these traditions and any kind of behavior against it is accepted as a reason for exclusion from the society (Eliuz, 2011).

In this thesis, one of the measurements of empowerment is accepted as gender role attitudes. There are different indicators in order to understand and estimate these attitudes. Three of these indicators elaborated here are (dis)agreement on statements “Important family decisions should be made only by men”, “Women should not argue with husbands even if they disagree”, and “Women may go anywhere without husbands’ permission”.

Empowered women are supposed to participate in decision making, have disputes with their husbands where they disagree and not to wait for husband permission to go out. As clearly seen, these three statements refer to relational empowerment. Although, the core of women empowerment in family is personal empowerment and perception of self

importance, here the matter is presence or absence of communication and negotiation between spouses. Women are supposed to have power in the family relations when they are really empowered. This necessitates communication and negotiation, which refers to women's bargaining power in the family. Bargaining power is "the ability of a person, group, or organization to exert influence over another party in a negotiation in order to achieve a deal which is favorable to themselves"⁵. Taken this definition into consideration, women's bargaining power in the family is relevant to their power in their relations with husbands.

Although the basis of relational empowerment of women is personal empowerment, the former is also influenced by the society. How society perceives women and approaches them influence the roles given to women. These values can be altered through individuals' gender role attitude; however, if societal values are internalized by individuals, this type of social change occurs very slowly. It may be expected that these slow changes occur mostly in patriarchal societies. In these types of societies, important domestic decisions are made mostly by men without wife consultation. Nevertheless, it is possible that wife does not agree on this decision. In the case of refusal, wife may not raise her voice. These may be the results of societal values, gender role attitudes and women inferiority created by the society. Accordingly, society accepts men as the ones making a living in the family, so they are given the right to be dominant in the decisions. Although women work at their homes, this is not counted as a real job since this is unpaid. Therefore, women are not given the value that they deserve. Moreover, women do not question their positions and understanding their importance since they

⁵ <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/bargaining-power>

are limited to their jurisdiction. Thus, women are rarely participating in decision making process with their limited bargaining power.

Mabsout and Staveren (2010) claim there are three levels of bargaining power. First one is individual level. At this level, bargaining power is related to women's individual characteristics and their understanding of themselves. As women are aware of their importance in the relations and the society, their bargaining power is more probably to increase. Household level, which is the second one, looks at women and their husband at the same time. Thus, the characteristics of and the differences between spouses pave the way to changes in power distribution and affect women's bargaining power. The last one is institutional bargaining power that is relevant to group attitudes towards gender roles. Although people may have a right to say on societal values, they are mostly influenced by them. In other words, power distribution in the family and gender role attitude of each spouse are beyond individual perceptions but shaped by societal institutions. Through real empowerment process, women are supposed to gain bargaining power in all these three levels. Nevertheless, since the main concerns are women's relations with their husbands and control that they are exposed to, personal and household level bargaining power are the crucial ones. As they get powerful in these two levels, women witness less gender role differentiation and less husband control.

Changes in gender roles with the impact of participation in labor force and increase in education result in betterment in women's position. Although women still lag behind their husbands in decision making, they are able to take part in more frequently. This

participation mostly occurs in satisfaction of general needs of the family. For example, as Ekrem Cengiz (2009) puts into words, women have right to say on daily shopping. However, husbands are dominant in important family decisions like purchase of durable goods or decisions are taken jointly. Moreover, decisions about vacation or children are again made as a result of sound communication.

Another important case taken into consideration in gender role attitudes of women is their going out without husband permission. Although there is rarely special emphasis on this issue in the literature, this statement is questioned mostly in Islamic world. Even with little investigation, it is clear that lack of husband permission is regarded as a problem in Islamic societies. With the impact of both societal and religious values, women are not supposed to go out without husbands' consent. More surprisingly this idea is also supported by women. For instance, Ustadha Zaynab Ansari who is a Sunni Path Academy teacher asserts that husbands from Hanafi and Shafi'i Schools may not allow their wives to go out home.⁶

Besides gender role attitude, women empowerment can be measured on the basis of husband control as well. According to Eng and colleagues (2009), the spousal control means power or control of husbands over their wives. Although there are cases in which husband control is exercised through different means, it is mostly seen in social activities such as meeting female friends or visiting family members. Moreover, husbands insistently want to know where their wives are. These behaviors are culture

⁶ http://qa.sunnipath.com/issue_view.asp?HD=11&ID=8638&CATE=121

specific, so to speak, whether husbands use control over the abovementioned actions or women can do these without any control depends on the society. In patriarchal societies, women are restricted in their movements and are subject to the close monitoring of their husbands. As Antai states (2011), spousal controlling behavior is associated with male-dominated family structures where society motivates men to apply control over women to maintain their dominance. In these types of societies women are assigned certain tasks at their homes and expected to fulfill them. In addition, men are justified in any type of control that they apply. The logic behind these controlling behaviors is possession the idea of men, “I married you so I own you” (Dobash & Dobash, 1979).

Husbands’ attempts for controlling and monitoring their wives are accepted to be a crucial indication of violence in their relations (DHS Pakistan, 2012-2013). Those who are applying controlling behavior are more likely to use violence. As husbands force women to their own “habitat” through their control, that control is also felt in the form of physical and verbal violence as well. Ellsberg and her colleagues (2000) show that there is a relationship between husband control and violence with their quantitative research in Nicaragua with 488 women between the ages 15 and 49. On the other hand, controlling behavior itself is considered as a type of violence. United Nations Population Fund (1998) stated gender-based violence incorporates psychological harm that includes husband coercion (as cited in Nakray, 2013). Thus, husbands’ controlling behaviors can be accepted as psychological or emotional violence.

The issue of controlling how women meet female friends and visit family, it is too difficult to attach to the issue emotion or jealousy. Men prevent their wives' going out to see their female friends and visit their families because wives may have conversations related to their marriages with their friends and families. From this perspective, if wives talk about dominance of their husbands, their negative attitudes towards them and controlling behaviors, friends and families support these women and give advice to stop such kind of behaviors. In some studies, it is shown that women mostly go to their friends and families when they witness problem. According to the study carried on by Şenol and Yıldız (2013), when faced with violence, women request help from those who are emotionally closest to them. The number of the participants who take their issues to police or women centers (20% and 3.4%) is less than those who ask for help from their relatives (44.1%). Although there may be common gender role attitudes and justification of spousal control in society, families and friends manifest a protective psychology towards those women. According to the "Türkiye'de Kadına Yönelik Şiddet 2009" report of the General Directorate for the Status and Problems of Women, 34% and 22.3% of the women taking part in the study revealed their situation to their families and friends or neighbors. These women also receive help mostly from these two groups of people. 16.8% of them get help from their families, while 8.3% do so from friends or neighbors. These sharing would not be advantageous for husbands since it may pressure them to stop or decrease their violence and control.

The insistence on knowing where wife is stands as another indicator of husband control. It becomes problematic where the desire to know puts pressure on women to report their actions. This is one of the ways in which men show their dominance. Actually it is

possible to consider this type of behavior as a psychological pressure used for measuring domestic violence against women.

Data on women's witnessing diverse forms of gender-related pressure is a signal of their status and empowerment.⁷ The article "Controlling Behavior, Power Relations within Intimate Relationships and Intimate Partner Physical and Sexual Violence against Women in Nigeria" written by Antai (2011) on the basis of a quantitative research shows there is a correlation between control and empowerment. Women having less power within their relationship are most likely to suffer from the controlling behavior of their husbands. As stated by Pambe, Gnoumou and Kabore (2013), those who give "yes" as a response to the questions "Husband/partner does not permit respondent to meet female friends", "Husband/partner tries to limit respondent's contact with family" and "Husband/partner insists on knowing where respondent is" are regarded to face psychological pressure of their husbands. Therefore, participants whose answers are "no" to the abovementioned questions are considered as empowered.

Women cannot be subordinated and controlled by their husbands when they are powerful. While husband desires his wife's reporting whatever she does, real empowered women refuse such kind of controls and react, so husbands of these women cannot sustain their controls over wives. Empowered women have the opportunity to stop controls by raising their voice or by getting divorced from husband at the extreme case if controls persists. These can be the cases during marriage. However,

⁷ <http://www.measuredhs.com/topics/Womens-Status-and-Empowerment.cfm>

empowerment can prevent husband control that would be faced by women at the beginning of the marriage as well. Those who get married at early ages are mostly powerless women and this situation makes them fall under husband domination and control. However, as women are empowered, they have the chance to select their marriage time and the person whom they marry. Empowered woman is supposed to choose her husband considering his traits, hence, this opportunity decreases the probability of facing husband control.

Gender role attitude and husband controlling behaviors can be altered if necessary conditions are provided. In a society where women participate in economy and political decision making, gender and husband control have a chance to be more widely discussed. When women have an access to job, they find a chance to earn their own money, which makes them independent from their husbands in economic terms. Women who do not work have to rely on their husbands' money. This results in husband's domination over wives not only in the use of money but also in other behaviors of women. However, empowered women most probably earn their money and are not dependent on their husbands in financial terms. As a result, husbands of women who earn money cannot see themselves right to apply for control. Such husbands accept their wives have an economic life besides family, friends to meet and family to visit, so they behave accordingly. In other words, empowered women are less likely to be stopped from meeting their female friends and visiting their families by their husbands.

2.4. Determinants of Women Empowerment

Empowerment is measured on the attitude of women towards gender roles and husband's controlling behavior in this thesis. There are different variables affecting the presence of women empowerment. Women's empowerment is affected by the educational level of women, husband, and parents of women. Moreover, household wealth can be counted as another determinant of women empowerment. If a marriage depends on bride price and if women have dependent children are also crucial in understanding women's attitude towards gender roles and husband control. In the next sections, each of these variables that are influential in empowerment is elaborated in a detailed manner.

2.4.1. Education and Women Empowerment

It cannot be denied that education has positive effects on empowerment, whichever type it has. It even deserves the label of the most important determinant of each of these empowerment types. Education affects women empowerment both directly and indirectly.

First of all, it provides personal empowerment to women where they realize their husband's superiority and dominance in the family relations. Naila Kabeer (2010) defines women empowerment as "the expansion in [their] ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them." According to Kabeer, access to education, besides access to paid work and political representation, are highly correlated with female empowerment. For Kabeer, education improves the cognitive ability of women so that they can question their position and improve their

life standards accordingly. It also helps women gain relational empowerment in their family, which balances the power distribution. With education, women are able to communicate with their husbands and affect their ideas related to household decisions. In addition, they can negotiate and resist on their ideas even if they are rejected by the husbands.

Education has indirect undeniable effects on women's empowerment through economic participation. In many qualitative and quantitative analyses, education is used as the measure of employment and wage earning. As a result of their education, women take part in labor force more abundantly, since education becomes the initial requirement of recruitments. Employers demand more educated ones for their job positions. In some sectors, human capital may be more important than education. Kantor (2005) proposes that human capital is improved through training and experience rather than formal employment. Nevertheless, this idea becomes true at the post-employment stage. In the recruitments, the level of education and the name of schools graduated from play significant role in most of the cases. Thus, human capital and training have secondary roles, while formal education puts its importance at the beginning. Economic participation is highly associated with women empowerment in family relations. Their dependence on a husband's money decreases as a result. This leads an increase in bargaining power and participation in household decisions as well. Moreover, the importance of education is obvious in whichever type of job is held. Education provides a chance to women to be employed with social security. If they work as unregistered workers, then their working environment, wages and security cannot be measured. This results in inferiority both in working place and within the family.

Another critical field where the effect of education is evident is political participation. First of all, thanks to education, women become more aware of their political rights and duties. They realize political participation does not mean allocating one hour to go to the polls on Election Day. As they get educated, women become more sensitive to current issues like domestic violence. As stakeholders, they may influence policies related to women, which eventually enhance their position in the family. They can make policies for the economic benefit of women. This is highly important to disallow economic dependency. They can also easily get organized in order to raise their voice. To announce demands and affect decisions, it is essential to have bargaining power. By holding key positions and acting with NGOs, women can form interest groups, which help them reach their objectives. Although politics does not directly shape males' idea about women position, it may be influential in decreasing husband domination over women. For instance, women can demand an increase in sanctions on domestic violence.

As the most important determinant, another contribution of education on women empowerment is related to marriage time. Some women marry at their early ages, so they would not enroll higher levels in education or drop out of school. With the housework burden on their shoulders and the lack of education, women mostly get used to their roles in the family. Since they know and spend time with women whose position is similar to them, powerless women do not question their positions. This lack of questioning results in further inequalities and pressures on women in terms of relations with husband, just like a vicious circle. Thus, inequalities are more likely to be decreased if not eradicated, thanks to education. As girls attend school, marriage time is

postponed, which enhances women's gaining power. As put forward by UNICEF, a qualified basic education provides women empowerment by making them powerful against gender abuse and exploitation. Its effects are not limited to women attitude but it also influences family and social relations. As education provides societal emotional learning, girls are more probably empowered.⁸

Although women are aware of their inferiority in family and social relations, they should show their reaction in order to decrease gender discrimination and control. This is why education is stressed in most of the underdeveloped and developing countries where women are represented by their husbands.

2.4.2. Partner's Education and Women Empowerment

Besides women's education is important in gender role attitudes and resisting cultural beliefs, the education of spouse can be a good predictor of family relations. Education provides betterment in understanding gender roles. Educated spouses can be more sensitive to gender inequalities and try to change the understanding that men and women are distinct.

In their research, Haque et al. (2011) state that a husband's education can be used for understanding women's empowerment and autonomy. The expectation of this research was that as husband's education level increases, so are women able to participate in

⁸ http://www.unicef.org/education/bege_61625.html

family decisions. The reason of that expectation was educated husband can understand their wives' needs and demands. Moreover, they were supposed to be opposed to societal values which hinder gender equality and shape their relations accordingly. In order to achieve that aim, they used the husband's education as an independent variable of women's empowerment and autonomy in economic decision-making, household decision-making and physical movement. They defined empowerment as a process in which women become powerful and gain control over their lives. On the other hand, for them autonomy was not the process, but women's power of doing whatever they wanted. In their bivariate analysis, they found out that women whose husbands have education higher than secondary level were more powerful in terms of economic and household decision making. Nevertheless, this is not the case for their physical movement. When they applied multiple linear regressions, they found that husband's education negatively affects women's autonomy and empowerment in household decision making as well as empowerment in physical movement and the results are significant. Although this shows the effects of husband's education on women empowerment, it has some drawbacks. It is impossible to see if educated men are married to educated women or not. Without this information, interpretations may be misleading. Thus, adding the relative education level of spouses may be more adequate to explain women's position as it was used as an explanatory variable in some other researches.

A husband's education is used in domestic violence analysis frequently. Although it does not explain directly women's empowerment, it may give an idea of husbands' attitudes towards gender and position of their wives. According to World Health

Organization's 2002 world report on violence and health, Tirana was among the provinces that reported the most spousal violence in 2001.⁹ Taking this fact into consideration, Burazeri and colleagues did quantitative research on violence with 1039 married women in Tirana between ages of 25 and 65 who were recorded in the 2001 census. They tried to measure if these women faced physical violence from their husbands in the past year. For that purpose they took the education level of spouses as one of the independent variables. According to their results, violence is more common among women who have higher levels of education than their husbands do. Risk is at its highest as women's education level increases and husbands' decreases. In the results it is seen that those women whose husbands were with lower education level than nine years witnessed more violence.

Naved and Persson (2005) conducted a population-based interviews with 2,702 women of reproductive age during 2000 and 2001 in rural and urban Bangladesh for estimating domestic violence against women. Their findings support the results of abovementioned study. When education years of the husband is an independent variable and no education is the reference category, those who have at least six years of schooling are significantly less likely to apply physical violence in urban areas. For the individuals living in rural areas, the same is true for the husbands' whose education is 11 years and more. Results show boys' education can be a solution for women's domestic violence problem.

⁹ whqlibdoc.who.int/hq/2002/9241545615.pdf

The explanation can be made as follows: education signals power. Due to psychological and sociological reasons, men may be reluctant to have women in a better position considering their situation. Thus, as wives are more educated, husbands can be more inclined to show their power or dominance in the form of violence.

2.4.3. Parents' Education and Women Empowerment

Besides the education of women and their husbands, parental education is another important determinant of female empowerment. It is highly relevant to create an understanding of gender role and attitudes towards women. As Peters (1994) asserts, families with no education may encourage their daughters to be passive, naive and sensitive. On the other hand, the presence of parental education positively affects empowerment on gender role attitudes.

When parents are educated, it has positive impacts on their daughter in many terms. As written on the website of UNDP, parental education is correlated with and important for children's education.¹⁰ Since they have certain level of education, parents provide education to their daughters as well as their sons. As stated above, educated women are more inclined to be empowered. Educated parents not only encourage their daughters to get educated, but also they shape daughter's understanding of gender roles. Those born in uneducated families may be more likely to internalize gender inequalities as compared to educated ones. Moreover, educated parents are expected to participate in the economy and have certain amount of earnings. Since they have sufficient money,

¹⁰ <http://www.unfpa.org/gender/empowerment2.htm>

they can support their daughters if they have problems with their husbands and return to their previous homes. This guarantee for women affects their position in the family. For example, they can resist husband's control and can firmly take part in household decisions. They may be able to argue with their husbands when they do not accept their ideas. These women can find it easier to go out without permission of their husbands.

Cunningham did a research to show parental impacts on their children's attitudes towards gender-differentiated family roles and division of tasks between women and men. According to him, as parents' education level increases, children's attitudes towards gender roles are more egalitarian. He first did zero order correlation to see if education of parents are effective on children's' gender role attitudes and the ideal division of housework. As a result of this step, he found there is a significant positive correlation between parental education and children's ideal task division and gender role attitudes. When he applied multiple regression in the study, he again found this correlation. The results showed that parental education is influential in children's gender role attitudes, which is significant.

In this point the question to be asked is if the education of each of these parents has the same effect? Thornton, Alwin and Camburn did quantitative research on the causes and consequences of gender role attitudes in 1983. According to their results, the attitudes of children are affected by both father's and mother's education, although in some years the father's effect is much more than the mother's and in some vice versa. On the other hand, Steinberg (1987) claims relations between mother and daughter are more intense

than those between father and daughter. On the abovementioned website of UNDP, it is stated that a mother's education is more crucial than the education of father. Thanks to her education, a mother participates in decision making frequently and this becomes a role model for the daughter for her family relations. However, if the mother faced violence or discrimination in the family, and she is subject to spousal control, this negatively influences her daughter's understanding of gender. She can internalize domestic violence and justify her husband when he beats her. In addition, a husband's control can be seen as normal and not reacted by them when controlled.

2.4.4. Wealth and Women Empowerment

Family wealth is another important predictor of women empowerment. Wealth index is determined by using data related to ownership of some belongings like car or television and certain facilities of household. Barnes, Bouchama and Loiseau (2011) claim family wealth is influential in changing gender role attitudes. Although these attitudes are results of social institutions which further increase gender differences, having assets and resources are effective to shape them. However, in order to estimate the effect of wealth on women empowerment, it is essential to know what the source of that wealth is. If it is created by members of the family living in that house, it may be associated with empowerment. Wealth consists of income and education is the most important predictor of that income. Thus, those who fall under the highest quintile are expected to be the ones who are more educated. Therefore, it is probably for those people to be in favor of gender equality. In addition, a husband's controls may be less likely to happen in households where wealth has its highest value. However, in this point the earner is important. When husbands are the sole earners, this can give them power which they

can use over their wives. If, on the other hand, women have a share in this wealth, this positively affects their status. According to Flintan (2011), in pastoral societies where women actively participate in economic activities, there is an easy access to wealth and family assets. With participation in economic life and family budget, women are able to take part in decisions more frequently, which is an important indicator of women empowerment. Although it is impossible to see the wealth resource of the household, it may be beneficial to use wealth index for estimating women empowerment.

2.4.5. Age at First Marriage and Women Empowerment

Female empowerment can be affected by age at first marriage as well. There are three different possible effects of marriage time on women empowerment. Besides positive impact on economic participation, later marriage can be related to greater empowerment in mobility, participation in decision-making, and exposure to domestic violence while it can be associated with self-esteem and self-efficacy.¹¹ Those who do not marry at their early ages find the opportunity for more education, which increase their power in family relations. Since they have the possibility to choose their husbands, they are more able to have equal positions with their husbands. How women perceive gender roles and gender equality is correlated with the characteristics of marital situation. Increase in self-esteem means egalitarian attitudes towards gender and negative attitudes towards a husband's controlling.

Although it may not be the case for all situations, age at first marriage impacts the probability of problems in the marriage (Davis and Greenstein, 2004). The controlling

¹¹ paa2007.princeton.edu/abstracts/71972

behaviors of husbands and the attitude towards gender roles of couples can change with marriage. With marriage they make a division of labor in the household, which may be effective on women's empowerment (Barber & Axinn, 1998). Nevertheless, this may not be the case for marriages in which women are not able to take the decision related to their marriages.

2.4.6. Having Dependent Children and Women Empowerment

Having children can be another determinant of women empowerment. However, the characteristics of children are influential. At this point, whether children are dependent or not matters. There are different perceptions of dependent children in legal contexts. In Canada, persons who are under their 22¹², in Australia children under 21 or full-time students between 21 and 24 are considered as dependent children¹³. In this thesis, the concept "dependent children" refers to those who are five and under.

Women take relatively more responsibility and are influenced more than their husbands when they have children (Morgan & Waita, 1987). Women are understood as the homemaker, so having dependent children puts more burdens on wives. They have to take care of their children in addition to their responsibility of housework, which becomes the idea of both spouses. As Barber and Axin (1998) state married people when they have children are more likely to support women's staying at home when they have children.

¹² http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/united_kingdom-royaume_uni/visas/minors-mineurs.aspx

¹³ <http://www.ato.gov.au/Individuals/Tax-return/2013/Tax-return/Income-test-questions-IT1-IT8/IT8---Number-of-dependant-children/>

Dependent children, as referred to in this thesis cannot perform their daily activities on their own. Thus, their mothers should be active while children are growing. As a result, women who have dependent children may not find time to deal with other activities which may help them be empowered. They may not be as social as their colleagues with no dependent children. Moreover, those women may not find time to read and think about gender inequality, which help in realizing the meaning of real empowerment. Since having dependent children results in women's dependency on their husbands in financial terms, these women may not oppose a husband's control. Nonetheless, if women have children who can stand on their feet, it may become easier for women to have equal gender role attitudes.

2.4.7. Brides' Money and Women Empowerment

Another important factor affecting gender role attitudes, husband control and as a result women empowerment is brides' money. It is a sum of money or quantity of goods given to a bride's family by that of the groom in some tribal societies.¹⁴ It may be normal to expect a husband's domination over wives when dowry (an amount of money given to the groom) is paid at the time of marriage. Contrary to the understanding that paying dowry provides power to the bride, it positively affects grooms' position in the family. Since he gains money as exchange for that marriage, the husband can get divorced, attempt violence and even kill his wife for marrying again and having another dowry (Narayan, 1993). Nevertheless, the same domination occurs when bride price is exercised.

¹⁴ <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/bride-price>

Even though bride price is paid at the time of marriage, its effects on women's position last long time. During the marriage, husband justifies his superiority with the idea that "I have paid money for you, so I own you". Muthegheki, Crispus and Abrahams (2012) claim that, bride price is a signal of "purchasing" of wife just like a commodity. This equates women's value to the amount paid for her and affects her life within the family. In these authors' opinion, the bride should be tied not only to the husband but also to her parents-in-law. This increases women's responsibility and burdens on their shoulders as well as limiting them in their homes.

There has been research done for measuring the effects of bride price on different dimensions of family life. One of them was carried in 2011 by Hague, Thiara and Turner in which they tried to look at people's understanding of bride price. For that purpose, they conducted a total of 257 interviews with both male and female participants. According to their results, nearly 65% of the interviewees believe that bride price has negative impacts and 33% state there are both negative and positive effects. Those who consider bride price advantageous are less than 1%. According to the view of 1%, bride price is given to the family as a gift as exchange for the bride and it forms family ties. However, it does not work in the same manner in each marriage. For example, one of the interviewees witnesses the negative side of bride price in the form of force and domination. She claims:

Bride-price affected me in a bad way because on my husband's side – every time they give orders and make me overwork in the garden and at home saying that I am their the property which was bought and I must do each and everything at home.

As stated above, bride price is associated with inferior position of women in the family. When it is paid, men are accepted as the masters of their wives, which is a reflection of patriarchal relations. Therefore, the wife in such a kind of a family is inclined to face a husband's violence and control more often. Although women are subject to violence and oppression in their new families, parents of the bride are silent against these attitudes. Since they receive price and do not want to pay it back, they encourage their daughters to accept the situation. Rastogi and Therly (2006) put forth that families persuade their daughters to keep their silence and turn back to violence, explicitly or implicitly. In such kind of a situation, woman internalizes her inferiority and cannot raise her voice to the injustices and oppression of her husband.

In this chapter, information on women empowerment with special emphasis on gender role attitude and husband control was given. Moreover, some decisive factors of women empowerment were taken into consideration. Under the light of information given in this chapter, Turkish women's status will be told in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THE STATUS OF TURKISH WOMEN

In this chapter, women's position in Turkey is examined by looking at their political and economic participation, domestic violence they face, as well as literacy ratios. In the following sections of this chapter, gender role attitude of Turkish women and their husband control are elaborated. In the last part, previous studies done in the same field and their inadequacies are mentioned.

People do not have a right to say on their sex, since it is determined by female and male chromosomes. However, gender is formed by the society, and then women and men are assigned given roles. As written by Archer and Lloyd (2002), gender role is "the beliefs people hold about members of the categories a man or a woman". These beliefs are not static and affected by many factors like family relations, friendships, cultural values, education, and religion. Depending on presence and severity of these elements, gender roles change from one country to another. In Turkey, as some other countries, impacts of gender roles and husband control are felt immensely everyday life due to patriarchal relations. In Turkish society, since patriarchal relations are felt immensely, men are given the special place in society.

Although below mentioned comment was made by a Mexican woman living in California, the same is valid for Turkish case. A young women interviewed with for a

study related to gender roles asserts that “One grows up and realizes that ... when the grandfather is present, he is the head of the family ... it is the same ... the father carries on this role, giving orders, bringing money and everything.” (Maternowska et al., 2010). Since the society attributes roles to genders, any behavior against the common values is considered as inadmissible. In Turkish case, just like Mexican girl put into words, before marriage the father and after the marriage the husband is seen as judge and justified to control their daughters and wives. With this regard, in most of the marriages, female witness control of their husbands. In this point, it would be beneficial to touch the type of marriage. Until recently, marriages have been based on arrangements between families or relatives. Therefore, wives and husbands have had little chance to know each other. However, this situation, at least in cities, has changed, which can be considered as a positive step for family relations. In her article “Love match and arranged marriage in a modernizing nation: mate selection in Ankara”, Fox (1975) found an importance difference between women in arranged marriages and those who are not. In that study, respondents are asked for answering the questions about forbidden activities and decision making about daily life. The results show that women in an arranged marriage are more inclined to have less decision making power and to face more restrictions by their husbands as compared to women whose marriage is based on love.

Erden-İmamoğlu argues gender roles are given on the basis of masculinity and femininity. Masculinity is related to characteristics fitting men instead of women while the opposite is valid for femininity (2013). Starting from their births, little opportunity is given to human for realizing themselves. In Turkey, there is the common and rooted

understanding that girls and boys should be given their roles within the society as early as possible. The most obvious example of it is families buy pink clothes for their girls, while this color becomes blue for the boys until recently. If the reverse happened, then it was seen strange and abnormal. While not being questioned, this kind of differentiation shapes children's mind. Then, those children start to realize "their place" and as a result internalize it as Güvenç and Aktaş assert (2006). As a result, these roles determined by the society negatively affect self-esteem since individuals should play the pre-determined roles.

Burçin and Eser (2008) points out women in Turkey started to involve in modern life as a result of migration and urbanization that took place in 1950s. They left their villages and came to the cities, which brought about changes in family structure and family relations. Naturally, women's social and economic status was affected and they became more active in these fields (Koray et al., 1999). Nonetheless, despite their attempts, societal values did not give a chance to women to act in economic, political and social life actively as men did. Şule Akkoyunlu explains these limitations despite lots of legal regulations for the benefit of women as follow. For her, Turkish women leave decision making to their husbands and parents, which is a result of patriarchal relations. Furthermore, low female education level influences women negatively (2013). If women leave important decisions to their husbands, this means they have already accepted husband control. Societal norms, if not force them, shape women to behave in a manner that are controlled by the husband.

Fortunately, as Cansun (2013) claims, international developments paved the way for

many areas not paid attention in Turkey until that time. Position, education and political participation of women and violence towards them came to the agenda thanks to European Union candidacy. Moreover, NGOs working for the benefit of women have played important roles in terms of empowering women and improving their position in the society. There are many institutions and organizations in order for women empowerment such as GAP ve DOKAP Social Support Programs, General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women, Multi-Purpose Community Centers (ÇATOMs), General Directorate for Social Assistance, Ministry of National Education, İŞKUR and KOSGEB (Gökulu & Furat, 2013).

In order to give an idea about women's position in Turkey, it may be beneficial to mention briefly important areas of life.

3.1. Women in Political Life

In Turkish context, participation in politics can be evaluated in order to set forth women's position. With the proclamation of the Republic, after the approval of Turkish Civil Code 1926, women first gained right to elect in 1930 and to be elected in 1934 (Ündücü and Türk, 2012). Despite these legal improvements, women did not have equal opportunity with men in real life. As shown below, the percentage of female parliamentarians were 4.5% in 1935 general elections. With the multi-party system, this rate declined to 0.6% in 1950-54 legislative period. 2011 elections may indicate that barriers in front of women are disappearing regarding the number and the percentage of female deputies which increased to 78 and 14, respectively. However, it is still a low ratio and women are not represented equally.

Table 3.1. Female Deputies in Turkish Grand National Assembly 1935-2011

Legislative Period	Number of Female Deputies
1935	18
1939	16
1943	16
1946	9
1950	3
1954	4
1957	8
1961	3
1965	8
1969	5
1973	6
1977	4
1983	12
1987	6
1991	8
1995	13
1999	23
2002	24
2007	50
2011	79

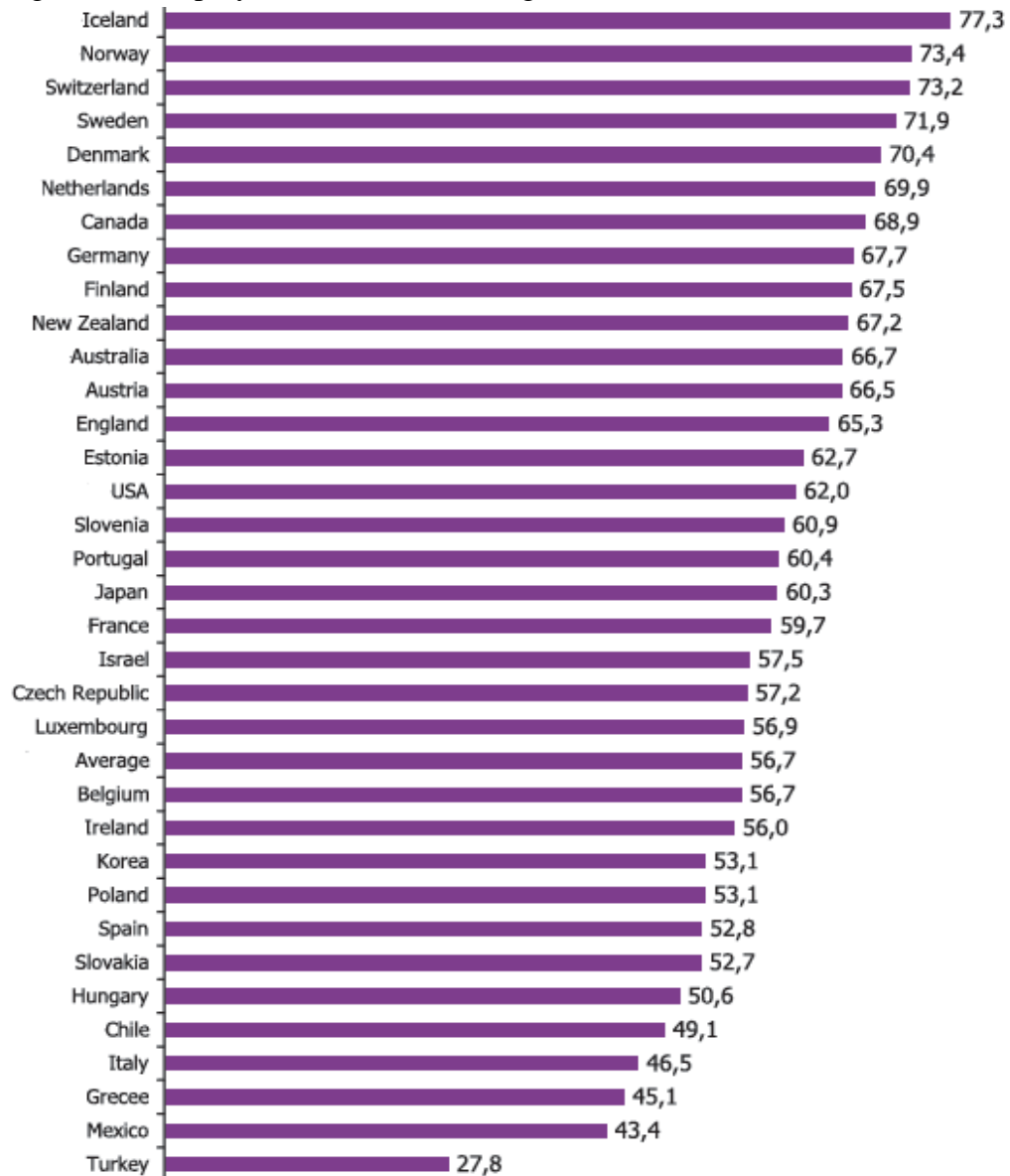
Source: TUIK National Elections 1923-2011

In modern world, active women are attempting to make their colleagues demand more from politics by using different sources like media. Considering important increase in the numbers given on the table above, it is possible to hope that there may be improvements in the coming elections.

3.2. Economic Participation of Women

Looking at OECD data, women employment rate between ages 15-64 is low in Turkey comparing to other developed countries. There is a huge gap between Turkey and Iceland where female employment has its lowest and the highest values as given in the TUIK Women Statistics 2012.

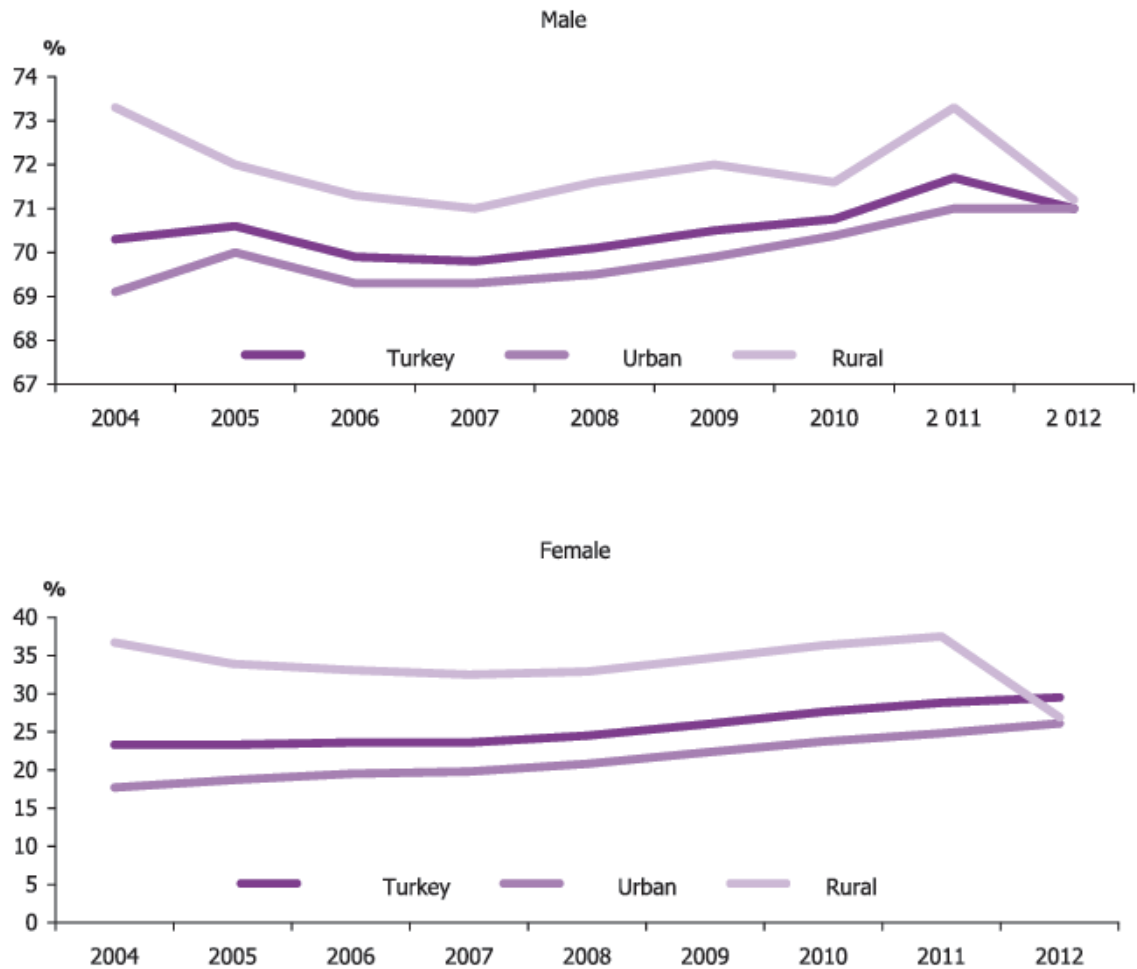
Figure 3.1. Employment rate of female aged 15-64 in OECD countries



Source: TUIK Women Statistics 2012

In TUIK statistics, it is seen female labor force participation rate between 2004 and 2012 is much less than male. According to these rates male participation rate for 2012 is 71% and it declines to 29% for female. What can be regarded as good is the latter increased from 23.3% in 2004.

Figure 3.2. Labor force participation rate of male and female



Source: TUIK Women Statistics 2012

Employment does not show empowerment on its own since it is needed to know if workforce is registered or not. Empowerment of Women and NGOs in Underdeveloped Regions Project financed by EU reveals some disturbing facts related to informal economy in Turkey. One of these facts is while labor force participation rate is only 26% for women, 59% of these working women are unregistered and women constitutes 79% of unregistered workers.¹⁵

¹⁵ <http://www.gapkadinstk.org>

Policy document “Women and Economy” of General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women put forth women face discrimination in recruitment, wage setting, placement and horizontal transfers. In addition, they work under inflexible working conditions, which limit facilities and obstructs women participation in economy. To improve women position in economy, many steps were taken such as: New Labor Law was accepted, prime minister's circular on gender equality in recruitment was published and period of parental leave was regulated.

To sum up, for a country to provide welfare and economic development, women participation is important. It is also important for achieving the gender equality target. However, the only criteria for its measurements should not be the number or women participation in labor force. The working environment of women and whether they face discrimination or not should be explained as well.

3.3. Domestic Violence

Violence is another point to be looked at when discussing women's position. Violence is against both human rights and women rights, but women are mostly in a disadvantaged position and as a result, confront it. Narlı (2000) notes women who cannot participate decision making with the lack of self-confidence are subject to honor killings and virginity testing. Nevertheless, due to lack of education, power and capacity women cannot protect themselves against this crime. In the report published by General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women in 2009, many women encounter physical violence from their husbands or partners. According to research results, married women are subject to more severe physical violence. In Turkey, honor killings

still exist and substantial numbers of women lose their lives. Table 3.2 given below shows different types of crimes and the number of women face them determined by KADER.¹⁶

Table 3.2. Different types of crimes faced by women in 2010 and 2011

CRIME	2010 Total	2010 Domestic	2011 Total	2011 Domestic
Honor Killings	1219	168	1136	147
Intentional Injury	189377	20655	207253	25740
Sexual Assault	2711	175	3327	221
Ill-treatment	29344	29344	35088	35088

Source: KADER Women Statistics 2011-2012

Remembering statistics and third page news which are full of violence against women, it becomes a necessity to consider violence issue in countrywide. In order to decrease violence and eliminate deaths, women's shelters were formed and telephone counseling started to serve to those who suffer from violence. However, preventing violence necessitates education of men and changes in their mind as well as societal view of women. Otherwise, solutions to this problem will be ineffective.

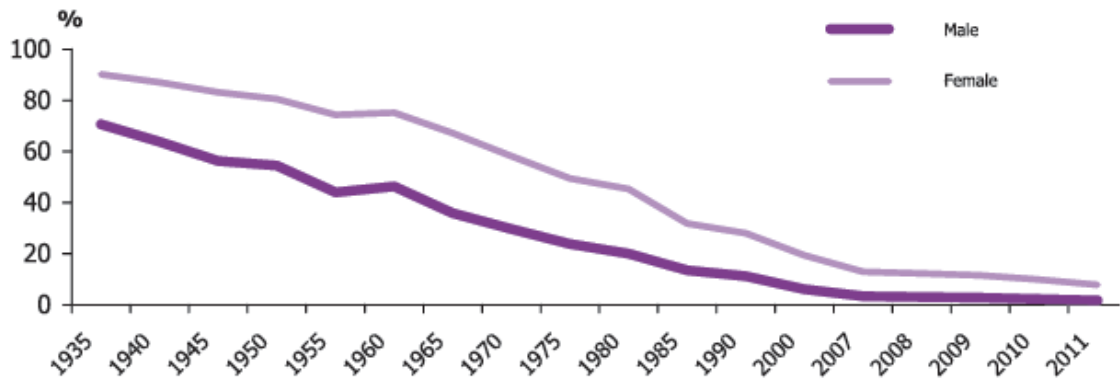
3.4. Female Education

Education is another field of women empowerment issue. In TUIK statistics, illiteracy rate is decreasing in both male and female. For example, the percentage of illiterate male was 70.7 and for female 90.2 in 1935. Then it decreased to 1.7 % and 7.8 %,

¹⁶http://www.google.com.tr/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&ved=0CCQQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ucansupurge.org%2Fveri%2Fdosyalar%2Fkader_kadin_istatistikleri.docx&ei=Dbi-UqKPH8eW0QWWxYCwDQ&usg=AFQjCNE3KLfXyaH5Q9F1HqCAHrzsO_h3-&bvm=bv.58187178,d.Yms

respectively as shown in figure below. As April 2013, the rate of illiterate women 15 and older is 8.10%, while for male this ratio is only 1.74%.¹⁷

Figure 3.3. Illiteracy ratios of male and female



Source: TUIK Women Statistics 2012

Decrease in illiteracy ratio is an important step for women empowerment, but literacy does not necessarily mean high levels of schooling. One may know how to read and write with no schooling or incomplete primary education level. Thus, literacy may not be a reliable criterion for measuring empowerment. Formal education needs more attention with regards to empowerment, especially tertiary education gives better consequences comparing to other levels. World Bank statistics gives world average for each of the education stages. The ratio of girls to boys enrolled at primary education in public and private schools is above the world average, which is good. Nevertheless, there is a huge gap between Turkey and world average in terms of the ratios in secondary¹⁸ and tertiary¹⁹ education. Although the gap has recently decreased for the benefit of Turkey, it is not sufficient to say female are given more attention than men in

¹⁷ www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/23100775.asp

¹⁸ <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ENR.SECO.FM.ZS/countries/1W-TR?display=graph>

¹⁹ <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ENR.TERT.FM.ZS/countries/1W-TR?display=graph>

education. This is one of the reasons for female powerlessness which should be improved.

There are many nongovernmental organizations for helping finance education and spreading the idea of education necessity. Thanks to attempts towards female education, level of girls getting more levels of education increases. In addition, role of some NGOs in encouraging girls and their parents for education cannot be denied. Nevertheless, there are still high numbers of people who are reluctant to send their girls to school. This situation is supported by different field studies carried on different time intervals.

3.5. Review of Literature on Turkey

In Turkey there have been academic works done on women's position. Nonetheless, most of them concentrate on political and economic life. There are also some studies in the same field with this thesis, gender role attitudes. However, most of them were carried on only one province and this creates problem in generalization of the results. In order to explain attitudes of Turkish women towards gender roles and husbands' application of controlling behavior, there is a need for a nationwide study. Thus, my attempt was also to make a contribution to large-scale studies. Furthermore, there have been other researches done with the data used in this thesis. Nonetheless, they mostly concentrated on the issues of women and child health, and there is a scarcity in the studies done on women empowerment. Thus, one of the aims of the current study is to fill the gap in the issue of women empowerment by using 2008 TDHS.

Despite their variety, most of the quantitative researches that were done in the same field did not attempt to state the factors affecting women empowerment. Therefore, they just stated the percentages and the characteristics of the women giving responses to the questionnaires. Nevertheless, the number of the questions asked in the questionnaires is limited, so it is impossible to see the distribution of female participants with respect to their different characteristics. Moreover, since they do not concern about explaining determinants of women empowerment, these studies are insufficient in terms of explaining the reasons for gender roles attitudes of women and controlling behaviors of husbands. Thus, I hope this thesis will also contribute to the issue of women empowerment by stating the factors that are influential in this empowerment process.

In this study, data from nationwide survey conducted with 7,405 women were used. By using this data, I aim at looking at women empowerment on the basis of gender role attitude of women and the controlling behavior of husbands. It is possible to look at different indicators for measuring gender role understanding of women, but in this thesis, I particularly look at three cases: Participant women's opinion on the following statements: "Important family decisions should be made only by men", "Women should not argue with husband even if she disagrees" and "Women may go anywhere without husbands permission". In the previous studies, these three cases, especially the last one, were rarely questioned.

Husband's behaviors to control their wives are another part of empowerment in this thesis. I took three controlling behaviors "Preventing seeing female friends", "Limiting

the contact of wife with her family” and “Insisting on knowing where she is” in order to estimate women empowerment. Husband controlling behavior was not the subject of researches on its own. It was asked in the surveys for understanding domestic violence and not further elaborated. Thus, this thesis may be helpful in filling this gap as well.

Before looking at the findings of research, it is beneficial to give information about previous researches. In the following paragraphs, the reader is able to see other studies carried on gender role attitude and husband controlling behavior with the same selected cases used in this thesis.

First of these previous researches was conducted by Ekrem Cengiz in 2009. This study was done with 432 married people who are 18 and older and living in Ankara, Trabzon, İzmir and Diyarbakır. Results of this research showed women are dominant in decision on ordinary shopping, while husbands are superior in purchase of automobile and white good. Husband and wife are taken decision jointly when the issue is housing and vacation. Nevertheless, in this study only purchase of goods and vacation are used for understanding decision making in the family and questions related to life styles of family members or schooling of children are not asked. In that point, this study is beneficial to estimate women factor in decision making but cannot cover the whole idea.

Tokuç, Ekuklu and Avcioğlu (2010) were the ones trying to estimate domestic violence against women. For this purpose, a questionnaire was done with 288 married women between 16 and 49. In the same study participants were asked to state their idea on

following proposing: “Men must make the important familial decisions” and “Women must not discuss with her husband if she was not in the same opinion”. 28.9% of the participants agreed on the former, while 24.2 is the percentage of those support the latter. Statistical analyses were made in order for domestic violence not gender role attitude. Since their main target was to put forth domestic violence against married women, there was no connection between gender role attitude and women empowerment. They just used these numbers for giving an idea about position of Turkish women.

Ayşe Gündüz-Hoşgör and Jeroen Smits (2007) carried a research for estimating gender role attitude of women. For this purpose, they used 1998 TDHS survey done with 6152 married women and concentrated on statements “Important decisions should be made by men” and “Women should not argue with men”. According to the results of their study, as education and income levels of women decrease, they become more liberal in their attitudes towards gender roles. Moreover, having an arranged marriage and receiving brides’ money are significantly more as compared to other participants when the issue is gender role attitudes. Although in the multivariate analysis they add socio-economic background characteristics of participants, their primary target was explaining women’s attitudes towards gender roles with respect to regional and residential (town vs countryside) differences. What they have found is that the only significant difference is between regions the West and the Central. When the former is the reference category, women living in the Central are in an inferior position in terms of their gender role attitudes.

In 2009, General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women carried on a survey called Türkiye’de Kadına Yönelik Şiddet Araştırması with married women between 15 and 59. These women from 51 provinces are asked if they agree or not on the statement “Women should not argue with their husbands if they are in an opposite view”. They state the percentage of women agreeing this statement according to their residence, region, age, education and wealth quintile. 49.3% of the 10353 women answering the question approved women’s silence if they are disagree with their husbands. This is a comprehensive survey for understanding domestic violence against women and gender role attitude of women was used as a complementary of domestic violence issue. Thus, neither is there a special emphasis on gender attitude of the society nor betterments in the women’s status.

In her presentation on the basis of a research done in central Manisa with 873 women who are 15 and older, Saliha Altıparmak (2012) put forth there are common differences in attitudes towards gender roles. In this research, besides measuring domestic violence Altıparmak asked participants to state if women should not argue and be silent when they are not agree with their husbands. 40.1% of the participants declared their agreement on the abovementioned statement. However, as in the other studies mentioned here, this research is about domestic violence and information about gender role attitude was not used for further elaboration.²⁰

“Women may go anywhere without husband’s permission” is not a commonly debated

²⁰ http://www2.bayar.edu.tr/cbukam/kadin_dinamik_calistayi.html

statement. It was rarely asked in the questionnaires done for measuring domestic violence and gender role attitudes. Nevertheless, this was questioned very frequently by the society for understanding what religion says on it. People wonder if it is possible for women to go out without their husband's permission, which is forbidden in Islam according to answers given by experts.

One study asking abovementioned proposing was done by Kanbay and his colleagues in 2012. In their article "Determination of the Opinions and Attitudes of Nursing Students about Domestic Violence against Women, they carried on a research with 160 female and 85 male students from the Department of Nursing of Artvin Coruh University. These 245 students were supposed to claim their opinion on the statement "Women should have a permission of their husbands before going anywhere". This was one of the questions for measuring societal attitude indicators towards gender equality. 66.5% of the participants agree on the abovementioned statement while the ratio of those who do not approve it is 26.9%. The rest consists participants without an idea about the issue. There is no further information about who agrees on. This high ratio of acceptance is feasibly caused by approval of men. However, even if all the male participants agree on the statement, the number of females approving is not insufficient. In this point, causes of such kind of attitude should be questioned, but in this study they cannot be seen.

In their study on domestic violence against women in Turkey, Altınay and Arat did a nation-wide research with 1520 married women in 2007. Besides domestic violence,

they looked at gender role on different cases. They were expected to state if they have permission of their husbands while visiting their friends and neighbors, their parents, going shopping, going to theatre/cinema and other village/city or not. Moreover, they looked at frequency of permission. As stated, only four out of every ten women can visit their friends and neighbors, three out of these ten women can go shopping and only one out of ten women can go to other village/city without husband's consent.

In another part of Türkiye'de Kadına Yönelik Şiddet Araştırması done in 2009 by General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women, 10798 women were expected to state if they have ever faced control of their husbands. There were eight controlling behavior in the questionnaire two of which is the same with this thesis. Although "preventing seeing female friends", "limiting her contact with her family" and "insisting on knowing where she is" are the common points of the two studies, the main aim of the abovementioned report is to put forth the violence issue. Thus, there was no relationship formed between husband controlling behavior and women empowerment.

In 2010, Akar and colleagues conducted a research for determining different dimensions of domestic violence among 1178 married women living in Ankara. One of the aims of this study is to explore the percentage of women facing controlling behavior with respect to education level. They classified husband controlling behavior into seven: Keeping her from seeing friends, restricting contact with her family of birth, insisting on knowing where she is at all times, ignoring or treating her indifferently, getting angry if she speaks with other men, often accusing her of being unfaithful and controlling her

access to health care. In addition, they looked at specific controlling behaviors one of which is control over her friendship. Women are asked if their husbands keep them from seeing friends. “Keeping her from seeing friends”, “Restricting contact with her family of birth” and “Insisting on knowing where she is at all times” are the common points of that study and in my thesis. Nevertheless, it may be inadequate to generalize results of that research since it was done only in Ankara. Moreover, they did not use any regression analysis for further elaboration of domestic violence. Thus, there is no link between empowerment and husband control made by these researchers.

In this chapter general information about the status of Turkish women were explained. In addition to the general characteristics, previous researches on this field were mentioned with their deficiencies. In the next chapter, the reader sees the analysis done for estimating women empowerment.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND RESULTS

4.1. Data Source

The purpose of this thesis is to explore women empowerment measured through different indicators stated in the previous chapters. For this aim, 2008 Demographic and Health Survey data of Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies were used. In order for the measurement, data of TDHS is used with the predictive analytics software SPSS 18.

Demographic and Health Survey series started in 1984 and have been carried on in more than 80 countries.²¹ These are the surveys which are conducted every five years to provide nationally-representative data on child health, domestic violence, education, family planning, fertility, HIV/AIDS knowledge, attitudes and behavior, infant and child mortality, maternal health, wealth and women empowerment.²²

As written in the main report of the research, 2008 TDHS is the ninth five-year survey based on questionnaire and financially supported by national budget and TÜBİTAK.

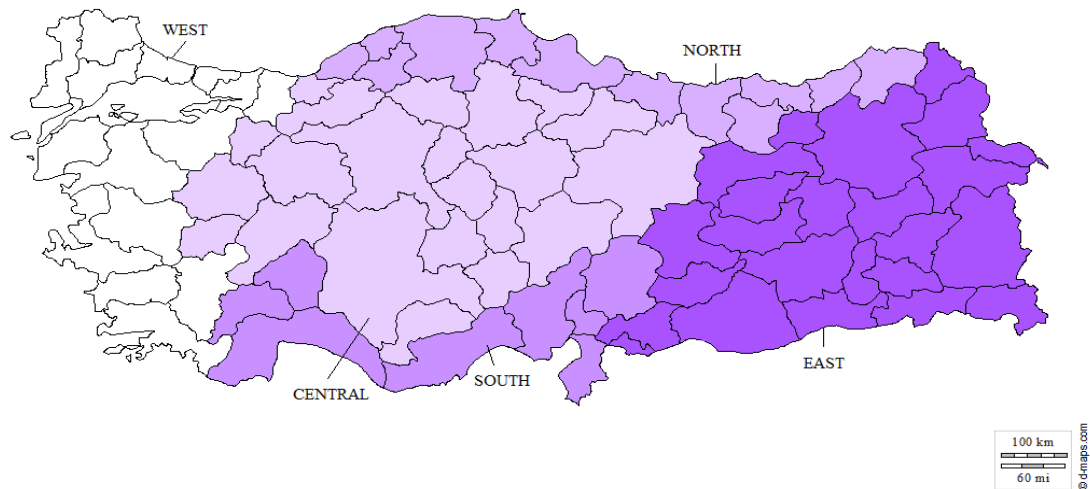
²¹ <http://ghdx.healthmetricsandevaluation.org/series/demographic-and-health-survey-dhs>

²² <http://dhsprogram.com/What-We-Do/Survey-Types/DHS.cfm>

Main aim of the research is gaining information about fertility, infant and child mortality, family planning and maternal and child health. For TDHS 2008, two questionnaires were prepared: household questionnaire and ever married women's questionnaire. In the former, general characteristics of households like residence, education level, employment status, social security, languages spoken and household characteristics were asked. In the latter, there were personal questions asked to women such as contraceptive use, fertility behavior and women status. Therefore, not only is it possible to get information about health, but also about demographic characteristics can be understood through the data.

In the construction of data set, sample selection is based on multi-stage and stratified cluster sampling method. The number of households chosen through systematic random sampling method is 13521. As a result of these household interviews, 8033 women among them were found eligible to take part in personal interviews. The target group was ever-married women between ages 15 and 49. Taking into consideration this, 7405 is the number of women who finished the questionnaires. Only 2.5% of the respondents are between 15 and 19. Most of the participants are between 25 and 40. 7000 out of 7404 respondents (94.5%) are still married, whereas the rest is widowed, divorced or separated. Nearly three quarters of respondents are living in urban and one fourth is living in rural areas. As stated in the 2008 TDHS, the distinction between urban and rural was made on the basis of provincial centers, district centers, and other settlements with the population 10000 and more. In addition, Turkey is divided into five regions whose boundaries are given in the figure below. Most of the participants are from the West and the Central Anatolia.

Figure 4.1. Regions in 2008 TDHS



When looked at education profile of the participants, the share of women having no education or incomplete primary education, first level primary, second level primary, higher school and higher is 18.3%, 51.9%, 8.7% and 21.1%, respectively.

Table 4.1 Background characteristics of the respondents

Background characteristic	Percentage	Number
Age		
15-19	2.5	183
20-24	11.3	836
25-29	18.3	1353
30-34	18.6	1379
35-39	18	1336
40-44	16.2	1202
45-49	15.1	1115
Region		
West	43.9	3252
South	12.1	894
Central	22	1631
North	6.4	477
East	15.5	1151

Continued

Residence		
Urban	75.8	5165
Rural	24.2	1790
Education		
No education/Primary incomplete	18.3	1358
First level primary	51.9	3840
Second level primary	8.7	643
High school and higher	21.1	1564
Wealth quintile		
Lowest	15.6	1154
Second	19.3	1429
Middle	21.1	1559
Forth	21.9	1618
Highest	22.2	1645
Total	100.0	7405
*Numbers and percentages are weighted		

Source: TDHS 2008

Distribution of participants is balanced in terms of their wealth quintiles. Instead of income, 2008 TDHS used data related to characteristics of dwelling and household, access to different types of goods and services as well as assets to measure socio-economic status. While 15.6% of the participants are from the lowest quintile, 22.2% belongs to the highest.

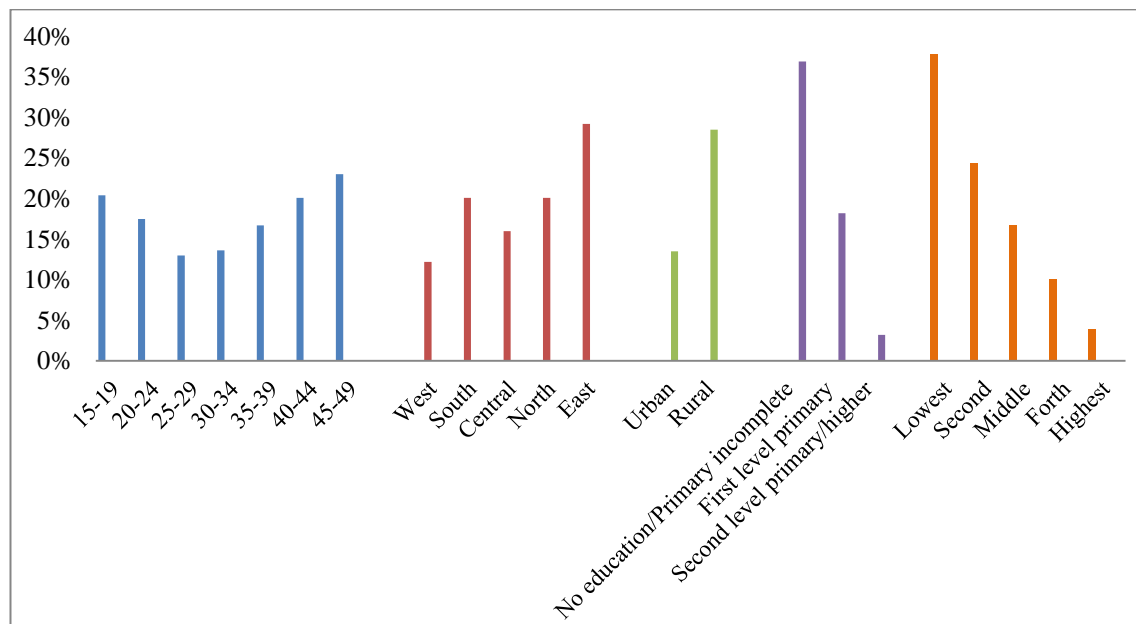
There are different categories of questions in 2008 TDHS two of which are related to gender role attitude and husband controlling behavior. These are my interest areas in this thesis for explaining women empowerment. Thus, in the next section, general overview on gender role and controlling behavior will be given.

4.2. Gender Role Attitudes and Husband Controlling Behaviors

Gender role issue is one of the focus points of 2008 TDHS. In order to understand how women behave towards pre-given gender roles, they were demanded to answer if they are agree or disagree with the statements related to these roles. Therefore, participants were given three options to answer: Agree, disagree and do not know/ no idea.

In total, 17.2 % of participants agree “the important decisions in the family should be taken only by men of the family”. While answers to the statement “the important decisions in the family should be taken only by men of the family” change according to different variables, biggest changes occur between those who have no or incomplete primary education and who fall under the lowest and the highest quintiles as can be seen on the figure below.

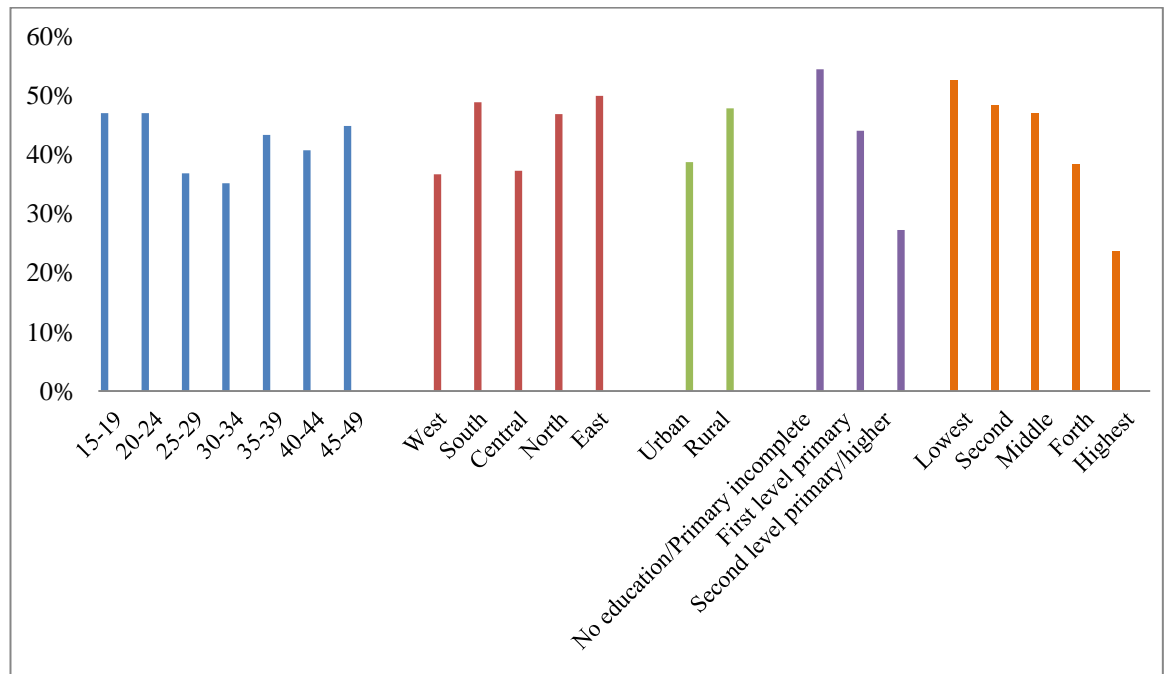
Figure 4.2. Participants who agree on the statement “the important decisions in the family should be taken only by men of the family”



Source: 2008 TDHS

The percentage of women agreeing with the statement “a woman should not argue with her partner even if she disagrees with him” is 41. In this statement, as in the previous one, participants from the lowest and the highest wealth quintiles differ a lot and differences between two education levels, no education/ incomplete primary education and high school and higher, are clearly seen. Moreover, another distinction in agreement on the statement occurs due to living in the West or in the East is another.

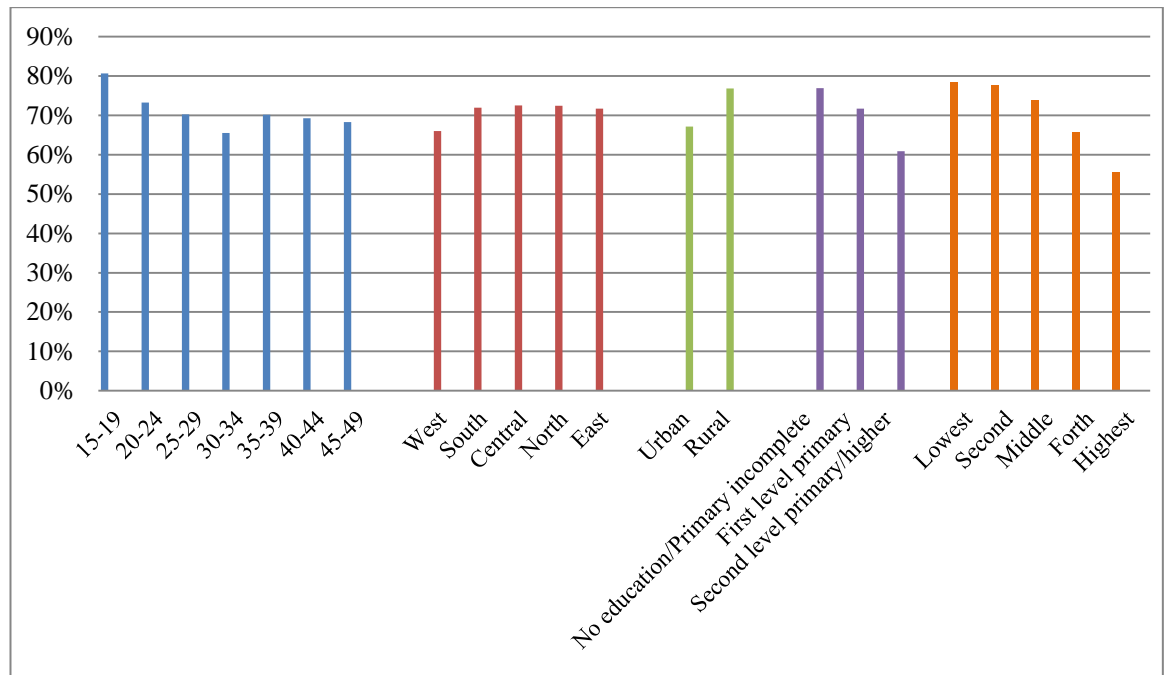
Figure 4.3. Participants who agree with the statement “a woman should not argue with her partner even if she disagrees with him”



Source: 2008 TDHS

Those who agree on the proposing “woman may go anywhere she wants without her partner’s permission” is 30.6%. Rate of the participants who agree on the abovementioned statement decreases as they are at their early ages, live in rural areas, have no or incomplete primary education, and fall under the lowest wealth quintile.

Figure 4.4. Participants who disagree with the statement “woman may go anywhere she wants without her partner’s permission”

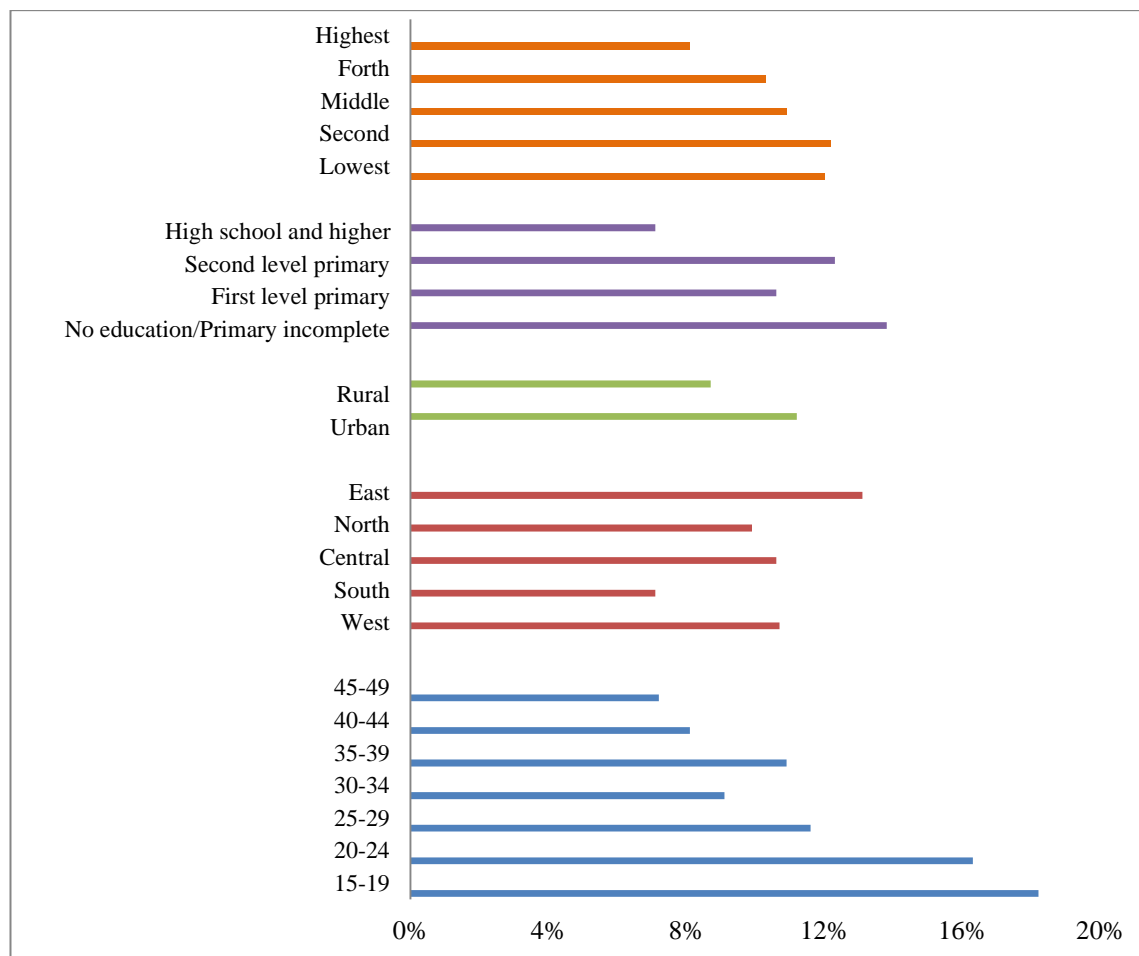


Source: 2008 TDHS

In 2008 TDHS, women participating in the survey are supposed to state if they have ever encountered their husbands’ controlling behaviors. With this regard, three categories have been formed to capture husband control. First one is to prevent her from seeing female friends. The other indicators are determined as limiting her contact with her family, insist on knowing where she is, distrusting her with money and accusing her being unfaithful. As shown in the graphs below, in this thesis preventing from seeing female friends, limiting contact with her family and insisting on knowing where the wife is are considered as women empowerment indicators.

10.6% of the participants assert their husbands prevent them from seeing their female friends which changes a lot with respect to age. While 18.2 % of those who are between 15 and 19 say they have witnessed prevention, this percent decreases to 7.2 for the participants who are in age interval 45-49. There are no big differences in categories determined for region, residence, education level, and wealth quintile.

Figure 4.5. Participants who experienced prevention from seeing female friends

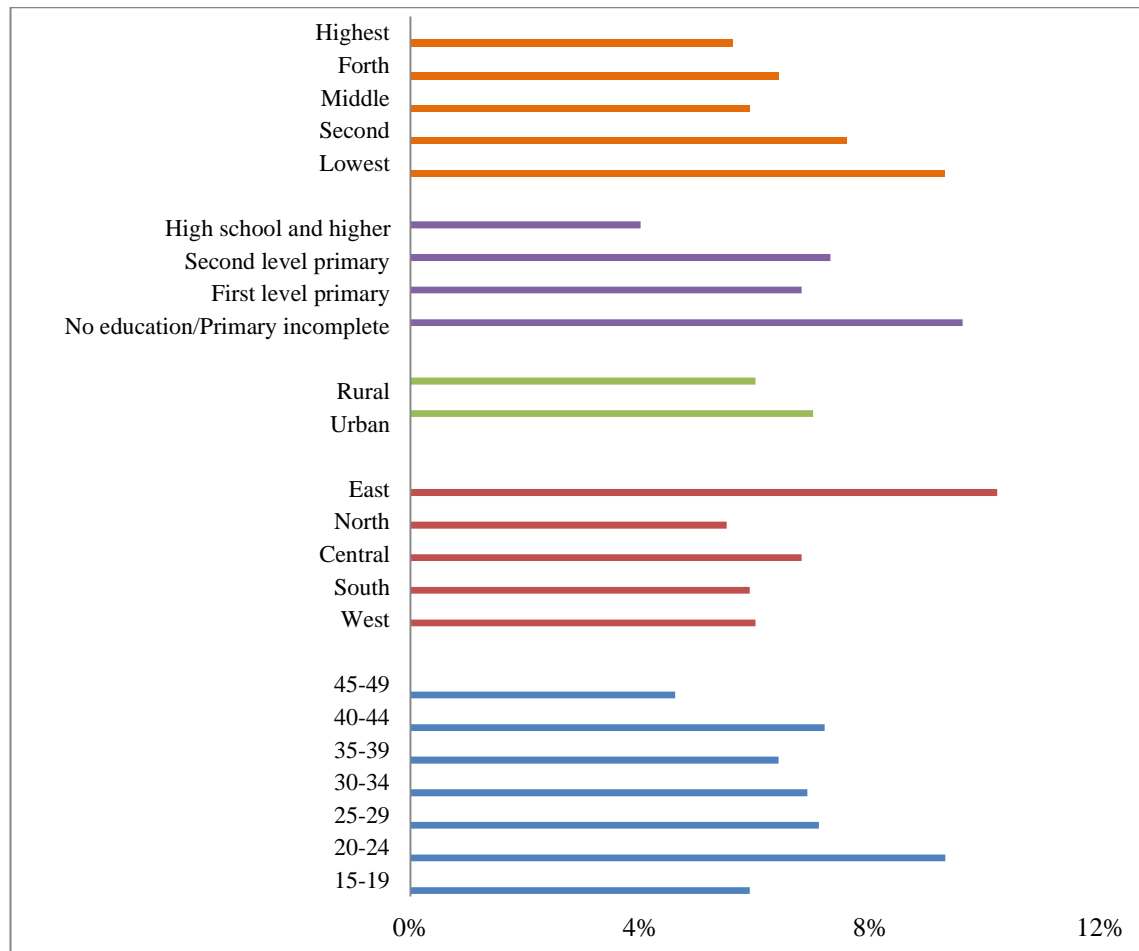


Source: 2008 TDHS

As compared to the other controlling behaviors, women who have faced husband limitation to contact with the family are fewer in number. The percentage of women facing husband's limitation is 6.8. Although there are divergences in the ratios of

women that have witnessed limit, they do not differ much as they did in gender role attitudes.

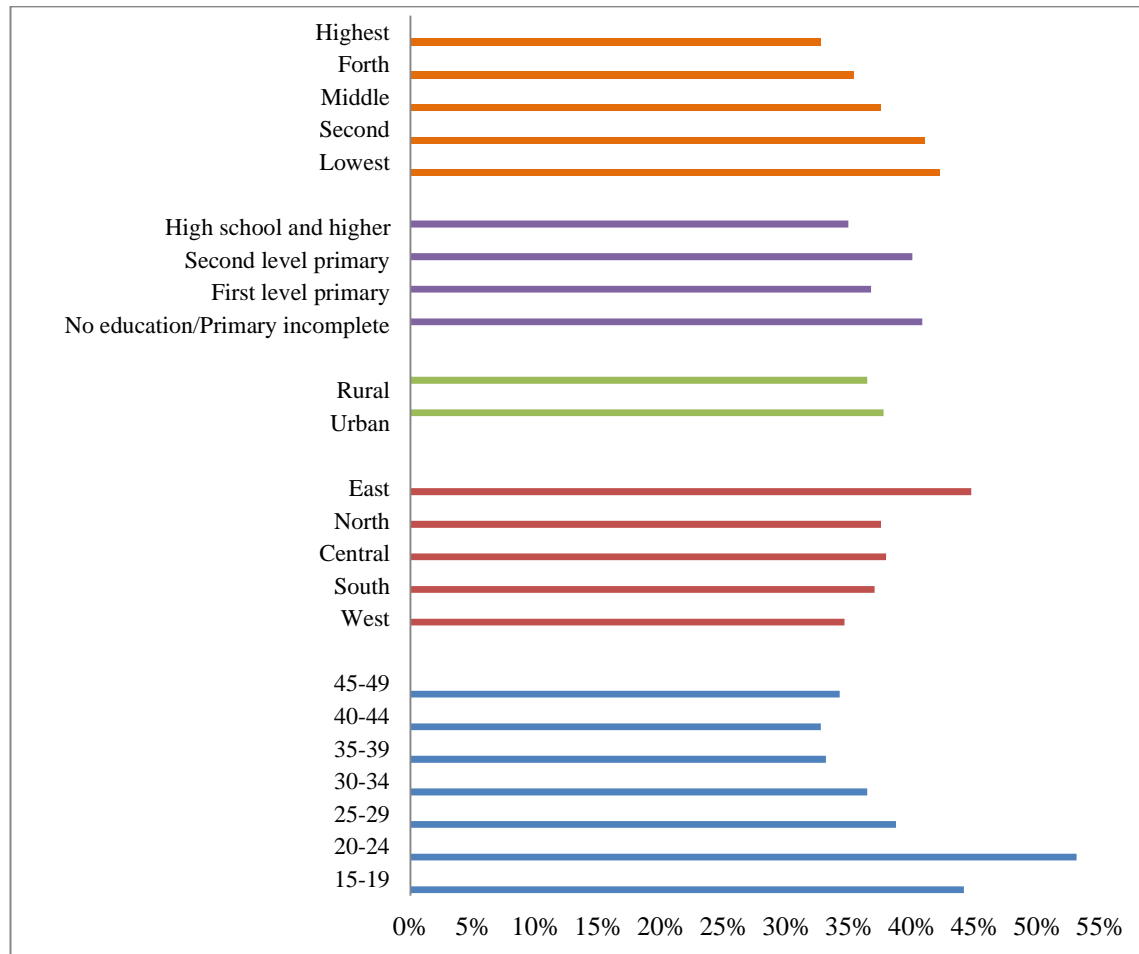
Figure 4.6. Participants who experienced limitation in contact with the family



Source: 2008 TDHS

37.4% of the participants stated their husbands insist on knowing where they are. This is the highest ratio among controlling behaviors used for measuring women empowerment in this thesis. Those who are between 20 and 24, in the lowest wealth quintile, stay in the urban areas, live in the East and have no education or do not complete primary school are more than ones who fall under other categories and faced abovementioned controlling behavior.

Figure 4.7. Participants who experienced insistence on knowing where they are



Source: 2008 TDHS

After giving distributions of participants across their background characteristics in each of the women empowerment indicator, it is time to give information about the research and discuss the results.

4.3. Methodology

In this thesis, I tried to estimate women empowerment by giving special emphasis to women's gender role attitudes and husbands' controlling behaviors. For that purpose,

first I gave a descriptive analysis related to each independent variable. Then, in order to see the effect of each of these independent variables I applied multivariate regression analysis. As a statistical method for estimating women empowerment, I used logistic regression in this thesis.

Logistic regression is a technique used for explaining relationships between dependent and independent variables. It can be applied to a wide range of cases in order to estimate existence and non-existence of a trait or result dependent on values of a set of independent variables.²³ It is similar to linear regression analysis in terms of predicting the contribution of independent variables on a dependent one. The difference is that, the responding variable can just take two values (0 and 1) in the logistic regression.²⁴ The basis of logistic regression depends on odds ratio that is one of the most important points in interpreting coefficients. This odds ratio is expressed in logistic regression analysis as $\text{Exp}(\beta)$ which gives the ratio of non occurrence of dependent variable to its probability of occurrence. $\text{Exp}(\beta)$ value of an independent variable shows in what way and how that independent variable affects probability of occurrence of the dependent variable. If that value is smaller than 1, this means independent variable decreases the probability of occurrence. On the other hand values bigger than 1 signify increase in that probability (TDHS Advanced Analysis, 2008). Since explicitly stating reference groups would improve interpretation of multivariate analysis²⁵, reference categories were selected for each regressor.

²³ http://pic.dhe.ibm.com/infocenter/spssstat/v20r0m0/index.jsp?topic=%2Fcom.ibm.spss.statistics.help%2Fidh_lreg.htm

²⁴ <http://people.exeter.ac.uk/SEGLea/multvar2/disclogi.html>

²⁵ <http://cid.oxfordjournals.org/content/47/12/1608.full>

In this thesis, I try to measure women empowerment on the basis of six different indicators: “important family decisions should be made only by men”, “women should not argue with husbands even if they disagree”, and “women may go anywhere without husbands permission” are the three cases selected for gender role attitudes of women, while “prevention of seeing female friends”, “limits on contact with wife’s family”, and “insistence on knowing where she [the wife] is” are statements used for husband controlling behavior.

For estimating women empowerment age, region, residence, women’s education, partner’s education, parents’ education, wealth quintile, age at first marriage, number of children as 5 and under and bride price payment at the first marriage were used as explanatory variables in this research. It is possible to add more variables to measure women empowerment, but these are considered as the most crucial ones. First, distribution of the participants with respect to each independent variable and empowerment scores explained below was shown. Before applying the regression model, correlations between these independent variables were presented. Then, reference categories were determined for each of these regressors in order to show relative effects of categories. As a result of the logistic regression, odds ratios were found and those determinants have more impact were focused on.

Before looking at the results of multivariate analysis, correlations between independent variable are shown. As shown in the Table 4.2 correlations between independent variable are significant.

Table 4.2. Correlations between independent variables

	Age	Region	Residence	Education	Partner's education	Parents' education	Wealth	Age at first marriage	Number of children 5 and under	Bridewealth
Age	1	-.087**	-.019	-.142**	-.101**	-.211**	.115**	-.134**	-.420**	-.006
Region	-.087**	1	.214**	-.211**	.069**	.096**	.336**	-.123**	-.198**	-.251**
Residence	-.019	.214**	1	-.221**	-.158**	-.018	-.490**	-.107**	.093**	.135**
Education	-.142**	-.211**	-.221	1	.453**	.211**	.546**	.285**	-.081**	-.311**
Partner's education	-.101**	-.069**	-.158**	.453**	1	.131**	.404**	.173**	-.034**	-.181**
Parents' education	-.082**	-.096**	-.018	.211**	.131**	1	.149**	.055**	-.019	-.110**
Wealth	.115**	-.336**	-.490**	.546**	.404**	.149**	1	.201**	-.247**	-.292**
Age at first marriage	.134**	-.123**	-.107**	.285**	.173**	.055**	.201**	1	-.048**	-.169**
Number of children 5 and under	-.420**	.198**	.093**	-.081**	-.034**	-.019	-.247**	-.048**	1	.107**
Bridewealth	-.006	.251**	.135**	-.311**	-.181**	-.110**	.292**	-.169**	.107**	1

**statistical significance level $p < 0.01$

4.4. Indicators of Women Empowerment Used in This Thesis

There are three indicators for measuring women empowerment on the basis of gender role attitude and three indicators for husband controlling behavior. In the following sections, number of women who are considered as empowered and who are not on the basis of empowerment scores is shown.

4.4.1. Empowerment Scores for Independent Variables in Gender Role Attitudes

“Important family decisions should be made only by men”, “Women should not argue with husband even if she disagrees” and “Women may go anywhere without husbands’ permission” are searched as the indicators of women empowerment on the basis of gender role attitudes in this study. It is clear that as women get empowered, they also take part in decision making process, raise their voice and go out without husband permission. For these type of questions, those preparing the questionnaire put the options “agree”, “disagree” and “don’t know/ no idea”. Since empowered women were expected to say men should not be alone while taking decisions, women should argue with their husbands if they have opposite views; and they may go out without husband permission. Thus, value “0” was assigned to those opting “disagree” as a response, while the others were counted as powerless and took the value “1”.

According to the given information, there are empowerment scores given to the participants on the basis of their gender role attitude. These empowerment scores take value from “0” which shows empowerment and “3” that signifies powerlessness in those three selected cases. As shown in Table 4.3, women who have the highest

empowerment score and, as a result, at the worst position, are 10.6% of the participants. While women with score “0” are 20.2%, with score “1” are 39.9% and with score “2” are 29.1% of the 7405 women participated in the questionnaire.

Table 4.3. Distribution of participants according to empowerment scores

Score	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	1497	20.2	20.3
1	2954	39.9	60.2
2	2153	29.1	89.4
3	787	10.6	100.0
Total	7405	100.0	

Age is one of the independent variables chosen in this thesis for measuring women empowerment. According to ratios given below, there is no significant difference among age intervals in terms of distribution. 15.1% of the participants between their ages 15 and 24 are at the best position in terms of women empowerment on the basis of gender role attitude, whereas it becomes 20.2% for the ones who are 35 and above. 22.2% of participants between 25 and 34 are at the same position with the abovementioned groups. In addition, 9.9%, 8.0% and 12.8% of the women who are between 15 and 24, between 25 and 34, and 35 and older are at the worst position in women empowerment, respectively.

Table 4.4. Empowerment scores for age

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Age	15-24	15.1	37.4	37.5	9.9	1018
	25-34	22.2	44.3	25.5	8.0	2729
	35+	20.2	37.4	29.5	12.8	3644
	Total	20.3	40.0	29.1	10.6	7391

Region can be regarded as one the most important determinants of women empowerment. Considering this variable, participants who are living in the Central Anatolia and in the West are in a better position as compared to those in the East. 19.1% of the women living in the Central Anatolia and 25.3% of those who are in West fall under the most empowered group. The highest percentage in the worst position in women empowerment again belongs to those living in the East.

Table 4.5. Empowerment scores for region

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Region	West	25.3	40.4	26.5	7.8	3249
	South	15.0	38.3	33.2	13.5	891
	Central	19.1	43.3	28.8	8.8	1630
	North	15.6	39.4	32.4	12.6	475
	East	13.4	35.5	32.6	18.4	1145
	Total	20.2	40.0	29.1	10.6	7390

Women empowerment can change according to the residence type of women. Living in the urban areas rather than rural provides better chances to be regarded as empowered. 22.9% of the participants in the urban are among the women at the best position while 12.1% of those living in rural are at the same position. On the other hand, 8.7% of participants living in urban have the worst position and this percentage increases to 16.8 for those living in the rural areas.

Table 4.6. Empowerment scores for residence

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Residence	Urban	22.9	41.6	26.9	8.7	5608
	Rural	12.1	34.9	36.2	16.8	1783
	Total	20.3	40.0	29.1	10.6	7391

One of the most important indicators of women empowerment is education. The expected results are more educated women should be at the best position in women empowerment. Distribution of those participating in the survey shows the same. 9.6% of the participants who have no or incomplete primary education are the ones who have the empowerment score “0”. This ratio increases to 35.8% for the women who have at least high school education. The same relationship is valid for the empowerment score “3” where the ratio of educated women are less than those who have no or incomplete primary education.

Table 4.7. Empowerment scores for education

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Education	No education/Primary incomplete	9.6	29.7	37.2	23.5	1351
	First level primary	17.5	40.1	31.2	11.2	3835
	Second level primary	20.9	43.5	31.2	4.4	641
	High school and higher	35.8	47.0	16.3	0.9	1563
Total		20.3	40.0	29.1	10.6	7390

Partner’s education is another variable correlated with women empowerment. 9.8% of the women whose husband has no or incomplete primary education are accepted as more empowered, as 29.3% of those with at least high school education are at the best position. Participants differ in the worst position in terms of women empowerment with respect to their husband’s education. 22.3% of the women who have husband with no or incomplete primary education are in an inferior position while 3.6% of those with at least high school are at the worst position.

Table 4.8. Empowerment scores for partner's education

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Partner's education	No education/ Primary incomplete	9.8	28.6	36.7	22.3	367
	First level primary	15.8	37.4	32.2	14.3	3592
	Second level primary	19.0	42.4	30.6	8.0	1037
	High school and higher	29.3	44.8	22.52	3.6	2357
	DK/Missing	12.5	22.5	37.5	27.5	40
Total		20.2	40.0	29.1	10.7	7393

One of the determinants of women empowerment is parents' education. According to the results, 14.3% of the participants whose parents are uneducated and 28.5% of those with both educated parents are among the ones taken the empowerment score "0". Moreover, 19.8% of participants whose father is educated while mother are not and 18.8% of those whose mother is educated and father not are at the best position in terms of women empowerment. On the other hand, 4.3% of participants whose parents are both educated are regarded have the worst position in terms of empowerment. This percentage becomes 16.9 for the ones with uneducated parents.

Table 4.9. Empowerment scores for parents' education

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Parents' education	Both uneducated	14.3	34.9	33.8	16.9	2231
	Father educated mother not	19.8	41.8	29.2	9.2	2411
	Mother educated father not	18.8	32.3	37.6	11.3	133
	Both educated	28.5	44.5	22.7	4.3	2196
	DK/Missing	11.8	35.1	34.4	18.7	422
Total		20.2	40.0	29.1	10.7	7393

In the empowerment scores with respect to household wealth, 8.8% of the poorest and 36.2% of the richest are the most empowered. On the other hand, 2.4% of the richest are in the worst position in terms of women empowerment, while 22.5% of the poorest have

the same position. The results related to poorer, middle and richer quintiles are as expected and can be seen in the table below.

Table 4.10. Empowerment scores for wealth quintile

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Wealth	Poorest	8.8	30.1	38.6	22.5	1150
	Poorer	12.6	37.1	34.8	15.5	1427
	Middle	15.3	40.2	34.0	10.5	1556
	Richer	23.7	43.6	26.3	6.4	1613
	Richest	36.2	45.6	15.8	2.4	1646
	Total	20.3	40.0	29.1	10.6	7392

Women's age at their first marriage can be another influential variable in women empowerment. 16.6% of those who get married before their 20 are at the best position in terms of women empowerment, while 32.4% of the participants who married after their 30 are counted as most empowered. At this point, 22.5% and 27.7% of those whose age is between 20 and 24, and 25 and 29 when they get married are the empowered ones. The worst position also shows if age at first marriage is less than 20, percentage of women who are accepted as less empowered increases.

Table 4.11. Empowerment scores for age at first marriage

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Age at first marriage	<20	16.6	37.3	33.0	13.1	3751
	20-24	22.5	43.4	26.2	8.2	2661
	25-29	27.7	42.7	22.3	7.3	754
	30+	32.4	35.1	23.1	9.3	225
	Total	20.2	40.0	29.1	10.6	7391

Participants having children 5 and under differ in their empowerment scores. 22.0% of those who have no dependent children are the ones having the best position in women empowerment, whereas 12.4% of those with 2 or more children five and under share the

same position. On the other hand, 10.3% of the women with no dependent children and 14.0% of those with 2 children have “3” as the empowerment score.

Table 4.12. Empowerment scores for number of children 5 and under

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Number of children 5 and under	0	22.0	39.9	27.8	10.3	4196
	1	20.2	40.7	29.2	9.9	2266
	2+	12.4	38.3	35.3	14.0	929
	Total	20.3	40.0	29.1	10.6	7391

Bride price is the last determinant taken into account in this thesis. 12.0% of those who are paid bride price at their first marriage are regarded as the most empowered. Nevertheless, this percentage increases to 21.7% for those who are not paid. For the worst position in terms of women empowerment, the same logic is valid. 8.8% of women who are not paid bride price and 21.3% of the ones who married in return for bride price payment are at the worst position in terms of women empowerment.

Table 4.13. Empowerment scores for bride price

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Bride price given	No	21.7	41.4	28.1	8.8	6309
	Yes	12.0	31.4	35.3	21.3	1076
	Total	20.3	39.9	29.1	10.6	7385

4.4.2. Empowerment Scores for Independent Variables in Husband Controlling Behavior

For measuring women empowerment on the basis of husband controlling behavior, how often these participants experience prevention from seeing female friends, limitation on contact with their families and insistence on knowing where they are at all times,

Frequency options were given as “often”, “sometimes”, “never” and “not applicable”. I took women who gave answers “never” and “not applicable” to the question as empowered. As a result, participants whose answer was “never” and “not applicable” took the value “0” and the ones choosing “often” and “sometimes” were given “1”. Accordingly, after adding linearly all these three indicators, I had empowerment score from 0 to 3. The former signifies participants who show empowerment in all the selected cases, as the latter was the score given to the ones who are at the worst position in terms of women empowerment. Table given below shows the distribution of participants according to the empowerment scores. As can be seen, women who have the best position in terms of empowerment are 58.9% of the participants. Percentage of participants who have scores “1”, “2” and “3” are 30.7, 6.8 and 3.4, respectively.

Table 4.14. Distribution of participants according to empowerment scores

Score	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	4359	58.9	58.9
1	2276	30.7	89.7
2	507	6.8	96.6
3	254	3.4	100.0
Total	7405	100.0	

Age is the first independent variable that I took for the estimation of women empowerment on the basis of husband control. According to the results, 44.8% of the participants who are between 15-24 are at the best condition while this ratio increases to 63.0% for those who are 35 and older. In the same manner, 5.2% of the women who are between ages 15 and 24 are the least empowered women, while 2.8% of those who are above 35 are at the same position with them. The ratio for the participants who are between 25 and 34 was as expected, 58.7% for the best and 3.6% for the worst position.

Table 4.15. Empowerment scores for age

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Age	15-24	44.8	38.7	11.2	5.2	1017
	25-34	58.7	31.3	6.4	3.6	2731
	35+	63.0	28.2	5.9	2.8	3648
	Total	58.9	30.8	6.9	3.4	7396

There is no big difference in terms of distribution of the women across regions. 61.5% of the participants in the West are counted as most empowered. The West is followed by the South, the Central Anatolia and the North. The percentage of those who are living in the East with the best position in terms of empowerment declines to 50.7. The same situation is true for the worst position where 2.8% of the participants from the South and 4.8% of those living in the East have the most inferior position.

Table 4.16. Empowerment scores for region

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Region	West	61.5	29.0	6.4	3.2	3249
	South	59.7	33.4	4.1	2.8	893
	Central	59.3	29.6	7.7	3.4	1630
	North	59.0	31.9	6.1	2.9	476
	East	50.7	35.1	9.3	4.8	1147
Total		58.9	30.8	6.9	3.4	7395

Still, there is no prominent differentiation for the residence type of participants. Percentage of women who live in rural is less than those living in rural for the empowerment score "0". In addition, 3.7% of the participants in the urban and 2.7% of those in the rural are at the worst position.

Table 4.17. Empowerment scores for residence

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Residence	Urban	58.5	30.8	7.1	3.7	5612
	Rural	60.4	30.7	6.2	2.7	1784
	Total	58.9	30.8	6.9	3.4	7396

Although there are no big changes across categories in education, percentage of the participants who have at least high school degree is higher than the one belongs to those with no or incomplete primary education. 53.2% of women with no or incomplete primary education are the most empowered ones and 4.3% of the same group of women stated they have no empowerment score in all these three cases. On the other hand, 62.7% of the women with at least high school education have the best empowerment score and 1.6% of them are at the worst condition in terms of empowerment.

Table 4.18. Empowerment scores for education

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Education	No education/Primary incomplete	53.2	33.6	8.9	4.3	1352
	First level primary	59.7	30.2	6.5	3.6	3838
	Second level primary	57.5	30.2	7.6	4.7	643
	High school and higher	62.7	30.1	5.6	1.6	1562
	Total	58.9	30.8	6.9	3.4	7395

There is a more clear distinction between partner's education level and women empowerment. Empowerment is more common among those whose husbands have at least high school level, while it is less among women who have husbands with no or incomplete primary education. There is no big difference in distribution made on the basis of empowerment score "3".

Table 4.19. Empowerment scores for partner's education

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Partner's education	No education/Primary incomplete	49.2	36.1	11.7	3.0	368
	First level primary	58.8	30.7	6.8	3.7	3593
	Second level primary	55.8	32.1	7.6	4.4	1036
	High school and higher	62.2	29.5	5.8	2.4	2359
	DK/Missing	53.8	23.1	7.7	15.4	39
Total		59.0	30.8	6.8	3.4	7395

56.8% of participants whose parents are both uneducated are given the value “0” and 3.4% of them took “3” as empowerment score. 61.1% of women who have taken part in this survey and have educated parents are regarded as empowered, while 2.8 of these women have the worst position. Moreover, contrary to distribution in gender role attitude, empowerment is more common among those whose mothers are educated than the ones whose fathers are.

Table 4.20. Empowerment scores for parents' education

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Parents' education	Both uneducated	56.8	32.2	7.6	3.4	2231
	Father educated mother not	58.3	31.6	6.1	3.9	2416
	Mother educated father not	63.6	28.0	5.3	3.0	132
	Both educated	61.1	29.0	6.8	3.1	2195
	DK/Missing	60.9	28.4	7.8	2.8	422
Total		58.9	30.8	6.9	3.4	7396

Wealth was considered as another independent variable and according to the results, 53.0% of the poorest, 54.3% of the poorer, 59.7% of those who are in the middle quintile, 61.0% of the richer and 64.4% of the richest have empowerment score “0”. In the empowerment score “3”, although the results are as expected for the poorest and richest quintiles, there is no important divergence between these two categories.

Table 4.21. Empowerment scores for wealth

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Wealth	Poorest	53.0	35.0	7.3	4.7	1151
	Poorer	54.3	34.0	8.1	3.6	1426
	Middle	59.7	29.8	7.1	3.4	1557
	Richer	61.0	29.0	7.3	2.8	1616
	Richest	64.4	27.7	4.7	3.1	1645
Total		58.9	30.8	6.8	3.4	7395

When looked at age at first marriage, 55.5% of the participants younger than 20 are considered most empowered while percentages increases to 62.6, 61.3 and 66.5 for the ones who got married between ages 20 and 24, 25 and 29, and after their 30, respectively. Considering all the distributions, the rate of being powerlessness is higher among early married women as compared to the others.

Table 4.22. Empowerment scores for age at first marriage

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Age at first marriage	<20	55.5	31.9	8.2	4.4	3757
	20-24	62.6	29.5	5.2	2.7	2661
	25-29	61.3	30.2	6.9	1.6	754
	30+	66.5	29.0	3.6	0.9	224
	Total	59.0	30.8	6.8	3.4	7396

The percentage of women who have no dependent children with the empowerment score “0” are 61.0. On the other hand, 54.4% of the women with at least two dependent children are accepted as empowered. In addition 57.0% of the participants with one dependent children share the same fate with the abovementioned women. There is no big difference between those who have dependent children and who do not for empowerment score “3”.

Table 4.23. Empowerment scores for number of children 5 and under

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Number of children 5 and under	0	61.0	29.0	6.4	3.6	4200
	1	57.0	32.8	7.4	2.8	2266
	2+	54.4	33.9	7.9	3.9	929
Total		58.9	30.8	6.9	3.4	7395

The last independent variable used in the regressions for estimating women empowerment is bride price. 50.8% of the women who received bride price at the marriage and 60.3% of women who did not took the empowerment score “0”. While more empowered women are the ones who did not have bride price, 5.8% of them claimed no empowerment in all these three cases. This becomes 3.0% for the participants who got bride price.

Table 4.24. Empowerment scores for bride price

		0(Best)	1	2	3(Worst)	Number
Bride price given	No	60.3	30.3	6.3	3.0	6313
	Yes	50.8	33.5	9.9	5.8	1078
Total		58.9	30.8	6.9	3.4	7391

Distribution of participants with respect to different independent variables is shown. The next step is to determine which group of women is empowered and which is not. For the gender role attitude and husband controlling behavior only the group of women whose empowerment scores are “0” are considered as empowered, while the others are not.

Variables in the equation were further designed to explain the effects of each. As a result, for each of this independent variable, one reference category was determined and

explanation was made in agreement with these reference categories seen below. Reference categories are selected as the categories which signal the worst position in each of these independent variables.

Table 4.25. Independent variables and reference categories in logistic regressions

Variable	Reference Category
Age	15-24
Region	East
Residence	Rural
Education level	No education/Primary incomplete
Partner's education	No education/Primary incomplete
Parents' education	Both uneducated
Wealth	Poorest
Age at First Marriage	<20
Number of children 5 and under	2+
Bride price	Yes

4.5. Results of the Study

The results of the analysis are significant both for gender role attitudes and husband controlling behaviors. Age is the first independent variable that I have looked at in order to estimate women empowerment. As compared to reference category, those who are between 25 and 34 are 1.3 times more probably to have positive attitudes towards gender roles which is significant. While women who are above 35 are 1.17 times more probably to be considered as empowered, this is not significant. The result was interesting for me, since my expectation was gender role attitudes of women would be more liberal with respect to increase in their ages as Cengiz found. In his research, when there are spouses who fall under the highest age interval, decisions are taken by women, while in the second and the third highest intervals women show empowerment in decision making. On the other hand, in husband controlling behavior, age is found significant for both of the intervals. Women who are older than 24 and younger than 35

are 1.66 times more probably to be considered as empowered. In addition, participants older than 35 are two times more likely to never witness controlling behavior comparing to those who are between 15 and 24. The results are as I have expected. Considering participants are ever married women, in my opinion those who are at their younger age are less likely to be liberal in terms of gender roles and they face control by their husbands more frequently.

Region is more explanatory in husband controlling behaviors than gender role attitudes. While women in the South, the Central Anatolia and the North are less likely to have positive attitudes towards gender roles, the only significant result is of the Central Anatolia. This finding is contrary to the statements of Tokuç and colleagues who carried a research on domestic violence. In their article, Tokuç and colleagues (2010) state the percentage of women who have traditional gender role attitudes is higher in regions where patriarchy is felt immensely. Considering the East is the region where patriarchal relations are common, they put forth situation of women who live in the East is worse than any other region. Nonetheless, my findings did not match with the statement of that research. The current thesis found out that the situation of women who live in the East is better than the one of those in the Central in terms of gender role attitudes. The explanation for the enhancement of the gender role attitudes of women living in the East may be their struggle in politics. Recently, Kurdish women have been more active in politics and this has changed their attitudes in different fields of life. According to Diken, Kurdish Political Movement is an example of success since it makes women

fight for gender equality by rejecting social values that limit them into their houses.²⁶ For husband controlling behavior, on the other hand, the results are significant for those living in the West and in the South. Women in those regions are 1.2 times more inclined to be empowered than women living in the East when empowerment is estimated with the emphasis on husband controlling behavior. Findings match with my expectations before doing the analysis.

Residence is another variable used in the thesis which has significant effect on husband controlling behavior but not on the gender role attitudes. According to the results, participants living in the rural areas are less likely to be controlled by their husbands. Thus, women in the rural areas are accepted as more empowered. This is contradictory with my expectation before doing the analysis. In fact, in many studies done on gender relations, the East was proposed as the region in which most inequality exists. As there is the common understanding towards the East, my finding shows just the opposite. The explanation can be made as follows: women in the urban areas have more facilities such as they can meet their friends at a restaurant or go out at night, so husbands may put pressure on their wives. Nevertheless, women mostly have close relations to their neighbors and they regard those people as their friends in the rural areas. Since houses of these women are close to each other, men may prefer not to limit their wives there. In addition, those women may be used to live with social pressures and internalize the norms of their society. As a result, there may be no reason for husbands to control their wives, since women control themselves automatically.

²⁶ <http://www.bianet.org/biamag/siyaset/149731-kurt-kadinin-yeniden-varolusu>

Another interesting result belongs to education in the analysis. It has significant effects on gender role attitude regardless of schooling level, but there is no significant impact of it when the issue is husband controlling behavior. As compared to women who have no or incomplete primary education, those who finished first level and second level primary are 1.5 and 1.6 times more likely to be empowered on gender role attitudes. Furthermore, women who finish at least high school are two times likely to be empowered comparing to the women in the reference category. The reason for this type of result may be related to the impact of education on self understanding. According to this, education may be influential to shape women's understanding of gender roles. Thanks to their education, women realize their importance and change their attitudes towards gender. However, education of women cannot always guarantee that they get marry men who are respectful women's rights. In this controlling issue, education can have indirect effect instead of a direct one. Thus, it becomes beneficial and necessary to look at characteristics of husbands such as education level.

Partner's education is a significant variable only in explaining husband controlling behavior. These women whose husbands have high school education and higher are 30% more likely not to face husband control. Although first and second level primary education affect husband controlling behavior, results for these two are not significant. Education of partner is not directly related to the gender role understanding. This understanding is shaped mostly by characteristics and background of the wife. On the other hand, it is normal to see the effect of education on spousal control, since if the husband applies control or not depends on his education level.

Parents' education has significant influence only for gender role attitude of women. When both parents are educated, their daughters are 1.2 times more likely to have critical understanding of roles attributed to gender. As explained before, gender role socialization starts within the family and what type of a family that a person lived in has crucial impact on his/her understanding and attitudes towards gender. Contrary to the expectation, education of the father is more important than education of the mother according to the results, but they are not significant. There is no significant effect of parent education on husband controlling behavior. In order to explain the relationship between parents' education and husband control, information about women and the profile of their husbands is necessary.

Wealth is the independent variable which has significant effects both on gender role attitude and husband control. As compared to women among the poorest, those who are in the middle are 1.3 times more likely to be positive in gender role attitude, while it increases to 1.9 for those who are richer. In addition women in the richest group are 2.6 times more likely to be considered as empowered on the basis of gender role attitude. With the high level of wealth, women are able to have an access to information which would shape their mind in terms of gender roles. They also take part in different social groups and activities in which there are people who share the same status with them. This positively influences women's understanding of and attitudes towards gender roles. For husband controlling behavior, the same effect is true but it is not as high as in the gender role attitude. Women who belong to the middle, the richer and the richest groups are 1.4, 1.4 and 1.5 times more likely not to be controlled by their husbands, respectively. While they have economic problems and can not solve these problems,

husbands can reflect their anger to their wives who are closest to them, since they see themselves as the provider.

Age at first marriage has an interesting effect since its effects on the people who are in the same interval are different. In gender role attitudes, it is significant for those who marry after their 30. It may be explained as follows: As women are getting older and older, their attitudes towards gender roles are becoming more liberal. On the other hand, in the analysis for estimating empowerment on the basis of husband controlling behavior what we see is those who are between 20 and 24 when they get married are less likely to face husband control as compared to the ones whose age at first marriage is less than 20. It may be relevant to the marriage type of those people. If those people met at the school and did love marriages, it is normal to expect witness less husband control in these marriages. More adequate explanation can be made on the basis of age difference between the spouses, since I expect this type of empowerment on the basis of husband control is more common in the marriages where there are no big differences between ages of spouses.

Women with no dependent children have more liberal attitudes towards gender roles as compared to the ones with two or more children who are less than five. Since little children are dependent on mother care, women can quit their jobs to take care their children. This leads their dependency on their husbands. Economic participation is an influential criterion for realization of gender role attitudes. For women who do not have children as 5 and under, these children may not be a reason for female silence and they

can raise their voice in their relations. Nevertheless, the same effect is not true for the ones with one child.

Bride price is the last independent variable that I have looked at in the regression analysis done for estimating women empowerment. As can be seen in the results, it is effective in husband controlling behavior. Women who are not paid bride price at the marriage are 1.2 times more likely to be regarded as empowered since they face less control by their husbands. The reason for this type of attitude is given in the earlier chapters of the thesis. Husbands justify their control over their wives when they have paid money for them, because they regard their wives as belonging that can be bought.

Table 4.26. Determinants of women empowerment according to logistic regression

Independent Variables	Gender Role Attitudes	Husband Controlling Behavior
	Exp(B)	Exp(B)
Age		
15-24	1.000	1.000
25-34	1.252*	1.657**
35+	1.169	2.094**
Region		
East	1.000	1.000
West	1.038	1.205*
South	0.789	1.214*
Central	0.790*	1.134
North	0.731	1.048
Residence		
Rural	1.000	1.000
Urban	1.164	0.703**

Continued

Education		
No education/ Primary Incomplete	1.000	1.000
First level primary	1.454**	1.055
Second level primary	1.614**	1.151
High school and higher	2.168**	1.042
Partner education		
No education/ Primary Incomplete	1.000	1.000
First level primary	1.134	1.223
Second level primary	1.092	1.053
High school and higher	1.250	1.304*
Parent education		
Both uneducated	1.000	1.000
Father educated mother not	1.129	0.991
Mother educated father not	0.991	1.310
Both educated	1.219*	1.051
Wealth		
Poorest	1.000	1.000
Poorer	1.250	1.099
Middle	1.327*	1.375**
Richer	1.871**	1.394**
Richest	2.614**	1.472**
Age at first marriage		
<20	1.000	1.000
20-24	1.006	1.214**
25-29	1.102	1.032
30+	1.539**	1.265
Number of dependent children		
0	1.321*	0.881
1	1.201	0.903
2+	1.000	1.000
Bride price		
Yes	1.000	1.000
No	1.018	1.194*
Nagelkerke R Square	.11	.04
Wald (f)	2239	234

**statistical significance level $p < 0.01$; *statistical significance level $p < 0.05$.

In this thesis, education was expected as the most important independent variable for estimating women empowerment. With another independent variable, wealth, it was found significant for measuring gender role attitude of women. The results of the thesis supports the analysis of Cengiz who found that as their wealth and education level increase, family members are more likely to take decisions jointly. Nevertheless, education became significant only for gender role attitudes of the women, and thanks to education, women's gender role attitudes are shaped in a more liberal manner. Education leads betterment in women's attitudes and roles in their private lives. This kind of betterment in women empowerment can be attributed to many factors. As Medel-Anonuevo and Bochynek put into words, education improves women's position by developing self-esteem and self-confidence and by raising awareness among women on civil rights (1995). As Stromquist (1995) claims self-esteem and self-confidence cannot be taught but necessary condition can be prepared thanks to education. Thus, it is not always correct to consider education as the determinant of inner enhancement of women.

In this chapter, research done in this thesis for estimating women empowerment on the basis of gender role attitudes of participants and controlling behaviors of their husbands are used. In the following chapter limitations of the current study and possible policy suggestions are made.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

2010 Millennium Development Goals Report of Turkey underlines it is significant to encourage gender equality and provide women empowerment. According to this report, in spite of betterments in female education, significant gender gap exists in decision making process and labour force participation.²⁷ However, these are not the only areas women face inequality. They have inferior position in their families and social life as well.

As a proponent of gender equality, I have been concerning about improving women's position. In my opinion, such kind of developments can be reliable as long as its initiation occurs within the family. We have been taught that family is the root of society, so for having healthy improvements in gender relations, the problem first should be solved within the family. Here what I think is policy makers can propose public policies empowering women in diverse areas of life, but if it is not accepted within the family, this does not mean anything. Once women empowerment shows itself in the family, then this idea will find the chance to be spread to children and then when these children get adults they will form their family relations according to what they have seen in their childhood.

²⁷ <http://www.undp.org.tr/Gozlem2.aspx?WebSayfaNo=3312>

I took husband control and gender role attitude within the family as indicators of women empowerment. For that aim, “Prevention of wife from seeing female friends”, “Limit on women to contact with their families” and “Insistence on knowing where wife is” were looked at. Then, women were asked to state their agreement/disagreement at the statements “Important family decisions should be made only by men”, “Women should not argue with husband even if she disagrees” and “Women may go anywhere without husbands permission”. What is important in empowerment is women’s idea which is opposed to institutionalized gender roles. In other words, empowerment is positively correlated with favor in gender equality. If women are not against pre-given gender roles, this means truly empowerment is not held and men are justified in the unequal treatment against women.

2008 Hacettepe University DHS data gave the opportunity to me for exploring women empowerment in a detailed manner. Although there are many independent variables to be used in explaining women empowerment, I selected six of them for my thesis. What was thought before the research was education has an important effect on gender inequality by enhancing empowerment. In the previous studies, the positive impact of education on women empowerment was stated as an important result. Moreover, age and wealth were considered as other crucial factors that have influence on women empowerment. The findings of the previous researches were supported by the regression results of this thesis. Although it is not significant for husband controlling behavior, I consider education as the most important determinant of household wealth which is a significant variable of husband controlling behavior. Thus, education is an effective tool for providing women empowerment in most points. Age and wealth are the other

independent variables which were found significant in measuring women empowerment. The most important differentiation of the current thesis from previous researches may be the issue of region. While previous studies put forth the East has the worst position in terms of women empowerment, results of this thesis stated another scenario related to the abovementioned issue.

5.1. Limitations of the Study

By using 2008 TDHS, I tried to estimate the effect of education on empowerment. Nevertheless, only formal education had the opportunity to take part in this research. Though it should be admitted formal education has crucial impacts on empowerment, informal education may enhance women improve themselves. Nonetheless, there is no information related to informal education here. The target group of formal education is youth. This means if a woman at her 40, for example, has no school experience may have improved herself through different means such as informal education. However, in the data, effect of informal education on both uneducated youth and adult is not visible. As written by Roy and Woodcock (2010), informal education is given outside of formal learning means like school, college or university. Lack of information on informal education prevents us from seeing a more concrete result. It should not be forgotten that in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, empowerment were tried to provide through workshops given to women in women centers.

Another possible limitation related to the study is that the statements asked to participants for approval/disapproval may be misleading because of the usage itself.

What “important decisions” means should be clarified since each of the participants understand the word differently. Moreover, some women may disagree the statements “Important family decisions should be made only by men” and “Women should not argue with husband even if she disagrees”. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean women think in this way. In the questionnaires, there is the possibility that real ideas are not reflected into the answers. Since this cannot be measured, answers may be distorted and results may be misleading.

5.2. Differentiations in the Understanding of Women Empowerment

It is possible to encounter different conceptualizations of women empowerment in the literature. While some authors elaborate the concept of women empowerment from an instrumentalist point of view, others use this term by taking into consideration the process itself. Considering these opposite views, Sardenberg (2008) came up with two approaches in empowerment: liberal empowerment and liberating empowerment. According to Sardenberg, those who support the former concentrate on the functions of empowerment and the use of empowerment as a means of development which refers to the understanding of empowerment in neoliberal paradigm. In this understanding, empowerment is reduced to economic participation. As a result of increase in the number of the women who take part in labor force, economic improvement would be achieved. On the other hand, some authors claim empowerment is an end itself and the major objective of women empowerment is to stop male domination. Hence, empowerment is a process of struggle between male and female in liberating empowerment as opposed to liberal empowerment which takes the issue of

empowerment as a neutral process. In this thesis, women empowerment is considered as a main objective and is limited to familial relations, which is an extension of the liberating empowerment.

Another differentiation can be made on the basis of ideology: Marxists have different understanding of women empowerment from the one that is stated in this thesis. According to Marxists feminists, there is no gender discrimination against women separate from class structure in the society. As written by Nawid (2007), there are double standards between men and women because of the system itself. Capitalist system strengthens patriarchy and patriarchal relations, which shape gender roles and women oppression. Lord, Greiter and Tursunovic in their presentation in 2013 liken men to bourgeoisie, while women are similar to proletariat in their understanding. Therefore, in order to eliminate these problems and empower women, it is necessary to change the whole economic system. Nevertheless, women empowerment is talked about within the capitalist context here.

5.3. Policy Suggestions

The independent variable which is significant in both gender role attitudes and husband controlling behavior is wealth. Those who are in the richest quintile are expected to be more empowered as compared to the ones who are in the poorest. Therefore, what should be done for providing empowerment in terms of husband control is to increase household wealth. In order to achieve this, it is beneficial to concentrate on education level, taking into consideration that the correlation between these two independent

variables is .546 and it is significant. As a result, increase in education level can be expected to result in increase in the household wealth that leads to women empowerment.

After admitting the prominence of education, it is needed to mention what kind of policies can be made in order to accelerate women empowerment. Education is one of the most important elements of development for countries. It forms societies by giving a shape to individuals for thinking multidimensional, expressing ideas and realizing themselves. Thus, first of all, compulsory education can be helpful in this way since some people are reluctant to send their daughters to school. Accordingly, primary and secondary education should be compulsory. However, it is not sufficient on its own, because early marriages occur mostly between ages 13 and 16. This corresponds to age of high school education, so compulsory education should also encompass high school. Another problem is lack of education facilities as given in the third chapter. Although education becomes compulsory and high schools give these courses to students, they may not have the expected outcome due to lack of facilities. In order to increase their influence, presence of schools in villages and improvements in physical conditions of them should be given importance. In places where building high schools is inefficient, bussed education services ought to be enhanced.

In my opinion, another important step to be taken in women empowerment issue is changing the curriculum. In addition to maths, physics and literature, students need information and awareness of human and women rights. For me, they are in need of the

latter more than the former. As in many western countries, high school curriculum should contain law and human rights courses.

Besides formal one, informal education should be provided to women especially suffering from inequalities in disadvantaged regions. For example, women centers like Multi-Purpose Community Centers in Southeastern Anatolia can be formed. Illiterate women can learn to read and write, while literate ones can develop themselves by reading and questioning with the help of courses given in these centers. They are beneficial not only in educational terms but also in economic empowerment. Women learn how to make crafts and produce things thanks to these centers, which enables women to sell their products, earn their own money and become powerful in making decisions in their life.

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