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Women Prisoners in Turkey

ALI CAGLAR, MELTEM ONAY & CAGLAR OZEL

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the essential reasons which lead women to commit crimes, and the rehabilitation programmes and activities which aim to prepare them for their re-entry into social life after imprisonment. To achieve the aim, firstly, a short introduction, which includes the research problem and method of the study, is given. Secondly, the findings of the study are presented: (1) demographic and socio-economic background; (2) the types of the crimes committed and their causes; (3) conditions in prisons and rehabilitation applications. Finally, analysing all findings together and proposing new approaches draws a conclusion.

The present study deals with women prisoners who have violated written rules or laws and for this reason have been found guilty, sentenced and imprisoned. The following questions need answers. Why do individuals commit crimes? Why should individuals be punished? What must be the correct practice to improve the behaviour of criminals as well as prevent them from committing further crimes? The views and approaches concerning punishment and rehabilitation have undergone different evolutionary steps.¹ Not only the causes of criminal behaviour but also the rise and fall in crime statistics and the ways in which crimes are committed, are all worthy of interest. However, there are still many unanswered questions, although many studies have been done in the past in order to explain these issues.²

To return to the main subject of this study, the disadvantaged social position of women in comparison with men and their abilities to give birth, their roles in bringing up children and teaching socio-cultural values, and thus contributing to the formation of the next generation put women in a special position. We imprison people named and labelled as criminal. We deprive them of their basic human rights by at least isolating and limiting their freedom in many aspects. Additionally, a large amount of taxpayers' money is expended to feed them, to keep them healthy and to rehabilitate them. How can we prevent or solve the problem? How can we minimize the negative impacts of it on social life? How can we provide and maintain social order, peace and welfare? This study aims to produce insights into the kinds of crime committed by women prisoners in Turkey and their socio-economic backgrounds, as well as to find out whether there are any activities in the prisons to treat/rehabilitate them and to prepare them for a future social life after releasing them from prison.

To achieve this the following assumptions are also tested:

- The educational level of prisoners who are sentenced for murder is low.
- The educational level of parents of prisoners is also low.
- Prisoners are in general from extended families.

- Prisoners are usually from urban areas.
- The main cause of committing crime in Turkey is the bad/low economic conditions.
- There are also criminals among family members and friends of the prisoners.
- Rehabilitation activities presented to women prisoners remain limited to the role of women in the home.
- Activities presented under the title of rehabilitation aim merely to fill free time of the prisoners in order to keep them busy.
- There is no standard rehabilitation programme available to prepare women prisoners for future social life.
- A majority of women prisoners will need a job to earn their living after being released.

There are various sources of data on criminality in Turkey. The most commonly used are the 'Justice Statistics' prepared and published by the State Institute of Statistics of the Prime Ministry. But these statistics remain limited to demographic data and some personal information on the prisoners. Considerable discrepancies in the data create doubt about their reliability. It is therefore difficult to make a meaningful social analysis on the subject. On the other hand there are some studies on crime and criminality in Turkey. However, they have been mostly about the male prisoners. A very limited number study both sexes. The Içli's, Il's and Caglar's studies³ are the important ones. Beside that the Prisons and Implementation Reports prepared by the Turkish Grand National Assembly's Human Rights Investigation Commission⁴ (TBMM IHİK) can also be regarded as an important source. On the other hand, it is possible to find many studies⁵ on prisons and prisoners in other countries—Western countries in particular. All these reasons require Turkey-wide studies on the subject. One of the main aims of this study is also to make some contribution to the limited literature in Turkey. In addition, an effort will be made to benefit from the administrative science when analysing the prisons' administrations. In other words, the paper also aims to open a discussion on 'total quality management (TQM)' application to prisons in Turkey, if possible. Total quality management is 'the search for perfection'.⁶ It is believed that the TQM will help to provide a proper working atmosphere. If the staff are satisfied enough with their work, they will be much more useful in the process of rehabilitation of the prisoners.

This study⁷ employed both quantitative and qualitative data and it can be accepted as a descriptive one. In order to obtain the data needed, field research was carried out in three prisons in Izmir, Mugla and Odemis, where 85 women prisoners, excluding political prisoners⁸ were present in total. The data were collected in four months, September–December 2001. The distribution of the 85 women in prisons can be given as follows: 63.5% were from Izmir, 24.7% from Mugla and 11.8% from Odemis Prison. All of them were subjected to the study except the political prisoners. The quantitative data were obtained via a questionnaire with 77 questions. The questionnaire was first tested through a pilot study with 10 women. Some questions were revised at the end of a pilot study. The qualitative data were collected by an unstructured interview. The interviews were done with directors (3 people) and prosecutors (3 people) of the prisons, and women prisoners (9 people, 3 per prison). In

addition, the supplementary/secondary data, which are already published in different books, journals and newspapers, was also gathered. The questionnaires were analysed by SPSS program and the other data were classified according to their sub-subjects, and then analysed.

Studies aiming to explain the causes of crime can be classified under several headings according to their basic focal points. Beginning with Durkheim, statistics were widely used to explain criminality in discussing whether crime was normal or pathological. Sometimes it was considered that the biological, psychological or ecological aspects of the crime were the points to be focused on. On the other hand some of the present theories about crime, such as the socio-cultural approach, have studied the relation between social structure and crime on a macro level. But the fact that crime is a multi-cause complex process makes it necessary to put it under scientific scrutiny on the micro level as well. One of the major quests of criminology is to find the causes of crime. The study of the causes of crime means studying the conditions of crime and their relations to the crime process. Contemporary scholars⁹ approach the source of crime from two perspectives: structure and process. They study the relation of crime to social structure and organization of society. Certain questions need to be answered. Is crime related to the social system or to the conditions/structure in which the crime happens or is it a personal fault? Why and how does a law-abiding citizen become a criminal? What will be investigated here are the reasons that lead a woman to become a criminal and the environment in prison in which prisoners live, as well as the activities carried out to rehabilitate women prisoners in accordance with present-day social life.

A study by Glueck and Glueck¹⁰ shows that the social and economic conditions that women prisoners lived in before imprisonment are very low in comparison with the average conditions in society. They mostly come from poor families, which are crowded, and with low income. Their parents have low level of education, and they are generally from broken families. A study¹¹ on murder in Turkey supports these results: 60.6% of the sample have a family of on average 8 people. It is found that the 41.1% of these families have an economic problem to survive. Pollak,¹² on the other hand, states that the crimes committed by women are hidden ones. Biological and cultural factors give a woman the possibility of committing crimes. That is, the social roles of women push them into criminal behaviour, which are mostly unknown and remain secret. The cultural structure provides such an opportunity. Beside that, the murder of a spouse by a woman is also a main study subject in criminology. Howard¹³ approaches spouses' murder from the family-law perspective. It is proposed that the victim generally accelerates the event and in many cases the victim is the person who attacks first.

The socio-economic status is also an important subject that is studied in connection with crime and deviance. The economists evaluate the case in terms of benefits of the event. That is, the person makes a rational choice. If she/he thinks that she/he will get an important benefit, the person steps into action or criminal behaviour. It is also put forward that prejudice applies an aggressive and strong social control over economically disadvantaged people. McCarthy¹⁴ investigates the subject in terms of unemployment. It is stated that there is strong social control of unemployed and poor people, and this attitude plays an important role on the

percentage of catching and conviction. Decker and Kohlfed¹⁵ also point out that low socio-economic status has an important effect on theft and seizing by violence.

Gender is an important key factor in criminological studies. The rate of committed crimes, the frequency, the victims, the causes are all investigated in terms of gender. However, it is a reality that although it changes from society to society, almost in all societies the number of women criminals is lower than men criminals. It is the same for Turkey.¹⁶ But it is still an important problem that needs to be investigated. All these explanations show that studies of women criminals and the reasons that push them into criminal behaviour, prison conditions in which the sentenced women live and the applied treatment programme is needed in order to understand the case and to develop new approaches and solutions.

The findings of the study are presented below and discussed as follows.

1. Demographic and Socio-Economic Backgrounds,
2. Causes of Crimes and Types of Crimes Committed, and
3. Prison Conditions and Rehabilitation Work.

Demographic and socio-economic data includes women's place of birth, age, educational level, their professions (occupations), changes of job if any, size of family in which they grew up and number of siblings, the environment in which they were brought up, childhood period, theirs and their families' religious background, their marital status, number of children if any, and the person(s) who has an influence on their life decisions.

The studies¹⁷ on criminality point out that age is an important factor in criminality. When a classification was done according to the age of women prisoners in Turkey, the following data were obtained. In the age from 15 to 20 the figure is 12.9%, from 21 to 25, 21.4%, from 26 to 30, 17.6%, from 31 to 35, 12.9%, from 36 to 40, 14.1%, from 41 to 50, 12.9% and from 50 or more years of age, 8.2%. The majority of women prisoners (66%) are between 21 and 40 years of age. This shows that women had mostly committed crimes in middle age when they were at their most vital and dynamic period of life. Naturally it is possible to make a connection between the social position of women and these ages. For example marriage, having their own home, the responsibility of a house and children, a husband and new social roles, adjustment to a new environment and many other factors affect the activities of women in their daily lives. In other words, it is possible to say that this period is one where life is relatively unstable and irregular, and this makes women prone to criminal behaviour.

When the birthplace of women is examined, the following distribution is obtained: 21.2% born in villages, 47.1% in cities and 31.7% in smaller towns. None of the prisoners was born abroad. From these figures it can be clearly seen that the assumption at the beginning that 'prisoners are usually from urban areas' is verified. It may be mentioned that in rural areas and in towns where there are relatively small settlements, there are factors which prevent women from committing crimes. For example, the social control mechanism is more conservative than that of the city. A woman is not alone. Everybody generally knows each other. There is relatively stronger social solidarity among people. Socio-cultural freedom in small towns is

more limited and there is a relatively stronger religious belief. It is believed that all these factors put women in a more passive state and this prevents women from criminal actions in general.

It is noted that the majority of prisoners have only primary school education, (see Table 1). If we accept the education below secondary level (Lycée) as being insufficient, we see that 72.9% of prisoners fall into that category. It is also important to state that women have relatively a lower educational level than men in Turkey.¹⁸ This low level of education is also found for the parents and husbands of the married women. In other words the parents' level of education is very similar to that of the women prisoners themselves. However, the parents' level of education is still lower than that of the women prisoners. This is more significant in the case of mothers. For example, nearly all of the mothers (95.4%) had a secondary school or lower level of education. In the case of the fathers this proportion is 84.7%. For this reason it is inevitable that these parents with insufficient education will have many problems in bringing up their children to be integrated in society. It is possible to say that the insufficient level of education is an important factor in leading a woman to criminal behaviour. Because a woman who has a high level of education is a person who can defend her rights as an individual, can find a solution without violence and is more aware about the criminal behaviours. Therefore, it may be accepted as quite natural for educationally disadvantaged people to have a higher criminal ratio for ordinary crimes. The same is also valid in the case of male prisoners in Turkey.¹⁹ Consequently, the assumption that 'the women who have low educational level are involved more in criminal behaviour' is proved.

Table 2 gives the occupations of women prisoners, their husbands and parents. It is seen that the occupations, which have relatively higher percentages, are not socially prestigious ones or are not the ones of a high status. Most women and their mothers are housewives, and most fathers are farmers or small tradesmen. In the case of married women (74.1%), the occupation of the spouse as small tradesmen and their own occupation as worker (temporary or permanent, 54.1%) took the first place. They were asked what they meant by 'small tradesmen' and it was recorded that the answers were small-scale traders such as grocer, stationary shop owners and

Table 1. The educational level of the prisoners themselves and their parents

Level of Education	Women		Fathers		Mothers		Spouses	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Illiterate (doesn't know how to read and write)	14	16.5	19	22.0	40	47.1	6	7.1
Literate (knows how to read and write)	14	16.4	10	11.8	4	4.7	5	5.9
Primary School	23	27.1	39	45.6	27	31.8	26	30.5
Secondary School	11	12.9	4	5.3	10	11.8	6	7.1
Lycée (high school) or equivalent	17	20.0	8	9.4	2	2.2	11	12.9
University degree	6	7.1	5	5.9	2	2.4	9	10.6
Post-Graduate	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not Married	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	25.9
Total	85	100.0	85	100.0	85	100.0	85	100.0

Table 2. The occupations of the prisoners themselves, spouses and parents

Occupations	Women		Spouses		Fathers		Mothers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Worker	24	28.2	10	11.8	12	14.0	4	4.7
Public servant	–	–	4	4.7	6	7.1	–	–
Agricultural worker	–	–	–	–	22	25.9	17	20.0
Tradesmen/women	–	–	33	38.7	22	25.9	6	7.1
Retired worker	–	–	–	–	6	7.1	1	1.2
Temporary laborer	22	25.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
Retired public servant	–	–	–	–	1	1.2	–	–
Military officer	–	–	1	1.2	2	2.4	–	–
Teacher	–	–	2	2.4	2	2.4	2	2.4
House wife	21	24.7	–	–	–	–	46	54.0
Thief	9	10.6	8	9.4	3	3.5	4	4.7
No idea of occupation	–	–	–	–	3	3.5	2	2.4
Not married	–	–	22	25.9	–	–	–	–
Unemployed	6	7.1	5	5.9	3	3.5	–	–
No response	3	3.5	–	–	3	3.5	3	3.5
Total	85	100.0	85	100.0	85	100.0	85	100.0

the like. One of the most interesting findings is that some women consider theft as an occupation for themselves, their parents and their spouses. In other words, theft is identified as a profession rather than a deviant or criminal behaviour. This result gives a clear idea about the social environment that some of women prisoners come from.

It is also asked whether the women had changed their jobs before being imprisoned. The point of this question was to find out whether they had had a regular job or not. The percentage of women declaring that they were either housewives or unemployed so job change was not possible is 31.8, whereas the percentage of the group who declared that they had changed their jobs at least once is 32.9. Among those who declared that they had changed jobs, the percentage of women who had changed jobs more than twice is 89.4. This situation tells us that the women prisoners generally did not have a regular job before being imprisoned.

The figures show that the biggest group of women prisoners (31.8%) did not have an income at all (Table 3). These are housewives and unemployed women. In Turkey, the activities of housewives are usually considered to be unpaid and the women considering themselves housewives placed themselves in the 'no income' category. The second biggest group in Table 3 is that with an income of more than 401 Million TL. In interviews with individuals in this category, it was noted that this amount was usually earned by theft, prostitution, embezzlement or other such illegal activities. The lowest income category, those earning 50 to 100 million TL per month, declared that this sum was earned by doing occasional daily housework. It is also noted that nearly half of the women (48%) are from families without a regular income. This information leads us to the conclusion that the only individuals in the family who were bringing money to the family were these women. Through the data gathered by the interviews, it is also noted that the Romany (gypsy) women's

Table 3. The monthly income of women prisoners and their families before imprisonment*

Amount of Income per month	Women		Families	
	N	%	N	%
50–100 Million TL	11	13.0	11	13.0
101–200 Million TL	8	9.4	3	3.6
201–300 Million TL	7	8.2	22	25.9
301–400 Million TL	7	8.2	2	2.4
401 Million or higher	25	29.4	6	7.1
No income	27	31.8	41	48.0
Total	85	100.0	85	100.0

*The data were collected in September–December 2001. The exchange rate: 1 US Dollar was equal to 1,400,000 TL. The minimum monthly wage in Turkey was 167,940,000 TL = \$120. The exchange rate is still the same in July 2003.

husbands in particular did not work and only these women were making a living for the family. The second biggest group (25.9%) stated that they had an income of 201 Million to 300 Million TL per month. Whether we consider the women’s income alone or the family income as a whole, it still falls into the low-income category. Thus the assumption that these women are generally in the low-income category is verified.

Here, considering that the women from extended families may have been left without sufficient care from their parents, women prisoners were asked how many sisters and brothers they had. It was found that a majority of the women prisoners were from families with many children. In other words, the women declaring themselves to be the only child in the family were 5.9%, those who were one of two children were 8.2%, one of three children 16.5%, one of four children 21%, and one of five or more children 48.2%. Under today’s conditions, if we consider families with four or more children as big-extended families, we can easily say that 69.2% of these women are from big families. If we add the families with three children to this group, we reach a total of 85.7%. All these mean that an extended family is too large to supply the child with the necessary care, education, material and non-material facilities and such conditions, and these conditions play a very important role in leading the individual to criminal behaviour. In addition, women were asked their birth order among their brothers and sisters. This question aimed to get the data to be able to evaluate the consciousness of responsibility of the child. It is assumed that ‘the consciousness of responsibility’ may have an effect on the structure of the personality of an individual. In other words, it is thought that elder children in Turkish social life culturally have a greater feeling of responsibility towards the family and their younger brothers and sisters. This situation led us to assume that the women who took more responsibility and helped the family’s living in their childhood may also have been affected by the crimes of their parents due to their close relations with them. Results obtained are: 24.7% of women are the first child, 21.2% the second, 17.6% the third, 8.2% the fourth, 1.8% the fifth, 4.7% the sixth, 3.5% the seventh, and 2.4% are the eighth. When all the values were

evaluated together, it is seen that the accumulation is at the first, second and third child. This fact verifies the above-mentioned assumption. It is also assumed that the personality qualities and characteristics of women may have been formed in childhood and today's properties were formed by that structure. Therefore, the women prisoners were asked to evaluate their childhood years. Their answers can be categorized as follows: 43.5% said, 'I was a shy and quiet girl' while 56.5% said, 'I was an active and enterprising girl.' From these results, it is possible to say that the ones who were active in their childhood are more likely to engage in criminal behaviour.

Within the context of the study it was also studied whether pressure from the families during adolescence had an effect on the criminal behaviour of the woman prisoners or not. The answers to this question were grouped as follows: 20% of women said that they had heavy family pressure, 36.5% of them declared that they had democratic relations with the family, and finally 43.5% said that they had neither high or no pressure but a completely unstable family life. This situation does not support the assumption that the women who had strong family pressure on them may tend more to criminality. As it can easily be seen from the figures, women of every kind of family environment are involved in criminal behaviour.

When the marital status of the woman prisoners is investigated, it is found that 21.2% of them are single, 57.6% are married, 15.3% are divorced, 1.2% are widowed and 4.7% of them are engaged. When the ones who are not married, saying either single or engaged, are excluded, 74.1% of them had experienced marriage. They were asked about the way that they had been married. The following results were obtained: 14.1% were married by sending an older woman from the family to find a prospective bride the traditionalist way; 3.5% were married with the wish of family and under family pressure; 16.5% were run away brides, 4.7% of marriages had both the family's and their own approval, and finally 35.3% of them declared that they had come to an agreement with their husband themselves and they were married with their own consent. The aim of this question was to find out whether or not marriages that the woman did not consent to had an effect on criminal behaviour. When the results were studied, it was noted that there was no visible coincidence between the ways of marriage and involvement in the criminal behaviour.

When the married prisoners were asked about the number of children the following results were gathered: 22.4% of the women had only one child, 20% had two children, 12.9% three children, 3.5% four children, 8.2% five children and 7.1% were childless. Another important point to be noted is that 4.7% of the women had their children with them in the prison and 3.5% of them were pregnant. The fact that they had nobody outside the prison to take care of their children and this situation obliged them to keep the children with them in the prison. The way that the children are brought up, their socialization and the personalities they will develop in the future are points which need special attention.

Finally, they were asked who were making decisions concerning them and their life before imprisonment: 43.5% said 'myself', 22.4% 'my husband', 11.8% 'my family', and only 22.4% of them answered 'me and my husband together'. However, this last group said that in the case of disagreement, the husband is the person who makes the decision. The findings show that the majority of women do not have authority or are

not allowed to make decisions concerning their life. This clearly produces a result that if a woman does not make her decisions by herself, she should not be solely responsible for the outcomes of these decisions, so the judgment process should be put under scrutiny!

When we come to the type of crimes and their causes we aim to clarify which types of crime women committed most, as well as the basic causes behind these women's adoption of criminal behaviour.

The women prisoners were first asked whether the crime for which they were currently imprisoned was their first crime or not. An additional aim was to find out how they were affected by the 'behaviour correction' from their past convictions. 75.3% of them declared that this was their first crime; 24.7% of them declared that this was not their first conviction. In other words they had been in prison before, which point is quite important. The meaning of this point is that the present system of crimes and prisons does not prevent at least one quarter of the women from committing a new crime. The kind of crimes committed by these women were investigated and the following results were obtained: 1.2% of them wounding, 2.4% seizure by violence, 13% theft, 1.2% violation of forest law, 1.2% a bail for somebody, and 1.2% political crimes. Finally 3.3% of women did not want to answer this question. It is estimated that in the last group, the crimes committed by them are crimes that are not tolerated by society such as prostitution and sexual harassment, and this was the reason that they preferred not to answer.

When the age at which the women had committed a crime was investigated, it was found that the majority of the women (78.9%) were imprisoned for a crime committed at the age of 40 or below. The distribution is: 4.7% below the age of 15, 21.2% 16 to 20, 18.8% 21 to 25, 11.8% 26 to 30, 22.4% 31 to 40, 12.9% 41 to 50 and finally 8.2% for 50 years of age or over. An interesting point is that the group below 15 years of age declared themselves to be of Romany origin.

All women were asked what types of crime they had committed which had caused them to be imprisoned, and Table 4 was produced.

When the types of crimes are examined (Table 4), murder or/and wounding (8.2%) takes first place. Theft and forgery are the other frequently committed crimes by women. The other crimes are in minor percentages as may be observed from Table 4. If we classify the crimes into two categories, 'crimes against life' and 'crimes against goods (property)', the following figures can be produced: 36.5% of the crimes are committed against life and 63.5% of them are committed against property. We may therefore accept the assumption that the number of crimes based on economic reasons is higher than the others. It has been verified, because two out of three crimes committed are the crimes against goods. Poor economic conditions, crowded family structure, insufficient educational opportunities, and the social status of women come together and the inevitable result is deviant and criminal behaviour.

It was assumed that women from urban areas had committed more crimes than those from rural areas. The women prisoners were asked where they had committed the crimes for which they were currently imprisoned. They declared that 18.8% of them were committed in rural areas and 81.2% in urban areas. This is the natural outcome for people in rural areas living in relatively small communities. There are

Table 4. The types of the crimes causing the current imprisonment of women prisoners

Type of Crime	N	%
Murder or/and Wounding by knife, etc.	30	35.3
Theft	12	14.0
Counterfeit document	10	11.8
Violation of the forest law	6	7.1
Drug trading and usage	5	5.8
Seizure by violence	5	5.9
Helping and hiding the criminal	5	5.8
Embezzlement	3	3.5
Counterfeit Passport	2	2.4
Being a bail to somebody	1	1.2
Refuse to pay debt	1	1.2
Occupying a residence without title deed	1	1.2
Kidnapping a girl	1	1.2
Counterfeit money	1	1.2
Political fight	1	1.2
No answer	1	1.2
Total	85	100.0

also strong kinship and neighbour relationships, and solidarity between members of the community in which the presence of a strong social control mechanism prevents individuals from committing crimes. The case is just the opposite in urban areas, where the individual is almost alone and relatively alienated, and the social control mechanism is weaker. As a result, this situation leads these individuals to criminal behaviour more easily.

The same sample group was asked whether or not there were other individuals in their family other than themselves who had been imprisoned, in order to check the relation of criminal behaviour to socialization within the family. Nearly half of the women (44.7%) answered Yes to this question. Only a small group of 1.2% did not want to answer this question. The other group of 54.1%, which was slightly bigger than the 'yes' group declared that there was nobody who had committed crime in their families. When these results are analysed, it can be said that people in the families who committed crime may lead the women to undergo such socialization and lead them to criminal behaviour. When the women who answered that there were individuals from their families who were imprisoned were asked who these were, the majority of the answers were 'my brother'. The second biggest group was 'my cousins'. The other individuals of the family remained in small numbers. These findings have shown us that the majority of individuals in the family who had committed a crime were male. It is possible to explain this by the social role and responsibility given to men by society. In addition, it was asked whether the women were persuaded by others to commit a crime. Nearly half of the woman prisoners (45.9%) gave a positive answer to this question. In other words, they came to criminal behaviour not only by their own will but also under the influence of others. When the identity of those who persuaded them to commit the crime was asked, the answers were as follows: 25.9% said 'my friends', 9.4% 'family members', 7.1% 'my

husband', and finally 3.5% said that their relatives persuaded them to be involved in criminal behaviour.

As known, crime is a complex phenomenon. In the occurrence of this phenomenon it is possible to talk about a number of variables that affect it. The effect of these variables may vary²⁰ according to the type of crime, the environment where the crime has been committed, and the characteristics of the person who has committed the crime. For this reason when one tries to explain the crime phenomenon, criminal behaviour and criminals in particular, it is necessary to take these factors into account. Situations that have an effect on leading women to criminal behaviour are discussed in the following.

First of all, among the criteria that brought them to criminal behaviour, it is questioned whether the books they read and the TV programmes they watch have any effect or not. In other words, it was assumed that the books they had read or the films they had watched before imprisonment, especially police stories, adventure and horror films may have had negative effects on their personal development and may have caused some deviations. Their reading habits were investigated in the light of this assumption with taking their educational level into account. 55.3% of them stated that they did not have a habit of reading, whereas 44.7% said that they did. In order to examine the above assumption, the second group was asked what kind of books they read. The kinds of book mentioned are as follows in order: biography, psychology, philosophy, adventure, religious history, sentimental, ideological books, spiritual and satanic publications, police stories/murder, politics, poetry, children's books, law, astrology, and different kinds of novels. For the television programs watched by women before they were imprisoned, the order is as follows: soap operas, music, women's programmes, news, documentaries, discussion programmes, quiz shows, films, talk shows, magazines, religious programmes and horror films. However, the biggest group of women declared that they watched everything without making any selection. From these data it was not possible to find any relation between the kind of books read and the kind of programs watched on TV and criminal behaviour. Therefore this assumption is not verified.

Secondly, a belief in destiny (fate) and the popularity of fortune telling is widespread in Turkey especially among women, and it was assumed that this passion might be important in understanding their behaviour. Thus the importance of destiny and fortune telling in the lives of women was questioned. A very large percentage of woman prisoners (72.9%) declared that they believed in 'destiny'. On the other hand, although the percentage is relatively lower, 58.8% of women stated that they believe in fortune telling. Nevertheless, we should add that nearly all women who said 'I do not believe in fortune telling' continued with the proverb: 'do not believe in fortune-telling but do not be without it'. This situation shows that fortune-telling has a meaning for all of women at least to some extent. In addition, it was noted in interviews that many women said that their belief in faith and destiny was reinforced after they entered prison. It may be assumed that the cause of this is not simple belief, but an effort to make life in prison more survivable and bearable, because if the individual accepts the unwanted circumstances as coming from an irresistible outside force, they will be easier to endure. On the other hand, the thoughts of the women declaring that they do not believe in destiny are quite

interesting. The majority of these women stated that 'individuals do make their own destiny', and they gave their presence in the prison as an example of this. In short, it can be said that faith in destiny and fortune-telling occupy an important place in the lives of women prisoners.

In addition to the relationships between the level of religious belief and criminality being investigated, women prisoners were asked to make an evaluation of their own and their parents' level of religious belief. 21.2% of them evaluated their parents, and 11.8% evaluated themselves as deeply/strongly religious. On the other hand, 76.5% of them evaluated their parents, and 85.9% evaluated themselves, as having a belief in God and religion but not being very religious. A very minor group of 2.3% declared neither themselves nor their parents as having anything to do with religion and being totally uninterested in religion. From the data collected, it is possible to say that there is a slight decline in religious beliefs of women prisoners in comparison with their parents. It is also possible to say that having a strong religious belief does not play any role in tendency to criminal behaviour. On the contrary, it seems that religion keeps the individuals away from criminal behaviour.

In this part, the women prisoners were at last asked to give their own opinion on why they had committed the crime, and what were the reasons which had led them to criminal behaviour. Results are presented in Table 5.

As is clearly seen in the table, the most important cause that led women to criminal behaviour is economic insufficiency (42.2%), i.e. poverty. Moreover the lack of knowledge and being ignorant were counted as the second main cause of committing crime. It is a well-known fact in Turkey that the educational level of women is much lower than men's educational level. It is possible to relate this fact to the country's educational policy and the percentage of women who benefit from the educational facilities. If there is no sufficient investment in education, there are many other things which will require investment such as police and jails. The other important factors leading women to criminal behaviour are being a financial guarantor for somebody

Table 5. The causes of the crimes that women had committed

The Cause of the Crime	N	%
Economical difficulties (poverty)	36	42.2
Lack of knowledge-illiteracy	12	14.2
Goodwill-being a bail to somebody	10	11.8
Insult and being abused	7	8.2
Because of the family	5	5.9
Being tortured	4	4.6
Incompatibility with the society's rules-the will of being independent	3	3.5
Ignorance	2	2.4
Drug	2	2.4
Because of a friend	1	1.2
Lack of harmony (conflict)	1	1.2
Unwilling to give bribe	1	1.2
Self-defense	1	1.2
Total	85	100.0

else—which is also a result of economic insufficiency, and being abused, or being tortured by family members. The other causes mentioned were insignificant. In making an overall evaluation of the data obtained, it is possible to say that the assumption pointed out that the most important cause leading women to criminal behaviour in Turkey is economic insufficiency and poverty is verified.

In the next part, rehabilitation schemes in the Turkish prisons, the re-integration work of the prisoners into society, the prison conditions and prisoners opinion concerning their post-prison lives are investigated.

In the modern era, the phases of development, which prisons have undergone, have brought three important changes with them. These are an increase in the recognition of prisoners' rights, a decrease in the amount of violence in prisons, and efforts of prison reformers (penology) to bring rehabilitation programs to a level at which the prisoners re-socialise and may avoid crime in future. It is worthy noting that 'rehabilitation' is a relatively new concept in the history of imprisonment and prison. Glaser²¹ states that the history of behaviour correction has gone through the phases of revenge, imprisonment and reformation. Today, it has come to a fourth phase of treatment to reunite the imprisoned individuals with society. Recently, many efforts have been made to convert the prison system from the one based on punishment into a system of rehabilitation and betterment. This is seen as an inseparable part of the correction regime. The rehabilitation of both male and female prisoners is worthy of study, and new programs concerning different points of views have been put forward in order to improve the quality of work done in prisons.

The main aim of rehabilitation programmes in prisons is to convert the individuals who break the law into law-abiding citizens. To achieve this a change in attitude towards the prisoners plays an important role. Until the rehabilitation concept was developed, criminals were regarded as 'evil', 'enemy of society' or 'bad people'. With the new enlightenment, the view to see the individual as a rational being and able to control his or her own behaviour has been getting stronger. In the rehabilitation concept, emphasis is laid on the necessity for the treatment of the criminal, so that he/she will obey the law just like other members of society. This subject is covered in two stages. First, the existing conditions in prisons along with the problems that the prisoners encounter, and their expectations on the matter are evaluated, and then the applied, if any, rehabilitation program is discussed.

When the women prisoners were asked to evaluate conditions in the prisons, 25.9% of them said that the conditions are good enough, 32.9% said bad and 40% of them said neither good nor bad. 1.2% of them stated that they have no opinion on the subject. It is possible to relate these close ratios in the evaluation with the pre-prison experiences of the individuals. Those who found the conditions good enough mentioned in interviews that they did not have even these conditions when they were out of prison. They said, "they have at least regular three meals a day even though the quality may not be very good". Some others who were homeless added that the prison is safer than sleeping on the streets. The interviews done with the prison's administrators showed that these kinds of prisoners are just like seasonal workers. They commit a small crime each winter and spend the season in the prison. Those who evaluated the conditions as 'average' made the following explanations: "I was

not expecting better than the existing one, and I have committed a crime as a result of which I am in prison. I have to stay here. What more can I expect?" Those who evaluated the conditions as 'bad' stated that the bathing, sanitation and meal facilities are not adequate. In addition, some prisoners are treated as privileged. Among those who are not content with the conditions, there are also prisoners mentioning that there are no social activities in prison. Especially those who are younger mention that the prisons are killing them, no opportunities to make their brains functional, they are not allowed to communicate with outside. However those who are in prison for either financial crimes or robbery, stated that the prison is a Garden of Eden after their treatment by the police during interrogation in police stations.

When the prisoners were asked about the major problems they had, bathing, meals and sanitation problems were the main ones mentioned. In all of the three prisons, bathing problems took the first place. In the interviews, the prisoners said that hot bathing water is given for a very limited time and it is not enough to have a proper bath. This pushes women to bathe together at the same time in one cabin, although it is forbidden by the administrative rules of the prisons. Besides that, it was stated that due to the lack of adequate hot water, some women took cold baths, and this makes them to suffer from mostly gynaecological diseases. Especially in the Izmir Prison, it was pointed out that the same location is used for both bathing and washing dishes. Similar problems have been noted in the case of toilets. The fact that the numbers of toilets are not enough, and this creates a problem especially in the big dormitories, with 21 people. It is also noted that in the queue for toilets there were/are quarrels and sometimes even fights between prisoners.

On the problem in meals, everybody complained of the lack of quality. Despite this, some women said "what is the difference whether we like or not? We are obliged to eat it" – which shows that they have no belief in the quality improvement of meals, if they make a request. Complaints included insects in the food, the soup being no more than hot water and soup always being served for breakfast. Many women mentioned especially that they suffered from stomach illnesses because of the poor quality of oil used in cooking.

It was learnt from both prisoners and prison authorities that there is a canteen called the external canteen where the prisoners may buy things with their own money. But prisoners mentioned that the range of goods was very limited. For example, one prisoner said, "I am pregnant. You can't imagine how much I wanted a cake! But unfortunately there wasn't any. We may be prisoners but we are still human being...". Perhaps cakes can't be expected in a prison canteen, but at least having a selection of goods in accordance with the basic needs of the prisoners would have a positive effect on prisoners themselves.

Moreover, it was asked whether or not there are other important problems in prisons. It is especially mentioned that there are rats in the prisons, some of which are nearly as big as cats. This is questioned in the interviews done with prison authorities. Authorities accepted the problem and they said that they have tried to solve the problem, but they did not succeed. In addition to this, there were also a large number of complaints about heating. It is also stated that although it is supposed to be paid by the budget of the prisons, the prisoners pay power (electricity) expenses for themselves and some prisoners are incapable of paying. This

leads to arguments, because if the electricity bill is not paid the power is cut off. As a result of this they remain in total darkness, and they are deprived of their only activity, which is watching TV. It is mentioned that this is another source of argument among the prisoners. However, it is learned from interviews done with prison administrators that power bills arising from usage of other electrical instruments than lighting, such as TV, refrigerators, washing machines, water heaters or hair dryers. That's why, the prisoners are asked to pay the bill. It is also found that similar conditions applied to meals. Although convicted prisoners are not charged, those whose cases are not finalized are charged two million Turkish Liras (\$1,45) per day according to December 2001 figures. Nevertheless, it is noted that some of the prisoners are not able to pay even this amount. In this case, either other prisoners who were economically stronger helped them, or the administration excluded them from paying. Although it is seen that this application is legal, it is obvious that it is in contradiction to the concept of social state.

When prisoners are asked about their relationships with prison officers, two different answers are obtained. Women of Romany origin in particular declared that the prison officers treated them differently and even sometimes they took the women prisoners to a place called 'under the door' and beat them heavily. On the other hand, the others stated that they had no problem with the prison officers, who moreover listened to their problems, and helped them as much as they could.

With regard to prison conditions, prisoners were asked about their satisfaction with the 'Dormitory System' and about the 'Room System'.²² The present Minister of Justice is talking about a new prison system called the "Room System" that makes it necessary to get views on the subject. The Minister has declared that in the year 2002, seventy-four prisons will be converted to the room system prisons.²³ When the data gathered from different prisons are compared, it was seen that the number of prisoners staying in one dormitory varied greatly. In Izmir Prison, it is found to have the most crowded dormitories. Overall, 9.4% of the women stayed in dormitories of 1–5 people, 24.7% in rooms of 6–10 and 65.9% in rooms of 21–30 people. When asked whether or not they are happy with the dormitory system; 64.7% of the women stated that they are happy with it, 32.9% are not happy and 2.4% did not express an opinion. As can be seen from the figures, a greater percentage of women declared that they were happy with the dormitory system. When the reasons for this satisfaction are asked, the following answers are obtained: "living together makes many things easier, there are more people to talk to and share with, if needed we help each other, it is easier to bear the prison and the time passes more easily if you have someone around". In the case of those who were not happy with the dormitory system and preferred the room system, they mention that due to the large number of people living together, there is too much noise, there are often conflicts between them, they have no chance to stay on their own, they have no privacy and they cannot have time to themselves. In connection with this, prisoners are asked about the preferable number of women they would like to stay together in the dormitory-rooms. 27.1% of women declared that they prefer to stay with less than 5 people, 27.1% stay with 6 to 10 people, 18.8% 11 to 20 people, and 23.5% 21 to 30 people. 1.2% of them said that the number of people staying in the same dormitory did not matter to them.

In prisons, there are individuals known as "dormitory representatives" who help communication between the dormitories and the prison administration. It is found

that the dormitory representatives are chosen by the administration from among those who are better educated, well liked by prisoners and mature. These people play an important role in the governing and harmony within the dormitories. Women prisoners are asked whether there are any other people than these who are appointed as representatives or not. 37.6% of women answered the question “Yes”, 58.9% said “No” and 3.5% of them gave no answer. Those saying, “Yes” are found to be those who lived in crowded dormitories. In other words, in the crowded dormitories, differences in cultural level and some other economical interests may cause some women to try to dominate the others.

Finally in the evaluation of conditions in prisons, the prisoners are asked whether they are satisfied with open and closed meetings²⁴ with visitors. 41.2% of women stated that the meetings are sufficient whereas 42.4% said, meetings are insufficient with regard to frequency and time allocated. 16.4% of women declared that they had not stayed for long enough in prison to make an evaluation on the subject. In other words, this group consisted of relatively new prisoners, and they were unable to make an evaluation.

In the following part of study, rehabilitation work is discussed. The prison system today aims to re-integrate the individual into society, to put the individual in harmony with society, and have a peaceful relationship rather than taking revenge for the crime committed. From this basic aim rehabilitation work is focused on psychosocial services and preparation of the prisoners for their post-prison lives. In other words, they are focused on making the prisoners acquire work skills and the ability to survive after the period in prison. In this regard, our main discussion will be of ongoing psychosocial studies. The rehabilitation model, which is influenced by positivist criminology, asserts that individuals are not responsible for their participation in crime. Criminals are perceived as a response to society, which led them to wrong behaviour, against other criminals, social injustice, poverty and racism. They are accepted as the victims of all of these conditions. It is also asserted that psychological problems experienced during adolescence because of poverty and illness may increase the individual's tendency to commit a crime.²⁵ For this reason, the state of psychological contradiction and crisis created by the crime and the psychosocial services aiming to prepare criminals for social life as well as to supply them with a positive identity play a very important role. Although the relevant laws and regulations provide for permanent staff positions such as social worker and psychologists, the fact is that these are not present in every prison. In other words, taking a close look at the prisons involved in this study, it is found that there is a serious lack of staff in the rehabilitation services. For instance, only in the Izmir Prison there is a psychologist. Odemis Prison does not have any, while in Mugla the position exists, but the person has been sent to Izmir F-type Prison, so there is no psychologist there either. In addition, it is found that none of the prisons had a social worker. It was also noted that there is a teacher in each of the three prisons, and there is a religion clerk only in Izmir Prison. However, professional sociologists occupy some of these positions, but since these people have no occupational training, it is clear that they cannot be very efficient and productive. Besides that it was also noted from the interviews that there is no standard rehabilitation program being applied by the relevant legal authorities. For this purpose, each member of staff provides a range of services either on his own

initiative or when asked to do so, but this cannot be seen as a professionally determined and standard rehabilitation programme. In this context, the women are asked whether they had had any contact with the psychologist in prison. 37.6% of them had declared that they have met psychologist and 62.4% said, they have not seen any. What is more important is that it is discovered from the interviews that many women do not even know that there is a psychologist in the prison and that they can get service. Moreover among those who knew that there is a psychologist, there is a misinterpretation the idea of seeing a psychologist, and dissuaded those who want to see one. There is culturally a widespread belief that going to see a psychologist may be associated with “madness” or “psychiatric illnesses” and this may be recorded to the prisoners’ files. This rumour has a negative effect and prevents women from contacting the psychologist even when they are depressed. It is mostly young prisoners that go to see the psychologist in order to get tranquilizers. The prisoners who had not visited the psychologist or who did not know that there is one asked that the psychologist should introduce himself and say that the prisoners can visit him/her whenever they need, particularly when they first arrived in the prison. It is necessary to stress this fact because the interviews with women prisoners showed that prisoners who are imprisoned for the first time experience a shock-like condition and are usually not able to talk about their feelings and thoughts at that time. A majority said that they had cried all day on their first day, and felt that they had been put in a small cage and would be unable to finish the punishment period. These findings showed that the necessity of preparing the individual for prison life as well as adapting them for post-imprisonment life. In fact this is more than a need, it is an absolute necessity. Otherwise, the punishment will just be a kind of revenge. Prisoners will feel depressed and have hostile feelings towards society.

It is believed that one of subjects which gives women prisoners’ eagerness and hope is having visitors. If they have contact with their family members, relatives and friends on a regular basis, their rehabilitation will be much easier and more successful. They will not feel that they are alone or abandoned, and they will be able to look to the future with more confidence and more trust. Keeping this fact in mind, women prisoners are asked whether or not they had visitors. 60% of them said that they had/have regular visitors, 10.6% said, they had/have visitors very rare, 25.9% stated that they had visitors at the beginning but they did not have them any more, and 1.2% declared that they never had visitors. A group of 2.4% did not answer this question. In the interviews done with the prison authorities, it is noted that prisoners who had regular visitors do not create any problems but on the other hand the others felt alone and experienced anxiety problems. With regard to this fact it would be very beneficial for the prisoners if the rehabilitation officers contacted their family members and relatives and invited them to visit the prisoners, with the aim of helping them to re-enter society without problem. It may be pointed out that there are very important duties for the psychologists and social workers in order to achieve this aim.

‘Financial support’ from outside (family) to prisoners is also an important supplementary factor for a successful rehabilitation program. This is important at least to show them someone loves them and they are not forgotten. This will create a tie with the people and life outside the prison. When questioned, 74.1% of women stated that they got/get financial support from someone outside prison whether regular or irregular. The prisoners who noted that they do not get any financial

support said that they try to solve their financial problems by doing cleaning work of some wealthy prisoners in the prison. There is also a kind of solidarity among prisoners that the financially stronger ones help the others from time to time. This is a culturally and religiously well-approved attitude in Turkey.

The key to the correction of the imprisoned individual, in other words to his or her re-entry into social life, is the individual him/herself. The prisoner him/herself personally should believe in the necessity of re-integration to the social structure and believe that he/she can achieve it. Naturally, the most important authority contributing to achieving this is the prison administration and the legal structure. In regard to this issue, women prisoners are asked whether they felt themselves guilty of the crime committed or not. 52.9% of them stated that they felt guilty, but 47.1% said, “No, I do not feel guilty”. In the same way 60% felt regret for the crime they had committed while 40% said they felt no regret for the case. The basic justification for this is that some of the women said that they had not committed the crime for which they were imprisoned, and the rest thought that it something they had to do.

Another question to complete these two questions was to ask whether the prisoners would commit the same crime again under the same conditions in which they had committed it after being released from the prison. The aim of this question was to find out how effective the behavioural correction and rehabilitation work had been done in prisons. 64.7% of women stated that under the same conditions, they would not commit the same crime. When the women were asked about the reason for this decision, they said that the bad conditions they had experienced in prison had influenced their decisions more than the rehabilitation and correction programs. On the other hand, an important proportion of the women – 31% – declared that under the same conditions they would commit the same crime again. This means that in spite of the bad experience that the imprisonment and correction had, this did not help at all to change the person’s thoughts and attitudes and to make her a law-abiding citizen. This finding shows obviously that there is a strong need for an effective rehabilitation program to be applied in prisons.

Eitzen and Timmer²⁶ mention that in the work of treatment and rehabilitation of a criminal, a special attention should be paid to “working conditions” and “vocational training programs”. In other words, vocational-education programs are to be implemented to enable prisoners to earn their living after release. This training and skill acquiring programs²⁷ should be generally market oriented and should need fewer resources to run as an occupation, such as dental technician, computer programming, car repairing, radio and TV repairing, printing works, etc. It is also mentions that these activities are very important for prisoners’ rehabilitation. The title of the third part of the fifth chapter of the “Punishment Implementation Regulations for the Punishment Implementation Institutions and Prison Administration in Turkey” is “Treatment (Betterment) and Training Applications (art. 110)”. When the treatment and training application mentioned in this clause is inspected, it will be seen that the main aim is to get the prisoner back to the society as a responsible individual. The activities suggested along this line aim to correct the prisoners’ antisocial behaviour with the help of education and training, occupational-vocational activities, skill and ability improvement to return to society as a law-abiding individual who is capable enough to survive and support him/herself.

It is asked in the interviews done with the prison authorities whether there were/are any implemented rehabilitation programs. The following information is obtained: In all three prisons it was noted that there was no planned or standard vocational training program; nevertheless there were courses organized from time to time for women such as ‘reading and writing for illiterate prisoners’ and ‘handicrafts’. However, courses are only run if there is a demand from prisoners and a sufficient number of participants. For example, although there is a teacher in every prison, and a woman prisoner had asked to be taught to read and write, but since there was not a sufficient number of students she was refused to be taught by the prison administration. The information obtained from women confirms the case about the courses. In other words, 75.3% of women stated that some courses are organised from time to time. On the other hand, some of them said that they had no information about courses. Some others declared that they have to pay fee for the courses, and that is why they could not attend them. However, when it is investigated whether the prisoners have to pay for the courses or not, it is found that the courses have to be free of charge and they are. But attendees have to pay for the materials they use during the courses, which means the prisoners have to pay in a way. It is obvious that especially those who do not get any some kind of financial support will not be able to attend these courses.

When women prisoners are asked about what kind of courses they wished to have in prison, the data in Table 6 are obtained.

As Table 6 shows, the prisoners’ choices were more directed towards activities to fill their spare time. In the interviews, the majority of the prisoners stated that they have no belief that these courses would be well organized or well planned. For this reason, the proportion of women declaring that they had never considered joining the courses is such a high figure (30.6%). In this sense, if the courses are held with the insight of data acquired from the market and the women are convinced of the necessity of these courses, the results would be more positive. Especially, when the words of 11.8% of the group saying that “our brains are being killed here, we are

Table 6. The courses that women want to attend

Courses	N	%
Handicraft	16	18.7
No Interest (did not want to answer)	16	18.8
Beauty Parlour	12	14.1
Sewing-Tailoring	11	12.8
No Idea	10	11.8
Computer	6	7.1
Reading-Writing	6	7.1
Painting-Drawing	2	2.4
Music	2	2.4
Accounting	1	1.2
Tapestry-Carpentry	1	1.2
Health Technicianship	1	1.2
Mathematics	1	1.2
Total	85	100.0

Table 7. The plans of doings after being released

Things to be/done after the prison	N	%
Looking for a job	27	31.8
Taking on the job which already exists	23	27.0
Being a housewife	20	23.5
Leaving the homeland	5	5.9
Doing Nothing	5	5.9
No answer	4	4.7
Never thought about	1	1.2
Total	85	100.0

losing our ability to think” are considered, the importance of the action can be more easily understood. In conjunction with this subject, the women are also asked about what their daily activities are. The answers are: pacing back and forth, playing sport from time to time, reading books and newspapers, chatting, cleaning and washing clothes, watching TV, and a small minority said knitting and lace making.

Another important factor in the rehabilitation activities is the expectation of women for the future. The women are asked whether they have hopes for the future or not. The 70.6% said “yes”, but 29.4% said that they have no expectations. The need for a well-organized rehabilitation program is obvious. Otherwise, it would not be realistic to expect the pessimistic individuals to reintegrate into society without problem. In this last group, it is also noted that there are few individuals who believed that their families would kill them after being released from the prison. The reason forwarded is the matter of honour. Consequently, all these findings indicate the necessity of a well-planned and organized rehabilitation service in our prisons.

Last of all about this part, women are asked about their plans after being released from the prison. The data in Table 7 are obtained.

When the results are examined closely it can be seen that the majority (31.8%) worried about finding a job and would look for a job after being released from the prison. Nevertheless, the second biggest group (27%) stated that they would go on being housewives. These results clearly show the necessity of educating women for vocational abilities and skills. This kind of abilities will definitely help them to find a proper job after the release, and this will help them in their re-integration into society.

Notes

This study is based on the data of a research paper presented at the BSA Annual Conference in York, UK, 11–13 April 2003 by the first author.

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 7. The researchers had first contacted to the Ministry of Justice and related units in order to get permission to carry out the study. The study was done in the women's prisons in Izmir, Odemis and Mugla. The researchers wish to thank the legal authorities of the Ministry of Justice and the administrators of the above-mentioned prisons, (Mr. Ali Suat Ertosun and Mr. Zeki Uzun in particular), for their kind help and permission.
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 16. See for details Tulin İçli, *Crimes in Turkey* (in Turkish) (Ankara: Bizim Buro Printshop, 1992) p.23.
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 18. DIE (State Institute of Statistic), *Yearbook of Turkish Statistics* (in Turkish) (Ankara: DIE Basimevi, 2000).
 19. Ali Caglar, *An Applied Survey about the Problem Area of Criminality: Sivas Semi-open Man and Woman Prisons* (in Turkish) (Sivas: Cumhuriyet University. Dept. of Sociology Unpublished MA Thesis, 1985); Tulin İçli, *Crimes in Turkey* (in Turkish) (Ankara: Bizim Buro Printshop, 1992).
 20. Tulin İçli, *Crimes in Turkey* (in Turkish) (Ankara: Bizim Buro Printshop, 1992), p.18.
 21. Cited by Harry Allen and C. Simonsen, *Corrections in America: An Introduction*, (New York: Macmillan Publications, 1981), p.351.
 22. The general style of Turkish imprisonment is based on the 'Dormitory System'. In this system, up to 20 or 30 convicts share the same facilities such as bedroom, bathroom, toilets, etc. They live together and easily communicate with each other. The 'Room System' is recently designed in order to isolate the political prisoners from their organizational fellows. In this system, there are small rooms, which are designed only for one, two or three convicts at most. The room contains all needed facilities

such as bedroom, toilet and bathroom. The main idea is to keep political prisoners under control in order to not socialize themselves politically, and not influence one another. Recently, there is a discussion that the 'Room System' should be applied to all convicts in the Turkish Penal System in all prisons.

23. Hikmet Sami Turk, *The Opening Speech of the Symposium of the Execution of the Punishments as Entering to the 21st Century* (in Turkish) (Ankara: Ministry of Justice Department of Publications, 2001), p.4.
24. According to the prisons' rules, after a period of being imprisoned every prisoner has the right to meet with his/her visitors behind the bar (closed meeting) or face to face (open meeting) in a specifically designated place in the prison.
25. Larry J. Siegel, *Criminology* (St. Paul: West Publishers, 1989), pp.408–10.
26. Cited by Tulin İçli, *A Sociological Analysis about the Rehabilitation Activities in the Prisons of Turkey* (in Turkish) (Ankara: Ankara Open Prison, 1999) pp.38–9.
27. T.S. Reid, *Crime and Criminology* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1981), p.249.