



International Journal of Social Sciences

ISSN:2587-2591

DOI Number: <http://dx.doi.org/10.30830/tobider.sayi.26.15>

Volume 10/2

2026 p. 286-316

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSFORMATION IN PERCEPTIONS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN ŞANLIURFA: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY WITH WOMEN WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED MARRIAGE

ŞANLIURFA'DA AİLE İÇİ ŞİDDET ALGISINDA KUŞAKLARARASI DÖNÜŞÜM: EVLİLİK DENEYİMİ YAŞAMIŞ KADINLARLA FENOMENOLOJİK BİR ÇALIŞMA

Gıyasettin YILDIZ*

Zeynep ELLİDAĞ**

ABSTRACT

This study examines the intergenerational transformation in how women who have been married perceive, experience, and interpret domestic violence in Şanlıurfa, a local context where traditional patriarchal codes remain strongly felt. Drawing on an interpretative phenomenological analysis approach, the research is based on semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 26 women who have experienced marriage across different marital statuses, from two generations, namely younger granddaughters and older grandmothers. The findings suggest that perceptions of domestic violence are shaped by complex, multilayered, and at times contradictory experiential trajectories that cannot be reduced to a simple generational opposition. While some older participants legitimise violence as a necessary form of “discipline” for maintaining patriarchal order and intra-family hierarchy, other older participants whose narratives are marked by personal traumatic experiences understand violence as an unconditional wrong and as “oppression”. Similarly, although the dominant tendency among younger participants is to define violence as a “crime” and a violation of rights, some younger women partially reproduce traditional norms related to honour, obedience, and provocation. The analysis also shows significant intergenerational and intra-generational differences in the perceived causes of violence and in the strategies developed in response to it. The study brings together Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, Deniz Kandiyoti’s theory of patriarchal bargaining, and R. W. Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity as a relational analytical framework for interpreting these dynamics in the local context of Şanlıurfa. Overall, the study argues that, under conditions in which classical patriarchal bargains appear to lose some of their practical force in certain participant narratives, signs of intergenerational differentiation and partial rupture at the level of

* Assist. Prof. Dr., Harran University, Faculty of Science and Literature, Sociology,
E-mail: gyildiz@harran.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0001-5191-509X, Şanlıurfa, Türkiye.

** Researcher, E-mail: ellidagzeynep@gmail.com, ORCID: 0009-0002-9775-250X, Şanlıurfa, Türkiye.

habitus become visible. This, in turn, points to the perceptual questioning of local hegemonic masculinity constructs in women's narratives and to the emergence of a legitimacy tension around these constructs.

Keywords: *Domestic Violence, Intergenerational Transformation, Phenomenology, Habitus, Patriarchal Bargaining, Şanlıurfa*

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, geleneksel ataerkil kodların güçlü biçimde hissedildiği Şanlıurfa bağlamında, farklı medeni durumlara sahip ve evlilik deneyimi yaşamış kadınların aile içi şiddeti deneyimleme ve anlamlandırma biçimlerindeki kuşaklararası dönüşümü yorumsamacı fenomenolojik analiz yaklaşımıyla incelemektedir. Araştırma, genç kuşak torunlar ve yaşlı kuşak büyükannelerden oluşan, farklı medeni durumlara sahip ve evlilik deneyimi yaşamış toplam 26 kadınla yürütülen yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmelere dayanmaktadır. Bulgular, şiddet algısının basit bir kuşak karşıtlığına indirgenemeyecek ölçüde karmaşık, çok katmanlı ve yer yer çelişkili deneyim yörüngeleri üzerinden şekillendiğine işaret etmektedir. Yaşlı kuşağın bazı katılımcıları şiddeti, ataerkil düzenin ve aile içi hiyerarşinin devamı için gerekli bir “terbiye” aracı olarak meşrulaştırırken; kişisel travma deneyimi öne çıkan bazı yaşlı katılımcılar şiddeti koşulsuz biçimde yanlış ve “zulüm” olarak anlamlandırmaktadır. Benzer şekilde, genç kuşakta baskın eğilim şiddeti bir “suç” ve hak ihlali olarak tanımlama yönünde olsa da bazı genç katılımcıların namus, itaat ve tahrik gibi geleneksel normları kısmen yeniden ürettiği görülmektedir. Analiz, şiddetin nedenine ilişkin açıklamalarda ve şiddete karşı geliştirilen stratejilerde de hem kuşaklararası hem de kuşak içi önemli farklılaşmalar bulunduğunu göstermektedir. Çalışma, Pierre Bourdieu'nün habitus, Deniz Kandiyoti'nin ataerkil pazarlık ve R. W. Connell'in hegemonik erkeklik kavramlarını, Şanlıurfa'nın yerel bağlamında ilişkisel bir analitik çerçeve olarak birlikte kullanmaktadır. Sonuç olarak çalışma, klasik ataerkil pazarlığın bazı katılımcı anlatılarında işlev kaybına uğradığı koşullarda, habitus düzeyinde kuşaklararası farklılaşma ve yer yer kırılma emarelerinin görünür hale geldiğini; bunun da yerel hegemonik erkeklik kurgularının kadın anlatılarında algısal olarak sorgulanmasına ve bir meşruiyet gerilimine zemin hazırladığını ileri sürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Aile İçi Şiddet, Kuşaklararası Dönüşüm, Fenomenoloji, Habitus, Ataerkil Pazarlık, Şanlıurfa*

Introduction

Domestic violence against women is a complex phenomenon that manifests in different forms within the socio-cultural dynamics of each society, going beyond being merely a global issue (Alfaro, 2026; Patwary & Esha, 2025). This study addresses domestic violence in conceptual dialogue with the Istanbul Convention's definition of domestic violence, while also taking into account the domestic legal framework provided by Law No. 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence against Women (Republic of Turkey, 2012). Accordingly, domestic violence is defined as an umbrella concept encompassing acts of physical, sexual, psychological and economic violence

occurring within the family or household, as well as coercive control practices associated with these acts (Council of Europe, 2011). Perceptions of these forms of violence are, however, deeply influenced by the cultural context. Indeed, the definition of violence, its boundaries of legitimacy, and the responses developed against it bear the traces of the cultural landscape in which individuals live (Berčnik & Tašner, 2018; DeCou & Lynch, 2016; Howard, 2022; Schinkel, 2013; Walby, 2012).

This cultural embeddedness is particularly visible in contexts where violence perceptions are shaped by patriarchal norms commonly described as “traditional”, such as honour, obedience and male authority. In Turkey, and especially in regions such as Şanlıurfa where patriarchal structures remain influential (Kocabıçak, 2023; Ökten, 2009; Sev’er & Yurdakul, 2001; Yıldız, 2023), these norms provide an important analytical entry point for understanding how the boundaries of violence are defined and legitimised. In this study, “traditional” is not used as a fixed or homogeneous cultural label; rather, it refers to a dynamic set of patriarchal norms that interact, conflict with and are transformed by modernising processes such as education, urbanisation and media exposure. Since patriarchy does not disappear in modern societies but persists by changing form (Eger, 2021), the study approaches it as a structure whose legitimising strategies and women’s spaces for negotiation are shifting across generations.

This structure presents a complex sociological landscape in Şanlıurfa, one of the provinces in Turkey with the highest average household size (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu [TÜİK], 2023), where traditional patriarchal norms, extended-family relations and local kinship-based social expectations intertwine with modern institutional and everyday life practices. In this context, gender roles, intra-family and institutional hierarchies, and individual-society relationships are shaped by strong cultural norms transmitted across generations (Dişli & Atasoy, 2024; Gültekin, 2012; Kavak & Eren Benlisoy, 2025). In this respect, this study adopts an intergenerational perspective to analyse the transmission process of cultural codes and perceptions of violence. Within this framework, the concept of “intergenerational” is constructed through the relationship between grandmothers and granddaughters with marital experience, who belong to the same family line, in order to express both biological and sociological continuity. This strategic choice enables the observation of how social change leads to either breaks or continuities within the same family line.

Whilst quantitative prevalence studies and victim-focused analyses on violence against women are common in the literature, qualitative studies focusing on how violence is constructed within women’s subjective experiences and worlds of meaning-and, in particular, how this meaning transforms across different generations within the same family-are relatively limited (Alfaro, 2026; Fernandes et al., 2025; Keyser et al., 2022; Özer & Sevimli Güler, 2025; Park & Kim, 2024; Toupin & Lévesque, 2025). The study addresses this gap by examining the intergenerational transformation of perceptions of violence within the same family lineage and by positioning women not merely as victims,

but as active interpreters who negotiate, resist and at times reproduce the cultural codes surrounding violence. It also brings habitus, patriarchal bargaining and hegemonic masculinity into dialogue within the local context of Şanlıurfa.

Against this background, the study focuses on multi-layered and sometimes contradictory trajectories of experience, rather than presenting absolute and deterministic claims regarding the transformation in the perception of violence. The central research question is formulated as follows: How has the perception of domestic violence transformed among women who have experienced marriage across two generations and different marital statuses in Şanlıurfa, and what are the effects of this transformation on their experiences and relationships?

Literature

The existing literature addresses the problem from several angles, yet certain dimensions remain only partially visible. In this section, these limitations are assessed on three grounds. Firstly, a significant portion of the literature is shaped by a victim-focused that largely positions women as passive ‘victims’; whilst focusing on the measurement and consequences of violence (prevalence, health/psychosocial effects, etc.), it may downplay the structural and patriarchal barriers that explain why violence is often not disclosed and why women make limited use of state/institutional mechanisms (Fernandes et al., 2025; Shayestefar et al., 2023; Meyer et al., 2020; Shorey et al., 2023; Masih et al., 2024). For example, in his study, Ökten (2017) highlights the role of patriarchal practices-combined with the coding of violence as a ‘private sphere’-and mechanisms that isolate and silence women in explaining why a significant proportion of women exposed to violence do not share their experiences or turn to official channels for help. In this study, however, rather than treating victimhood as a static identity, women are conceptualised as active agents who interpret violence within their own structural conditions, develop specific strategies, and position themselves in various ways against violence.

This allows for a combined analysis of the ‘disclosure/seeking help’ dynamics-which are often overlooked in the literature-and women’s subjective interpretations and repertoire of strategies. Furthermore, as an extension of the first limitation, victim-centred frameworks often fall short in addressing the intergenerational transmission of violence alongside women’s practices of legitimising violence or producing resistance, and the normative order of everyday life (Buchanan & Borgkvist, 2023; Haselschwerdt et al., 2019; McCloud & Abdullah, 2024). However, intergenerational transmission must be conceptualised not merely as a ‘present/absent’ dichotomy, but as a cumulative and multi-layered mechanism. Accordingly, the “victim” category is treated here not as a static label, but through forms of interpretation and strategies that vary across generations.

Secondly, there is a limited number of studies in the literature that systematically and comparatively examine how cultural codes such as obedience, honour and male authority

are internalised by different generations, and how this differentiation influences the legitimisation of violence (Björktomt, 2019; Göktepe, 2024). Quantitative evidence regarding the existence of intergenerational transmission, however, indicates that violence constitutes a cumulative risk pattern that clusters throughout the life cycle rather than being a single incident, thereby affecting the well-being of the next generation. For example, Gartland et al. (2019) report that exposure to childhood abuse and intimate partner violence (IPV) during the early years of motherhood is associated with both the mother's physical and mental health and the likelihood of the child experiencing emotional and behavioural difficulties at age four, and that multiple exposures independently increase this risk. However, such studies tend to address transmission primarily within the framework of health outcomes and cumulative risk, and may be limited in their ability to directly explain, in a comparative manner within the local context, how cultural codes (obedience, honour, male authority) are reproduced and transformed across generations, and how they are articulated with the grounds of violence's legitimacy. The present analysis therefore foregrounds the normative-legitimising mechanisms of transmission by examining intergenerational differentiation alongside the ways in which cultural codes are internalised.

Unravelling these legitimisation mechanisms may not necessarily result in a reduction in violence in every case. Indeed, the international literature indicates that processes of modernisation and women's empowerment may, in some contexts, encounter forms of patriarchal resistance and be accompanied by new risks of violence. For example, Cullen et al. (2024), in their experimental study conducted in India, found that women's economic empowerment created a perception of 'status threat' and 'loss of control' among men adhering to traditional gender norms, thereby increasing punitive behaviour towards their partners. A similar paradox is observed in the Nordic countries, where gender equality is high. Discussed as the 'Nordic Paradox' (Gracia & Merlo, 2016), this situation suggests that whilst women's growing awareness of their rights lowers the thresholds for identifying violence, it can also lead to high rates of violence due to men's resistance to shifting power balances (Wendt, 2016). In this sense, the intergenerational transformation in the Şanlıurfa case can be interpreted as a local reflection of this global tension between 'empowerment and resistance'.

At this point, one of the key factors shaping intergenerational differences can be assessed as the dynamics of modernisation. However, the role of modernisation components such as education and economic independence in the intergenerational transformation of perceptions of violence is often addressed only indirectly or overlooked in the literature (Arisukwu et al., 2021; Patwary & Esha, 2025). This gap is addressed through a direct comparative analysis of younger and older women's narratives, focusing on how violence is perceived, named and legitimised under changing conditions of modernisation.

Thirdly, a significant portion of studies specific to Turkey focus on general trends at the national level and do not sufficiently detail the transformation of intergenerational

dynamics and the local normative order in specific cultural regions such as Şanlıurfa (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Özcan et al. 2016; Kerman & Betrus, 2020). This situation is also linked to the fact that national-scale measurements can only capture the relationships with the daily norms of the local context to a limited extent. Indeed, Alkan et al. (2021), using the microdata from the nationally conducted 'Survey on Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey', measure economic violence through indicators such as the spouse/partner preventing the woman from working, refusing to provide money for household needs, or attempting to seize the woman's income, and discuss the findings primarily within the context of demographic and household variables. Such macro-level analyses may be limited in detailing how economic violence-and violence more generally-is justified through local honour practices, how it is negotiated in everyday life, and what shifts in meaning it undergoes across generations. For this reason, the Şanlıurfa case is analysed through the experiences of individuals living within the local context, with particular attention to the specific dynamics through which local norms are transformed across generations.

Theoretical Framework

The study's theoretical framework brings together three key concepts-Bourdieu's (2015) concept of *habitus*, Kandiyoti's (1988) theory of patriarchal bargaining, and Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity. Rather than proposing a new theory or a seamless synthesis of these concepts, the framework renders existing theoretical tools operational within a concrete field context and allows for the interpretation of the multi-layered structure of phenomenological data (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009).

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* corresponds to the tendencies, perceptions and behavioural patterns that appear 'natural' within individuals' everyday practices (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 254). In this study, *habitus* is used to discuss how moral frameworks-such as the naming and legitimisation of violence-differ across generations.

Kandiyoti's approach to patriarchal bargaining, however, demonstrates that women are actors who are both constrained by the patriarchal order and capable of creating room for manoeuvre through specific strategies (Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 278). This study adopts the concept of patriarchal bargaining within the framework proposed by Kandiyoti (1988), which encompasses structural and intergenerational dimensions. Its analytical contribution lies in concretising this concept within the context of Şanlıurfa, particularly through women-to-women hierarchies and solidarity networks such as the grandmother-granddaughter relationship, thereby demonstrating that bargaining dynamics are not limited solely to the man-woman dyad.

Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity allows us to reflect on how masculinity is legitimised within the social order and through which practices it is reproduced (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). In this study, hegemonic masculinity is used to interpret

the expectations of masculinity established through themes such as ‘authority’, ‘power’, ‘honour’ and ‘respect’ in women’s narratives, as well as the critical discourses directed at them (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Sancar, 2009). Within the local context of Şanlıurfa, one can speak of a hegemonic masculinity constructed upon the unquestionable authority of the man as head of the family, women’s absolute obedience, and the strict preservation of codes of honour. Within this framework, the fact that acts of violence are referred to as ‘discipline’ in some narratives points to their legitimising discursive framework within this hegemonic vision.

In summary, the analytical rationale for the combined use of these three concepts is as follows: Bourdieu’s concept of habitus enables an understanding of the deep, internalised and discursive dimensions of intergenerational transformation in the perception of violence. Kandiyoti’s concept of patriarchal bargaining demonstrates how women adopt strategic positions and create spaces for manoeuvre within this changing habitus. Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity, meanwhile, opens up a discussion on how the transformation in women’s perceptions and strategies carries the potential for tension or transformation within the legitimacy framework of local masculinity norms. The theoretical tensions between these concepts (for example, the structural determination of habitus versus strategic agency in patriarchal bargaining) have been regarded as an opportunity to add nuance to the analysis.

Method

Research Design

This study employed an interpretative phenomenological analysis design within the qualitative research paradigm. This design focuses on how individuals experience and make sense of a particular phenomenon and acknowledges the researcher’s active role in the process of interpreting participants’ worlds of meaning (double-layered interpretation) (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009, p. 35). The design was chosen to explore in depth how women from two different generations construct this phenomenon within the context of their subjective and lived experiences, rather than the quantitative prevalence of violence. In keeping with the essence of the phenomenological approach, the design aims to reveal the ‘natural’ perceptions and meanings that emerge in participants’ everyday practices. For this reason, this method prioritises the capacity to provide a deep understanding rather than the statistical generalisability of findings (Creswell, 2014, p. 20).

Participants and Sample

In line with the research objective, purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques were used in conjunction (Patton, 2002). As the primary aim of the study was to trace intergenerational transmission and transformation along the same family line, the sample consisted of women with a biological kinship bond (grandmother-granddaughter). This strategic choice enabled the direct observation of norm transmission and intra-family

negotiation dynamics. Participants were reached through neighbourhood associations and local civil society organisations, and the sample was expanded through the referrals of the initial participants. Taking into account the potential limitations of the kinship relationship within the sample, interviews were conducted as one-to-one as far as possible, with strict adherence to confidentiality principles. The generational distinction in the study was defined as follows:

Older Generation (Grandmothers - Code: B) (60 years and over): Participants in this group represent older women whose marital experiences were shaped in a socio-historical context in which rural life, extended-family relations and traditional patriarchal norms were more dominant.

Younger Generation (Granddaughters - Code: T) (20-39 age group): Participants in this group represent younger women who were comparatively more exposed to compulsory education, urbanisation and diversified media/digital communication networks. This distinction is used only as a sampling criterion for examining intergenerational differentiation, rather than as a deterministic generational classification.

In-depth interviews were conducted with a total of 26 participants (13 grandmothers, 13 granddaughters). In qualitative research, the primary criterion for determining sample size is data saturation (Morse, 2000). In this study, saturation was assessed through ongoing comparison of interview notes, preliminary codes and emerging themes after each set of interviews. After approximately the 20th interview, new narratives largely repeated previously identified thematic patterns, such as the coding of violence as “discipline”, “oppression”, “honour-related justification” and “seeking institutional support”, without adding a substantially new dimension to the thematic structure. Six further interviews were conducted to check whether these patterns remained stable across grandmother-granddaughter pairs and different marital statuses. Data collection was therefore concluded at the 26th interview, when semantic saturation was considered to have been achieved. The participants’ demographic information is presented in Table 1.

Table 1.

Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Participant ID	Generation Group	Age	Level of Education	Occupation	Marital Status	Place of Residence	Mother tongue	Economic Situation (Self-assessment)
1B	Older (60+)	73	Illiterate	Homemaker	Widow	Urban (TOKİ)	Turkish	Low
1T	Young (20–39)	29	Bachelor’s degree	Teacher	Married	Urban (Karaköprü)	Turkish	Medium

2B	Older (60+)	65	Illiterate	Farmer	Widow	Rural (Gürcütepe)	Arabic	Low
2T	Young (20–39)	24	Did not complete secondary school	Homemaker	Married	Rural (Gürcütepe)	Arabic	Medium
3B	Older (60+)	70	Illiterate	Homemaker	Married	Rural (Gürcütepe)	Zazaki	Medium
3T	Young (20–39)	31	Bachelor's degree	Food Engineer	Married	Urban (Karaköprü)	Zazaki	Medium
4B	Older (60+)	65	Illiterate	Homemaker	Married	Rural (near Bozova)	Kurdish	Medium
4T	Young (20–39)	24	Secondary school	Homemaker	Married	Urban (İpekyo)	Turkish	High
5B	Older (60+)	76	Illiterate	Homemaker	Married	Rural (Akçakale)	Turkish	Low
5T	Young (20–39)	35	Bachelor's Degree	Civil servant	Married	Rural (Akçakale)	Turkish	Medium
6B	Older (60+)	66	Illiterate	Homemaker	Married	Rural (Akçakale)	Turkish	Medium
6T	Young (20–39)	30	Did not complete high school	Homemaker	Married (Going through a divorce)	Urban (Cebeci)	Arabic	Medium
7B	Older (60+)	72	Illiterate	Homemaker	Widow	Rural (Akçakale)	Not specified	Not specified
7T	Young (20–39)	24	Secondary school	Self-employed	Married	Rural (Akçakale)	Turkish	Medium
8B	Older (60+)	75	Illiterate	Homemaker	Widow	Rural (Akçakale)	Turkish	Not specified
8T	Young (20–39)	36	Primary school	Homemaker	Married	Rural (Akçakale)	Turkish	Medium
9B	Older (60+)	65	Illiterate	Homemaker	Divorced	Urban (Karaköprü)	Kurdish	Low
9T	Young (20–39)	26	Primary School	Homemaker	Married	Urban (Karaköprü)	Kurdish	Medium
10B	Older (60+)	65	Illiterate	Homemaker	Married	Urban (Devteyşti)	Turkish	Low
10T	Young (20–39)	26	High School	Homemaker	Married	Urban (Ahmet Yesevi)	Turkish	Medium
11B	Older (60+)	70	Illiterate	Homemaker	Married	Urban (Eyyübiye)	Kurdish	Medium

11T	Young (20–39)	25	Did not complete secondary school	Homemaker	Married	Rural (Siverek)	Kurdish	Medium
12B	Older (60+)	84	Illiterate	Homemaker	Widow	Urban (Karaköprü)	Kurdish	Medium
12T	Young (20–39)	38	Primary school	Homemaker	Married	Urban (Akbaş)	Turkish	Medium
13B	Older (60+)	65	Illiterate	Homemaker	Married	Urban (Karaköprü)	Arabic	Medium
13T	Young (20–39)	27	Secondary school	Nurse	Married	Urban (Karaköprü)	Turkish	Upper- middle

Data Collection

Fieldwork was conducted between 25 April 2025 and 15 June 2025 in the provincial centre of Şanlıurfa and its surrounding rural neighbourhoods. Data were collected using a semi-structured in-depth interview technique. The semi-structured interview form consisted of 22 open-ended questions. The questions were prepared on the basis of the study's research question, the conceptual definition of domestic violence adopted in the article (Council of Europe, 2011; Republic of Turkey, 2012; World Health Organization, 2013), the literature on intergenerational transmission and cultural legitimisation of violence (Gartland et al., 2019; Haselschwerdt et al., 2019), and the theoretical framework built around habitus, patriarchal bargaining and hegemonic masculinity (Bourdieu, 2015; Kandiyoti, 1988; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The interviews were conducted in settings where participants felt safe (usually in their own homes) and lasted an average of 45–60 minutes.

Due to the diversity of participants' mother tongue (Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, Zazaki), local-language facilitators were used only when a language barrier emerged and solely to facilitate linguistic translation and communication. The facilitators were university students living in Şanlıurfa who spoke the relevant local languages and were not relatives of the participants. Before the interviews, they were instructed to translate as literally as possible, not to summarise or interpret participants' answers, and not to intervene in the content of the interview. Rather than being treated as completely neutral actors, their possible influence on data production was considered as a methodological limitation. To reduce potential meaning loss during mediated communication, the researcher asked participants to repeat or confirm key responses when necessary, compared translated statements with field notes, and avoided the presence of facilitators during particularly sensitive sections of the interview whenever possible.

For participants who were illiterate (particularly the older generation), the content of the ethics committee-approved informed consent form was explained verbally in the presence of an independent witness (a trusted neighbour); the participant's verbal consent and the

witness's signature were obtained, and this process was documented. All interviews were recorded using a voice recorder after participant consent was obtained and were subsequently transcribed verbatim.

Ethical Protocol

The research was conducted in accordance with the approval granted by the Harran University Ethics Committee for Social and Human Sciences, dated 16 April 2025 and numbered 2025/123. The purpose of the study, the principle of voluntariness, the right to withdraw at any time, and the principles of data confidentiality and anonymity were explained in detail to the participants. Personal details were kept confidential using participant codes in which "B" refers to the grandmother generation and "T" refers to the granddaughter generation, such as 1B and 1T, and the audio recordings and transcriptions were stored in an encrypted digital environment.

Data Analysis

Once the audio recordings had been transcribed, the resulting texts were analysed in accordance with the analytical process of interpretative phenomenological analysis developed by Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009). This process consisted of the following steps:

1. **Familiarisation and Sensitisation:** Each interview transcript was read repeatedly alongside the audio recording in order to grasp the participant's language use, emotional tone and the narrative as a whole (Saldaña, 2013).
2. **Taking Initial Notes:** Whilst reading the texts, descriptive, linguistic and conceptual comments were made in the margins. For example, a participant's statement, "She keeps her husband's word... she sits at home as a wife" (8B), was marked with descriptive notes such as "condition of obedience" and "role of womanhood", as well as linguistic notes such as "the passive tone of the phrase 'sitting at home as a wife'".
3. **Development of Emerging Themes:** By establishing connections between these initial notes, "emerging themes" carrying more abstract and psychological meanings were formed. For example, the code above was transformed into an emerging theme such as "the definition of womanhood through obedience".
4. **Theme Identification:** The emerging themes created for each case were brought together to form broader "overarching themes" that encompass the entire dataset. For instance, emerging themes such as "the definition of womanhood through obedience" (older generation) and "the ideal of an egalitarian partnership" (younger generation) have been combined under an overarching theme such as "Strategies of Womanhood: Patience, Bargaining and the Pursuit of Rights".

5. **Interpretative Analysis and Presentation:** The results of the analysis are presented as a narrative whole, structured around this thematic framework and supported by rich quotations and interpretative analyses that delve deeply into these quotations. To demonstrate the transparency of the analytical process, an example audit trail from raw data to the overarching theme is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Illustration of the Interpretative Analysis Process (Audit Trail with Examples)

Raw Data (Direct Quotation)	Initial (Descriptive, Conceptual Interpretations)	Notes (Linguistic, Emergent Theme)	Superordinate Theme
“For example, if the bride hasn’t cooked the meal properly, burnt it, I say then, ‘If you’d cooked the meal properly, you wouldn’t have been beaten... If the laundry isn’t clean... I say she deserves it’” (7B)	<i>Descriptive:</i> Neglect of duty is presented as a justification for violence. <i>Linguistic:</i> The word ‘deserves it’ contains a strong moral judgement that frames the incident as a matter of merit. <i>Conceptual:</i> The shifting of responsibility from the perpetrator to the victim; the rationalisation of violence.	The codification of violence as a legitimate sanction	The Meaning of Violence: Discipline, Oppression and Boundaries
“The first thing that came to mind was to take my daughter away from there and hand her straight over to the police.” (11T)	<i>Descriptive:</i> An immediate protective reflex; recourse to legal channels. <i>Linguistic:</i> The word ‘direct’ emphasises decisiveness and the rejection of intermediaries. <i>Conceptual:</i> The transfer of the issue from the private sphere (the family) to the public sphere (the state, the law); greater trust in the authority of the state than in that of family elders.	The definition of violence as a criminal offence and a legal case	Changing Responses and the Search for Institutional Trust

Reflexivity and the Researcher’s Position

Due to the dual-layered interpretative structure of interpretative phenomenological analysis, the influence of researchers’ own positions and preconceptions on the analytical process is of critical importance. The researchers conducting this study are trained in women’s studies, view violence as a human rights violation, and hold a perspective that supports women’s empowerment. This positionality may influence how narratives that frame violence as “discipline”, “patience” or “family privacy” are interpreted. For this

reason, such statements were first treated as meaning-making practices within participants' own life worlds before being analytically interpreted. To manage this risk and strengthen methodological rigour, the following strategies were employed:

1. Reflexivity Journal: Following each interview, the researcher recorded emotional and analytical reactions, potential assumptions, and points requiring further questioning.
2. Analytical Self-Questioning: During the analysis of narratives that appeared to normalise violence, the researcher asked questions such as "What social function does this statement perform in the participant's life world?" and "How can this account be interpreted without reducing the participant to either passive victimhood or endorsement of violence?".
3. Peer Review: Themes and interpretations developed during the analysis phase were regularly discussed with a colleague experienced in qualitative research but unfamiliar with the field context, and alternative readings were evaluated. For example, when coding narratives that framed violence as "discipline", the reflexivity journal and peer review helped distinguish the participant's own moral reasoning from the researcher's normative assessment of violence as a rights violation. This process should be viewed not as a claim to naive objectivity, but as the management of the researcher's subjectivity through methodological awareness and discipline.

Reliability in Qualitative Research

To enhance the scientific rigour of the study, the reliability criteria proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) were observed: data saturation was achieved for credibility, and some themes were presented for participant validation. To ensure transferability, this section on methodology and the findings include rich descriptions. To ensure consistency and verifiability, a transparent audit trail (Table 2) has been established.

Findings: Intergenerational Breaks and Intragenerational Divergences

The analysis demonstrates that reducing the perception of violence to a simple dichotomy of 'older generation' versus 'younger generation' would oversimplify the participants' rich and complex world of experiences. Whilst a distinct shift in mindset is observed between generations, each generation also exhibits divergent, and even conflicting, modes of interpretation and trajectories of experience within itself. The findings are structured around themes such as the meaning of violence (discipline, oppression and boundaries), the source of violence and the tension over its legitimacy, strategies of womanhood (patience, negotiation and the pursuit of rights), and shifting responses and the search for institutional trust, in order to address the fundamental fractures and internal divisions between generations.

The Meaning of Violence: Discipline, Oppression and Boundaries

How violence is named and morally situated constitutes the most fundamental point of division between generations. However, this distinction is not divided into two by a clear generational line; personal experiences and traumas render this line more permeable. Rather than imposing an absolute and deterministic generational distinction, the analysis presents multiple realities shaped within the participants' subjective worlds of meaning and in conflict with one another. For some in the older generation, violence is a legitimate tool for maintaining order, whereas for the younger generation, this action constitutes illegitimate oppression and a crime. Between these two poles lie narratives shaped by personal suffering and independent of generational boundaries.

The rationalisation of violence as a legitimate sanction (“discipline”)

For a significant proportion of the older generation, violence is a necessary disciplinary tool-in other words, ‘upbringing’-for the perpetuation of the patriarchal order and the family hierarchy. This narrative frames violence not as an arbitrary act, but as a consequence arising from a woman’s specific ‘fault’ or ‘dereliction of duty’, or even as a ‘deserved’ outcome. This rationalisation normalises violence by grounding it in a moral framework. A 70-year-old participant unquestioningly accepts being beaten by her husband for failing to do her job, internalising it with the words: “I deserved it. I deserved it. That’s right” (3B). This statement reveals that, in her world, violence functions as a kind of justice mechanism, viewed as the price to be paid for a mistake. Following a similar logic, a 72-year-old participant lists the rules of this moral economy for a bride as follows:

For example, if the bride hasn’t cooked the meal properly, if she’s burnt it, I say, ‘If you’d cooked the meal properly, you wouldn’t have been beaten...’ If the laundry isn’t clean, if the guest isn’t properly looked after, or if I’ve done something to make her hang her head in shame, I say she deserves it (7B).

The use of the word ‘deserves’ here indicates that violence is not merely a display of power, but is encoded as a legitimate sanction linked to the failure to fulfil certain domestic duties. In this narrative, responsibility is placed not so much on the perpetrator of the violence, but on the one subjected to it. This choice of language removes violence from the realm of a personal attack and presents it as an impersonal mechanism that restores moral order. This pattern shows how some participants internalise the moral codes through which violence is presented as a legitimate response to the failure to fulfil domestic duties.

The rejection of violence as an absolute wrong (“oppression”)

The dominant trend among the younger generation is to reject the logic of ‘discipline’ and to interpret violence as a human rights violation or a crime. This new conceptual

framework extends the definition of violence beyond physical pain to encompass psychological and emotional dimensions. A 31-year-old university graduate participant describes violence as “a behavioural disorder that must absolutely not be committed” and “something like an injustice” (3T). This definition of crime is not limited to physical actions alone. Participants broaden the scope of violence by defining it as ‘*any form of psychological or physical obstruction. An act of obstruction carried out by applying physical force against a person*’ (13T), whilst also including economic exploitation with the statement, ‘*Otherwise, they’ll take their money too. They make women work for nothing*’ (13T), thereby incorporating economic exploitation into this definition. Similarly, 2T depicts violence as a multi-dimensional form of oppression, stating, ‘*You are oppressing a woman in every sense-through her movements, her speech, or her body*’ (2T).

At this point, the older generation does not form a homogeneous bloc. In particular, older women who have experienced severe trauma from violence view violence as an absolute wrong in a similar way to the younger generation. In this study, ‘severe violence trauma’ refers, within the framework of the World Health Organization’s (2013) definition of violence, to experiences of violence that cause permanent or serious harm to an individual’s physical integrity (e.g., violence during pregnancy leading to the loss of a child, stabbing, prolonged restraint) or inflict deep psychological damage. Participant 10B, a 65-year-old woman who lost her unborn child because of severe violence inflicted by her husband, articulates this stance as a universal moral principle:

People do not inflict violence even on animals. Violence is not for humans. Nor is it for animals. One day, people will no longer inflict violence. If my enemy were to lay a hand on even one child, I would be furious (10B).

10B’s account demonstrates just how decisive personal life experiences and trauma are in making sense of violence, alongside generational identity. For her, violence is not a means of ‘discipline’, but an attack on the most fundamental right to life, and as such, it is not something that should be inflicted on any living being. This situation shows that severe lived trauma may interrupt otherwise shared generational meanings at the level of individual experience. However, this should be interpreted not as an absolute rupture encompassing the entire generation, but as a tension and a reconstruction of meaning experienced at the level of individual experience. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the entire older generation views violence as a traditional tool or explains the transformation through individual self-awareness. Participants such as 11B explain the change by referring to higher political authority rather than individual self-awareness: ‘*It’s gone, it’s gone-the beatings are gone now... Because our President is doing it now. Tayyip has changed the era. ‘Men used to beat women, but they don’t anymore*’ (11B). This situation enables a different, macro-level interpretation of the source of habitus transformation and demonstrates how expectations regarding the agents of change differ across generations.

The Frictions of Habitus Breakdown: Traces of Traditional Norms in the Younger Generation

On the other hand, the younger generation's perception of violence is not entirely homogeneous or transformed. Some participants from the younger generation may still argue that violence is necessary in certain situations. For example, the 38-year-old participant 12T, whilst generally opposing violence, perpetuates the traditional 'provocation' narrative by implying that women who verbally confront men or are unfaithful 'deserve' violence, describing them as 'vile': *"We do hear about unfaithful women, you know. She's cheating on her husband. I think these women, well, they do things that make them deserve it... People call them 'troublesome'. For instance, they humiliate a person... I think they deserve to be silenced."* This situation demonstrates that the impact of social change on habitus is not a one-sided, completed 'break', but rather a conflictual, gradual and ongoing process of transformation.

A similar ambivalent situation is evident in the account of 6T, a 30-year-old woman who has suffered severe violence from her husband-including being threatened with a knife and being tied up-and is currently in the process of divorcing him. Although she views and rejects the violence she has experienced as "oppression", she can grant legitimacy to violence when the issue concerns "honour": *"Let it be infidelity. Let it be something serious... In some cases, violence isn't even used... But in others, such violence can be used. (Regarding honour) I said I could understand."* (6T).

These findings indicate that whilst there is a marked transformation in the younger generation's perception of violence, deeply rooted cultural codes such as 'honour' can resist changes in habitus and create exceptional circumstances-regarded as 'limits'-that legitimise violence. This divergence indicates that intergenerational transformation is not a unidirectional or completed process but rather points to an ongoing arena of negotiation. These examples should not be read as the dominant pattern among younger participants; rather, they reveal residual and context-specific traces of legitimising discourse within a broader generational tendency to define violence as a crime and rights violation.

The Source of Violence and the Crisis of Authority

Explanations regarding the origins of violence also vary between generations and individuals. These explanations coalesce around three main narratives that attribute blame to women, men, or the family structure. These attributions not only establish a cause-and-effect relationship but also reflect the participants' deep-seated beliefs regarding justice, power and responsibility.

“Talking back” and “deserving”: The attribution of responsibility to women in the traditional narrative

In the traditional narrative, the primary cause of violence is a woman's questioning of a man's authority ('talking back'), neglecting her domestic duties, or going out without permission. This perspective legitimises the man's actions by shifting the blame for the violence from his actions onto the woman's behaviour. A 73-year-old participant explains when a man might beat a woman as follows: *“If she talks back, that's the first reason. If a woman contradicts him or talks back, he'll beat her. Because then he gets very angry”* (1B). This view resonates with some participants from younger generations as well. 12T, aged 38, believes that women who cheat on their husbands or are “very promiscuous” “deserve” violence. This is significant in that it demonstrates that women are not merely passive recipients of these norms; they may also reproduce traditional codes of honour and deservingness.

This imposition of responsibility sometimes takes the form of an extremely strategic ‘gendered practical reasoning’. As 65-year-old 13B puts it, the problem is not that the woman speaks out, but that she cannot be ‘properly’ guided: *‘For instance, if you approach her gently, she'll soften up a bit... But if you snap at her, what will happen? The whole atmosphere will go down the drain. No one will do anything to someone who behaves properly’* (13B). This reflects a complex logic of bargaining that places the burden of preventing violence on the woman, expecting her to possess the skill to ‘manage’ the man with sensitivity. This narrative reduces violence to the woman's failure to communicate, rendering the man's actions invisible.

‘Ego gratification’ and ‘display of power’: The younger generation's male-centred explanations

The dominant narrative among the younger generation, however, attributes the source of violence to the man's psychology and the role imposed on him by the patriarchal system. According to this view, men resort to violence to establish “dominance” and “superiority” over women, and to satisfy their own “insecurities” and “egos”. This interpretation frames violence not as a traditional act of “discipline”, but as a modern psychological inadequacy. A 24-year-old participant explained men's use of violence by saying, *“I think they're trying to put themselves in the spotlight, trying to prove their very existence. They're trying to get their way”* (7T), whilst a 26-year-old links this to men's desire to “be a dictator” (10T).

Beyond this interpretation of psychological inadequacy, the younger generation sometimes views violence as a man's ‘conscious choice’ or a ‘benefit’ afforded by the patriarchal order. As 25-year-old 11T put it, *‘They know it's wrong, yet they enjoy it. I suppose they cannot bring themselves to admit it; I don't know if it's their pride. They're trying to put into practice whatever they've seen’* (11T). This statement contains a sharp critique suggesting that violence is viewed not as a habit or a lack of self-control, but as a

privilege that is learned and perpetuated. Violence is framed as a set of behaviours that some men refuse to relinquish because it sustains pride and power in intimate relationships. This analysis shifts the blame for violence from the woman's behaviour to the man's character and the pressure to be 'strong' imposed on men by the patriarchal system, thereby fundamentally altering where responsibility lies.

The Shadow of the Extended Family: 'The Mother-in-Law Factor' and Power Struggles

A key dynamic highlighted by participants from both generations is that violence does not arise solely between husband and wife, but is provoked by the extended family, particularly the mother-in-law. This narrative removes violence from the context of a bilateral relationship, portraying it instead as the result of a multi-party power struggle. An older participant explained the reason for the worst beating she had ever received: *"My mother-in-law and my sister-in-law... when my husband asked, they said, 'We left the house because of your wife,' and that is why I was beaten"* (7B), whilst a younger participant directly links her own mother's experience of violence to her grandmother:

If we look back to our old days, it was always because of those things, because of our grandmothers. We've lived through that too. Because my father was that sort of man... I'm sure if I'd lived with my mother-in-law, I'd have suffered a lot of violence. I'm sure of it (9T).

These accounts demonstrate that violence can be the result of hierarchical power struggles, jealousy and alliances within the extended family structure, rather than merely an individual pathology. The lesson drawn by the younger generation from this situation is that the transition to the nuclear family can serve as a strategy for protection against violence.

Strategies of Womanhood: Patience, Bargaining and the Pursuit of Rights

The coping strategies developed in the face of violence are not homogeneous either, and vary across a spectrum ranging from absolute patience to conditional negotiation and a determined pursuit of rights. These strategies differ not only in response to physical violence but also according to experiences of psychological and economic violence. This diversity indicates that women are not merely passive victims but are also active agents who act, negotiate and resist within their own circumstances.

"A broken bone heals within the sleeve": Patience and endurance in the face of physical violence

For the older generation, domestic violence is a matter of "a broken bone heals within the sleeve" – something that must not be revealed to the outside world. The advice given by older women to daughters who experience violence is to be patient and to manage the

situation in order to save her marriage. A 70-year-old participant summarises the situation as follows: *"I tell my daughter to manage it. Just get on with it"* (3B). Another participant in her 60s similarly states, *"He doesn't hit you, I told my daughter, just be patient. Patience is better, my dear. It's human nature. One day he'll be angry, the next he'll make up,"* thereby portraying violence as a temporary and normal occurrence (4B). A 73-year-old participant (1B), despite being beaten, describes adopting the 'zip it' (keeping quiet) strategy to protect her marriage: *"He'd beat me, throw my daughter at me... I'd say it's no big deal; I wouldn't make a sound. I'd zip it so my home wouldn't fall apart"* (1B). This strategy of passive resistance, whilst it may not stop the violence in the short term, aims to protect the marriage-and by extension, the woman's social and economic security-in the long term.

Ambivalent stance: Gentle advice and limited intervention

The older generation is not a homogeneous 'patience' bloc. Among them, there are also ambivalent stances that, whilst explicitly rejecting violence, still suggest that the woman should 'take it on the chin' as a solution. This stance reflects a sense of being caught between changing norms and traditional roles. 13B, aged 65, states that she is absolutely against violence, saying, *"Why use violence when beauty is an option?"*, whilst advising the woman that *"You are a woman; you can bend a little. Perhaps he is a man; he cannot lower his pride"*. This is not a neutral middle position; rather, it indirectly sustains patriarchal hierarchy by accepting male pride as a given and by locating the solution in the woman's compliance.

Some older participants, however, have developed more directly interventionist strategies. 11B, aged 70, chooses to take her daughter away from the home where she is being abused and to 'discipline' her son-in-law: *"I'll take my daughter away from her husband. Either he comes to me and repents, or I won't give my daughter back... I mean, we won't end it-it won't be the end-I'll just scare him off... I'll take my daughter for a month so he'll be a bit humiliated and come to his senses"* (11B). This is a bargaining strategy that does not lead to divorce but imposes sanctions on the man. This strategy also works through the man's possible experience of humiliation and loss of authority, as the woman's family temporarily places him in a secondary position within the relational hierarchy.

Even more striking are the acts of symbolic resistance by some older women. 9B, aged 65, was subjected to systematic violence because of her insistence on wearing the dress she loved, yet she did not give in: *"I was uneducated... I never managed. If he said one thing, I'd say two. (...) He beat me every morning and every evening. I wore the dress. They'd say, 'You've put on a dress, now take it off.' Well, I loved it"* (9B). This account is a significant example of how the struggle for control over the body and identity shapes strategies of violence. It also illustrates why the participants' narratives cannot be reduced

to passive victimhood, since even within severe constraint women may develop symbolic forms of refusal and self-assertion.

From a domestic issue to a legal case: “Handing it over directly to the police”

The younger generation, however, largely rejects this passive and inward-looking strategy. When participants speak of violence as a “crime”, they refer not only to physical assault but also to psychological, verbal and economic forms of violence discussed in earlier narratives; however, the most explicit calls for immediate police or legal intervention are articulated in relation to severe physical violence and threats to bodily integrity. Their first response to violence is to protect the victim (for example, their daughters) and hand the perpetrator over to the authorities. This resolute stance is clearly evident in the participants’ statements. A 25-year-old participant states, “The *first* thing that comes to mind is to take my daughter away from there and hand her over to the police straight away” (11T), indicating that they view the matter not as a domestic issue but as a legal case. Another 30-year-old participant, however, states that if the violence involves “*drawing a knife, being tied up, or being beaten*”, there can be no forgiveness, and divorce is the only solution (6T).

The strategic transformation of the younger generation involves not only a shift in institutional orientation but also a questioning of fundamental concepts. A 29-year-old teacher, 1T, reverses the patriarchal logic of ‘control’ with a feminist reflex: “(Laughing) *Why should we keep women under control? Why can’t we keep men under control? Let no one keep a woman under control*” (1T). This statement demonstrates that the younger generation does not merely react to violence but fundamentally questions the mental frameworks that fuel it. This strategy points to a clear tendency towards distancing and breaking away from the relationship established with patriarchal authority.

Changing Identities and Safety Networks: From Collective Self to Individual Existence

One of the significant differences emerging between generations lies in where and from whom women seek help in the face of violence, how they define themselves, and the new risks accompanying this quest for justice. In contrast to the older generation’s collective and relational identity, reliance on domestic solutions, and strategy of patience, some younger participants’ narratives emphasise an individual and autonomous identity, basing their security on the paternal home and the state’s legal and law enforcement institutions; however, this transformation is considered alongside the risk of patriarchal resistance and ‘backlash’ in the participants’ accounts.

Relational identity and patriarchal security

For a significant proportion of older-generation participants, the narrative of identity is constructed through relational references such as husband, father, family or clan. The self

is defined not so much by individual characteristics as by one's position within the patriarchal structure. Participants introduce themselves using collective and relational identities such as "the wife of Tailor X" (1B), "*I am the wife of **** X*" (8B) or "I am from *****" (7B). This situation demonstrates that the self is not individualised; rather, it gains meaning within units such as the family and the husband, and security is provided through belonging to these collective structures.

Self-referential identity, the father's home as a refuge, and institutional security centred on the law and the police

The younger generation, however, constructs their identity through personal traits, professions and individual achievements. They define themselves with adjectives such as 'striver' (3T), 'self-confident' (2T), 'free' (5T) or 'perfectionist' (1T). This individualised identity is supported by two fundamental new safety nets. The first is the father's home, which has been recoded not as a "shroud" but as a "refuge": "*I know my family is behind me. They used to say, 'You'll get married, leave in a wedding dress, and enter in a shroud.' That's not the case now. They support women a lot*" (2T).

The second and more institutional safety net is the state's legal and law enforcement institutions. Young participants see the solution not within the family, but directly through the police and the courts: "*The first thing that comes to mind is to take my daughter from there and hand her straight over to the police*" (11T); "*I would request the necessary legal assistance. I would file a criminal complaint*" (13T); "*I'd ring the police if necessary... I'd complain directly to the police*" (4T). These accounts suggest that, for some young participants, the authority to resolve the issue may shift from the family to legal/law enforcement institutions. However, interestingly, direct references to institutions such as the Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centre (ŞÖNİM), shelters or municipal social services are extremely limited in the participants' accounts. This situation may indicate either that access to or awareness of these institutions is insufficient, or that the immediate solution is perceived as centred on 'punishment' (the police) and 'protection' (the father's home). The statement by 13T, "*With state support, helping them find a profession... that's the most important thing*" (13T), indicates that a permanent solution is seen in economic independence, thus pointing beyond institutional expectations.

Patriarchal Resistance in the Face of the Quest for Rights: The Manifestation of the Risk of Backlash in Narratives

The younger generation's pursuit of rights and the more distanced relationship they establish with authority are, in some participants' narratives, considered alongside patriarchal resistance and tension. The narrative of 73-year-old 1B is noteworthy in showing how this tension is interpreted at the local level: "*There are no women who submit now. There are no men who submit. That's why there are so many deaths. Both women and men are dying in great numbers. Some women take a knife and stab...*" (1B).

This statement suggests that, from the perspective of some participants, women's practices of non-submission may be perceived as a challenge to male authority, and that this perception is linked to the possibility of more intense conflict. In women's accounts, a perception of risk emerges that some men may escalate violence in response to a perceived loss of control. This situation leads some women to opt for self-defence or revenge rather than 'putting up with it' as the older generation often advises.

The younger generation is also aware of this tension. 11T, aged 25, interprets men's resistance to change as follows: *"They know they're wrong, but they like it. I suppose they can't bring themselves to admit it; I don't know if it's a matter of pride"* (11T). This emphasis on 'pride' suggests how hegemonic expectations of masculinity can generate a tension over legitimacy within personal relationships. All these findings suggest that transformation is not a linear or risk-free process; when awareness and the pursuit of rights are not accompanied by sufficient institutional and social support mechanisms, they can be observed alongside the risk of more intense conflict in certain narratives.

Discussion

The findings of this study demonstrate that the intergenerational transformation in perceptions of domestic violence in Şanlıurfa is not merely a matter of age difference; rather, they point to a more layered differentiation regarding the meaning, legitimacy and strategies developed in response to violence. Whilst some participants in the older generation framed violence within the context of 'discipline', 'patience' and 'a matter that should remain within the family', it is observed that the younger generation tends to define violence more as a 'crime', a 'violation of rights' and a situation requiring institutional intervention. However, this transformation should not be interpreted as a linear and complete break. Just as there are narratives among the older generation that entirely reject violence, traces of traditional norms such as honour, obedience and provocation can still be found among the younger generation. These patterns can be interpreted through the combined lens of habitus, patriarchal bargaining and hegemonic masculinity. The internalisation of "discipline" narratives points to the naturalisation of dominant moral codes, while women's practices of patience, negotiation, refusal and institutional recourse indicate that these codes are not simply reproduced but also contested within changing relational conditions.

'Backlash' as a Global Phenomenon and the Cycle of Violence

One of the study's striking findings is that the younger generation's pursuit of rights and tendency to explicitly name violence is, in some participants' accounts, considered alongside the risk of patriarchal resistance and conflict. This situation can be interpreted not merely as a local dynamic specific to Şanlıurfa, but in a comparative manner with the "male backlash" mechanisms discussed in the international literature. An experimental study conducted in India by Cullen et al. (2024) reveals that the economic and social

empowerment of women may increase punitive behaviour among men adhering to traditional gender norms, alongside a perception of “status threat”.

The statement by 1B in the Şanlıurfa field, “There’s no one to put up with it now, so there’s a lot of death”, can be regarded as a significant narrative illustrating how the mechanisms of status threat and loss of control discussed in this literature are perceived within the local context. However, this statement should not be read as causal evidence that women’s pursuit of rights directly increases violence; rather, it should be interpreted as an indication that, in situations where traditional ‘submissive’ and ‘managing’ strategies weaken, intra-family power relations can be perceived as a more overt arena of conflict. In this context, young women’s departure from traditional patriarchal forms of negotiation is linked, in the participants’ accounts, to the questioning of male authority; it is noted that this questioning may be met with the risk of escalating violence in some relationships.

Modernisation and the Perception of Violence: A Comparison with the “Nordic Paradox”

The expansion of the younger generation’s definition of violence links the study to the ‘Nordic Paradox’ debate in the literature. Whilst the older generation tends to view violence as limited primarily to physical abuse, the younger generation also considers psychological, economic, verbal and emotional forms of violence to fall within the scope of domestic violence. This situation relates not only to whether violence is increasing or decreasing, but also to which behaviours are labelled as violence.

The “Nordic Paradox” discussed by Gracia and Merlo (2016) links the persistence of violence even in contexts of high gender equality to changes in the thresholds for identifying violence, alongside women’s growing awareness of their rights. Whilst the context of Şanlıurfa differs historically and culturally from these examples, it offers an opportunity for comparative analysis in terms of young women defining violence within a broader framework. As Wendt (2016) notes, the shift in perception of violence from a ‘private sphere’ issue to a public and political matter undermines the legitimacy of violence. In this study too, actions that some older participants coded as “discipline” are interpreted by the younger generation more as “crime” and human rights violations. However, when this increased awareness is not accompanied by strong institutional support mechanisms, it may leave women in a position of heightened awareness without adequate protection.

The Erosion of Patriarchal Bargaining and New Strategies

Kandiyoti’s (1988) concept of patriarchal bargaining provides an important analytical tool for interpreting intergenerational differences in this study. Strategies prominent among the older generation such as “patience”, “managing”, “giving in”, and “keeping family matters within the family” can be interpreted as forms of bargaining developed by

women in their quest for security, family unity, and social acceptance within the patriarchal order. These strategies are not merely passive acceptance, but historical and relational coping practices developed within limited possibilities.

In contrast, a partial shift away from traditional patriarchal forms of negotiation is observed among the younger generation. As seen in Chaudhuri and colleagues' (2014) study on South Asian migrant women, women are found to question traditional submissive negotiation when family support weakens or men fail to fulfil their expected obligations. In the narratives of young women in Şanlıurfa, rather than waiting for the authority within the family to be attained in old age, viewing the 'father's house' as a safe haven, considering divorce as an option, or turning to the legal system are becoming more apparent.

For this reason, rather than speaking of the "collapse" of patriarchal bargaining, it would be more appropriate to refer to its "erosion" or partial reconfiguration in some participants' narratives. In contrast to the older generation's strategy of "keeping family matters within the family", the prominence of expressions such as "going straight to the police" among the younger generation suggests that the search for authority and security has, in some narratives, expanded from within the family to the state's legal and law enforcement mechanisms.

The Legitimacy Tension of Hegemonic Masculinity in Women's Narratives

When the findings are interpreted through Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity, rather than stating that masculinity in Şanlıurfa is experiencing a comprehensive 'crisis of legitimacy', it seems more appropriate to note that the legitimacy of local hegemonic masculinity constructs is beginning to be questioned in the narratives of female participants. Whilst in the narratives of the older generation violence is, in some cases, legitimised as a "disciplinary" and "order-maintaining" tool, in the narratives of the younger generation it is explained more through concepts such as "ego", "proving oneself", "helplessness" and "loss of control". In this sense, the narratives in which men are described as feeling humiliated or "brought to their senses" can be read as moments in which hegemonic masculine authority is temporarily displaced and its legitimacy becomes open to negotiation.

This differentiation points to a significant shift in the meaning of violence. The fact that young participants define violence as a man's "ego" and "effort to prove oneself" indicates that, from their perspective, violence has moved away from being a legitimate display of authority; rather, it is understood as a coercive and illegitimate practice of oppression. Within this framework, the concept of hegemonic masculinity is used in this study not to address the direct crisis of masculinity, but to understand the questioning of the legitimacy of male authority as expressed in women's narratives.

Taken together, the findings indicate that a distinct transformation in the perception of domestic violence has occurred across generations in Şanlıurfa; however, this transformation cannot be interpreted as a one-sided and complete break. The findings reveal that the meaning of violence, its causes, and the strategies developed to counter it differ across generations; at the same time, they highlight the presence of contradictory and divergent narratives within both generations. It can therefore be argued that policies to combat violence require holistic approaches that take into account not only the enhancement of women's rights awareness but also local patriarchal norms, expectations of masculinity, extended family relationships, and the accessibility of institutional protection mechanisms.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the intergenerational transformation in perceptions of domestic violence in Şanlıurfa points to a multi-layered transformation that goes beyond a simple difference of opinion; it indicates that certain forms of classical patriarchal bargaining have lost their function in some narratives, whilst new forms of interpretation have become visible at the level of habitus. The field data suggest that this transformation is interpreted not merely as a natural progression of time, but in relation to education, urbanisation, changes in family structure, and rights-based public discourse. In some narratives of the older generation, who lived within an extended family structure where illiteracy and rural norms were more dominant, violence may be coded as 'fate', 'discipline' or 'a matter that should remain within the family'; among the younger generation—who have accessed secondary school and higher education, hold professional careers, or aspire to do so—the prevailing tendency is to define violence as a "crime", a "violation of rights", and a situation requiring institutional intervention. However, it is not possible to speak of a homogeneous and complete break across the entire younger generation; the persistence of traditional norms such as honour, obedience and provocation in some young participants' narratives demonstrates that the transformation is not a linear process, but a tense and negotiated one. The findings also contribute to the discussion of victimhood by showing that women's narratives cannot be reduced to a fixed identity of passive victimhood. Participants appear as interpreters of violence who sometimes legitimise inherited cultural codes, sometimes negotiate with them, and sometimes resist them through symbolic, familial or institutional strategies. This layered positioning makes visible the normative mechanisms through which violence is reproduced, but also the partial ruptures through which women question and unsettle these mechanisms.

The findings suggest that urbanisation and the practice of the nuclear family are associated with opportunities for relative autonomy and individuality in the narratives of some young women; the father's home, meanwhile, is redefined in some cases not as a 'shroud' but as a temporary or permanent 'refuge'. This shift appears to be a factor that can expand the bargaining power women possess in the face of violence. Rather than

demonstrating a direct causal effect, the findings suggest that the rights-based language associated with Law No. 6284 and the İstanbul Convention finds partial resonance in some younger participants' narratives, especially where violence is defined as a crime, a rights violation, and a matter requiring institutional intervention. The fact that participants, when faced with violence, point to the police, the judiciary or institutional support mechanisms rather than family mediation suggests that the search for authority and security has, in some narratives, expanded from within the family towards the state's legal and protection mechanisms.

However, the study also demonstrates that the awareness of rights and the tendency to seek institutional recourse do not always progress as a smooth and risk-free process of empowerment. Women's increasing pursuit of rights is associated, in some participants' narratives, with the questioning of traditional masculine roles and a perceived loss of legitimacy of patriarchal authority. The risk that this questioning may be met with violence aimed at re-establishing control in some relationships becomes apparent, particularly in narratives such as "no one backs down anymore, so deaths have increased". For this reason, the process in question should not be interpreted as one where women's pursuit of rights leads to violence; rather, it should be understood as a transformation that, in the absence of adequate institutional protection, social support and interventions aimed at transforming masculinity norms, may face the risk of a patriarchal backlash.

These findings indicate that policies to combat violence are not sufficient if they focus solely on raising women's legal awareness. They must be addressed in conjunction with awareness of rights, accessible protection mechanisms, safe reporting channels, social support networks that take local cultural codes into account, and social interventions aimed at transforming masculinity norms. Otherwise, women's tendency to define violence more explicitly and to seek institutional recourse, whilst serving as an opportunity to empower them, may also encounter new forms of resistance in certain contexts. For this reason, in local contexts such as Şanlıurfa where patriarchal norms are strong, it is important that strategies to combat violence are designed with a holistic approach that takes into account both women's safety and the transformation of relationships within the family, masculinity, and authority.

This study has certain limitations. As the research is based on the subjective narratives of 26 women who have experienced marriage across different marital statuses in Şanlıurfa, the findings do not aim to make statistical generalisations. Whilst the sample, comprising grandmother-granddaughter pairs from the same family line, is a strength in terms of tracking intergenerational transmission, the snowball sampling technique and the specificity of the local context limit the generalisability of the findings. Furthermore, as the study does not include the narratives of men, institutional representatives or other family members, conclusions regarding hegemonic masculinity and backlash dynamics are limited to the experiences and interpretations of the female participants. Future

research could examine the multi-actor nature of this transformation through comparative regional studies and through sample designs that include men, social workers, law enforcement/judicial actors, institutional representatives and other family members from different generations. In addition, future qualitative studies could investigate how women encounter and evaluate institutional support mechanisms such as ŞÖNİM, shelters, municipal social services, police and judicial channels. Such research would clarify whether the limited references to ŞÖNİM and shelters in the present data reflect limited awareness, limited access, or the framing of institutional protection primarily through police and court mechanisms.

References

- Alfaro, A. (2026). Making sense of violence through women's experiences: Meaning-making, gendering and racialization at Peru's urban margins. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 66(1), 188-204. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azaf037>
- Alkan, Ö., Özar, S., & Ünver, Ş. (2021). Economic violence against women: A case in Turkey. *PLoS ONE*, 16. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0248630>
- Arisukwu, O., Igbolekwu, C., Adebisi, T., & Akindele, F. (2021). Perception of domestic violence among rural women in Kuje. *Heliyon*, 7(3), e06303. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e06303>
- Berčnik, S. & Tašner, V. (2018). School and violence. *Ars & Humanitas*, 12(1), 73-87. <https://doi.org/10.4312/ars.12.1.73-87>.
- Björktomta, S. (2019). Honor-based violence in Sweden - Norms of honor and chastity. *Journal of Family Violence*, 34, 449-460. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-019-00039-1>
- Bourdieu, P. (2015). *Ayırım: Beğeni yargısının toplumsal eleştirisi* (D. Fırat & G. Berkkurt, Çev.). Heretik. (Orijinal eserin yayın tarihi 1979).
- Buchanan, F., & Borgkvist, A. (2023). Progress across ecological systems countering intergenerational transmission of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Gender-Based Violence*. <https://doi.org/10.1332/23986808y2023d000000001>
- Chaudhuri, S., Morash, M., & Yingling, J. (2014). Marriage migration, patriarchal bargains, and wife abuse: A study of South Asian women. *Violence Against Women*, 20(2), 141-161. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801214521326>
- Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender and Society*, 19(6), 829-859. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205278639>

- Council of Europe. (2011, May 11). *Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (CETS No. 210)*. <https://rm.coe.int/168008482e>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage.
- Cullen, C., Joshi, S., Vecchi, J., & Talbot-Jones, J. (2024). *Female empowerment and male backlash: Experimental evidence from India* (IZA Discussion Paper No. 17450). IZA - Institute of Labor Economics. <https://docs.iza.org/dp17450.pdf>
- DeCou, C. & Lynch, S. (2016). Assessing adult exposure to community violence. *Trauma, Violence & Abuse*, 18(1), 51-61. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838015590590>
- Dişli, M. & Atasoy, R. (2024). The challenges faced by female school administrators and the evaluation of the mobbing situations they experienced. *Harman Education Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.22596/hej.1432272>
- Eger, C. (2021). Equality and gender at work in Islam: The case of the Berber population of the High Atlas Mountains. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 31(2), 210-241. <https://doi.org/10.1017/beq.2020.21>
- Fernandes, S., Martins, M., Rocha, S., Estramiana, J., Bilbao-Nieva, M., Vione, K., Antônio, M., & Maloa, B. (2025). Gender-based violence against women: A scoping review. *Ciência & Saúde Coletiva*, 30(5), e02142025. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1413-81232025305.02142025en>
- Gartland, D., Giallo, R., Woolhouse, H., Mensah, F., & Brown, S. J. (2019). Intergenerational impacts of family violence-Mothers and children in a large prospective pregnancy cohort study. *EClinicalMedicine*, 15, 51-61. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eclinm.2019.08.008>
- Göktepe, O. (2024). The impact of social values and culture on discrimination against women. *South Asian Journal of Social Studies and Economics*, 21(7), 848. <https://doi.org/10.9734/sajsse/2024/v21i7848>
- Gracia, E., & Merlo, J. (2016). Intimate partner violence against women and the Nordic paradox. *Social Science & Medicine*, 157, 27-30. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.03.040>
- Gültekin, M. N. (2012). Tradition, society and the concept of honor: Stories on implementation. *Eurasian Journal of Anthropology*, 2(2), 70-84.

- Haselschwerdt, M., Savasuk-Luxton, R., & Hlavaty, K. (2019). A Methodological Review and Critique of the “Intergenerational Transmission of Violence” Literature. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 20, 168-182. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838017692385>
- Howard, A. (2022). Violence and disposability at the intersection of twin pandemics. *Labor Studies Journal*, 47(4), 493-500. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449x221121646>
- Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with patriarchy. *Gender and Society*, 2(3), 274-290.
- Kavak, S., & Eren Benlisoy, Z. C. (2025). Seasonal migrant farm workers at the nexus of production and social reproduction in contemporary Turkey. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 42, 2473 - 2491. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-025-10720-5>
- Kerman, K., & Betrus, P. (2020). Violence Against Women in Turkey: A Social Ecological Framework of Determinants and Prevention Strategies. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 21, 510- 526. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838018781104>
- Keyser, L., Maroyi, R., & Mukwege, D. (2022). Violence against women: A global perspective. *Obstetrics and Gynecology Clinics of North America*, 49(4), 809-821. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ogc.2022.08.002>
- Kocabiçak, E. (2023). The causes and the consequences of the patriarchal state: Evidence from Turkey. *Women's Studies International Forum*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2023.102744>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Sage.
- Masih, M., Wagstaff, C., & Kaur-Aujla, H. (2024). The global psychological and physical effects of domestic abuse and violence on South Asian women: A qualitative systematic review. *Frontiers in Global Women's Health*, 5, 1365883. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fgwh.2024.1365883>
- McCloud, B., & Abdullah, A. (2024). Theoretical Analysis of the Cycle of Intimate Partner Violence: A Systematic Review. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 26, 1064-1081. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15248380241301781>
- Meyer, S. R., Lasater, M. E., & García-Moreno, C. (2020). Violence against older women: A systematic review of qualitative literature. *PLoS ONE*, 15(9), e0239560. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0239560>
- Morse, J. M. (2000). Determining sample size. *Qualitative health research*, 10(1), 3-5.

- Ökten, Ş. (2009). Toplumsal cinsiyet ve iktidar: Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nin toplumsal cinsiyet düzeni. *Journal of International Social Research*, 2(8), 628-638.
- Ökten, Ş. (2017). Domestic violence and patriarchy in Turkey. *European Journal of Social Sciences Education and Research*, 11(2), 365-369. <https://doi.org/10.26417/ejser.v11i2.p365-369>
- Özcan, N., Günaydın, S., & Çitil, E. (2016). Domestic Violence Against Women In Turkey: A Systematic Review And Meta Analysis. *Archives of psychiatric nursing*, 30(5), 620-629. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apnu.2016.04.013>
- Özer, E., & Sevimli Güler, D. (2025). "Invisible wounds of childbirth"; women's experiences of obstetric violence: a phenomenological qualitative study. *Reproductive Health*, 22, 148. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12978-025-02109-8>
- Park, S., & Kim, S. (2024). Composite experiences of intimate partner violence in women: A qualitative meta-synthesis. *Victims & Offenders*, 19, 1208-1225. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15564886.2024.2322956>
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods*. Sage.
- Patwary, M., & Esha, S. (2025). Interplay of education and community norms in justifying intimate partner violence among ever-married women aged 15-49 years in Bangladesh: a cross-sectional study. *BMC Public Health*, 25, 1354. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-025-22348-5>
- Republic of Turkey. (2012, March 8). *Law No. 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence against Women*. <https://www.aile.gov.tr/uploads/ksgm/uploads/pages/mevzuat/ailenin-korunmasi-ve-kadina-karsi-siddetin-onlenmesine-dair-kanun.pdf>
- Saldaña, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Sage.
- Sancar, S. (2009). *Erkeklik: İmkânsız iktidar: Ailede, piyasada ve sokakta erkekler*. Metis Yayınları.
- Schinkel, W. (2013). Regimes of violence and the trias violentiae. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 16(3), 310-325. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431013476537>
- Sev'er, A., & Yurdakul, G. (2001). Culture of honor, culture of change: A feminist analysis of honor killings in rural Turkey. *Violence Against Women*, 7(9), 964-998. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10778010122182866>
- Shayestefar, M., Saffari, M., Gholamhosseinzadeh, R., Nobahar, M., Mirmohammadkhani, M., Shahcheragh, S. H., & Khosravi, Z. (2023). A qualitative

- quantitative mixed methods study of domestic violence against women. *BMC Women's Health*, 23(1), 322. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12905-023-02483-0>
- Shorey, S., Chua, C. M. S., Chan, V., & Chee, C. Y. I. (2023). Women living with domestic violence: Ecological framework-guided qualitative systematic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 71, Article 101835. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2023.101835>
- Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research*. Sage.
- Toupin, A., & Lévesque, S. (2025). Experiences and perceptions of gynaecological violence: A descriptive exploration of the phenomenon from survivors' standpoints. *Feminist Encounters: A Journal of Critical Studies in Culture and Politics*. 9(1), 12. <https://doi.org/10.20897/femenc/16022>
- Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK). (2023). *İstatistiklerle aile, 2023*. <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=İstatistiklerle-Aile-2023-53784>
- Walby, S. (2012). Violence and society: Introduction to an emerging field of sociology. *Current Sociology*, 61(2), 95-111. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392112456478>
- Wendt, S. (2016). Domestic violence and feminism. In S. Wendt & N. Moulding (Eds.), *Contemporary feminisms in social work practice* (pp. 209-219). Routledge.
- World Health Organization. (2013). *Global and regional estimates of violence against women: Prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence*. World Health Organization.
- Yıldız, G. (2023). *Kültür, moda ve gündelik hayat: Mozaik bir kent olarak Urfa'da erkeklik kimliğinin izini sürmek*. Nobel Yayınevi.