THOUGHTS OF MALE OFFENDERS PERPETRATING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN REGARDING THE LOCATION OF THEIR CRIMES[1]

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Abstract

Violence appears as a problem that affects the entire society in terms of its effects and consequences. Laws have a deterrent power in preventing violence, and the goal is also to rehabilitate and reintegrate individuals who engage in violence back into society. It is essential to first identify the reasons for a propensity towards violence and work on this issue. We know that violence is a learned behavior and mindset in many aspects and carries cultural characteristics. Places and the characteristics associated with them also carry cultural traits and are influenced by the individuals within them. It is known that thoughts related to open and closed spaces also contain cultural meanings and have gender-specific characteristics. This research was conducted to reveal the perceptions of men convicted of domestic violence at the Ankara High Security Forensic Psychiatry Hospital regarding the places where they perpetrated violence. This research is a qualitative study, and a semi-structured interview form was administered to the participants using a descriptive analysis method. As a result of the research, it was expressed by the participants' opinions that closed/private spaces are considered sacred and secret in cultural terms, and they are also areas where male dominance is prevalent. Therefore, it was found, in line with the statements, that violence observed in these spaces tends to emerge in a more uncontrolled manner. This research is significant in terms of revealing/making visible violence in closed/private spaces.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Domestic violence, conviction, masculinity, spatial perception*

KADINA YÖNELİK ŞİDDET UYGULAYAN HÜKÜMLÜ ERKEKLERİN SUÇU İŞLEDİKLERİ MEKÂNA YÖNELİK DÜŞÜNCELERİ

Öz

Şiddet etkileri ve sonuçları bakımından tüm toplumu etkileyen bir sorun olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Şiddeti önleme konusunda yasaların caydırıcı gücü olması ile şiddet uygulayan kişiyi rehabilite etmek, iyileştirmek ve topluma yeniden kazandırmak amaçları da bulunmaktadır. Öncelikli olarak şiddete yönelim sebeplerini bulmak ve bu konu üzerinde çalışmak gerekmektedir. Şiddetin birçok açıdan öğrenilen bir davranış ve düşünce biçimi olduğunu ve kültürel özellikler taşıdığını bilmekteyiz. Mekan ve mekana ait özelliklerde kültürel özellikler taşımaktadır ve içinde bulunan kişiler tarafından dönüşmektedir. Açık mekan ve kapalı mekana yönelik düşüncelerin de kültürel anlamlar içerdiği ve toplumsal cinsiyet özellikleri taşıdığı bilinmektedir. Bu araştırma Ankara Yüksek Güvenlikli Adli Psikiyatri Hastanesi'ndeki aile içi kadına yönelik şiddet suçundan hüküm giymiş erkeklerin şiddeti uyguladıkları mekana yönelik algılarını ortaya koymak amacıyla yapılmıştır. Bu araştırma nitel bir araştırma olup betimsel analiz yöntemi kullanılarak katılımcılara yarı yapılandırılmış bir görüşme formu uygulanmıştır. Araştırma sonucunda kapalı/özel mekanların kültürel anlamda mahrem ve gizli kabul edildiği aynı zamanda erkek egemenliğinin baskın olduğu alanlar olduğu bulguları katılımcıların kanaatleriyle ifade edilmiştir. Bu sebeple bu mekanlarda gözlemlenen şiddetin daha kontrolsüz şekilde ortaya çıktığı da beyanlar doğrultusunda bulgulanmıştır. Kapalı/özel mekanlardaki şiddetin ortaya çıkarılması/görünür kılınması açısından araştırma önemlidir.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Aile içi şiddet, hüküm giymek, erkeklik, mekan algısı.*

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[1] Bu makale Aybüke Kaplan'ın doktora tezinden üretilmiştir.

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Thoughts of Male Offenders Perpetrating Violence Against Women Regarding the Location of Their Crimes

1. INTRODUCTION

Despite the technological advancements of our era being referred to as the age of space exploration, it is also recognized as the century of violence. Due to its adverse effects on society, violence has become a subject of intense discussions. Beyond mere debate, it is a pressing issue that requires intervention due to its biopsychosocial impact on those subjected to it. Observations indicate a growing trend of violence, and it is considered a global phenomenon that demands prevention (Taşdemir Afşar, 2015:716). In the modern age we inhabit, violence has become a social plague, deeply embedded within our societal structures. Various forms of violence lead to destruction, and violence against women, in particular, poses both individual and societal challenges. Violence not only influences social structures but is also influenced by them (Altıparmak, 2019:55). Any form of violence, regardless of the reason behind it, is unacceptable as it jeopardizes the victim's social life, mental well-being, and physical integrity. Considering its comprehensive effects, domestic violence emerges as one of the fundamental areas requiring combat. Within the confines of the family, subjecting women to psychological, sexual, economic, verbal, physical, cyber, and persistent stalking violence constitutes a violation of human rights (Dişsiz and Hotun Şahin, 2008:53). Violence, being applied in various forms, inflicts numerous negative consequences on the victims. In some instances, multiple types of violence can occur simultaneously, leading to even more profound detrimental effects on an individual's physical and mental health.

Violence is acknowledged to have existed throughout human history. All pivotal historical turning points, marked by wars, entail struggles to annihilate the other and involve violence. Thus, from this perspective, violence appears to be universal. Looking at the realities of our present day, we still witness acts of violence directed towards the suppression or elimination of others, affecting children, disabled individuals, women, and the elderly. Even in what are considered the most developed countries, such as the United States, it is known that annually, 500,000 women are killed by their spouses, and 2 million women suffer physical violence at the hands of their partners, with 21,000 of them seeking medical attention after being injured (Tarhan, 2010:353). In our own country as well, it is reported that one out of every three women is a victim of violence (Bahadır, 2013:173). Regardless of a country's level of development, violence against women is acknowledged as a significant global problem and a subject of worldwide struggle.

In this context, this study aims to explore the views of men who perpetrate violence against women regarding the location where they commit the violence. The objective is to uncover the impact of the characteristics of the location and perceptions related to the place on violence. By doing so, the aim is to create a scientific source that allows us to understand the root causes of violence, thus contributing to the fight against it.

Thoughts of Male Offenders Perpetrating Violence Against Women Regarding the Location of Their Crimes

1.1. Violence Against Women

Violence against women dates back to ancient times, and despite the passage of millennia and the advancements of modern age, one thing remains unchanged - the violence endured by women. Throughout our history, we have fought against pandemics, developed artificial intelligence, and embarked on space voyages, but preventing violence has proven to be an elusive goal, and in fact, it continues to persist and escalate. Violence against women is a universal violation of human rights that we strive to combat in today's society. However, it has been a relatively latecomer in terms of research and attention. This is partly due to the cultural notion that family matters should be kept private, which has led to the concealment of violence within this domain. Today, many women experience domestic violence, yet they keep it hidden due to various cultural reasons. When we speak of domestic violence, it should not be limited to violence perpetrated by husbands against their wives, as women also suffer violence from other family members. Moreover, they may face the most extreme form of violence, such as honor killings, which exposes them to the threat of death (Yüksel Oktay, 2015:58-59). In the fight against violence against women, it is essential to implement micro, meso, and macro-level measures because violence is a social ailment. Every individual has the right to a healthy and peaceful life, and societal measures must be taken to ensure this (Altıparmak, 2019:62). To effectively address an issue and find viable solutions, it is crucial to first understand the root causes and magnitude of the problem. Violence is recognized as a socially learned and nurtured issue within the social environment, hence the need for social sciences in the scope of combating violence.

Violence against women can be found worldwide and remains an unresolved violation of human rights. Women, regardless of their age, whether they are children or adults, and their employment status (working in the public sphere or not), are vulnerable to experiencing violence. The most prevalent form of violence against women is domestic violence. The approach that considers violence as an acceptable social or state of affairs and the belief that the private sphere should not be intervened in have supported the perpetuation of violence. Consequently, until very recently, domestic violence against women remained largely invisible. As a result, efforts to address this issue have been considerably delayed (Özkan, 2017:535). However, in recent times, literature in the field has shown that there are studies aimed at preventing violence, rehabilitating victims, and investigating its roots and foundations.

Looking from a broad perspective, violence against women can begin even before their birth (Sarı: 2010:4). In this regard, women may face various forms of violence throughout their lives due to their gender. This includes being unwelcomed within the family and immediate environment based on their gender even before birth, facing discrimination and ridicule for not giving birth to male children, being deprived of education, experiencing physical and sexual abuse within or outside the family, being subjected to low-wage labor, forced marriages, marital rape, threats of rape in social life, falling victim to honor killings,

encountering barriers in the workforce, their domestic labor being disregarded, and being subjected to human trafficking. They are also suppressed under the burden of societal gender norms and patriarchal pressure (Özkan, 2017:537).

One of the significant points regarding domestic violence is that the majority of perpetrators are men. In patriarchal societies, it is observed that men who perpetrate violence do not view their behavior as a problem (Çelik, 2014:247-248). When we look at violence within the family, we can see that it stems from the desire of men to establish authority and control over women (Yaşartürk, 2012:16). In patriarchal structures, men often do not see themselves as responsible for the violence, and due to the secrecy of family matters, violence remains confined within the household. As a result, for a long time, we have lacked information about the true extent of domestic violence. It is important to note that research in this area has only been initiated relatively recently.

The first comprehensive data on family-related issues in Turkey was obtained through a research conducted by the Presidency of Family Institution in 1994. The events and developments in 2000 highlighted the need for more extensive research on the subject. As a result, the number of studies increased in the subsequent period. The first research conducted in Turkey after the 1994 study was the TUBITAK research titled "Violence Against Women in Turkey" by A. Altınay and Y. Arat in 2008. This research involved fieldwork, with interviews conducted with 1800 married women from 56 provinces, and it was a qualitative study on combating violence (Altınay and Arat, 2008).

Subsequently, the most significant milestone in terms of field analysis on violence against women in Turkey was the research conducted by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies in 2008, titled "Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey." It is known as the largest and most comprehensive study with both quantitative and qualitative methods, providing information on the prevalence, types, severity, causes, and issues arising from violence, as well as coping strategies for these problems.

Furthermore, as a follow-up to the 2008 study, a research project titled "Violence Against Women in Turkey" was conducted in 2015 (Özkazanç and Yetiş, 2016:13-21).

Violence against women is a societal problem that threatens women's lives, negatively impacts their health and nutrition, and deprives them of education. It also hinders women's participation in society and the economy, violating their rights and freedoms. Gender-based violence is rooted in patriarchal social structures and is accepted by society. Its purpose is to oppress women and assert dominance over them. Women are considered vulnerable in the face of violence, while society defines men as powerful through a gender-biased perspective. The societal gender order that supports the superiority of men over women uses violence as a means to maintain male authority over women (Acar, 2013:196).

While violence affects everyone on a societal level, it particularly targets women. Perpetrators of violence can be anyone, whether they are close acquaintances or strangers. Perpetrators

often disregard the state or state institutions and may ignore legal processes (Uluocak et al., 2014:34). The motivation behind perpetrating violence in the context of an oppressive patriarchal order might stem from the acknowledgment that state and legal processes also have male-dominated structures. Consequently, perpetrators of violence may tend to disregard the legal process (Samuels, 2001:7).

In the initial research conducted to assess risk factors for spousal violence among inmates/offenders, it is stated that these populations are often responsible for a high incidence of domestic violence. Demographic and psychological factors commonly found in the incarcerated populations are defining characteristics of aggressive males. In prison, it is necessary to investigate pre-incarceration relationships to understand the reasons behind the behavior of inmates with a history of violence towards their spouses (Dutton and Hart, 1992).

Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) examined studies aimed at identifying risk factors for male-to-female partner violence. Common characteristics included witnessing violence as a child or adolescent, communication difficulties, low income, sexist attitudes, and sexual aggression towards the partner. It is evident that many of these risk factors are prevalent within the incarcerated population. One method of describing the characteristics of aggressive men is through reports provided by them to clinical personnel (e.g., Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Gondolf, 1988; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; Rounsaville, 1978; Snyder & Fruchtman, 1981; Walker, 1979). Women face cultural barriers when it comes to the emergence of sexual violence, which can have severe and negative consequences. It is acknowledged that sexuality, just like hunger and aggression, carries tension. Our use of profanity being sexually explicit and targeted towards the female body is related to this notion. Even when profanity is directed at men, it is ultimately carried out through the female body. The presence of sexual violence indicates the existence of a degrading perception of women in such behaviors. According to Freud, violence is an enduring phenomenon as both aggression and sexuality are fundamental instincts that influence human behavior (Yaşar, 2017:11). However, accepting this as a natural process may complicate the punishment of violence. Many studies demonstrate that violence is a learned behavior and mindset. Therefore, recognizing violence as a learned behavior is vital in supporting preventive efforts for the betterment of our society.

1. 2.Violence and Crime

When searching for the origin of violence, society itself must be examined. Violence is mostly viewed negatively, but the acceptance of violence as a means of conflict resolution is also a widespread notion (Schneider, 1993:91). In culturally advanced and civilized societies, violence is considered a crime. However, when we look at human history, we see that violence was prevalent even during the process of civilization (Mergen, 1995:298).

Since the late 1950s, there has been a general trend of increased brutality in the commission of crimes. This can be observed through the rise in the use of firearms, bank robberies, hostage-taking, and violence and terrorist activities during demonstrations. Examples of such crimes include intentional homicide, assault causing injury, deprivation of liberty, robbery, and

sexual assault (Kaiser, 1993:417). It is evident from local/national media channels or social media platforms that violence crimes have diversified and spilled onto the streets.

According to the World Health Organization's definition, violence is characterized as any intentional use of physical force, threat of force, or power, either actual or implied, resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, developmental impairments, or deprivation (World Health Organization, [WHO], 2014:84). However, over time, the concept of violence has been increasingly defined in a more comprehensive manner. This is because any action that may lead to harm or deprivation, regardless of whether it is intentional or not, falls within the scope of violence. Moreover, violence, which was initially defined only in terms of physical and psychological aspects, has expanded to include economic, sexual, and verbal forms of violence as well. In this context, violence has evolved to encompass all actions intended to assert control and exploit an individual, group, or community by restricting their freedoms and rights (Arın, 1999:201). Violence can manifest itself in various forms, both at an individual and societal level (Akkaş and Uyanık, 2016:33-34). Despite civil efforts and legal measures taken to combat violence, it has existed throughout human history and continues to persist, even increasing, as a societal problem.

Indeed, the establishment of states is aimed at protecting individuals from violence, and violence can also be seen as a driving force behind the creation of constitutions. Constitutions regulate the laws during exceptional times and grant the state the "legitimate monopoly of violence." The state needs to establish its sovereignty for both internal security and external security towards other states.

Constitutions also serve the purpose of controlling the state's use of unjust violence. The relationship between violence and law can have various meanings. In criminal law, violence refers to controlling various crimes through punitive measures. In civil law, it may bring to mind domestic violence, divorce cases, or unfair treatment within the household.

In essence, violence has become a defined concept around individuals, and in this regard, the law serves to protect other individuals from violence (Boyar, 2015:54).

Violence was defined for the first time in Turkish Law within the 6284 Law on the Protection of Family and Prevention of Violence Against Women, Article 2, as follows: "Any behavior or attitude, occurring in public or private spheres, which results in or is likely to result in physical, psychological, sexual, or economic harm or suffering to a person, including threats, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty."

This definition is comprehensive and encompassing various forms of violence, and it has set an important foundation for the legal system's efforts in combating violence (Bölükbaşı, 2015: 41).

1.3. Violence Against Woman and Crime

Legal regulations define violence as an unacceptable behavior. In order to ensure people's safety and protect individuals from violence, recourse is made to legal arrangements (WHO, 2014:38). The World Health Organization emphasizes in its Violence Prevention Report that the primary need is to change social and cultural norms because they are identified as the fundamental cause of violence against women (WHO, 2014:28).

Violence against women is a violation of human rights, and states cannot accept such violations; they strive to prevent them. International legal arrangements include state-based interventions against human rights violations. Preventing these violations is the duty and responsibility of the state. However, preventing human rights violations in the context of violence against women is a challenging field. This is due to the principle of the inviolability of the private sphere, making it difficult to intervene in cases of domestic violence against women. To address human rights violations faced by women, it is crucial to make the issue more visible and highlight the negative effects of violence (Uygur and Çağlar Gürgey, 2014). Additionally, empowering women and acknowledging the resources available to the state are necessary to uncover the violence that is often concealed within the private sphere.

The fight against violence against women and the recognition of such violence as a crime can be traced back to the 1800s with the emergence of legal and medical research on the topic. The first law that criminalized violence against women was observed in Maryland in 1883. However, in Turkey, such studies were not prominent until the mid-1980s (Dişsiz and Şahin, 2008). These efforts coincided with the strengthening of the feminist movement, as violence, especially violence perpetrated by men against women, became a significant topic addressed in feminist studies.

The Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1967, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979, are highly significant documents (Karınca, 2008:37). CEDAW, in particular, stands out from other international texts as it specifically emphasizes the human rights of women. The convention acknowledges that women are the group whose human rights are most frequently violated (Akkaya Şahin, 2010:27).

CEDAW is a comprehensive international treaty that aims to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and ensure gender equality in all aspects of life. The convention addresses various issues, including political rights, education, employment, health care, marriage, family life, and violence against women. It sets out clear principles and obligations for states to promote and protect women's human rights.

As of today, CEDAW has been ratified by a large number of countries, making it one of the most widely accepted human rights treaties globally. States that are party to the convention are required to submit regular reports on their progress in implementing the treaty's

provisions. This mechanism allows for monitoring and accountability, encouraging states to take concrete actions to advance gender equality and protect women's rights.

However, despite the existence of such international instruments and efforts made by various organizations, violence against women remains a significant challenge worldwide. Ongoing commitment, awareness-raising, and effective implementation of these international agreements are crucial to effectively address this issue and create a safer and more equal world for women.

The Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, marked a significant milestone in the international efforts to address gender-based violence. During this conference, the Beijing Declaration was adopted, acknowledging that violence against women is a major obstacle to women's enjoyment of human rights (Akkaya Şahin, 2010:36). The conference emphasized the importance of states taking responsibility for preventing and addressing violence against women. It recognized rape as a war crime and granted survivors the right to seek compensation (Uygur, 2007).

At the Beijing Conference, various strategic objectives were set to prevent and eliminate violence against women. Collaborative efforts and measures were determined to be taken to achieve the ultimate goal of eradicating violence against women. The root causes and consequences of violence against women were to be studied, and measures were to be developed accordingly.

Additionally, the conference addressed the importance of preventing human trafficking and providing assistance to victims of prostitution who face violence (Domaniç, 2007:106).

The Beijing Declaration has played a crucial role in shaping international policies and actions aimed at combating violence against women. It has called for a comprehensive and coordinated approach involving governments, international organizations, civil society, and individuals to address this issue effectively.

However, despite these efforts, violence against women continues to be a pervasive and deeply rooted problem in many parts of the world. Ongoing commitment and concrete actions by governments and all stakeholders are essential to achieve tangible progress in preventing and eliminating violence against women, thereby ensuring that women can fully enjoy their human rights and live free from fear and harm.

One other significant development took place on May 11, 2011, as the Council of Europe introduced the first-ever binding instrument in international law addressing violence against women and domestic violence. The document was titled the "Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence," and it was open for signature in Istanbul, hence commonly referred to as the Istanbul Convention. The primary objective of the Convention is to protect women from all forms of violence, including violence within the family. It also aims to prevent and eradicate violence against women and domestic violence.

Additionally, the Convention seeks to encourage member states to develop policies that support victims. As a result, international cooperation in preventing violence has gained momentum (Özkan, 2017:555-556).

In the late 20th century, policies aimed at preventing violence against women and domestic violence were developed, and the system for punishment and prevention was improved. Various international regulations were established, and in our country, especially the Constitution, Turkish Civil Code, and Turkish Penal Code underwent various changes to address these issues. The first legal text in Turkey related to domestic violence was the Law on the Protection of the Family, dated 1998 and numbered 4320. This law required cohabitation as a condition for being considered a family, and in this regard, it did not provide protection in cases of violence involving non-marital partners or former spouses. Additionally, there were no preventive measures directed towards the perpetrator of violence. On March 8, 2012, this law was repealed, and it was replaced by the more comprehensive Law No. 6284.

However, considering the limitations of Law No. 4320 in preventing violence against women, the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) served as a foundation for Turkish laws. As a result, in 2012, the Law on the Protection of the Family and Prevention of Violence Against Women (Law No. 6284) was adopted in our country. Both globally and in Turkey, efforts to protect women from violence have gained momentum and are progressively increasing (Özkan, 2017: 535). With the new law, initiatives were developed to prevent violence, and Violence Prevention Centers were established, leading to more comprehensive efforts in combating violence.

In Turkey, the Ministry of Family and Social Services prepares Action Plans to Combat Violence Against Women under its supervision. The first action plan was prepared in 2007, followed by the second one which came into effect in 2012. Subsequently, the National Action Plan on Combating Violence (NMPPV) was implemented in December 2016, outlining its objectives until the year 2020. Lastly, the fourth National Action Plan was developed to cover the years 2021-2025, and the monitoring and evaluation of its progress are carried out by the ministry.

In addition to the mentioned action plans, the Ministry of Family and Social Services has also established the "Strategy Document and Action Plan to Combat Early and Forced Marriages." The primary goal of this plan is to reduce early and forced marriages and empower young girls. This is intended to be achieved through the development of relevant legislation and by empowering girls through education (Ministry of Family, Labor, and Social Services, 2019).

Throughout history, unfortunately, we have seen expressions that support violence. However, it is not acceptable. For instance, Schmitt (2003:67-68) states in his work that the term "nomos" refers to law and legislation. It is also connected to the concept of territorial distribution, which forms the basis of the state. In Aristotle's writings, there is also a connection between law and land. When land is involved, war and violence come to mind, and Giorgio Agamben's work "Sacred Homo" expresses the interconnectedness of violence

and laws. The idea that violence and law are linked together in the pursuit of justice and order legitimizes violence. In this regard, when a woman faces death on the grounds of "dishonor," her gender is not questioned (Agamben, 2001:46).

It is known that the concept of "honor" is derived from "nomos," and it signifies empowering men with the control over women and their sexuality in order to establish dominance (Kalav, 2012:153).

In the modern age we live in, the perspective on violence has moved away from these historical meanings, and there is a shift in acceptance of violence to protect women. The World Health Organization (2014:28) emphasizes the need for first changing societal norms and cultural beliefs in the fight against violence against women. Unfortunately, the process of changing societal norms is a lengthy and challenging endeavor, as it requires generational shifts for sociological patterns to be completely eradicated.

Indeed, altering deeply rooted cultural and societal norms is a complex and time-consuming process. Efforts to question existing norms that allow violence against women, whether it occurs in private or public spaces, require continuous work in education, awareness-raising, and promoting gender equality. Additionally, involving various stakeholders such as governments, civil society organizations, and community leaders is crucial to creating a supportive environment for positive change.

While the process may be gradual, ongoing efforts to change societal norms are crucial in building a safer and more equitable society, where violence against women is no longer tolerated or accepted, whether in private or public spaces. Preventing the cultural endorsement of violence in any space and making the hidden violence behind closed doors visible are essential tasks in constructing a society where violence against women is neither tolerated nor accepted.

1.4. Violence and Space

Space is the expression of human interactions with other individuals and objects (Erdönmez & Akı, 2005:69). Lefebvre conceptualized space as the interaction of the city with its social processes to make it tangible. Space is not passive; it is both a product of society and continuously transforms it. Space is constantly being reproduced (Lefebvre, 2014:21-30). As spaces are integral parts of lived experiences, they also carry political and strategic meanings, making them social products (Güleç Solak, 2014:55–56). The notion that space is a product also reveals that, in addition to being produced, space is a means of control, power, and domination. Spaces are subject to transformation through individual or societal practices as well as through the general control of state power (Lefebvre, 2014:39–56).

There are different types of spaces: spaces used collectively for common purposes are defined as "public spaces/social spaces," while spaces serving individual and private needs are referred to as "private spaces" (Duncan: 1996; cited in Tuncer, 2015: 34). The most significant feature that distinguishes public spaces from private spaces is that public areas do not involve

individual ownership and are open for use by everyone (Erdönmez & Akı, 2005:73–74). Although there is no single definition of public space, it is generally understood as a place where "anyone can go" (Neumann, 1997:225; cited in Aytaç, 2007:206). According to Arendt, public space refers to a shared space distinct from what is privately owned (Arendt, 2016:95). Habermas also distinguished between public and private spaces and symbolized the public space as a theater stage where thoughts and debates are presented (Habermas, 1997; cited in Aytaç, 2007:206). Habermas, a prominent figure in symbolic interaction theory, asserts that the social space is a reflection of human beings. From this perspective, it can be concluded that space is integrated with humans.

When examining research on space, it is evident that there is a relationship between gender and space. Space is influenced by various factors, including gender. This is because space gains meaning within cultural and social structures, and in this process, the impact of genders on social life should not be overlooked (Aktaş, 2017:89). Mackenzie (2002:13) has redefined the concept of social gender and environmental theory. Humans produce the environment, and one of the key factors in this formation is social gender. Social gender reproduces and transforms the environment.

Gendered spaces refer to spaces that are shaped, experienced, and perceived differently based on gender. These spaces are not neutral, but rather reflect the power dynamics and gender roles that exist within a society. For example, certain spaces may be designed or used in ways that reinforce traditional gender norms and expectations, while other spaces may challenge or disrupt these norms. Gendered spaces can be found in various settings, such as homes, workplaces, public areas, and urban environments.

Understanding the relationship between gender and space is essential for creating more inclusive and equitable environments. By recognizing how spaces are gendered, it becomes possible to design and plan spaces that promote gender equality, accessibility, and safety for all individuals.

Feminist geographers have acknowledged the mutual relationship between space and gender. How women and men experience space based on their gender and how gender impacts space are considered fundamental issues in feminist geography (McDowell: 1999; cited in Yüceşahin, 2016:85). According to Bourdieu (2015), the distinction between public and private spaces involves processes related to the woman's body, giving rise to the concept of masculine domination. The relationships established with the body can be reflected in the streets and avenues as patriarchal patterns. Bourdieu makes the distinction between private female world and masculine public space (Aktaş, 2017:93).

Within the patriarchal system, while women take on household chores and production in private spaces, men can impede their spatial mobility. This impediment is aimed at establishing authority over their partners to guarantee their own power and position. The patriarchal system romanticizes the idea of being at home. However, for many women, home

can represent a place of repression, abuse, and harassment in the face of male violence (McDowell: 1999; cited in Yüceşahin, 2016:87-94).

Feminist geography strives to shed light on these gendered experiences of space and analyze how patriarchal norms and power dynamics shape the way spaces are used and perceived. By understanding these dynamics, feminist geographers aim to challenge and transform spaces to be more inclusive, empowering, and free from gender-based inequalities and violence.

From history to the present, homes, which are considered the most intimate spaces associated with a sense of belonging and security, have become the sites where women are most intensely killed. At the same time, the home is the space where a woman facing violence has the least possibility of seeking help. However, violence is not absent from public spaces either. Whether within public institutions or on the streets, the occurrence of violence indicates that women are not safe in any space. The male gender can assert its presence freely in any space, which further exacerbates the vulnerability of women.

Gender-based violence against women will persist as a form of oppression used by male hegemony to maintain its existence until patriarchal thinking ceases to dominate, gender equality is achieved, and gaps in legal practices are addressed (Akgül & Uğurlu, 2021:139).

This highlights the urgent need for transformative changes in societal norms, legal systems, and power structures to combat gender-based violence effectively. Efforts should be directed towards dismantling patriarchal ideologies and creating a more inclusive and equitable society where women can live free from violence and fear.

From this perspective, it can be inferred that spaces are shaped with respect to gender, as they are a reflection of the individuals within them. Gender-based inequalities are among the main reasons for violence against women and have content that reinforces the application of violence by men. In this regard, it is essential to consider the applicability of violence concerning the genders of spaces. In spaces dominated by patriarchal authority, violence can be utilized as a tool of oppression and can easily turn into action. The accepted gender roles attributed to spaces, in other words, the societal gender norms attached to them, are observed to be a variable influencing the use of violence.

Hence, spaces being shaped with respect to gender and how societal gender norms impact the use of violence are crucial considerations. The design and usage of spaces should be carefully thought out to ensure the safety and well-being of women. Understanding the influence of gender norms on spaces can help identify measures to prevent violence and achieve gender equality.

In this context, it can be concluded that spaces are influenced by gender, as they are a reflection of the individuals inhabiting them. Gender-based inequalities play a significant role in the root causes of violence against women, and they strengthen the use of violence by men. Consequently, it is vital to consider the applicability of violence concerning the gendered nature of spaces. In environments dominated by patriarchal authority, the perpetration of

violence can be seen as a means of exerting control and can be more easily transformed into action. The gendered roles assigned to spaces, or the societal gender norms associated with them, are observed to be a variable that influences the use of violence.

Therefore, understanding the intersection between spaces and gender and acknowledging how societal norms impact violence is a crucial matter. The design and utilization of spaces should be carefully considered to ensure the safety and well-being of women. Recognizing the influence of gender norms on spaces can help in formulating measures to prevent violence and promote gender equality.

2. METHOD AND FINDINGS

2.1. Research Objective

The aim of this research is to conduct an in-depth investigation into the manifestation of domestic violence against women within the context of the variable of location (indoor/outdoor, public/private spaces). The dimensions of domestic violence against women in indoor and outdoor settings will be examined. In this regard, qualitative research methodology will be employed to conduct interviews with individuals convicted of domestic violence to reveal the dimensions of violence and its impact in different spatial contexts. The goal is to explore whether the spatial situation and spatial characteristics have an impact on the applicability of violence.

2.2. Significance of the Research

The research to be conducted will be significant in addressing issues related to combating violence, particularly in private settings. The results of the research can serve as problem-solving tools in the fight against violence once it is exposed. Projects and policies developed based on the research findings will provide guidance in addressing violence, which is considered a violation of human rights. In this context, the research will serve as a valuable source of current data for those working in the field. It will not only evaluate current data but also provide insights into the evolving face of violence in contemporary research. Consequently, it will serve as a valuable resource for individuals interested in conducting research on the transformation of violence by allowing for comparisons with previous studies. The aim is to offer a current data source for students, academics, and researchers working in the field of domestic violence, providing them with up-to-date information.

2.3. Sample and Method

During the interviews with the participants, it was explained that the data would be used for research purposes. Informed consent was obtained from the participants accordingly. In order to protect the participants' privacy, personal information was kept confidential, and care was taken to ensure the confidentiality of personal data in the information included in the research. The interviews were conducted at the Ankara High Security Forensic Psychiatry Hospital.

Thoughts of Male Offenders Perpetrating Violence Against Women Regarding the Location of Their Crimes

The research is a qualitative study. One of the frequently preferred data collection techniques in qualitative research is the interview form. With the interview form, participants' value judgments and perspectives on a subject are analyzed (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2016). In this study, the perception of space by men who have perpetrated domestic violence against women was assessed. To obtain data, a semi-structured interview form was created. In this research, data collection tools included a demographic information form and a semi-structured interview form. Before commencing the interviews, the content of the Participant Consent Form was presented, and the participant was asked to confirm the form if they voluntarily agreed to participate in the research. The demographic information form included headings such as age, occupation, marital status, education level, monthly income, number of people living in the household, and gender of household members. Subsequently, participants were asked to answer the questions in the semi-structured interview form, which had been created by the researcher for the research purpose. With the participant's consent, audio recordings were made during the interviews. The audio recordings were transcribed into written texts after the interviews, and data were analyzed using the MAXQDA software, a qualitative data analysis program. Codes were created for the research data, themes were developed, and subheadings and headings were determined, allowing for the interpretation of research findings. The obtained data were explained using descriptive analysis method.The obtained data are presented in the findings section.

A total of 42 men convicted of violence against women were interviewed. Out of these interviews, 37 were included in the research based on data cleanliness and quality. To participate in the study, individuals were required to have been convicted of domestic violence against women, and those with any psychotic disorders or mental retardation that could hinder the interview were not accepted as participants.

Table 1: Participants' Demographic Characteristics

Participant	Age	Job	Condition	Habitat	Education
1	38	employed as a civil servant	married	urban	bachelor's degree holder
2	33	lawyer	single	urban	bachelor's degree holder
3	35	employed as a civil servant	single	urban	associate degree holder
4	38	self-employed	single	urban	primary school graduate
5	48	employed as a civil servant	married	urban	high school graduate
6	21	student	single	urban	bachelor's degree holder
7	41	self-employed	single	urban	primary school graduate
8	60	retired farmer	married	rural	primary school graduate
9	60	farmer	married	rural	primary school graduate
10	33	illegal	single	rural	high school graduate
11	59	farmer	married	rural	illiterate
12	52	self-employed	single	urban	primary school graduate
13	32	doctor	single	urban	bachelor's degree holder
14	34	employee	married	urban	associate degree holder
15	72	retired	single	rural	primary school graduate
16	23	student	single	urban	bachelor's degree holder
17	57	self-employed	married	rural	illiterate
18	42	self-employed	single	urban	primary school graduate
19	38	waiter	single	urban	primary school graduate

20	42	musician	single	urban	primary school graduate
21	63	retired	single	urban	primary school graduate
22	26	personel trainer	single	urban	bachelor's degree holder
23	43	self-employed	married	rural	primary school graduate
24	42	self-employed	single	urban	primary school graduate
25	63	retired farmer	married	rural	high school graduate
26	40	self-employed	married	urban	primary school graduate
27	29	self-employed	single	urban	primary school graduate
28	29	employee	single	urban	high school graduate
29	36	self-employed	single	rural	high school graduate
30	50	employee	single	urban	high school graduate
31	39	farmer	single	rural	bachelor's degree holder
32	27	employee	single	urban	bachelor's degree holder
33	22	illegal	single	urban	primary school graduate
34	40	teacher	single	urban	bachelor's degree holder
35	38	farmer	single	rural	high school graduate
36	25	employee	single	rural	primary school graduate
37	69	retired	married	rural	primary school graduate

2.4. Interview Outputs

Evaluations regarding perceptions of violence and space were made based on the statements obtained from the interviews conducted with participants convicted of violence against women, and the following statements are presented below:

> *Participant 1: "Sir, if a man is beating a woman, I know he wouldn't do it for no reason. A real man doesn't just go around hurting people for no reason. It's not something you do to anyone. Even dogs, you know, when they eat their food, if you try to take it away, they try to attack, right? But when they pass by, they wag their tails and walk around. I personally find that about 70% of our women are at fault in these matters."*

> ***Theme: The Perpetrator of Violence:***

Participant 1's statement reflects sexist attitudes towards violence. They seem to attribute violence against women to a high percentage of women's actions, suggesting that when violence occurs, it is primarily due to the woman's fault, and that the man resorts to violence as a natural response. The comparison of women to wagging tails of dogs implies that violence against women is justified when they exhibit behaviors deemed unfaithful or disloyal, thus normalizing the idea that such behaviors deserve violence.

It is essential to remember that violence is never justified towards any living being. The acceptance of violence as a natural process is influenced by cultural belief systems, and in this specific participant's case, it appears to be influenced by cultural characteristics. The portrayal of women as untrustworthy, deceitful, and deserving of violence, while men are depicted as controlling and using violence to assert themselves, demonstrates the presence of gender bias.

It is crucial to recognize that violence against women is a grave violation of human rights and that any attempt to justify or normalize such behavior based on gender roles is unacceptable. Efforts to combat gender-based violence must address and challenge these deeply ingrained

cultural attitudes and stereotypes. Promoting gender equality and respectful relationships is essential in dismantling the roots of violence against women in society.

> *Participant 2: "...at home, at home, everything is kept within the family, you know. Well, for example, I can talk openly with my first spouse, and there are no issues. But with the second one, when I talk about our problems to her family, they think negatively of me, and they even label me as an alcoholic."*

Theme: Indoor Privacy:

With this statement, participant 2 conveys the belief that family problems should be kept private and not shared with others outside the household. They highlight the contrasting reactions of their first and second spouse's families to sharing domestic issues. The participant perceives that the first spouse's family does not have any negative assumptions about them because problems are not shared with them. On the other hand, sharing issues with the second spouse's family leads to negative judgments, including being labeled as an alcoholic.

Participant 2's perspective underscores the social stigma and pressures surrounding the disclosure of family problems to outsiders. The fear of being negatively judged and labeled may deter individuals from seeking external support or discussing domestic violence incidents with others. This fear can prevent them from seeking help or resources when facing abusive situations, leading to isolation and further vulnerability.

Addressing this stigma is essential in promoting open communication and seeking support in cases of domestic violence. Encouraging a culture of support and understanding can create an environment where individuals feel safe to seek help without fear of judgment. Providing access to confidential helplines, counseling services, and support groups can empower individuals to break the silence and seek the assistance they need to address domestic violence effectively.

The notion that the home and what happens inside it are private and confidential carries cultural characteristics and acts as a barrier for women to seek help from institutions or organizations in combating violence. This belief system hinders the transition of crimes and violence committed within the home, i.e., in closed/private spaces, into the public domain. It is a product of the patriarchal oppression and authority established through domestic violence.

This cultural belief reinforces the idea that domestic issues should be kept hidden from the outside world, perpetuating the silence and isolation of victims. As a result, women may feel trapped and unable to seek assistance or support to address the violence they experience within their homes. The fear of breaking the confidentiality and privacy of the family unit can be a significant deterrent for women to reach out for help.

This belief system is closely linked to the patriarchal control that seeks to maintain dominance and power within the home, perpetuating the cycle of violence and suppressing victims'

agency. Breaking this cycle requires challenging traditional gender roles and norms, and fostering a society where individuals feel safe and supported in seeking help when facing domestic violence.

Efforts should be made to challenge these cultural norms and raise awareness about the importance of seeking help and support to combat domestic violence. Public campaigns and education on gender equality and women's rights can help break down these barriers and empower women to speak out against violence, seek assistance, and access the resources they need to break free from abusive situations. Establishing accessible and confidential support services can also provide a safe space for victims to share their experiences and receive assistance without fear of judgment or retaliation. By addressing these cultural beliefs and providing the necessary support systems, progress can be made in dismantling the structures that enable and perpetuate domestic violence.

> *Participant 2: "Look, neighbors used to hear and see things, but don't get me wrong, it's not like someone would come knocking on my door from the neighborhood. No one has the courage for that. Even if they call the police, they might call, but they can't just come knocking on my door and ask what's happening inside. It's something that stays within, you know."*

> **Theme: Indoor Dominance:**

In a manner similar to the participant 2's previous statement, this expression also emphasizes the expectation that problems within closed spaces should not be shared with outsiders. Additionally, it suggests that neighbors and even public officials would not intervene in domestic issues, as they are not allowed to interfere with the participant's control over their home environment. The belief that male dominance prevails within the private domain aims to maintain this control, exerting pressure and employing violence to prevent anyone from daring to intervene.

The phrase "Kol kırılır yen içinde kalır." which translates to "If an arm is broken, it should stay within" supports the idea that domestic violence remains concealed within the home. As a result, women who experience domestic violence may refrain from seeking help from relevant authorities due to the prevailing cultural acceptance of privacy over disclosure. This creates a significant obstacle in assessing the extent of domestic violence occurring within homes.

This cultural norm perpetuates the cycle of domestic violence by discouraging victims from seeking assistance and protection from abuse. It further contributes to the culture of silence and the reluctance of victims to report violence and abuse to relevant authorities.

To address this issue from a scientific perspective, comprehensive research is needed to understand the socio-cultural factors contributing to the acceptance of domestic violence within private spaces. Public awareness campaigns and educational programs can be designed to challenge traditional gender norms, promote gender equality, and encourage the reporting of domestic violence incidents.

Furthermore, law enforcement agencies and public institutions should be trained to respond sensitively to domestic violence cases and to encourage victims to seek help and support. Confidential helplines and support services should be readily available and accessible to provide assistance and protection to victims of domestic violence.

By actively challenging the notion of absolute privacy within the home and fostering a culture of openness, safety, and support, progress can be made in combating domestic violence and providing the necessary resources and assistance to victims seeking help to break free from abusive situations.

It cannot be ignored that societal gender perception plays a significant role in violence against women. It is observed that perpetrators of violence adopt gender roles that marginalize and confine women to the private sphere. As seen in the participant's statement:

> *Participant 3: "Well, when a woman takes good care of her child, during the day, she puts the child to sleep and spends time chatting with her mother and sister, but when her husband comes home in the evening and asks her to take care of the child, that just can't be. You should be taking care of the child and entertaining guests at the same time."*

> **Theme: Gender Roles in Space:**

Participant 3 attributes the problems in his relationship with his wife to her perceived failure in fulfilling her duties. He justifies his resorting to violence based on the belief that his wife is not adequately performing her roles, especially in taking care of the child. This perspective reflects a deeply ingrained gender bias and traditional gender roles in which women are expected to bear the primary responsibility for childcare and domestic tasks.

Participant 3's statement perpetuates gender stereotypes and reinforces the notion that women should solely focus on household chores and childcare, neglecting the possibility of sharing these responsibilities with their partners. This mindset reflects a patriarchal view where women are seen as the primary caregivers and homemakers, while men are absolved of such responsibilities.

Furthermore, the participant 3's comment about instructing his wife to take care of the child upon his arrival home highlights a sense of entitlement and control over her actions. By expecting his wife to instantly attend to the child without considering her own needs or circumstances, he reinforces traditional power dynamics and control within the household.

This language and attitude towards women and domestic responsibilities contribute to the normalization of gender-based violence and undermine efforts to achieve gender equality. It illustrates how societal norms and expectations can perpetuate a cycle of domestic violence, where women are burdened with unequal responsibilities and face repercussions for not adhering to traditional gender roles.

To address this issue from a scholarly perspective, comprehensive research is needed to examine the impact of traditional gender roles on domestic violence and the unequal distribution of household responsibilities. Public awareness campaigns and educational programs should challenge traditional gender norms, promote gender equality, and emphasize shared responsibilities in households.

> *Participant 4: "We are standing in front of the door, sitting at the entrance. I tell her to come inside, I apologize, and if she comes, there won't be any issues, I say. At that moment, the neighbors from the building came down, and I cursed at them, telling them to go back to their homes."*

> **Theme: Violence in Public Space:**

In this statement, the participant 4 expresses that he called his wife inside the house because he didn't want to argue in public. However, his wife continued the argument in the public space, causing problems. Frustrated by her loud voice and refusal to enter the house, the participant admits that he slapped her. He further mentions that he felt uncomfortable with this act of violence occurring in public, where they might draw attention from others.

The participant 4's reaction towards the neighbors leaving their homes due to the commotion reflects his desire to maintain control and authority not only within the private space of their home but also in the public sphere. He wants to exert dominance over the situation without any interference from the community. This attitude perpetuates a sense of entitlement and possessiveness towards his wife and reinforces harmful gender norms that associate masculinity with control and aggression.

The participant 4 emphasizes the importance of keeping family issues private and not involving outsiders, including neighbors, in their domestic conflicts. This perspective aligns with a traditional patriarchal view, where domestic problems are considered a private matter and outsiders are discouraged from intervening in family affairs. The participant's refusal to accept intervention from neighbors further highlights the cultural norms that contribute to the normalization of domestic violence.

From a scholarly perspective, this scenario underscores the need for comprehensive research on the impact of societal norms and cultural expectations on domestic violence. It sheds light on the complex interactions between private and public spheres in the context of intimate partner violence. Understanding the role of cultural beliefs and community attitudes is essential for designing effective interventions and support systems for victims of domestic violence.

> *Participant 5: "Sir, violence is justice. For me, violence ensures justice. I always say this: If you are good, you become bad to the bad. Look, if you become bad to the good, you're dishonorable, and violence doesn't happen for no reason."*

Theme: Normalizing Violence:

In this statement, the participant 5 asserts that violence is a natural and necessary process, and it serves as a means to achieve justice. Furthermore, the participant argues that victims of violence are not truly victims because violence has justified reasons. However, the participant seems to overlook the legal and judicial processes in the pursuit of justice. Instead, he sees violence as a means to assert dominance, assuming that justice is something that can be achieved through individual acts of violence, rather than through the legal system.

Participant 5's perspective reflects an adherence to patriarchal beliefs where preserving honor and maintaining dominance are valued over lawful and peaceful resolutions. This viewpoint perpetuates the notion that violence is a justifiable response to certain situations, thus normalizing harmful and aggressive behavior. The participant's statement that non-violent men are dishonorable suggests that he associates masculinity with the ability to exert control and force, further reinforcing traditional gender norms.

Such beliefs reflect a deeply ingrained cultural and societal acceptance of violence as a means of resolving conflicts, particularly in the context of gender relations. This attitude not only perpetuates gender-based violence but also undermines efforts to establish a society based on respect, equality, and non-violence.

From a scholarly perspective, this participant's view emphasizes the need for comprehensive research on the relationship between cultural norms, gender roles, and the perpetuation of violence. It highlights the importance of challenging traditional and harmful beliefs surrounding violence and masculinity. Efforts to promote non-violent conflict resolution and to educate individuals on respectful communication and gender equality are essential in addressing this issue.

> *Participant 5: "I am aware of my responsibilities within the family, and I know that I am the leader. I am the leader in my extended family as well as in my own family. But I have never contradicted my wives' decisions."*

Theme: Gender Roles in the Family:

Participant 5 confirms the previous observations by stating that he is the head of the family and holds authority within the household. These beliefs are shaped by traditional gender roles and the patriarchal system. In this patriarchal system, the notion of the man being the leader of the household is evident in the participant's statements. He emphasizes the importance of the man's words carrying weight within the family, while the desires and opinions of women are seemingly less significant.

The participant 5 acknowledges his role as the family leader and, in this context, the unequal distribution of power and responsibilities between genders becomes apparent. Despite being the leader, the participant's views are not reflective of an equal or respectful understanding of his wives' desires. Instead, he portrays a belief that fulfilling his wives' wishes is a form of

benevolence on his part, implying that their desires are not necessarily reasonable or deserving of consideration.

> *Participant 6: "Now, so many absurd things have happened, for example, the Istanbul Convention is nonsense. Now, don't get me wrong. You see, a woman looks at another woman, admires her, and starts wanting this and that, and of course, her husband can't keep up."*

Theme: Views on the Legal Process of Violence Against Women:

The participant 6 expresses the belief that legal measures, such as the Istanbul Convention, aimed at protecting women from violence, are also considered nonsense. They reject the idea of legal support for women's rights and view it as unnecessary interference in private matters. The participant 6's perspective indicates resistance to any form of public intervention in domestic issues, particularly when it comes to women's protection.

This attitude reflects the perpetuation of patriarchal norms and the desire to maintain the traditional power dynamics within the household, where men are expected to be in control and women are discouraged from expressing their needs and desires. The participant suggests that women should not be influenced by each other or aspire to assert themselves, as such behavior may challenge the dominant position of men within the family.

The rejection of legal mechanisms for protecting women's rights and addressing gender-based violence reveals a disregard for the importance of holding perpetrators accountable for their actions. The participant seems to downplay the significance of legal consequences for those who perpetrate violence against women, implying that men are not concerned about or affected by legal measures.

> *Participant 7: "So, if the financial situation is bad and the husband doesn't work, the relationship becomes difficult. But once the husband is working, why should the relationship be bad? It's not possible. The woman should also have her own job, but she should cook, take care of the children, and do the cleaning. A woman's place is in the home."*

Theme: Gender Roles in the Family:

In this statement, the participant 7 emphasizes the importance of the husband working and providing for the family as a key factor in maintaining a good relationship. The participant views the man's role as the primary breadwinner and believes that fulfilling this role is sufficient for a healthy family dynamic. As a result, the participant reinforces the notion that the foundation of the household is built upon the man's contribution.

Furthermore, the participant 7 expresses a traditional and gender-biased view by asserting that a woman's place is in the home and that she should be responsible for household chores, childcare, and domestic duties. This perspective reflects a sexist belief system where women are expected to fulfill caregiving and homemaking roles.

The participant 7's statements highlight the unequal distribution of gender roles and responsibilities within the family, which can contribute to potential tensions and conflicts. Such traditional gender norms can perpetuate gender-based violence, as they limit women's opportunities for self-fulfillment and empowerment outside of the domestic sphere.

The participant 7's remarks also touch upon the financial aspect of domestic dynamics. The unequal division of domestic labor and the lack of financial support for women's household contributions can lead to economic vulnerability for women. This financial dependency can create barriers for women in seeking help, leaving abusive relationships, or reporting violence, as they may fear economic hardship and lack of support.

> *Participant 8: "Our ancestors say, don't meddle between husband and wife. Even if it happens in the street, you still shouldn't interfere between a husband and wife."*

> ***Theme: Privacy in Domestic Violence:***

The participant 8 supports traditional gender roles and uses proverbs and sayings to justify this perspective. The participant 8 believes that certain behaviors are culturally transmitted and accepted as part of their identity. Additionally, they assert that no one should intervene in marital relationships, whether inside or outside the home. The participant's response to witnessing violence against a woman in public further reflects this belief, as they state that they would not take any action. This indicates a view that violence is considered an acceptable occurrence within a family, and outsiders should not intervene in private matters.

These statements reveal the participant 8's clear acceptance of violence in both public and private spheres and suggest that violence may find easier expression within the confines of the home. The participant's perspective supports the idea that violence is a normal part of family dynamics and should not be shared with others. This viewpoint disregards the state's efforts to intervene and provide legal support, as they consider such initiatives as potentially empowering women and disrupting the patriarchal family structure.

In summary, the participant 8's statements demonstrate a traditional and conservative outlook, endorsing the acceptance of violence within families and discouraging any interference from outsiders. This perpetuates the cycle of violence and hinders efforts to address and prevent domestic violence. Transforming these deeply ingrained beliefs and promoting gender equality are essential steps in combating violence and fostering a safe and supportive environment for all individuals.

The thoughts and perceptions of other participants regarding the identified themes related to spatial violence align similarly, as detailed more extensively in the researcher's doctoral thesis.

3. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In our country, action plans are prepared and preventive measures are implemented to combat violence against women. However, it is also a fact that violence against women continues to increase day by day. Diversifying efforts to promote gender equality between

women and men in society is crucial (Altıparmak, 2019:72). Just like all genders in nature complement each other in harmony, no gender is superior to the other, and there should be no marginalization for the sake of achieving social welfare (Kalaycı Kırlıoğlu, Akarçay, and Kırlıoğlu, 2016:118). Unequal roles, responsibilities, and societal norms lead to the marginalization of genders and manifest in various forms of violence. Based on research, it is evident that men perpetrate the majority of violence against women.

Social perspective plays a significant role in the interpretation of violence, as it influences the normalization of violence. In general, culture and environmental factors are crucial determinants (Can, 2014: 18). Therefore, patterns of behavior that reject violence against women and react against violent behavior need to be emphasized (Genç, Altıparmak, and Ustabaşı Gündüz, 2019: 392). Mental processes can be considered as a source that fuels violence against women. To be included in mental health policies, specific studies need to be conducted on this topic (İzci, Usta Sağlam, and Kaçıkçı, 2017: 215). Psychological support is essential not only for perpetrators of violence but also for women who are victims of violence.

A comprehensive approach with a biopsychosocial perspective is essential in understanding violence (Gümüş, 2006). This approach raises the question of whether violence is an inherent part of life. At times, acceptance of the dark side of human nature has been put forward. Many renowned figures, such as Freud, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Darwin, Nietzsche, Lorenz, Hegel, Malthus, and Smith, have acknowledged that violence stems from the struggle for life, quest for dominance, and the impulse towards death (Lorenz, 1996). However, are these notions applicable to our current era, where violence is considered a natural and inevitable process? Or were these ideas based on the behavior of humans during a primitive period when aggression was crucial for survival? Does generalizing such assumptions hold true?

Violence in thought and behavior is influenced by the social environment. From this perspective, it would be more accurate to consider violence as something that can be improved and changed.

Violence against women is a significant social issue in Turkey. Almost every day, we continue to witness news of femicides on various media channels. Despite numerous plans and efforts to develop prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation programs, violence against women has unfortunately not ceased or decreased. While the types of violence men inflict on women might suggest biological and psychological origins, the observed behavioral differences across different societies also indicate that this violence emerges as a result of learned behavior. Cultural values play a crucial role in influencing violence against women (Mohammadi Granbarlou, Raheb, 2020: 66-67). In this regard, to address the problem, it is recommended to make changes at a macro level in services that benefit women, establish support groups and self-confidence programs for women, empower women, combat gender inequalities through awareness campaigns, engage in work with men to address the root causes of the issue, increase resources for supporting women, and enhance written resources on the topic.

Research on violence reveals that women tend to conceal domestic violence due to factors such as privacy concerns, fear, and shame. This tendency to hide the violence makes it challenging to determine the extent of the problem. However, urbanization has led to women becoming more visible in public spaces. Consequently, women's increased presence in public places has brought the issue of violence against women to the forefront, making it more openly discussed and visible (Akgül and Uğurlu, 2021: 129).

As women start to utilize public spaces more frequently, the violence that was previously concealed in private and intimate settings has begun to surface in society (Hanmer, 2012).

Since the 1970s, the issue of violence against women has gained significance worldwide with the emergence of the feminist movement. By the mid-1980s, it started to be discussed in Turkey as well. The "Say No to Violence" march on May 17, 1987, is considered the first collective movement of women against violence in Turkey (Akgül and Uğurlu, 2021: 131). As the women's movement developed globally, governments began to make legal regulations. In 1986, the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and in 1993, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women was accepted. In the 1993 declaration, violence against women was defined by distinguishing between the "privat" and "public" spheres. During this process, as violence continued to increase, states realized that they could not act independently of cultural norms in their domestic laws. Therefore, it became necessary to establish new legal arrangements, and the "Istanbul Convention," also known as the "Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence," emerged as the most comprehensive legal framework. With the Istanbul Convention, Turkey enacted the Law No. 6284 to protect women from all forms of violence. The decision was made to collaborate at the local and international levels and to create policies with a holistic perspective to protect women from all forms of violence (Mor Çatı, 2023).

In conclusion, this research sheds light on the perceptions of male offenders convicted of domestic violence against women regarding the locations where they committed their violent acts. The study took place at the Ankara High Security Forensic Psychiatry Hospital, utilizing a qualitative approach with semi-structured interviews. The findings emphasize that violence is a learned behavior deeply intertwined with cultural characteristics, and the locations where violent acts occur carry significant cultural meanings.

The research reveals that closed/private spaces are culturally perceived as intimate and secretive, symbolizing domains of male dominance. As a result, violence observed in such locations tends to manifest in a more uncontrolled manner. Understanding the significance of these spaces and their association with cultural norms and gender-specific traits is crucial in comprehending the underlying reasons for violent tendencies.

The importance of bringing visibility to violence in closed/private spaces cannot be overstated. By unraveling the dynamics of violence in these locations, we gain valuable insights into the

cultural factors that contribute to the perpetuation of violence against women. This knowledge is essential for developing effective prevention and intervention strategies.

Moreover, the research highlights the necessity of rehabilitating and reintegrating perpetrators into society. Addressing the root causes of violent behavior and providing appropriate interventions and support for offenders can contribute to breaking the cycle of violence.

In conclusion, this study underscores the significance of a holistic approach in tackling violence against women. Combining legal measures with cultural awareness and psychological interventions can pave the way for a safer and more equal society. By understanding the complex interplay between cultural norms and violent behavior, we can work towards building a society that rejects violence and fosters respect, equality, and empathy.

Recommendations (From A Social Worker Perspective)

It is recommended that social work professionals conduct social assessments with women living together with their partners within marital relationships or not, and support and empower them. To make this study possible, it is suggested that social work professionals be assigned to family health centers. In the process of social work intervention, after identifying the issues and converting them into practical interventions, the follow-up step establishes a connection with the families interviewed, and social support is actively maintained. It is of great importance to have social work professionals in every neighborhood health institution, such as family health centers, to reach every family easily and to enable every family to access social work services. In this regard, it is recommended that state policies be developed in this area and support be provided for social work professionals to be present in the field.

This research sheds light on the complex issue of violence, particularly domestic violence against women, and its association with cultural characteristics and spatial settings. As social work professionals, it is imperative to consider the implications of these findings in order to design effective intervention strategies and contribute to the prevention of violence in society.

1. Holistic Approach to Intervention: Social work interventions should adopt a holistic approach that addresses both the immediate consequences of violence and the underlying factors contributing to violent tendencies. This approach should encompass psychological, sociocultural, and environmental dimensions to facilitate comprehensive healing and rehabilitation of both the victims and perpetrators.

2. Therapeutic and Supportive Interventions for Perpetrators: Understanding that violence is a learned behavior, it is essential to offer therapeutic and supportive interventions for male offenders in order to address the root causes of violence. Programs focusing on anger management, conflict resolution, and gender-sensitive counseling can contribute to breaking the cycle of violence.

3. Cultural Sensitivity and Awareness: Social work professionals must be aware of the cultural norms and values that shape violent behaviors. Culturally sensitive

4. Advocacy and Awareness Campaigns: Collaboration with advocacy groups and community organizations is crucial to raise awareness about the detrimental effects of violence and promote a culture of non-violence. Educational campaigns targeting schools, workplaces, and religious institutions can help challenge societal norms that perpetuate violence.

5. Engaging Men and Boys: In addition to working with male perpetrators, social work professionals should engage men and boys as allies in the fight against violence. Promoting positive masculinities and gender equality can help reshape societal attitudes towards violence.

6. Safe Spaces and Support Networks: Creating safe spaces and support networks for victims of violence is crucial in breaking their isolation and fostering their healing. Social workers can collaborate with shelters, crisis centers, and community organizations to provide comprehensive support services to survivors.

7. Policy Advocacy: Social work professionals should actively participate in advocating for policies that prioritize the prevention of violence and the protection of victims. Supporting legislation and funding that bolsters violence prevention initiatives is essential for creating a safer society.

8. Continuous Research: Social work professionals should continue to conduct research on violence and its underlying factors to inform evidence-based interventions and policy recommendations. Collaborative research with other disciplines can contribute to a deeper understanding of violence and inform comprehensive strategies.

By incorporating these recommendations into social work practice, professionals can play a pivotal role in combating violence, promoting healing and rehabilitation, and creating a society where every individual can live free from the fear of violence and oppression.

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ETHICAL INFORMATION REGARDING THE RESEARCH

To conduct the research, applications were made to Ankara Social Sciences University and Ankara Bilkent City Hospital. The research was deemed appropriate to be conducted based on the official letter with reference number E.Kurul-E1-21-2094 from the Ethics Committee of Ankara Bilkent City Hospital and the official letter with decision number 23418 from Ankara Social Sciences University.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

There is no potential conflict of interest in this study.