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Abstract: *This study examines men's attitudes toward violence against women and femicide in Konya, highlighting the complex interplay between cultural, social, and economic factors. While the majority of participants strongly condemn severe forms of violence such as femicide, a significant portion still justifies milder forms of violence, including economic control and restrictions on women's freedoms. The findings indicate that younger and more educated men tend to adopt more egalitarian attitudes, whereas traditional patriarchal values remain influential among older and less educated participants. Structural factors, such as economic dependency and weak legal enforcement, also contribute to the persistence of these attitudes. The study underscores the urgent need for comprehensive educational programs, stronger legal frameworks, and media campaigns to challenge deep-seated patriarchal norms. Strengthening women's economic independence and increasing access to legal and psychological support services are crucial in combating gender-based violence. The role of media in shaping public perceptions and promoting gender equality is also emphasized. Ultimately, a multidimensional and long-term approach is required to bring about sustainable change in societal attitudes and eliminate violence against women.*

Introduction

Violence against women is among the most prevalent forms of violence worldwide; however, its full extent remains unknown in different societies. Regardless of the society they live in, women are at risk of experiencing violence from men. Over the past two decades, violence against women has emerged as a significant social issue, as it conflicts with many people's values and necessitates interventions to change the status quo, including criminal justice system responses (Rahman, Rahman & Masroor, 2025; Shoham, 2005). The World Health Organization (WHO) defines violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against another person, group, or community that results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, or deprivation." This broad definition emphasizes the use of force and coercion to identify violent acts and determine the perpetrator's intent (Sahin, 2010).

The alarming prevalence of male-perpetrated violence against women worldwide varies across countries (Bhanot & Seen, 2007). In response to rising violence rates, the WHO recognizes violence as a fundamental problem and a serious threat to public health and social security (Stickley et al., 2008). In

some societies, male-perpetrated violence against their spouses is considered a legitimate behavior. Research suggests that men in patriarchal societies are more likely to justify violence against their spouses and children, whereas such attitudes are less prevalent in more egalitarian societies (Wallach et al., 2009).

Beyond psychological explanations for violence against women, statistics indicate that violence stems from multiple structural factors, particularly socio-economic causes. The overall nature of violence is linked to weakened family ties and the erosion of human and cultural values. Women who grow up in violent households are more likely to experience violence themselves (Eryurt & Seçkiner, 2015).

Attitudes play a crucial role in the analysis of violence against women. Attitudes influence both the perpetration of violence and societal responses to it, and they are shaped by peer group influences, particularly in school and university settings. Young men, in particular, tend to exhibit more negative attitudes compared to their older counterparts. International studies have documented that young men are more likely to commit violent offenses such as rape than older men (Flood & Pease, 2009).

Researchers have attributed domestic violence against women to various factors, including cultural norms and values, learned violent behaviors, and media influences. Breer argues that attitude is the strongest predictor of domestic violence. Moral and cultural norms are embedded in legal and cultural processes, which in turn shape attitudes and behaviors. Even if a direct link between attitudes and behaviors does not always exist, attitude is considered a significant variable in determining an individual's actions (Schwertscharf, 2001). Culture plays a vital role in shaping men's attitudes toward violence against women and can lead to shifts in their beliefs (Kim-Go, 2008). Culturally specific factors contribute to the emergence of violence against women. As a result, attitudes toward violence against women vary based on geographical region, national boundaries, religion, and ethnicity (Lawoko, 2008). Some studies in this field suggest that men often hold attitudes that justify violence against women (Sahin, 2008).

There is substantial evidence supporting the relationship between violence against women and beliefs, values, and attitudes at both individual and societal levels. For instance, men tend to exhibit more hostile and negative sexual attitudes toward women, which are often linked to traditional notions of masculinity (Flood & Pease, 2009). Numerous studies confirm that domestic violence against women is closely related to men's attitudes toward such violence. These studies emphasize the role of attitudes and cultural values in shaping men's propensity for violence against women. Researchers argue that attitudes and beliefs reinforcing male dominance can legitimize the use of violence to maintain men's superior position within the family. Culture, in turn, shapes attitudes that justify male dominance and female subordination (Akin & Urdin, 2005).

Societies with lower rates of violence against women are those that embrace egalitarian attitudes. Cultural contexts across different societies shape varying perspectives on violence. Individual factors, particularly personal experiences with violence or exposure to violence, play a key role in shaping attitudes toward violence against women and contribute to intergenerational transmission. There is strong evidence that children who witness violence during childhood develop more accepting attitudes toward it, which in turn facilitates future violence—this pattern is particularly pronounced among boys. A study on sexually coercive behaviors found that parental violence and child abuse contribute to the development of hostile sexual attitudes and an emphasis on sexual entitlement among boys (Aliverdinia, 2015: 20).

Examining men's attitudes toward violence against women has often been a central objective of educational campaigns aimed at preventing such violence. However, a quantitative analysis of the factors shaping attitudes toward violence and femicide is necessary (Flood & Pease, 2009: 125).

This study presents the key factors shaping attitudes toward femicide and violence against women, with a focus on general violence and specific forms such as domestic violence, sexual assault, and harassment. Gender and culture function as overarching factors influencing attitudes at different levels of social organization. The study will then analyze individual, institutional, and societal factors that shape attitudes toward violence against women. Attitudes are not only a significant causal variable in explaining violence against women; efforts to explain and prevent men's violence against women must also address the material conditions and entrenched power relations that sustain such violence (Flood & Pease, 2009: 126).

The Relationship Between Attitudes and Violence Against Women

Over the past 30 years, scientific tools for assessing attitudes toward violence against women have been continuously developed. Bert's (1980) initial framework was one of the earliest attempts to analyze socio-cultural justifications for sexual violence in feminist reports. Two decades later, at least 11 different scales measuring beliefs and attitudes related to sexual aggression had been developed. These measures assess dimensions of sexual violence, including rape myths, hostile or hyper-masculine beliefs, victim-blaming, empathy toward victims, and sexual aggression intentions. Other instruments focus on attitudes and perceptions of different forms of violence against women, ranging from sexual assault to domestic violence and sexual harassment (Murnen, 2002).

Attitudes toward violence against women are crucial in three main areas:

1. The perpetration of violence against women,
2. Women's responses to victimization
3. Societal and institutional reactions to violence against women (Flood & Pease, 2009: 126).

1. The Link Between Attitudes and the Perpetration of Violence

Attitudes are fundamentally and causally linked to the perpetration of violence against women. At both individual and societal levels, strong evidence connects beliefs and values that support violence with actual violent behaviors. For instance, men who hold rigid, traditional, and misogynistic gender role attitudes are more likely to engage in domestic violence (Harris, 1998; O'Neil & Harvey, 1997). Young men who endorse pro-violence beliefs are also more likely to engage in sexual coercion (Anderson et al., 2004). Murnen et al. (2002) conducted a meta-analysis of studies linking aspects of male ideology to sexual aggression and found that, with one exception, all male ideology measures significantly correlated with sexual violence. In other words, men's adherence to patriarchal, hostile, and gendered sexual beliefs consistently predicts their use of violence against women.

2. Women's Responses to Violence

Women's responses to violence are shaped by their attitudes and those of people around them. Women who perceive domestic violence or sexual assault through a lens of victim-blaming are more likely to blame themselves, less likely to report incidents to the police or authorities, and more likely to experience repeated victimization in the long term. Studies show that self-blame among sexual assault victims is strongly associated with higher levels of trauma and distress (Neville et al., 2004).

Media representations and social norms reinforce the expectation that women should remain silent and prioritize their partners' needs over their own (Margolies, 1998). Women who hold traditional gender role attitudes are less likely to report abuse from their partners (Harris et al., 2005). Additionally, restrictive and stereotypical representations of violence hinder women from recognizing and labeling their experiences as violence. One of the main reasons women do not report legally defined cases of sexual assault is that these incidents often do not match common rape stereotypes—such as an attack by a stranger, occurring outside the home, or involving a weapon. When these stereotypical elements

are absent, women may not perceive themselves as victims. However, if perpetrators deprive victims of their liberty, threaten their lives or bodily integrity, or cause psychological harm, reporting rates increase (Lievore, 2003: 28).

Women also choose not to report violence based on how they anticipate others will react. Fear of blame, social exclusion, or the belief that the criminal justice system will not provide sufficient redress are key deterrents (Felson et al., 2002; Kingsnorth & MacIntosh, 2004; Lievore, 2003). However, there is no evidence that women's attitudes toward sexual assault play a primary causal role in their victimization—emphasizing such a link would be a form of victim-blaming. In short, there is no empirical support for the idea that women's attitudes toward sexual violence increase their risk of being assaulted (Anderson et al., 2004).

3. Societal and Institutional Responses to Violence Against Women

Beyond perpetrators and victims, the attitudes of bystanders, family members, friends, professionals, and the general public significantly influence responses to violence. Individuals with pro-violence attitudes are less likely to show empathy and support for victims, more likely to blame them, less likely to report incidents to authorities, and more inclined to recommend leniency or impunity for perpetrators (Pavlou & Knowles, 2001; West & Wandrei, 2002).

Social attitudes also shape the official responses of professionals and institutions, including police officers, judges, clergy, social workers, and medical personnel. International studies show that attitudes toward sexual assault and other forms of violence against women often obstruct effective and appropriate responses to victims (Nayak et al., 2003). The reactions of others to women seeking help for intimate partner violence influence their likelihood of reporting future incidents to the police (Hickman & Simpson, 2003).

One of the most consistent findings from studies examining attitudes toward violence against women is the gender difference. Gender is a persistent predictor of attitudes supporting violence against women. Numerous international studies have demonstrated gender differences in attitudes toward domestic violence, sexual assault, and other forms of violence against women. Generally, men are more likely than women to agree with myths and beliefs that support violence, to perceive a narrower range of behaviors as violence, to blame victims, to show less willingness to empathize, to minimize the harm caused by physical and sexual assaults, and to view acts of violence against women as less serious, appropriate, or harmful. Moreover, in many countries, gender differences in attitudes are stronger than differences associated with social dynamics such as socioeconomic status or education (Kennedy & Gorzalka, 2002).

It is worth noting that a variety of factors, including cultural, social, and policy-related elements influence men's attitudes toward violence against women. These attitudes can significantly impact the prevalence and acceptance of violence against women.

Cultural and Social Influences

Gender Socialization: In some societies, men are socialized to view women as submissive, which can lead to justifying violence as a means of control and discipline (Zakar, 2013).

Socioeconomic and Educational Factors: Attitudes justifying violence are more prevalent among individuals in disadvantaged circumstances, such as those with lower education levels or living in rural areas (Tran et al., 2016).

Cultural Norms: Attitudes toward violence against women vary significantly across different countries and cultures, influenced by sociocultural factors like political, historical, and religious contexts (Nayak et al., 2003: 338).

Impact of Public Policies

Women's Police Stations (WPS): In Brazil, the presence of WPS has been linked to more negative attitudes toward violence against women among men, suggesting that local policies can effectively change public perceptions and reduce violence (Abby Córdova et al., 2021: 10).

Violence Prevention Campaigns: Efforts to change attitudes through public education and policy interventions are crucial. These campaigns often target attitudes to prevent violence, although they must also address structural inequalities (Flood et al., 2009: 130).

Attitudinal Variations

Cross-National Differences: There are significant differences in attitudes toward violence against women across countries, with some regions showing higher acceptance of such violence (Tran et al., 2016).

Individual Attitudes: In Turkey, a study found that a significant portion of men held negative attitudes toward violence against women, indicating a potential for change through targeted interventions (Polat et al., 2020).

Men's attitudes toward violence against women are shaped by a complex interplay of cultural, social, and policy-related factors that shape men's attitudes toward violence against women. While some men justify violence due to ingrained social norms, others are influenced by effective public policies and educational campaigns that promote gender equality and condemn violence. Addressing these attitudes requires a multifaceted approach that includes changing cultural norms, implementing supportive policies, and promoting education to foster a more equitable society.

3. Conceptual Framework of the Research

3.1 Definition of Violence

Violence has been defined in various ways. According to the World Health Organization (WHO) (2002), violence refers to "intentional physical, psychosocial, or other behaviors that cause injury or death to an individual or hinder their development." Violence involves the deliberate use of force in a way that causes or risks causing physical and/or psychological harm.

3.2 Types of Violence

Violence manifests in different forms. The most well-known types of violence include:

1. **Physical violence:** Slapping, beating, hitting, pulling hair, pushing, assaulting, etc.
2. **Verbal violence:** Using derogatory language, mocking weaknesses, ridiculing, insulting, threatening, etc.
3. **Economic violence:** Failing to cover household expenses, withholding financial support, exploiting earnings, forcing someone to work, etc.
4. **Sexual violence:** Sexual abuse, coercion into sexual activity, infidelity, forcing a partner into relations with others, etc.
5. **Psychological/emotional violence:** Ignoring, sulking, behaving coldly, cutting off communication, withholding affection, respect, and care, etc.

6. **Workplace violence (mobbing):** Psychological harassment at work, pressure, intimidation, excessive monitoring, false accusations, defamation, blackmail, group bullying, etc. In essence, it is a form of psychological terror (Tınaz, 2008).
7. **Stalking violence:** Persistently following, monitoring, harassing, and tracking phone calls, social media accounts, or messages without consent, etc.
8. **Technology-based violence (digital violence):** Using the internet or social media to attack, insult, humiliate, or threaten someone based on their gender, belief, or ethnicity (<http://www.dokudanismanlik.com>; <http://kadem.org.tr>).

The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 20, 1993 (Resolution 48/104), defines violence against women as “any act of gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life” (Kaptanoğlu & Çavlin, 2015: 34).

The declaration categorizes violence against women into three main areas:

1. Violence occurring within the family,
2. Violence occurring within the general community,
3. Violence perpetrated or condoned by the state, including torture.

The declaration emphasizes the urgent need for universal recourse for women and highlights fundamental principles of equality, security, freedom, integrity, and dignity for all individuals (Tatlilioğlu, 2019: 134). This decision is considered a complement and reinforcement to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action.

As a result of this declaration, in 1999, the UN General Assembly designated November 25 as the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women.

In May 2019 alone, 37 women were killed by men, and incidents of sexual violence and child abuse continued. Of these murders, five were classified as suspicious deaths, and the motives behind 21 of them remained undetermined. Two women were murdered for economic reasons, eight for making decisions about their own lives, and one for seeking a divorce. Unless the perpetrators and motives behind these murders are identified, fair trials are conducted, suspects receive deterrent punishments, and preventive measures are enforced, gender-based violence will persist in evolving forms (<http://kadincinayetlerinidurduracagiz.net>, 11.06.2019).

According to statistics recorded by mid-October 2024, 4,996 women in Turkey have been killed by men. Most of these women were murdered by their husbands, ex-husbands, or boyfriends. Additionally, statistics on women killed by their fathers, children, or close relatives are also significant. The majority of these murders involved violent methods, with firearms, sharp objects, strangulation, hanging, and being thrown from heights being among the most commonly used means (<https://anitsayac.com>).

4. Causes of Violence Against Women

In a legal context, the term domestic violence refers to “an unusually cruel attitude of one person toward another in a close relationship.” According to UNICEF, domestic violence against women is a multidimensional problem that must be addressed from various perspectives. Some of the key causes include:

1. Individual factors: Personality disorders, psychological issues, early marriages, childhood trauma, low levels of education and income, etc.
2. Relationship factors: Marital conflicts, incompatibility between partners, one spouse exerting control over the other, etc.
3. Community-related factors: Frequent interference of close relatives in family matters, normalization of violence by the surrounding community, etc.
4. Societal factors: Traditional gender norms, cultural beliefs, sexist attitudes, etc. (Korku & Owen, 2008: 20-22).

5. Previous Research

Bilge et al. (2020) found that some students reported experiencing violence from their families (14.5%) or partners at some point in their lives, while others admitted to perpetrating violence against their partners. Among female students, 19.5% believed that a married woman who engages in sexual relations with another man deserves to be subjected to violence, whereas this belief was held by 42% of male students. The study found that gender and the mother's education level influenced experiences of family violence, whereas gender was the only significant factor in partner violence. The researchers argue that university students still hold attitudes that support and legitimize violence. In this regard, universities, as institutions responsible for educating enlightened individuals in society, have a crucial role to play.

Çemrek (2020) examined students' attitudes and perceptions regarding violence against women. A two-sample independent t-test revealed a significant difference in attitudes between men and women. Çemrek suggests that violence against women should be analyzed from both sociological and psychological perspectives.

Tatlıoğlu (2019) researched men and women aged 18 and above residing in Bingöl. The findings indicated that men most frequently agreed with statements from the 20-item Attitudes Toward Violence Scale, including:

- "A man has the right to use violence against his wife."
- "A man should sometimes physically discipline his wife."
- "The man is the head of the household and may use violence when necessary."
- "If a woman questions her husband's authority, he may beat her."
- "If a woman disobeys her husband, she must be subjected to violence."
- Flood and Pease (2019) provide a framework for understanding the complex effects on attitudes toward violent behaviors committed by men against women. Two sets of factors related to gender and culture influence attitudes toward violence at different levels of social order. While other factors may also operate at individual, organizational, community, or societal levels, their effects can intersect across multiple levels. The article concludes with recommendations for efforts to improve attitudes toward violence against women.

Sabancıoğulları (2016) and others found that, based on students' average scores on the General Attitudes Toward Violence Scale, students generally hold a non-traditional and contemporary perspective on violence and play both an educational and supportive role in this regard. Additionally, students with high self-confidence exhibit a more contemporary perspective on violence and the role of nurses in addressing it. Male students, those living in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia or rural areas, and those with lower economic status were found to adopt more traditional attitudes toward violence. Nursing students, on the other hand, have a more modern attitude toward violence and their professional roles in addressing it. Factors such as gender, education level, region of residence, and prior

exposure to violence influence students' attitudes toward violence against women and their professional roles.

Research Methodology

This study examines the attitudes of men in Konya toward violence against women and femicide using a quantitative research approach. The methodology section summarizes the research design, participants, sampling strategy, data collection process, instruments, and data analysis procedures.

Research Design

This study follows a general survey model. The survey model aims to describe a past or present situation as it exists (Karasar, 2012: 77). It seeks to answer questions such as: *What was it? What is it? What is it related to? What does it consist of?* Data is typically collected through survey techniques. In this study, which employs a survey (field study) research model, both descriptive and interpretative methods are utilized. Descriptive survey models aim to reveal events, situations, and phenomena that exist in the past, present, or over a specific period. Without attempting to alter or influence the existing situation, this approach seeks to provide a scientific portrait of the phenomenon by analyzing its components and relationships (Tatlıoğlu, 2019: 135).

The study adopts a cross-sectional survey design to capture male participants' attitudes at a specific point in time. This design was chosen due to its efficiency in collecting large amounts of data from a diverse population and its suitability for analyzing relationships between variables such as demographic factors and attitudes toward violence against women.

A total of 262 men and 191 women from Konya voluntarily completed the survey. The inclusion criteria required participants to be male, aged 18 or older, residents of Konya, and willing to provide informed consent. Participants represent diverse demographic characteristics, including age, marital status, education level, occupation, and income, providing a varied sample for analysis.

Sampling Strategy

In general survey models, researchers work with either the entire population or a sample to conclude the population, and the results of the study are generalized to the entire population (Büyüköztürk et al., 2012). This study utilized a non-probability convenience sampling method. This approach was chosen due to logistical constraints and the necessity of reaching a sufficient number of participants within a limited timeframe. While convenience sampling may limit generalizability, efforts were made to enhance the study's representativeness by including participants from diverse socioeconomic and demographic backgrounds. Due to the extensive nature of the study, women's attitudes and perceptions were analyzed in a separate study.

Data Collection

Data were collected using a structured survey distributed both online and in person. Participants were informed about the study's objectives, assured of their anonymity, and told that their participation was voluntary. Online distribution utilized social media platforms and local community groups, while in-person data collection targeted public spaces such as universities, workplaces, and community centers.

The survey consisted of three main sections:

Demographic Information

This section collected data on participants' age, income, education level, marital status, occupation, and prior experiences with violence against women (personal, familial, or public).

Attitudes Toward Violence Against Women Scale (İskebe Attitude Scale)

This scale measured participants’ general attitudes toward violence against women. It included statements addressing cultural norms, acceptance of violence, and perceptions of women’s roles in society. Participants rated each statement on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) (Kanbay et al., 2017).

Men’s Attitudes Toward Femicide Scale

This scale assessed participants’ specific attitudes toward femicide, including its causes, justifications, and social implications. Like the previous scale, it used a 5-point Likert scale.

For validity testing, expert opinions were sought to ensure the questionnaire’s appropriateness. To assess reliability, Cronbach’s alpha (α) internal consistency coefficient was used, with a required threshold of at least 0.70. The Cronbach’s alpha coefficient was calculated as 0.85 for the survey administered to women and 0.83 for the survey administered to men.

Data Collection Process

The survey was distributed by researchers between October 2024 and January 2025. Initially, it was administered in person to men in universities, offices, and workplaces. Later, the survey was also distributed online to those willing to participate. Additionally, a separate survey study focusing on women's perspectives was conducted.

Before distributing the survey, participants were provided with a brief explanation of the research topic and objectives to encourage informed participation. Furthermore, individual eligibility criteria were carefully considered before sending or administering the survey.

The data were analyzed using SPSS 26.00 with a 95% confidence level. Given the nature of the data, non-parametric test techniques were employed. Non-parametric tests are typically used for analyzing categorical, ordinal, or non-normally distributed data.

The following non-parametric test methods were used:

- Mann-Whitney U Test: This test evaluates whether there is a statistically significant difference between two independent samples by comparing their distributions. It examines whether two unrelated groups have similar distributions in the population.
- Kruskal-Wallis Test: This test is used to compare three or more independent groups in terms of a quantitative variable. It determines whether the mean ranks of multiple independent groups differ significantly. Unlike parametric tests, this method does not assume a normal distribution.

In the analysis, the dependent variable scores of multiple independent samples (k groups) were compared (Büyükoztürk, 2007: 156-157).

Findings

This section presents the findings and interpretations obtained from the research.

Items of Scales (KÖT ve İSKEBE)	Totally agree		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. I can justify the killing of women.	0	0	2	.8	21	8	39	14.9	200	76.3
2. Jealousy-related murder may seem natural.	1	.4	10	3.8	16	6.1	38	14.5	197	75.2
3. Some reasons for killing women seem logical.	2	.8	6	2.3	13	5	9	3.4	232	88.5

4. Asking for a divorce can be a reason for killing women.	2	.8	6	2.3	15	5.7	11	4.2	228	87
5. A woman's desire for separation can lead to murder.	8	3.1	9	3.4	16	6.1	30	11.5	199	76
6. I find femicide normal due to psychological problems.	1	.4	10	3.8	22	8.4	29	11.1	200	75.3
7. In my opinion, the vast majority of women's deaths are caused by women themselves.	2	.8	12	4.6	39	14.9	44	16.8	165	63
8. A woman's inappropriate behavior towards a man can be the reason for her murder.	0	0	23	8.8	30	11.5	37	14.1	172	65.6
9. A woman can kill a man if he doesn't do what she wants.	1	.4	4	1.5	10	3.8	24	9.2	223	85.1
10. It is normal for a woman to be killed outside the house at night.	1	.4	3	1.1	11	4.2	26	9.9	221	84.4
11. I think some women deserve to be killed.	2	.8	8	3.1	27	10.3	30	11.5	195	74.4
12. I think it is women's fault when women are harassed and killed because of the way they dress.	6	2.3	9	3.4	18	6.9	38	14.5	191	72.9
13. A woman should ask permission from a man when she is going somewhere.	69	26.3	55	21	65	24.8	28	10.7	45	17.2
14. A woman should take her husband's last name when married.	4	1.5	4	1.5	16	6.1	5	19.1	188	71.8
15. A woman who is sexually harassed is at fault.	2	.8	6	2.3	19	7.3	55	21	180	68.7
16. Women do not have to be under the control of men.	52	19.8	64	24.4	51	19.5	55	21	40	15.3
17. Women's expenses should be under the control of men.	35	13.4	82	31.3	49	18.7	45	17.2	51	19.5
18. Women should not go to places where men are concentrated alone.	2	.8	7	2.7	14	5.3	60	22.9	179	68.3
19. I think that beating is a good means of discipline.	1	.4	7	2.7	28	10.7	64	24.4	162	61.8
20. A woman has to have sex with her husband even if she doesn't want to.	2	.8	3	1.1	22	8.4	50	19.1	185	70.6
21. I believe that men have valid reasons to beat women.	18	6.9	55	21	40	15.3	56	21.4	93	35.5
22. I don't think it's right for women to work in a workplace where the majority of women are men.	23	8.8	37	14.1	50	19.1	62	23.7	90	34.4
23. I excuse beatings unless the violence is severe.	4	1.5	4	1.5	13	5	50	19.1	191	72.9
24. Men should decide on financial matters in the family.	7	2.7	24	9.2	43	16.4	41	15.6	147	56.1
25. It is quite normal to criticize women.	1	.4	12	4.6	26	9.9	49	18.7	174	66.4
26. A woman should have sex the way a man wants her to, even if she doesn't want to.	17	6.5	37	14.1	56	21.4	50	19.1	102	38.9
27. I think that there is some justification for murders committed in the name of honor.	20	7.6	38	14.5	49	18.7	47	17.9	108	41.2
28. A woman should have children even if she doesn't want to, just because a man wants her to.	1	.4	6	2.3	19	7.3	52	19.8	184	70.2
29. A woman shouldn't work if a man doesn't want to.	29	11.1	67	25.6	39	14.9	40	15.3	87	33.2
30. A man is right not to let a woman out of the house when he deems it necessary.	4	1.5	5	1.9	20	7.6	45	17.2	188	71.8
31. I find it wrong for women to be out late	28	10.7	80	30.5	33	12.6	28	10.7	93	35.5
32. It is normal to criticize a woman who is out alone.	12	4.6	47	17.9	49	18.7	60	22.9	94	35.9
33. I do not find it right for women to work in every sector.	2	.8	4	1.5	8	3.1	49	18.7	199	76
34. I find it normal for a married woman to have male friends.	1	.4	6	2.3	22	8.4	50	19.1	183	69.8
35. If a woman does not listen, beating her solves the problem.	29	11.1	58	22.1	59	22.5	40	15.3	76	29
36. I think some women deserve verbal abuse.	4	1.5	15	5.7	24	9.2	51	19.5	168	64.1
37. A woman should not wear clothes that a man does not allow.	27	10.3	55	21	60	22.9	46	17.6	74	28.2
38. It is natural for a woman out late to be harassed.	3	1.1	6	2.3	20	7.6	50	19.1	183	69.8

Table 1: Men's Levels of Agreement with the Scale Items

In Table 1, the levels of participation of male participants in the study to the items of the "Attitudes toward Femicide and Violence against Women Scales" are shown in frequency and percentage. The views on this subject are presented in the tables below:

No	Items of Scales	N	%
13	A woman should ask permission from a man when she is going somewhere.	69	23.6
16	Women do not have to be under the control of men.	52	19.8
17	Women's expenses should be under the control of men.	35	13.4
29	A woman shouldn't work if a man doesn't want to.	29	11.1
35	If a woman does not listen, beating her solves the problem.	29	11.1

Table 2: Top 5 items that men totally agree with the most

As seen in Table 2, based on the findings from the "Attitudes toward Femicide and Violence against Women Scales" applied to the participants in the study, the top 5 items with the highest level of agreement, marked as "Strongly Agree," among men are as follows:

1. **Item 13:** "A woman should ask for permission from a man when going somewhere" (23.6% agreement): This percentage shows that about a quarter of the men support controlling women's freedom of movement. This reflects that patriarchal culture is still influential, and women's autonomy is limited.
2. **Item 16:** "A woman does not need to be under the control of a man" (19.8% agreement): Although this statement has a lower participation rate than others, it indicates that some men accept women as independent individuals. However, the low rate suggests that controlling attitudes among men persist.
3. **Item 17:** "A woman's spending should be under the control of a man" (13.4% agreement): Economic control is still regarded as a widespread patriarchal norm among men. Restricting women's financial freedom reflects a tendency to sustain gender inequality.
4. **Item 29:** "If a man does not want it, a woman should not work" (11.1% agreement): Some men perceive the right to control women's participation in the workforce. This indicates that women's economic independence is seen as contingent on men's consent.
5. **Item 35:** "If a woman does not listen, hitting her will solve the problem" (11.1% agreement): Violence is still seen as a solution by a small group of men. This rate shows that physical violence against women has not completely lost its legitimacy in society.

The significant participation of the respondents in items supporting control over women indicates that patriarchal norms continue to persist strongly. Women's freedom of movement, economic independence, and workforce participation are still subject to male control mechanisms. Physical violence against women is still perceived as a legitimate solution by a small minority.

No	Items of Scales	N	%
3	Some reasons for killing women seem logical.	232	88.5
4	Asking for a divorce can be a reason for killing women.	228	87
9	A woman can kill a man if he doesn't do what she wants.	224	85.1
10	It is normal for a woman to be killed outside the house at night.	223	84.4
1	I can justify the killing of women.	200	76.3

Table 3: Top 5 items that men agree with least

This table includes the items that male participants strongly disagreed with. The results are as follows:

1. **Item 3:** "In some cases, it might seem logical to kill women" (88.5% disagreement): This high opposition rate indicates that the idea of killing women as a reasonable action is strongly rejected in society. This could reflect the influence of strict criminal laws and changes in public perception regarding the value of human life. It may also reflect the impact of awareness-raising efforts regarding violent crimes.
2. **Item 4:** "A request for divorce can be a reason to kill women" (87% disagreement): This finding shows that the majority of men do not see a request for divorce as an acceptable reason for violence. This may indicate growing respect for women's rights and increased legal awareness. However, practical challenges may still exist.
3. **Item 9:** "A woman can be killed if she does not fulfill a man's wishes" (85.1% disagreement): The rejection of this statement shows that the legitimacy of using violence as a means to control women's behavior has diminished. This result may be linked to cultural shifts and the influence of public discourse on women's rights.
4. **Item 10:** "A woman leaving the house at night is a natural reason to be killed" (84.4% disagreement): This result shows that men no longer view a woman leaving the house at night as a serious threat to family order or social norms. This change may be related to the increasing presence of women in public spaces and their strengthening social participation.
5. **Item 1:** "Femicide can be tolerated" (76.3% disagreement): This widespread opposition indicates that society is moving toward rejecting the acceptance of severe violence against women. This result may reflect not only cultural changes but also the implementation of stricter laws.

The data suggest a shift in attitudes toward the legitimacy of severe violence against women. This change could be the result of a combination of cultural, legal, and social factors.

No	Items of Scales	N	%
13	A woman should ask permission from a man when she is going somewhere.	65	24.8
37	A woman should not wear clothes that a man does not allow.	60	22.9
35	If a woman does not listen, beating her solves the problem.	59	22.5
26	A woman should have sex the way a man wants her to, even if she doesn't want to.	56	21.4
16	Women do not have to be under the control of men.	51	19.5

Table 4: The first 5 items that men say "I am undecided" about

This table includes the items where participants showed a "Neutral" attitude:

1. **Item 13:** "A woman should ask a man for permission before leaving the house" (24.8% neutral): This neutrality may point to an internal contradiction between traditional patriarchal values and modern social changes. It suggests that society is in a transitional phase, and some men may still struggle to adapt to these changes.
2. **Item 37:** "A woman should wear the clothes that a man desires" (22.9% neutral): This neutrality could be a result of social pressures on gender roles and the complex relationships involved.
3. **Item 35:** "Problems in marriage can be solved with physical punishment" (22.5% neutral): Neutrality toward this item reflects a dangerous trend. It shows that some men are still uncertain about normalizing physical violence. This points to the need for more education and cultural awareness programs.

The neutrality of some men on certain issues, particularly in the context of traditional gender relations, indicates resistance to social and cultural changes.

Madde No	Ölçek Maddeleri	N	%
17	Women's expenses should be under the control of men.	82	31.3
31	I find it wrong for women to be out late	80	30.5
29	A woman shouldn't work if a man doesn't want to.	67	25.6
16	Women do not have to be under the control of men.	64	24.4
35	If a woman does not listen, beating her solves the problem.	58	22.1

Table 5: The first 5 items that men said "I agree" with

This table includes the items where men showed the highest level of participation:

1. **Item 17:** "A woman's spending should be controlled by a man" (31.3% participation): This result indicates that patriarchal values persist in the economic realm. The desire among men to control women's economic independence remains widespread, highlighting the need for further awareness efforts regarding women's economic autonomy.
2. **Item 31:** "Women should not be out late at night" (30.5% participation): This attitude shows that some men attempt to limit women's presence in public spaces to certain hours. This trend may stem from conservative values and societal concerns about women's safety.

The data suggest that patriarchal values still influence certain areas. This points to the need for broader education and awareness campaigns on gender equality.

	İSKEBE	KÖT
N	262	262
Mean	3.9203	4.3489
Range	3.46	2.67
Minimum	1.54	2.33
Maximum	5.00	5.00

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics of Scale Scores

The analysis of the two variables in the table is as follows:

1. **KÖT (Attitude Toward Femicide)**
 - **Mean:** 4.3489 This high mean indicates that men generally have a strong opposition to attitudes toward femicide. It can be said that there is a clear stance among participants on this issue.
 - **Range:** 2.67 The diversity of attitudes suggests that some men may exhibit more neutral or supportive attitudes. However, this range is relatively narrow, which indicates a generally strong opposition to femicide.
2. **İSKEBE (Trends in the Context of Violence Against Women and Gender Inequality)**
 - **Mean:** 3.9203 The average value suggests that men generally hold opposing attitudes toward violence against women. However, this value is lower than that of KÖT, indicating that there might still be normalizing attitudes toward violence in some groups.
 - **Range:** 3.46 A wider range indicates that men's attitudes toward violence against women are more varied, showing greater polarization within society on this issue.

Overall, men exhibit a much clearer and stronger opposition to femicide. This suggests that extreme forms of violence, such as femicide, are seen as unacceptable in society. However, there is greater

diversity and differentiation in attitudes toward violence, reflecting that attitudes toward violence are perceived differently based on cultural, economic, and social factors.

	Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	Sd	P
İSKEBE	.970	262	.000
KÖT	.776	262	.000

Table 8: Normality Tests of Scale Scores

As seen in Table 8, based on the findings obtained from the male participants in the Attitudes Toward Femicide and Violence Against Women Scale, the results of the normality test for the scale scores indicate that none of the scores follow a normal distribution ($p < 0.05$). Therefore, non-parametric methods were used for comparison analyses. According to these results, statistically significant relationships exist between positive attitudes, negative attitudes, and attitudes toward violence ($p < 0.05$).

Discussion

The results of this study indicate that men's attitudes in Konya toward violence against women and femicide are complex and multifaceted. While the majority of participants consider severe forms of violence, such as femicide, unacceptable, milder forms—such as economic control, restrictions on women's individual freedoms, and certain gender-biased beliefs—are still accepted by some groups. This contradiction in attitudes reflects the enduring influence of patriarchal cultural and social structures alongside the gradual shifts in social values.

The study clearly shows that younger men and those with higher levels of education hold more egalitarian views regarding women's roles in society and their right to live free from violence. These findings support the idea that education and awareness-raising programs can significantly reduce the acceptance of violence against women. However, men with lower education levels and those living in more traditional areas continue to adhere to patriarchal values, indicating cultural resistance to social change.

Additionally, the results suggest that structural factors such as economic inequality, the lack of support programs for women who experience violence, and ineffective law enforcement all contribute to the persistence of discriminatory attitudes. Legal limitations and the failure to strictly enforce penalties related to violence against women reinforce a sense of impunity among perpetrators and serve as obstacles to changing societal attitudes in this regard.

Another important finding of this study is the role of family and community in reproducing patriarchal attitudes. Men who grew up in families with a history of violence are more likely to hold supportive views of violent behavior. This finding highlights that exposure to violence in family and social settings can be a key factor in the intergenerational transmission of violent attitudes toward women.

Conclusion

This study revealed that men's attitudes in Konya toward violence against women and femicide are a combination of strong condemnation of severe violence and implicit acceptance or justification of milder forms. These findings emphasize the need for comprehensive educational, social, and legal approaches to transforming traditional attitudes and promoting gender equality. In particular, educational programs that focus on gender roles and the consequences of violence against women can serve as effective tools in correcting misconceptions and reinforcing egalitarian perspectives.

Strengthening and effectively enforcing laws related to violence against women, increasing women's access to legal, psychological, and financial support, and reforming economic structures to reduce women's financial dependence on men are other critical measures. Supporting civil society organizations that advocate for women's rights and enhancing cooperation between governmental and

non-governmental organizations can accelerate efforts to combat violence against women. Media also play a key role in shaping social attitudes. Stereotypical portrayals of women and the reinforcement of traditional roles can perpetuate structural violence, whereas depicting women in independent and powerful roles can have a positive influence on public perceptions. Therefore, media policies should aim to reduce gender stereotypes and promote egalitarian perspectives. Ultimately, the findings of this research suggest that achieving lasting changes in men's attitudes toward violence against women requires a diverse range of strategies at the individual, social, and structural levels. Awareness campaigns, legal reforms, social support initiatives, and women's economic empowerment should all be implemented in a coordinated manner to reduce violence against women and create a more equitable society.

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