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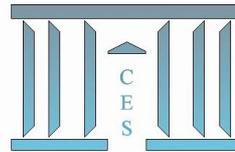
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**Combating domestic violence against women in Turkey.  
The role of women's economic empowerment**

Aurélien DASRE, Angela GREULICH, Ceren INAN

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# Combating domestic violence against women in Turkey.

## The role of women's economic empowerment.

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### Abstract

This paper identifies motors and barriers for combatting domestic violence against women in Turkey – a country where modernism and conservatism are in constant interplay. We combine information from the Demographic Health Surveys and the Turkish Domestic Violence Survey and distinguish between controlling behavior, physical and sexual violence. Our empirical analysis tests how far a woman's intra-household decision making power (as measured by her education, her activity status, her income etc.) bears the potential to reduce her risk of experiencing domestic violence in Turkey. The analysis takes into account contextual factors as well as partner and household characteristics. We find that women's participation in the labor market does not, on its' own, reduce women's risk of experiencing intimate partner violence, but an egalitarian share of economic resources between spouses is likely to protect women against domestic violence. This finding has two important implications: First, higher education enabling women to access formal wage employment allows women not only to gain economic independence, but also to freely choose their partner. Second, unstable economic conditions that harm earning opportunities for men are an important risk factor for couples to experience conflicts that can result in domestic violence against women. Against the background of the recent economic crisis that comes hand in hand with a backlash of gender and family norms in Turkey, our results highlight the need of policy action in this field.

**Keywords:** Violence against women, gender, economics

**JEL Classification Numbers:** J1, J12, J16, J18

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## 1. Introduction

Turkey is an emerging country with important differences in economic and social development between Eastern and Western regions and between high and low income groups. Between 2001 and 2014, GDP per capita in Turkey has more than doubled. In parallel, life expectancy, health insurance coverage, compulsory school enrolment and higher education attendance have risen, while poverty has been decreasing.

Men and women both benefit from these advances, but women still lag behind men in terms of economic empowerment. Women are still less educated than men in Turkey and they have less access to the formal labor market. Progress in terms of gender equality can be observed but is slow in Turkey, and over the last decade, the public policy discourse has been rather regressive.

Their economic dependence on men makes women vulnerable, not only in financial terms. The prevalence of domestic violence is still much higher in Turkey compared to the European average<sup>2</sup>. Despite important policy action, the high and stagnating prevalence rates show that combatting domestic violence against women in Turkey is a difficult undertaking (see also Tozlu and Göksel, 2016). When investigating motors and barriers for combatting domestic violence, it is thus necessary to take into account the specific context of Turkey, where progressive policy reforms coexist with dominant conservative gender and family norms.

In order to reduce domestic violence and to increase gender equality, a series of legal reforms and policies were undertaken over the last years, initiated by the 2001 New Civil Code and reinforced by NGO's participation and important media coverage. The Penal Code with regard to violence against women and gender inequalities was reformed, including criminalization of sexual assault within marriage and life imprisonment for "honor" killings. Two National Action Plans for combating domestic violence against women were developed. Furthermore, a Law on Protection of Family and Prevention of Violence against women (law no 6284) was set up and Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centers were established.

To take into account the context-dependency of risk factors of domestic violence, it is important to have available a large set of reliable information not only of women, but also of partners, of the household and of the family environment. To make our analysis of socioeconomic determinants of domestic violence in Turkey as comprehensive as possible, we therefore combine different data sources, notably the Demographic and Health Survey (waves 2003, 2008 and 2013) and the Domestic Violence Survey (waves 2008 and 2014). Besides, background information is given by mobilizing, amongst other sources, the Turkish Family Structure Survey (TAYA, waves 2006 and 2011).

Our empirical analysis tests in how far a woman's intra-household decision making power (as measured by her education, her activity status, her income etc.) bears the potential to reduce her risk of experiencing domestic violence in Turkey. We hereby take into account contextual factors and partner and household characteristics.

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<sup>2</sup> The prevalence of domestic violence (last 12 months) is 11% in Turkey in 2014 and 4% on average in 28 EU countries in 2012. The prevalence of lifetime exposition to domestic violence is 39% in Turkey and 22% in the EU 28. According to a recent UNFPA report, Turkey has the highest prevalence of physical violence and one of the highest prevalence of sexual and psychological violence amongst East European and Central Asian countries (UNFPA 2015). The percentage of ever married women declare being subjected to physical and/or sexual violence by their husband or intimate partner for the last 12 months decreased only slightly from 13.7% in 2008 to 11% in 2014 in Turkey.

The advantage of our econometric analysis in comparison to the available descriptive statistics is to disentangle the factors which are potentially linked to the risk of experiencing domestic violence. Our descriptive analysis shows that women who are likely to experience domestic violence are also those who have higher probabilities of getting married very early in life, who are less educated, with less economical resources, living in conservative families and/or in less developed Eastern regions, and are with a partner who is much older than them. At the same time, their more educated, high income, liberal and/or Western women are less likely to experience domestic violence. The problem is that all these socio-economic and demographic factors are correlated. Is it because a woman is higher educated, because she lives in the West or because she is gaining her own money that she has a lower risk of experiencing domestic violence? Our econometric analysis shows which of the determinants are most important. We will see that controlling for demographic characteristics actually reinforces the validity of the socioeconomic determinants of domestic violence.

The focus on female economic empowerment allows discussing some policy implications not only for reacting to but also for preventing domestic violence. Against the background of the recent economic crisis that comes hand in hand with a backlash of gender and family norms in Turkey, our results highlight the urgency of policy action in this field.

The article is structured as follows: Section 1 provides background information of the Turkish context on economic and social development, with an emphasis on recent legal reforms and policies on gender equality and women's human rights. Section 2 presents the definition, documentation and measures of domestic violence against women used in this article. Section 3 gives a descriptive overview of awareness and prevalence of domestic violence in Turkey, while in section 4, we empirically investigate the socio-economic determinants of domestic violence in Turkey. Finally, we conclude by discussing some policy implications and ways of future research.

## **2. Contextual framework: Women's status in the Turkish society**

Turkey is currently undergoing important socioeconomic transitions; economic development comes hand in hand with changes in education and employment patterns. Initiated in the late 1920's, a secular republican project pursued economic and social modernization of the Turkish society as the ultimate objective. Since 1983, Turkey's transformation to an open market economy has been accelerating this movement. Per capita income, life expectancy, health insurance coverage, compulsory school enrolment and higher education attendance have risen constantly over the last decades in Turkey (World Bank - World Development Indicators 2015).

However, this economic and social development is accompanied with important differences between Eastern and Western regions and between high and low income groups. Also, conservative gender and family norms are still very dominant, in particular in the Eastern parts of the country. The social and religious conservatism supports premarital sexual restraint, husband leadership, and father involvement, which affects work-family outcomes of both men and women. In comparison to men, access to education and the formal labour market is more difficult for women, and consequently, gender disparities in terms of education, employment and income are still on very high levels in comparison to other European countries. The current public debate on women's role in the Turkish society illustrates how much conservative and modernist forces are struggling with each other in Turkey: While conservatives publicly plead for limiting abortion rights and ask women to concentrate

more on their role as mothers<sup>3</sup>, there is an increasing number of legal reforms and policies that seek to promote gender equality, female employment and awareness of domestic violence in Turkey.

In the following sections, we give a short overview of recent developments with regards to the status of women in Turkey, covering the legal framework, family formation, education and employment. For a more detailed overview, see Greulich, Dasre and Inan (2016a).

Turkish women have been able to vote and to be elected since the 1930's. However, women's early political emancipation in Turkey is overshadowed by a persisting gender gap in social, political and economic participation. Limited freedom of movement is one important barrier for women's economic empowerment. For instance, until 1992, in order to work outside the home, a married woman had to have the permission of her husband. Only since the New 2001 Civil Code, women are considered as equal partners in marriage by the law, including equal representative power and equal rights on properties acquired during marriage. The legal age of marriage has been risen to 18 for both men and women and unmarried mothers obtained the custody over the children. During the 2000s, the Penal Code has been reformed with regard to violence against women and gender inequalities (including criminalization of sexual assault within marriage, heavy life imprisonment for "honor" killings, etc.) and national action plans for combatting domestic violence and for increasing gender equality have been developed.

In parallel, we can observe an important change in family structure in Turkey. The Turkish Family Structure Surveys (TAYA), combined with the Turkish Demographic Health Surveys, reveal that over the last decades, the share of extended families among households has decreased, while the share of nuclear families and lone persons has risen. Important rural/urban differences persist, however, with regard to the prevalence of patriarchal families (i.e. extended families: association of two or more nuclear families with horizontal or vertical kinship) and lone families (a one-person household or a single parent), pointing to an antagonism between these two family models in Turkey. In regions where patriarchal families are more frequent, women are more commonly married before 18, are less educated, participate less to the workforce (outside agriculture) and are more rarely head of their family.

All over Turkey, marriage is still the norm in Turkey and lifelong celibacy is rather a rare phenomenon. For the 1978-2008 period, less than 2% of women aged 45-49 were never married. In 2013, the celibacy rate amongst women aged 45-49 was only slightly higher (3%, TDHS 2013). The proportion of ever-married women declaring that their marriage was arranged by their family is, with on average 46.5%, still very high (39.6% with consent of the woman and 6.9% without consent of the woman) (TDHS 2013), even though the prevalence is somewhat smaller for younger cohorts (TAYA 2011).

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3 For example, in March 2016, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has said he believes "a woman is above all else a mother" in a speech marking International Women's Day. He also said that women are not equal to men and has made proposals to limit abortion rights, the morning-after pill and caesarean sections (The Guardian, 08th of March 2016: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/08/recep-tayyip-erdogan-a-woman-is-above-all-else-a-mother-turkish-president>)

As a consequence of these dominant conservative norms, women in Turkey still get married early on average, even though the age at first marriage has been continuously increasing for both for men and women since the 1970s. Women's mean age at first marriage passed from 20 in 1978 to 24 in 2008 (TDHS 1978-2008). The median age of first marriage is 20 for women of cohorts 1964-1968 and 22 for cohorts 1984- 1988 (TDHS 2013). Child and adolescent marriages come with important age differences between spouses. In 2013, 76% of 15-19 year old married girls had husbands who are at least 5 year older, and 22.3% more than 10 years (TDHS 2013). Even though the new 2001 Civil Code law increased the legal age of marriage from 15 to 18 years, still 7.6% of women got married under the age of 18 between 2006 and 2011, while child marriage amongst men is a negligible phenomenon in Turkey (TAYA 2011). According to Kirdar et al. (2011), the 1997 reform on compulsory education (from 5 years to 8 years) had a higher impact on early marriages than the Civil Code law of 2001.

In Turkey, the level of education has been significantly increasing for both sexes over the last decades, but some gender differences persist, in particular in terms of access to secondary and tertiary education. In 2013, 58.6 % of boys aged 20-24 had at least a high school diploma, against 48.6 % of girls (TDHS 2013). However, for younger cohorts, enrolment rates in higher education are now more important for girls than for boys according to the National Education Statistics Database (year 2013). The gender gap in education is highest for rural regions in the South-East. Investments in higher education of girls might still seem less beneficial to some parents in the South-Eastern regions, which are dominated by a large agricultural sector. In addition, the local offer in education is still sometimes limited to primary levels of education in some of the South-East regions.

Along with female education, female employment rates have been increasing over the past years. However, the evolution of female employment rates shows two distinctive trends: First, from the 1980s until the mid-2000s, female employment rates (ages 15 to 64) actually decreased from 36% to 25% (World Bank, World Development Indicators, 2015 – modelled ILO estimates). This reduction is caused by a shrinking agricultural sector, by an educational disadvantage for girls and women hindering them to easily switch the sector, by rural exodus combined with weak formal child care support, as well as by social stigma against married women working in the industrial sector (Goldin, 1994). A second trend has emerged, however, as since the mid-2000s, women increasingly find jobs in the service sector in urban areas (Dayıođlu and Kirdar, 2010). As a result, since the mid-2000s, female employment rates have been increasing again. They reached 32% in 2013 (World Bank World Development Indicators, 2015). The increase has occurred in particular among younger cohorts and more educated women (World Bank, 2009). In 2012, 40% of women aged 25 to 29 (cohort 1983 to 1987) participated in the labour force compared to only 25% of women aged 45 to 49 (cohort 1963 to 1967). At the same time, among the latter cohort, only 20% of women worked at ages 25 to 29 (Turkstat Labour Force Surveys 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2012). Nevertheless, with only somewhat more than 30% on average, the Turkish female employment rate is still low in comparison to the Turkish male employment rate (76%). The gender gap is largest for ages 25 to 45 - the age of childbearing. About one fourth of women participating in the labour force work part-time (World Bank World Development Indicators, 2015).

Women in Turkey work less as employees in formal jobs and more in non-registered activities such as subsistence activities in agriculture, as contributing family workers or as self-employed in comparison to other European countries. The proportion of active women working as contributing family workers is 34% in Turkey (EU average 4%), while only 5% of working men are reported as being contributing family workers (EU average 1%, World Bank World Development Indicators, year 2012). 45% of

active women are self-employed in Turkey (34% of men; EU averages: 13% for women, 19% for men). Women working as formal employees thus represent only 20% of active women in Turkey, while the number is 60% for their male counterparts (EU average around 80% for both men and women, World Bank, World Development Indicators, year 2012). Consequently, the gender wage gap is considerable in Turkey. Cudeville and Gurbuzer (2007) emphasize that wages are particularly low for married women with young children. Women with at least secondary education working as wage workers in the formal labour market obtain the highest wages in Turkey.

The expansion of female education and formal employment had not only an important impact on women's age at first marriage, but also on fertility. Work and family life are difficult to combine in Turkey due to the limited availability of formal child care services for young children and conservative norms urging women to choose between pursuing a career and having children. Period total fertility rates fell from over 6 children per women in 1960 to 2.26 children in 2013 in Turkey (World Bank World Development Indicators). As period total fertility rates, completed fertility rates have been declining over time. The average number of children of women aged 37-42 in 2011 in Turkey is 2.2 (SILC). Census and survey data (SILC) report an important decline in the proportion of women having four or more children between the cohorts 1930 and 1960, while women having two and three children are on the rise. The decline over generations in fertility in Turkey can be observed for all levels of education, but is most pronounced for low educated women. The average number of children has always been much lower for women with at least secondary education, but the prevalence of secondary education amongst Turkish women is increasing. This structure effect contributes to 50% to the decline in fertility rates (Greulich et al., 2016b).

Only a minority of Turkish men and women declare having a gender preference when it comes to child birth (TDHS 2013). However, according to Altindag (2016), actual fertility behavior reveals a relatively strong gender preference in Turkey, expressed through son-biased differential stopping behavior in terms of family enlargement. Families whose oldest children are girls tend to have a larger number of children in Turkey. This suggests that parents have a preference for having at least one boy, as parents with only girls are more willing to have another child than parents with only boys. The preference for sons can also be seen in the sex-ratio at birth, which has been increasing according to Unicef estimates generated by the UN interagency group for child mortality (1.13 in 1990, 1.16 in 2000, 1.18 in 2010 and 1.18 in 2015). Given that the natural sex-ratio at birth is 105 boys to 100 girls, the numbers suggest that sex-selective abortion at expense of girls is an increasing issue in Turkey.

### **3. Definition, documentation and measures of domestic violence in Turkey**

#### *a. Definition*

Domestic violence is a pattern of behavior which involves violence or other abuse by one person against another in a domestic setting, such as in marriage or cohabitation. Domestic violence can take a number of forms, such as physical and sexual abuse, but also controlling behavior (see below for more detailed information about different measures of domestic violence).

Intimate partner violence is violence by a spouse or partner in an intimate relationship against the other spouse or partner. This article focusses on domestic violence experienced by ever-married women in Turkey, carried out by their (last) intimate male partners.

However, it is important to keep in mind that domestic violence is a larger concept which also can take place in homosexual relationships and against children. It also can be carried out by women against their male partners. Which gender approach should be followed in the research field of domestic violence is actually a subject of academic debate, as research on intimate partner violence (IPV) in developed countries is affected by theoretical and methodological divisions. These divisions are polarized between the supporters of gender symmetry (e.g., bi-directional IPV theory of Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 2010) and the supporters of gender dissymmetry (Hamby, 2014) in IPV. Supporters of gender symmetry use community surveys (especially college students) with self-reported behavior collected through specialized questionnaires (Conflict Tactics Scale, etc.) and their data reveals gender symmetry. Supporters of gender dissymmetry refer to nationally representative data from self-reported surveys or administrative data (homicide data, etc.), which reveals a gender dissymmetry in violence in general and on IPV in particular (victims are mainly women while perpetrators are mainly men).

The majority of international data reveals an important gender dissymmetry for IPV. For instance, Stöckl et al. (2013) study of the global prevalence of intimate partner homicide and show that the share of homicides committed by an intimate partner is six times higher amongst female victims compared to male victims. Also, a recent WHO multi-country review (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005) shows a clear gender dissymmetry on domestic violence in developing countries. Some scholars put forward the idea that there is more than one type of IPV and thus that they require different models to understand them (Johnson, 2006 and 2010). According to Johnson (2007), “the coercive controlling violence that most people associate with the term “domestic violence” is perpetrated primarily by men against their female partners”. However, Langhinrichsen-Rohling, tenant of the bi-directional IVP model, recognizes the gender dissymmetry of domestic violence in developing countries (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 2009).

#### *b. Documentation of domestic violence in Turkey*

The debate about gender (dis)symmetry on IPV reveals an important sensitivity of IPV prevalence to the context of measurement and the methodology used to measure it. The range of findings of IPV prevalence between community samples, surveys and other sources is largely criticized amongst scholars.<sup>4</sup> It is clear that the measurement of IPV prevalence is sensitive to context (including cultural differences and differences in reporting behaviors) and to methodology. Consequently, awareness, perception, definition and documentation of domestic violence differ widely from country to country.

However, domestic violence is known to be among the most underreported crimes for both men and women worldwide. The victims are likely to under-report domestic violence mainly due to financial or familial dependence, normalization of violence, and self-blaming.

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<sup>4</sup> For example, Hamby (2014) reports a range from below 2% to above 60% for IPV prevalence in community surveys conducted in the US. A systematic review of prevalence studies conducted between 1995 and 2006 (Alhabib et al., 2009) shows also a wide range of prevalence for lifetime domestic violence against women all around the globe (from 1.9% to 70%). Based on the WHO multi-country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence against Women, findings of Garcia-Moreno et al. (2005) shows a wide range of physical and/or sexual partner violence prevalence (lifetime from 15% to 71% and last 12 months from 4% to 54%).

In Turkey, the access to police and justice data on violence against women is limited. For instance, only some global figures from gendarmerie forces<sup>5</sup> and some limited court data are available. According to gendarmerie statistics, most violence victims are victims of domestic violence (73%), and 81% of domestic violence victims are women in Turkey. The number of cases of domestic violence against women and the number of victims in rural and semi-rural areas have been increasing between 2010 and 2013, and then decreased in 2014. In 2014, more than 13000 cases of domestic violence against women were reported to gendarmerie forces that identified more than 14000 victims<sup>6</sup>. In 2013, more than 4500 men were convicted for the violation of family protection and prevention of violence against women law (law no 6284).

Besides these statistics, two important data sources exist in Turkey that allow documenting the phenomenon of domestic violence in Turkey, which are the Demographic Health Surveys (DHS) and the Turkish Survey on Domestic Violence against Women.

The Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) Program has collected, analyzed, and disseminated accurate and representative data on population, health, HIV, and nutrition through more than 300 surveys in over 90 countries. Its main advantage is the collection format corresponding to international standards, which enables cross-country comparisons and the tracking of time trends. It contains information on women's, but not men's, perception of and experience with domestic violence. However, as the DHS are not specifically designed to address the very sensible topic of domestic violence, measures of awareness and prevalence risk being underestimated.

In contrast, the Turkish domestic violence survey has been specially designed for this topic. This survey delivers indeed somewhat higher prevalence rates of domestic violence, as shown in the following section. The survey was conducted for the first time in 2008, by the Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies with support of TURKSTAT, financed by the Turkish Ministry of Family and Social Policies. The declared objectives of the survey are to identify the extent of violence against women, to determine the causes and to meet the need of data collection in this field. A second survey was realized in 2014.

The surveys have been conducted throughout Turkey, with a target sample of 15,072 households representing 12 statistical regions, urban and rural areas through face-to-face interviews with women aged 15-59. The survey covers different forms of violence such as prevention of education or work in a paid job outside the house and disruption of daily life as a result of stalking, along with physical, sexual and emotional violence that women have experienced by their current or former intimate partners such as, their husbands, fiancés, betrothed and boyfriends.

Since the subject of this research is sensitive, the research was designed to ensure the safety of the interviewers conducting the fieldwork, while prioritizing the safety of respondents. The questionnaire developed by the World Health Organization (WHO) was taken as a model and was extended by adding subjects which Turkey needed information on. Furthermore, The Ethical and Safety Guidelines established for violence against women studies by WHO were followed in every stage of the research<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> In Turkey, gendarmes are a branch of the military, policing rural and semi-rural areas.

<sup>6</sup> Cases of violence against women and number of victims are also recorded by police forces. However, statistics are not available.

<sup>7</sup> If it is known that the research is on domestic violence against women by the household members or the immediate social networks, then the perpetrator may learn the subject of the research. This situation may

The sample design for the Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey employed a weighted, stratified and multi-staged cluster sample approach. The main aim of the sample design was to obtain estimates of indicators related to violence against women at the national level as well as 12 Regions and urban/rural strata with an acceptable precision (accuracy) within a defined 95 percent confidence interval concerning the main variables such as age groups, educational level and socio-economic status. The sample selection was conducted with the collaboration of the Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) and the sample frame, block selection and block lists of the selected households, were provided by TURKSTAT.

The household response rate is 83.9 percent. Among the reasons why the interviews could not be conducted, the household not being home at the time of the interviews (7 percent), the dwelling/address being vacant (6 percent) or refusal to take the interview (6 percent) were the most common ones. The woman questionnaire was completed through face-to-face interviews and the refusal rate is 4.4 percent. The response rate for women interviews was 83.3 percent.

Besides its special design which aims meeting the particular challenges of the subject, the Turkish domestic violence survey delivers additional important information about partner and household characteristics which are not available in the DHS (women's contribution to household income, partner's mother tongue, alcohol consumption etc.). Two pitfalls emerge, however. First, as a national survey, data is not comparable to international sources. Second, the survey only covers two time periods (2008, 2014).

Ultimately, both the DHS data and the Turkish domestic violence survey have their advantages and drawbacks, but complement each other quite well. Given the high complexity and sensitivity of the subject, we combine the two data sources in the following descriptive section, which allows us reinforcing the robustness of our findings in terms of awareness and prevalence of different types of domestic violence in Turkey. The empirical analysis of socio-economic determinants of physical and/or sexual domestic violence then mobilizes the Turkish domestic violence survey by taking advantage of its comprehensive information in terms of women's, partner and household characteristics.

### *c. Measures of domestic violence*

Both the DHS and the Turkish domestic violence survey ask women not only about their experiences in terms of domestic violence, but also about their perception of domestic violence. In the DHS, women's awareness of domestic violence is measured by asking ever-married women if they agree

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cause women who have been subjected to violence to experience further violence and this may also jeopardize the safety of the respondents and fieldworkers. Therefore, the word violence was not used in the name of the study, and during the fieldwork the research was referred to as the "Turkey Women and Family Survey". This strategy is one of the recommendations of Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Research on Domestic Violence against Women developed by WHO. Furthermore, information on the topic of the research was not given to people other than the interviewed person. The consent of the respondents was taken before each interview and the respondents signed the questionnaire as a proof of their consent. In cases where more than one woman in the 15-59 age group was present in the household, one woman was randomly selected and the interview was conducted with only one woman per household to ensure that the same questions would not be asked to more than one woman within the household. The interviews were conducted in private settings and the interviewers were trained on the confidentiality of the interviews. Particular attention was paid to the wording, the sorting of questions and the manner in which questions were asked to obtain a high response rate.

with the fact that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife under certain circumstances. The mentioned circumstances are the following: (a) The woman neglects her children, (b) The woman argues with the husband / responds to him, (c) The woman burns the food, (d) The woman refuses to have sex with the husband. The Turkish domestic violence survey adds as potential justifying circumstance: (e) The husband finds out that the woman has been / is being unfaithful.

When asking women about their experiences with domestic violence, the surveys differentiate between controlling behavior, physical and sexual behavior (lifetime and last 12 months). Controlling behavior consists both of emotional/psychological abuse (i.e. behavior that threatens, intimidates, or systematically undermines self-worth) and economic abuse (i.e. control over the partner's access to economic resources). In the DHS, husbands' controlling behavior is measured by asking ever married women if their husband usually: (a) Prevents them to them to see their female friends. (b) Limits contact to their family. (c) Insists on knowing where she is. (d) Distrusts her with money. (e) Accuses her of being unfaithful. The Turkish domestic violence survey complements these questions by asking if the husband usually: (f) Blocks social network sites. (g) Does not send the woman to health institutions without his permission. (h) Gets angry when the woman talks with other men. (i) Interferes with the woman's clothing. (j) Ignores the woman. (k) Prevents the woman from working or causes her to quit her job.

The definitions of physical and sexual violence proposed in the Turkish domestic violence survey are as follows:

1. Physical violence against women by husband(s) or intimate partner(s): (a) Slapped her or threw something at her that could hurt her. (b) Pushed or shoved her or pulled her hair. (c) Hit her with fist or something else that could hurt her. (d) Kicked, dragged her or beat her up. (e) Choked or burned her. (f) Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapons against her.
2. Sexual violence against women by husband(s) or intimate partner(s): (a) Physically forced her to have sexual intercourse. (b) Had sexual intercourse when she did not want to because she was afraid of what partner might do. (c) Forced her to do something sexual that she found degrading or humiliating.

#### **4. Descriptive analysis: Awareness and prevalence of domestic violence in Turkey**

##### *a. Women's awareness of domestic violence*

Recent survey results show an important change in women's awareness of domestic violence<sup>8</sup>. Over the last decade, there has been a drastic decrease of the share of women agreeing that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife.

Based on data from the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) from 2003 to 2013, the next figures present trends of women's attitudes towards domestic violence. To allow for the longest possible period of data coverage, we complement the DHS data with data from the 2014 wave of the Turkish Domestic Violence Survey.

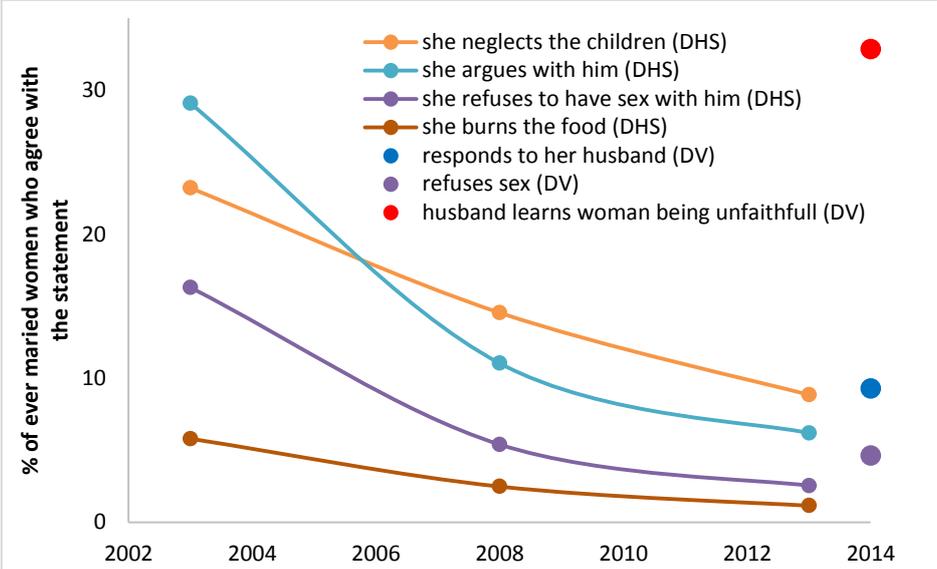
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<sup>8</sup> There is no survey data on men's awareness of domestic violence. Therefore, it is not possible to evaluate changes of men's perception and attitudes towards domestic violence.

In DHS, ever-married women aged 15 to 49 years old are asked if they agree with the fact that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife if she, neglects her children, argues with him, burns the food, and refuses to have sex with him.

Figure 1 clearly illustrates a decreasing trend of the acceptance of domestic violence by ever-married Turkish women. Less and less women agree with each kind of statement. This decrease is very steep, as in only one decade, the percentage of women who agree with each statement has been divided by 2,6 for “neglecting children”, 4,7 for “argues with him”, 5 for “burns the food” and 6,4 for ‘refuses to have sex’. Only a minority of women still agrees with at least one of the reasons in 2013.

Figure 1: Share of ever married women that agree that domestic violence by the husband is justified if the woman neglects the children, argues with him, refuses sex or burns the food



Data sources: DHS surveys (2003, 2008, 2013) and Domestic Violence Survey (2014)  
 Sample: ever married women aged 15-49

A comparison of the DHS survey-results with the domestic violence survey-results arises shows that for comparable questions such as “responds to husband” and “refuses sex”, DHS results indicate a lower part of women who agree than the results based on the domestic violence survey (33% less for the first question and 45% less for the second one).

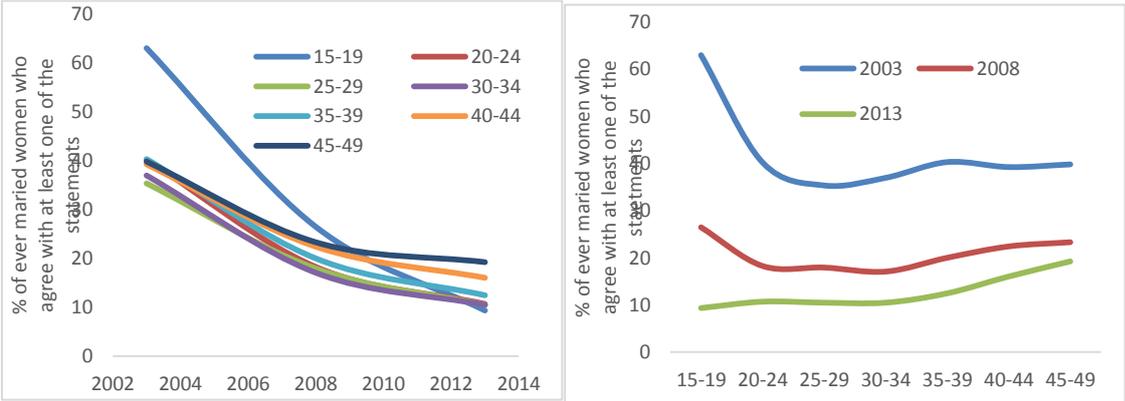
Giving the fact that for this sensitive topic, the phenomenon are usually underestimated, and given the fact that, as explained in the previous section, the domestic violence survey data collection protocol specifically designed for the issue of domestic violence, figure 1 suggests that the level of domestic violence acceptance reported by DHS is somewhat underestimated. Results of the domestic violence survey also show that the level of acceptance of domestic violence is highly heterogeneous when it comes to the different justifications that are proposed. For instance, in the 2014 domestic violence survey, 1 out of 3 Turkish ever-married women declare that a husband is justified in beating his wife if she is being unfaithful to him, and only 58% of Turkish ever married women do not accept domestic violence under any circumstances.

Even though it is difficult to use the DHS dataset to measure the exact level of violence acceptance by women, the DHS data give important insights in trends, as they cover a longer time period than

the Turkish domestic violence survey, for which only two waves are available (2008, 2014). The importance of the decreasing trend gives valuable information about the rapidity of the changing pattern of acceptance of domestic violence among women. To identify which women are driving the change, we now analyze, based on DHS data, how violence acceptance is distributed by age, education groups and region and how this distribution has evolved since over the last decade.

Figure 2 illustrates that the percentage of women who agree with at least one of the reasons decreases for each age group (left panel). This trend is particularly pronounced between the 2003 and the 2008 surveys (right panel).

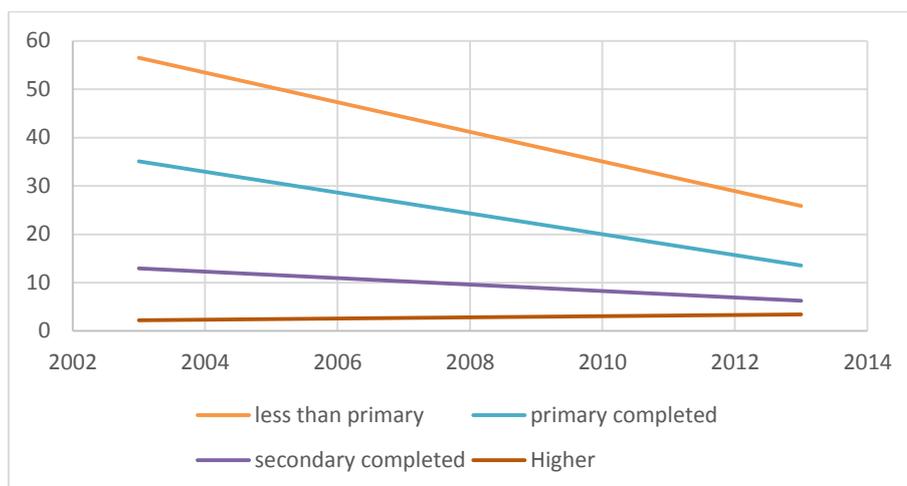
Figure 2: Share of ever married women who agree with at least one of the statements by age and DHS wave



Data source: DHS surveys (2003, 2008, 2013)  
 Sample: ever married women aged 15-49

The decrease in acceptance is mainly driven by young women aged 15-19. Starting at a level of 63% of acceptance, the level falls down to only 9,3% ten years later for the same age group. The youngest ever married women were the ones with the highest level of acceptance at the beginning of the decade and they are the ones with the lowest level of acceptance at the end of the observed period. Except this particular age group, figure 2 shows a clear age effect as the level of violence acceptance is higher for older cohorts (left panel). The figures also shows that the level of violence acceptance evolves over the life time/with age, as for each generation, this level decrease from a survey to the other one. For example, the left panel shows that the acceptance level of women aged 15-19 in 2003 is over 60% (blue color), but five years later, the acceptance level is only around 20% for the same cohort (red color).

Figure 3: Share of ever married women who agree with at least one of the statements by educational attainment and DHS wave



Data source: DHS surveys (2003, 2013)<sup>9</sup>  
 Sample: ever married women aged 15-49

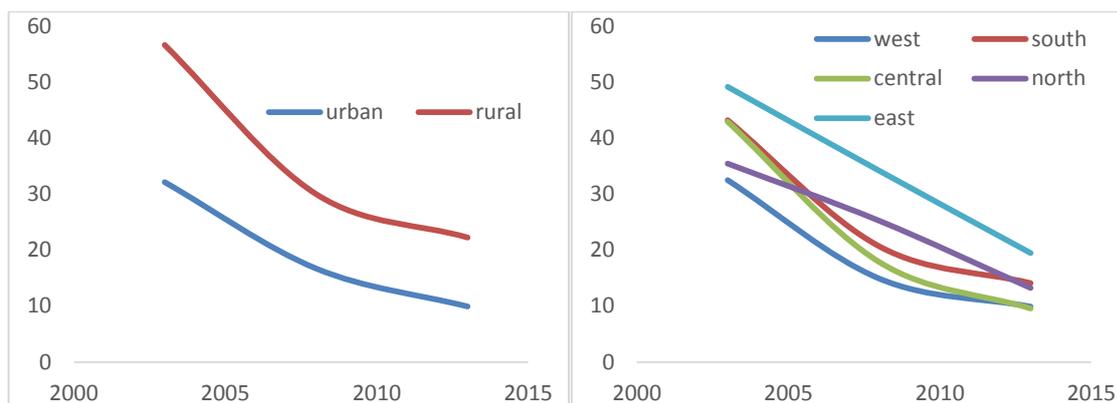
Figure 3 illustrates the share of ever married women who agree with at least one of the statements by educational attainment and DHS wave. The more a woman is educated, the less she will accept domestic violence. While the highest educated women show low levels of acceptance for all observed periods, the other educational groups experienced a significant decrease in the level of violence acceptance during the last decade. The decrease is, in fact, most remarkable for the lowest educational groups.

This phenomenon, cumulated with the fact that more and more Turkish women have been achieving an educational degree over the last decade, leads to the fact that the overall decrease in the acceptance of domestic violence is so important.

Figure 4 illustrates the share of ever married women that agree with at least one of the statements distinguishing the Turkish territory by urban/rural area and by aggregated geographical levels.

<sup>9</sup> The 2008 DHS survey has been excluded from this analysis as the codification of educational attainment seems to be false (at least in the dataset that we obtained from the Turkish statistical agency: zero prevalence for secondary education).

Figure 4: Share of ever married women who agree with at least one of the statements by rural/urban area, region and DHS wave



Data source: DHS survey (2003, 2008, 2013)  
 Sample: ever married women aged 15-49

As expected, the decreasing trend is important in all regional parts of Turkey. However, while there is a decrease in both rural and urban regions, the gap between the two categories is increasing. In 2003, the level of agreement was 1,76 times higher in the rural parts than in the urban ones, while this ratio re-increased to 2,24 in 2013.

Concerning the distinction in aggregated Turkish regions, the decreasing trend is also visible in all areas. However, for most of the regions, the trend seems to be more neutral after 2008. This is the case for the South, the West and the Central area. The Eastern part is marked by a more regular decreasing trend, but this region is starting from a higher level, which explain the Eastern region still is at the top level of agreement at the last survey wave.

To disentangle between the different background characteristics (age, education, region) and to control for structure effects, we run a logit regression that models the probability for a woman to agree with at least one of the statements. Regression results can be found in the appendix (table 1A) and show that education is the variable that is the most important driver for the reduction in women's acceptance of domestic violence over the last decade. Once controlled for education and geographic location, all the age categories appear to be statistically insignificant for the probability to agree with at least one of the statements. The model shows that the higher is the educational level of women, the lower is their acceptance of domestic violence. The high level of acceptance seen for the 15-19 age group in the 2003 DHS wave does thus not represent an age effect, but is caused by the relatively low level of education of women in this group. Furthermore, even if the model confirms significant differences between geographical areas (the Central and the South part of Turkey have a higher level of acceptance in comparison to the West), it is the distinction between rural and urban areas that appears to be most significant. Even when controlling for differences in age and education, women living in urban areas have much higher levels of acceptance than women living in urban areas.

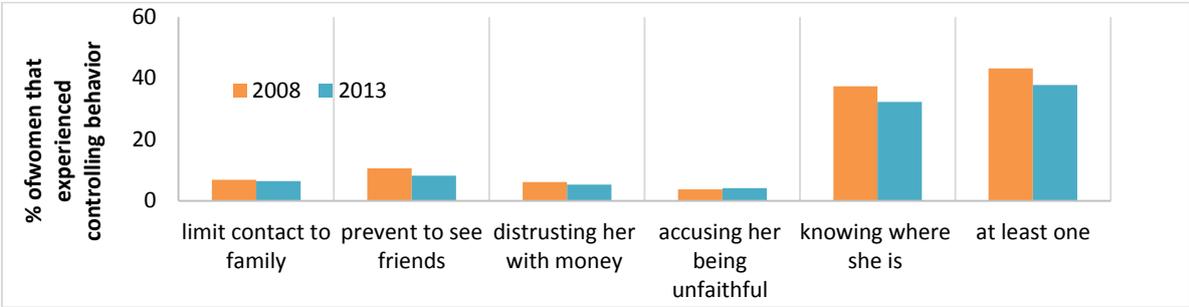
Finally, the control for structure effects in the model confirms that women's acceptance and justification of domestic violence has declined in Turkey from 2003 to 2013 for all age groups, education categories and regions. The model gives evidence that acceptance levels are still heterogeneous among education groups and regions in Turkey. However, if the access to higher

education among young women (at least secondary) continues to be facilitated in Turkey, it is likely that the decline in the acceptance level of domestic violence will continue over the next years.

*b. The prevalence of domestic controlling behavior*

In Turkey, around 40% of ever-married women aged 15-49 are subject to controlling behavior of their husbands according to DHS data. The prevalence of having experienced at least one type of controlling behavior decreased only slightly between 2008 and 2013, from 43% to 38% (figure 5). The majority of women experiencing controlling behavior are subject to limited freedom of movement, as the husband “wants to know where she is”. Around 10% of ever married are “Prevented to see friends”. The controlling behaviors “limiting contact to family”, “distrusting her with money” and “accusing her of being unfaithful” are experienced by only a minority of women (around 5%).

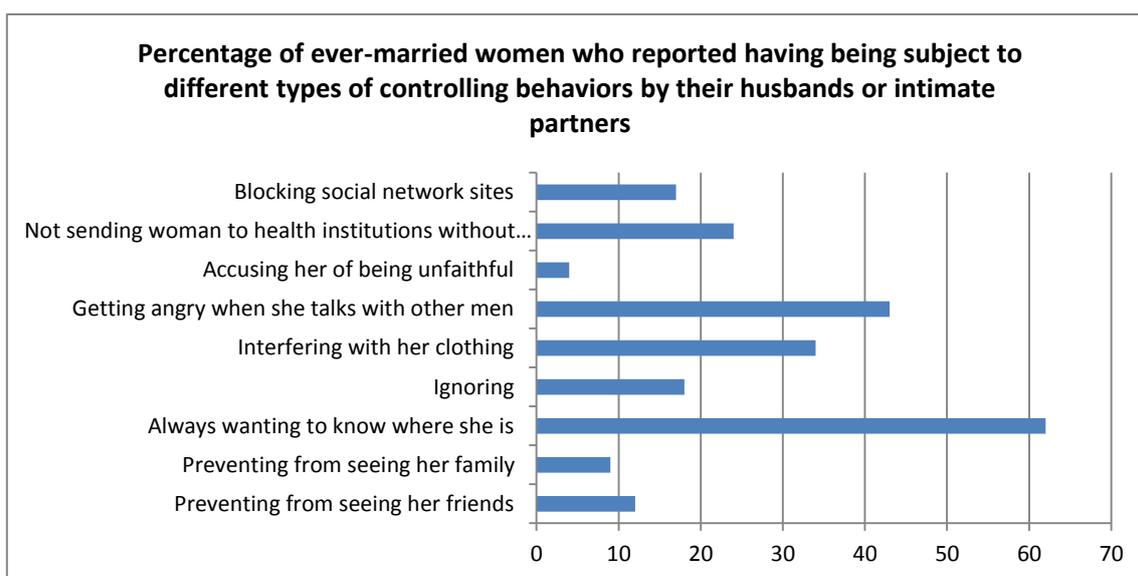
Figure 5: Percentage of ever married women having experienced controlling behavior by their husbands



Data source: DHS survey (2008, 2013)  
 Sample: ever married women aged 15-49

The Domestic Violence Survey of 2014 further confirms that limited freedom of movement is the most experienced controlling behavior by women (figure 6). 24% of ever married women (aged 15-59) declare that their husband prevented them from working or causing them to quit their job (lifetime). In the last 12 months, 10% of ever married women have been subjected to this abuse. More than 60% of ever-married women report that their husbands want always to know where they are, 17% that husbands block social network sites and roughly 10% that husbands prevent them from seeing family or friends. Therewith, limited freedom of movement touches not only the private but also the professional sphere. This type of controlling behavior therefore has important economic consequences for women that risk leading to financial dependency from their husbands.

Figure 6: Husbands control over spouses (lifetime)



Data source: Survey on Domestic violence against women in Turkey, 2014

Sample: ever married women aged 15-59

Table 2A in the appendix presents the results of a logit regression that models the probability for a woman of experiencing different types of controlling behaviors, which serves to identify and disentangle the different socio-demographic determinants of this phenomenon. For each kind of controlling behavior, we find that the more the woman is educated, the lower her probability of experiencing a controlling behavior of her husband. However, even though the difference is quite important between women who have less than primary or primary completed education completed and women who have completed their secondary education, the protecting effect of increasing education gets weaker for higher levels of education. Interestingly, we find that rural women are less likely to experience controlling behavior compared to women living in urban areas. However, while statistically significant, the estimated parameters are situated at a lower level than those of the education categories. It is possible that in rural areas, the living arrangements in larger family networks make it more difficult to prevent women from contacts outside the nuclear family. At the same time, it is also possible that explicit controlling behavior is less carried out as women who work as contributing family workers in rural areas do not leave the family network and thus are implicitly kept under permanent control. When comparing the different regions to each other, table 2A shows that women in the East and the South declare to be more prevented to see friends than in the West, and women in the East seem to be the most confronted to husbands who permanently want to know where she is in comparison to the other regions. Finally, age groups are significantly correlated to “prevent to see friends” and “wanting to know where she is” behavior. For these two types, older women are less likely to experience controlling behavior which limits freedom of movement than younger women.

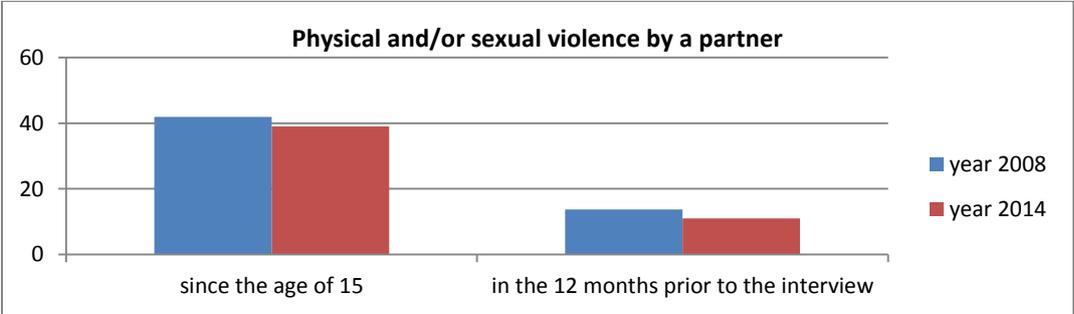
Table 3A in the appendix includes a control for the husband’s level of education. While the prevalence of experiencing controlling behavior by the husband significantly decreases with partner education, the control for the husband’s level of education renders insignificant the woman’s education level, at the exception of the “accuse her to be unfaithful” controlling behavior. However, it would be imprudent to derive from these results that the woman’s educational level is not

important for the risk of experiencing domestic controlling behavior. Actually, women’s education level is highly correlated with the level of education of their husbands, as table 4A in the appendix illustrates, a phenomenon commonly called ‘assortative mating’. No woman with at least secondary completed education has a partner with less than primary education, and only 7% of these women have a partner with only primary completed education. The majority of highly educated women (72%) are married with highly educated men. Vice versa, the majority of women with only primary completed education have a husband who has also only primary or secondary education, whereas only 8% of these women are married to highly educated men. This high collinearity makes it difficult to interpret the education coefficients of both sexes. It is probably false to conclude that female education does not reduce the risk of experiencing domestic controlling behavior. The results rather suggest that the channel from education to a lower risk of experiencing controlling behavior is complex. Educated women seem to occur a lower risk of experiencing domestic controlling behavior not only because their higher education implies higher economic independence and thus a more credible divorce threat. They are also more likely to get married to a higher educated partner who is less susceptible to carry out controlling behavior.

*c. The prevalence of domestic physical and/or sexual violence*

In terms of physical and/or sexual violence, some progress can be registered in Turkey, as illustrated by figure 7. In 2008, 13.7 % of ever married women declared being subjected to physical and/or sexual violence by their husband or intimate partner for the last 12 months. In 2014, the percentage is 11%. The prevalence for lifetime physical and/or sexual domestic violence fell from 42% in 2008 to 39% in 2014.

*Figure 7: 2008-2014 Evolution of physical and/or sexual violence by a partner in Turkey*



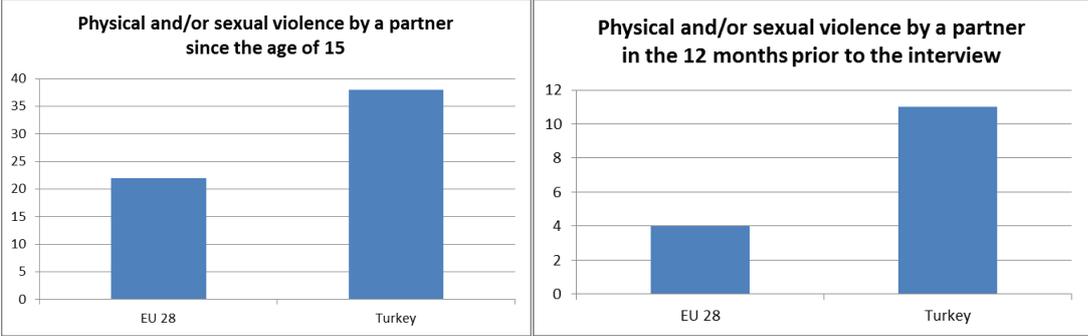
Data Source: Survey on Domestic violence against women in Turkey, 2008 & 2014  
 Sample: ever married women aged 15-59

The declines are relatively small and the prevalence is still high in comparison to European standards, as figure 8 illustrates.<sup>10</sup> The lifetime prevalence is 39% in Turkey against 22% in the EU (28), and the

<sup>10</sup> We compare here the 2014 Turkish survey data with the gender-based violence against women survey data set, 2012, from the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA). The European data are based on a set of questions asked in the FRA survey concerning physical and sexual violence. With regard to physical violence, in the survey women were asked: Since you were 15 years old / In the past 12 months how often has someone – 1) Pushed you or shoved you, 2) Slapped you, 3) Thrown a hard object at you, 4) Grabbed you or pulled your hair, 5) Beat you with a fist or a hard object, or kicked you, 5) Burned you, 6) Tried to suffocate your or strangle you, 7) Cut or stabbed you or short at you, 8) Beat your head against something? Concerning sexual

last 12 month-prevalence is 11% in Turkey against 4% on average in 28 EU countries. The relative gap is higher for the last 12 month-prevalence, which suggests that for younger cohorts, the risk of domestic violence has decreased more in the other European countries than in Turkey. However, one has to keep in mind that the prevalence of domestic violence is very heterogeneous among European countries, as is its awareness, perception, definition and documentation.

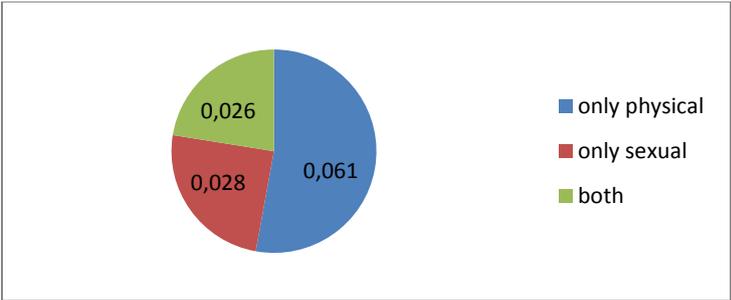
Figure 8: Physical and/or sexual violence by a partner in the EU(28) and Turkey



Data Sources: EU: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) gender-based violence against women survey data set, 2012; Turkey: Survey on Domestic violence against women in Turkey, 2014

Figure 9 illustrates the composition of the 11% of ever married women in Turkey who have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by a partner in the last 12 months (2014 survey). Somewhat more than one half has experienced only physical violence, while the other half is divided in almost equal parts in women who have experienced only sexual violence and women who have experienced both physical and sexual violence.

Figure 9: Distribution of physical and/or sexual violence by a partner in the 12 months prior to the interview in Turkey, ever married women aged 15-59 (11% in total)



Data source: Survey on Domestic violence against women in Turkey 2014

violence, women were asked: Since you were 15 years old / In the past 12 months, how often has someone: 1) Forced you into sexual intercourse by holding you down or hurting you in some way, 2) Apart from this, attempted to force you into sexual intercourse by holding you down or hurting you in some way, 3) Apart from this, made you take part in any form of sexual activity when you did not want to or were unable to refuse, 4) Or have you consented to sexual activity because you were afraid of what might happen if you refused? With regard to each form of physical and sexual violence, women could indicate that they had experienced this 'never', 'once', '2-5 times' or '6 or more times'. In the FRA data explorer the results are presented for respondents who have experienced these forms of violence at least once (category 'yes' – combination of 'once', '2-5 times' and '6 or more times') and respondents who have never experienced them.

Table 5A in the appendix shows descriptive statistics on the distribution of ever married women aged 15 to 59 in Turkey, differentiated by demographic and socioeconomic categories (2014 survey). We hereby distinguish between women who have not (first column) and women who do have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by their husband or partner over the last 12 months. Column three illustrates the prevalence of this type of violence by categories.

The prevalence of physical and/or sexual violence is higher amongst young women and decreasing with age. In 2014, 20 % of ever married women aged 15-19 declare having been subjected to physical and/or sexual violence by their husband or intimate partner for the last 12 months, while the prevalence is reduced by half for women aged 40+.

In line with this, women who have a partner who is more than 4 years older than them have a higher risk of experiencing domestic violence than women with a younger partner, and the younger women's age at marriage, the higher the prevalence of domestic violence.

Women whose marriage is arranged (by family, eloped, abducted, bride exchange...) are put at higher risk of experiencing domestic violence than women who decided themselves who to marry. The number of children is positively linked to the prevalence of domestic violence, while the presence of children can be a risk factor for as well as a consequence of domestic violence.

The risk of domestic violence increases also with the number of marriages. It seems that rather than escaping from domestic violence due to separation, women who separate and re-marry are likely to (re)experience domestic violence, suggesting that separated women are rarely able to get away from their family networks and social entourage in Turkey.

The descriptive statistics also show that the prevalence of domestic violence is somewhat higher among women whose partner's mother tongue is Kurdish in comparison to partners whose mother tongue is Turkish, and much lower for partners of Arabic or any other mother tongue.

The difference in the prevalence of domestic violence between women living in a nuclear family (the couple and their children) and women in other household configurations (mostly living with more family members) seems negligible.

What stands out, in contrast, are the differences according to the alcohol consumption of the partner. Those women whose partners never drink (or almost never) have a much lower prevalence of domestic violence than those who live with a partner who drinks on a regular basis. At the same time, among those women who are exposed to domestic violence, the large majority (70%) also have partners who never drink. This suggests that besides partners' alcohol consumption, other determinants of domestic violence are important to consider.

The prevalence of physical and/or sexual violence is lowest among women with tertiary education, while the difference between primary and secondary education seems negligible. The same is valid with regards to the partner's level of education.

When it comes to women's activity status, we distinguish between women who are in formal employment (employer, regular waged worker, regular salaried public officer, regular self-employed), women in informal/irregular employment (seasonal or temporary daily wage worker, irregular self-employed, unpaid family worker) and women who are not working (inactive, unemployed, retired, student, disabled). With these three quite distinct categories, we capture quite well the female employment pattern in Turkey (female labour force rate around 30% and a

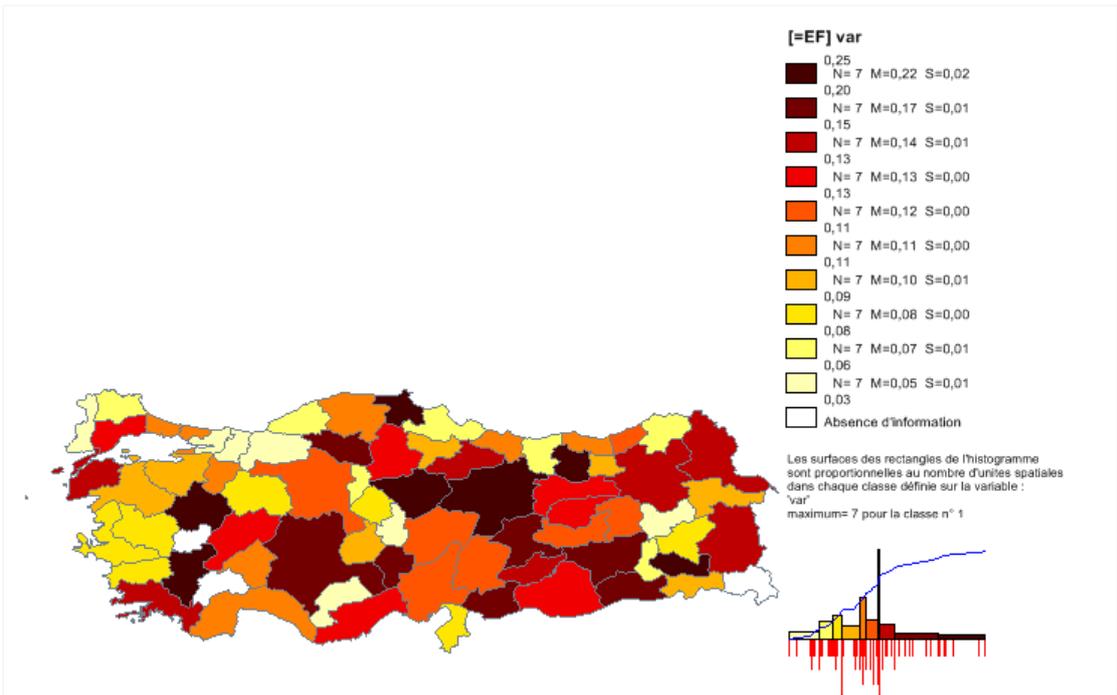
polarization between formal and informal employment). Table 5A actually shows that around 70% of ever married women aged 15-59 are not working and among those who are working, about the half is working in formal and the other half in informal/irregular employment. The descriptive statistics furthermore suggest that women in informal/irregular employment incur the highest risk of experiencing domestic violence in comparison to the other two activity statuses.

Around one out of five observed women own a house (either by herself or with other people), and their prevalence of domestic violence is smaller in comparison to those women who are not concerned by real estate property.

The prevalence of domestic violence differs quite much with regards to women’s contribution to family income. The prevalence is largest for women at the two extremes, i.e. for those who contribute nothing as well as for those who are the only contributors.

Finally, differences between rural and urban regions seem negligible. When comparing 12 regions (Nuts 1), the prevalence appears to be somewhat higher in the South-East and somewhat lower in the North-West. Figure 10, which distinguishes between provinces, illustrates however, that the prevalence of domestic violence in Turkey is quite heterogeneously spread over the country.

Figure 10: Prevalence of physical and/or sexual violence by a partner in the 12 months prior to the interview in Turkey, ever married women aged 15-59, by provinces



Data source: Domestic Violence Survey Turkey, 2014

## 5. Empirical analysis: Determinants of physical and/or sexual domestic violence

To estimate women's propensity of experiencing physical and/or sexual domestic violence (last 12 months), we apply a multivariate logit model with robust standard errors. We start with accounting for a range of demographic background characteristics and then successively add socioeconomic characteristics. Both women's and their partners' features are considered. All models include province fixed-effects (number of provinces: 90). These fixed-effects allow to partly controlling for omitted variable bias, as socioeconomic measures are likely to be associated with other characteristics that are sometimes difficult to observe, which also may lead to low-quality unions and domestic violence. These characteristics are not modelled explicitly, but they are at least controlled for as long as they are province-specific (culture, norms, economic conditions...). Our estimations can therefore be interpreted as 'within-province' results: We identify differences in the prevalence of domestic violence between socio-economic groups by controlling for non-observed differences between provinces. The inclusion of province-fixed effects actually reinforces the estimates of our socioeconomic variables. However, all estimated coefficients of our socioeconomic variables of interest stay significant once we remove the fixed effects.

Table 1 shows regression results of models 1 to 4 containing controls for demographic basic characteristics, the partner's alcohol consumption and education. Model one confirms a decreasing likelihood of experiencing domestic violence with women's age and woman's age at marriage. The number of children and the number of marriages significantly increase the risk of domestic violence, as well as being in a marriage that was arranged. The empirical analysis thus reinforces our hypothesis that separated women are rarely able to get away from their family networks and social entourage in Turkey.

In contrast, the age difference between the partners is insignificant once controlled for the other marriage characteristics. There is also no significant difference in the risk of domestic violence between women with partners' whose mother tongue is Turkish and women whose partners' whose mother tongue is Kurdish. Other ethnic background characteristics were also included in the regressions, but results are not presented here, as these characteristics all turned out to be insignificant (women's mother tongue, type of place of residence before age 12, province lived before age 12). The same is valid for blood relation with the husband.

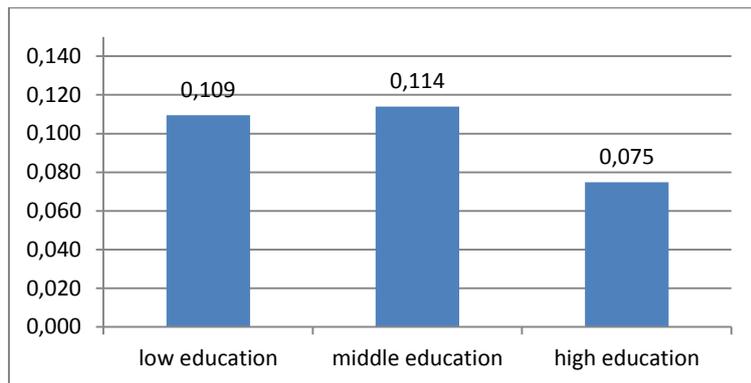
Model 2 confirms the importance of age and type of marriage while controlling for the alcohol consumption of the partner, and reveals that the frequency of alcohol consumption is highly correlated with domestic violence. However, the descriptive statistics in table 1 have shown that the large majority of violent partners do not drink, or are at least reported as not drinking. Reducing the prevalence of domestic violence in Turkey to an alcohol-related phenomenon is thus misleading. To see what other factors besides alcohol consumption are important determinants of domestic violence, we continue the regressions with alcohol consumption as control variable, while considering partners who never drink (the large majority in Turkey) as reference category.

Model 3 confirms that tertiary education reduces women's risk of experiencing domestic violence. Figure 11 shows the estimated probabilities of experiencing domestic violence according to education (model 3) and illustrates that with 7.5%, the probability is significantly lower for women with tertiary education in comparison to women with middle education (11.4%) and low education (10.9%).

Table 1: Estimated probability of having experienced sexual and/or physical violence by their husband/partner during the last 12 months (ever married women aged 15-59), logit regression with robust standard errors

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<b>Woman's age</b>				
15-19	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
20-29	-0.227	-0.290	-0.245	-0.239
30-39	-0.652+	-0.751*	-0.700+	-0.681+
40-49	-1.014**	-1.153**	-1.106**	-1.097**
50-59	-1.578***	-1.740***	-1.687***	-1.696***
<b>Age difference with partner (continuous)</b>	-0.00289	-0.00482	-0.00400	-0.000764
<b>Age at marriage</b>				
10-17	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
18-21	-0.222*	-0.205+	-0.202+	-0.191+
22-29	-0.323*	-0.314*	-0.257+	-0.206
30+	-0.444+	-0.454+	-0.381	-0.320
<b>Marriage was arranged (dummy)</b>	0.396***	0.443***	0.403***	0.385***
<b>Number of children still alive (continuous)</b>	0.121***	0.137***	0.135***	0.124***
<b>Number of marriages (continuous)</b>	0.983***	0.933***	0.891***	0.827***
<b>Partner's mother tongue</b>				
Turkish	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Kurdish	-0.0250	0.0240	0.0206	-0.0522
Arabic	-0.947*	-0.884*	-0.885*	-1.035**
Other	-0.341	-0.364	-0.369	-0.404
<b>Nuclear family (dummy)</b>	-0.0714	-0.0396	-0.0307	-0.0281
<b>Alcohol consumption of the partner</b>				
Never	/	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Every day/almost every day	/	1.271***	1.281***	1.289***
Once or twice a week	/	1.044***	1.055***	1.056***
A few times a month	/	0.765***	0.791***	0.782***
Less than once a month	/	0.364*	0.386*	0.398*
<b>Education</b>				
Low education (pre-primary, primary)	/	/	-0.0445	-0.190+
Middle education (secondary)	/	/	Ref.	Ref.
High education (tertiary)	/	/	-0.462*	-0.206
<b>Partner education</b>				
Low education (pre-primary, primary)	/	/	/	0.264**
Middle education (secondary)	/	/	/	Ref.
High education (tertiary)	/	/	/	-0.561**
<b>Geographic area</b>				
Urban	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Rural	-0.138	-0.104	-0.116	-0.170+
<b>Region fixed effects (Nuts-1)</b>	yes	yes	yes	yes
<b>Constant</b>	-2.607***	-2.725***	-2.668***	-2.596***
<b>N</b>	6170	6170	6170	6142
<b>Pseudo R-sq</b>	0.040	0.058	0.059	0.065
+ p<0,1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001				
Data source: Domestic Violence Survey Turkey, 2014				

Figure 11: Estimated probabilities of experiencing physical and/or sexual violence by a partner in the 12 months prior to the interview in Turkey, by education



Data source: Domestic Violence Survey Turkey, 2014

\*Estimated probabilities calculus based on regression results of model 3 (table 1).

\*\*Reference group: women aged 20-29, age difference with partner 3 years, age at marriage 22-29, marriage not arranged, 2 children, first marriage, partner's mother tongue is Turkish, nuclear family, no alcohol consumption, urban.

\*\*Definition of education categories: Low education (pre-primary and primary completed), middle education (secondary), high education (tertiary).

This can be linked to the fact that due to the higher economic options of women with tertiary education, her divorce threat is more credible in comparison to lower educated women. It is also possible that higher educated women are more likely to be partnered with higher educated partners, who themselves are less likely to exert domestic violence, as model 4 shows. Due to these possible interaction effects, we restrain in the following from controlling for both women's and their partners' education at the same time.

Models 5 to 8 in table 2 are therefore presented only with controls for woman's education, but without controls for partner education. They estimate, besides women's education, the correlation of other women's "economic empowerment" variables (activity status, property, contribution to household income) with the risk of experiencing domestic violence. For partners, information on property is not available, and information on the partner's contribution to household income is implicitly given with the measure of women's contribution to household income. Regressions with a control for partner's activity status are not presented, as partner's activity status is insignificant and the coefficients of the other exogenous variables do not change much.

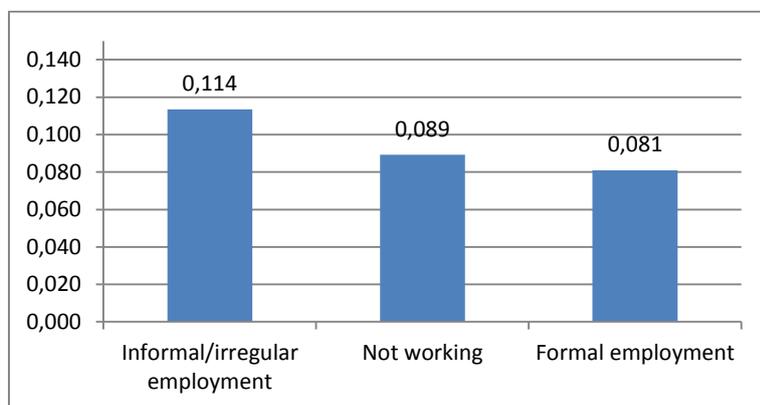
In model 5, we substitute female education with women's activity status, while model 6 includes both. In both models, women in formal employment as well as women who are not working have a lower probability of experiencing domestic violence in comparison to women in informal/irregular employment (reference category). Figure 12 illustrates the estimated probabilities for each of the three categories.

Table 2: Estimated probability of having experienced sexual and/or physical violence by their husband/partner during the last 12 months (ever married women aged 15-59), logit regression with robust standard errors

	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
<b>Woman's age</b>				
15-19	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
20-29	-0.295	-0.255	-0.235	-0.220
30-39	-0.761*	-0.720*	-0.677+	-0.663+
40-49	-1.164**	-1.124**	-1.048**	-1.029**
50-59	-1.747***	-1.698***	-1.591***	-1.564***
<b>Age difference with partner (continuous)</b>	-0.00342	-0.00270	-0.00217	-0.00228
<b>Age at marriage</b>				
10-17	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
18-21	-0.196	-0.191+	-0.199+	-0.207+
22-29	-0.288*	-0.240+	-0.244+	-0.240+
30+	-0.408	-0.347	-0.363	-0.368
<b>Marriage was arranged (dummy)</b>	0.421***	0.393***	0.384***	0.379***
<b>Number of children still alive (continuous)</b>	0.137***	0.137***	0.134***	0.132***
<b>Number of marriages (continuous)</b>	0.916***	0.882***	0.886***	0.875***
<b>Partner's mother tongue</b>				
Turkish	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Kurdish	0.0294	0.0295	0.0275	0.0205
Arabic	-0.866*	-0.863*	-0.843*	-0.854*
Other	-0.347	-0.353	-0.379	-0.377
<b>Nuclear family (dummy)</b>	-0.0453	-0.0369	-0.0409	-0.0234
<b>Alcohol consumption of the partner</b>				
Never	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Every day/almost every day	1.277***	1.275***	1.290***	1.258***
Once or twice a week	1.065***	1.066***	1.086***	1.076***
A few times a month	0.767***	0.781***	0.780***	0.784***
Less than once a month	0.368*	0.378*	0.377*	0.397*
<b>Education</b>				
Low education (pre-primary, primary)	/	-0.0526	-0.0697	-0.0779
Middle education (secondary)	/	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
High education (tertiary)	/	-0.435*	-0.401*	-0.371+
<b>Activity Status</b>				
Formal employment	-0.374*	-0.296+	-0.280+	-0.163
Informal/irregular employment	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Not working	-0.268*	-0.268*	-0.264*	-0.339**
<b>House ownership</b>				
No	/	/	Ref.	Ref.
By herself	/	/	-0.437**	-0.423*
With other people	/	/	-0.196	-0.179
<b>Contribution to family income</b>				
Only she has income in the household	/	/	/	0.849*

More than others	/	/	/	0.433
About the same than others	/	/	/	Ref.
Less than others	/	/	/	0.324
Nothing	/	/	/	0.563*
<b>Geographic area</b>				
Urban	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Rural	-0.153	-0.160	-0.162+	-0.185+
<b>Region fixed effects (Nuts-1)</b>				
Constant	yes	yes	yes	yes
Constant	-2.607***	-2.725***	-2.668***	-2.596***
N	6161	6161	6160	6157
Pseudo R-sq	0.059	0.060	0.062	0.064
<b>+ p&lt;0,1, * p&lt;0.05, ** p&lt;0.01, *** p&lt;0.001</b>				
<b>Data source: Domestic Violence Survey Turkey, 2014</b>				

Figure 12: Estimated probabilities of experiencing physical and/or sexual violence by a partner in the 12 months prior to the interview in Turkey, by activity status



Data source: Domestic Violence Survey Turkey, 2014

\*Estimated probabilities calculus based on regression results of model 5 (table 2).

\*\*Reference group: women aged 20-29, age difference with partner 3 years, age at marriage 22-29, marriage not arranged, 2 children, first marriage, partner's mother tongue is Turkish, nuclear family, no alcohol consumption, urban.

\*\*\*Definition of categories: informal/irregular employment (seasonal or temporary daily wage worker, irregular self-employed, unpaid family worker), not working (inactive, unemployed, retired, student, disabled), formal employment (employer, regular waged worker, regular salaried public officer, regular self-employed).

Being engaged in working activities does therefore not per lead to a lower risk of experiencing domestic violence for women in Turkey. We actually find that when only distinguishing between working and not-working women, there is no significant difference in incurring domestic violence between the two groups. However, a distinction between formal and informal/irregular activities generates significant differences.

This finding is most likely linked to the fact that women in formal and informal employment have very different social backgrounds in Turkey, and female employment is quite polarized between these two categories. Our results also suggest that inactive women belong to an intermediate social category in Turkey.

Women who are not working seem to have a higher social status than women who work in informal employment, for example as contributing family workers in agriculture. This can be due to the fact that inactive women are more likely to be part of families who can 'afford' that the woman stays at home (the 'middle class' phenomenon of the male breadwinner model), because the husband is relatively educated and works in a formal job outside agriculture. Finally, women in formal employment are most likely the most educated. They participate in the labour market independent of the status of their partners (also due to self-fulfillment and not only due to economic needs), but are very likely to have partners with a similar education background.

The interdependencies between female education, women's opportunities to have a regular job in the formal sector and the probability to be married to an educated and a high-earning partner are strong and disentangling them is not always meaningful. All these factors, and especially their combinations, are reducing the risk of being subject to domestic violence.

It is, however, important to mention that reverse causality cannot be ruled out here. Women might also be inactive or restricted to certain informal working activities because their partner does not allow them to work outside the house or the family network. Among our sample of ever married women aged 15 to 59 who are not working, 10% of women declare as reason that the partner and/or the family does not allow the women to engage in labour market activities. Partners who show this kind of controlling behavior are also the ones who have a higher propensity of carrying out physical and/or sexual violence.

The results so far give strong evidence that women's economic empowerment in terms of education and income increases their chances to avoid or escape from domestic violence. Model 7 reinforces the importance of women's economic power by revealing that real estate property is significantly reducing women's risk of experiencing domestic violence when comparing women who own by themselves a house in comparison to others.

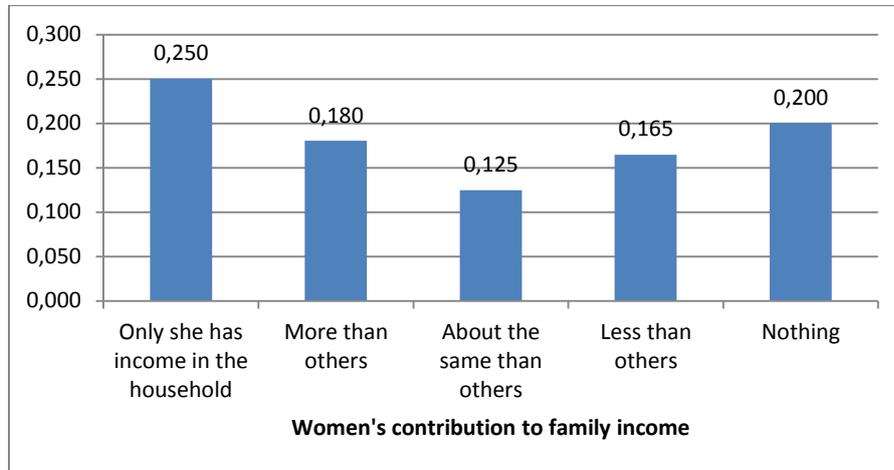
To sum up, it seems that higher educated women with a sufficient degree of economic independence are the ones who have the highest probability of being in a relatively egalitarian partnership, where violence demonstrations of physical male dominance are less common (albeit not inexistent). The idea that equal economic participation can be considered as an efficient way of protection against domestic violence is finally reinforced by model 8. Model 8 gives evidence that in families where women contribute about the same than other family members to household income, the risk of experiencing domestic violence is lowest. In comparison to them, women who are on the extremes of the within-household income distribution incur a significantly higher risk of domestic violence. Figure 13 illustrates the estimated probabilities.

Interestingly, no economic contribution turns out to be similarly risky as being the only contributor to family income. It is likely that in families where women are the only contributors, partners are unintentionally economically inactive (unemployed, injured, disabled...), and the unequal distribution of economic power creates tensions which can result in domestic violence. Even though model 8 reveals that this configuration comes along with the highest risk of domestic violence, table 1 shows that only a small minority of households are concerned.

The large majority of Turkish women find themselves in a configuration where they contribute nothing to household income, either because they are not working or because they are engaged in unpaid activities.

Breaking up this traditional and rigid pattern by promoting gender equality in economic participation among partners emerges thus as the most effective way to combat domestic violence in Turkey.

Figure 13: Estimated probabilities of experiencing physical and/or sexual violence by a partner in the 12 months prior to the interview in Turkey, by women's contribution to family income



Data source: Domestic Violence Survey Turkey, 2014

\*Estimated probabilities calculus based on regression results of model 8 (table 3).

\*\*Reference group: women aged 20-29, age difference with partner 3 years, age at marriage 22-29, marriage not arranged, 2 children, first marriage, partner's mother tongue is Turkish, nuclear family, no alcohol consumption, urban, middle educated, no real estate property, informal/irregular employment.

## 6. Conclusion

This article investigates the determinants of domestic violence in Turkey, by disentangling demographic and socioeconomic and contextual factors. We demonstrate that sharing economic resources equally between spouses is the most likely to protect women against domestic violence. In Turkey, there still exist important gender gaps in terms of education, participation in the formal labour market and income earning opportunities. Increasing the economic participation of Turkish women is likely to significantly reduce women's risk of experiencing domestic violence.

Education is an important determinant of the role of women in Turkey, as it prevents early marriages and increases women's participation in the formal workforce and thus enables women to be economically independent.

Our results also suggest that female employment does not ensure protection of women against domestic violence on its own. Women engaged in informal labour market activities are found to be more exposed to domestic violence than inactive women and women working in the formal labour market, revealing a strong context dependency. Women in formal and informal employment have very different social backgrounds in Turkey, and female employment is quite polarized between these two categories. Having higher education levels enables women to work in the formal sector and allows women not only to gain economic independence, but also to freely choose their partner. Higher educated women with a sufficient degree of economic independence are the ones who are most likely to be in a relatively egalitarian partnership, where the risk of being exposed to domestic violence is reduced.

We also find that women with more economic resources are not always less exposed to domestic violence. Any kind of unequal distribution of economic power between spouses - be it in favor of the man or of the women - has the potential to create tensions which can result in domestic violence. Unstable economic conditions that harm earning opportunities for men are thus also an important risk factor for couples to experience conflicts that can result in domestic violence. Consequently, promoting stable employment conditions in the formal labour market for both men and women emerges as the most effective way to combat domestic violence in Turkey.

Given the fact that in Turkey, the large majority of women earn less than their partners (Structure of Earning Survey of 2010), increasing access to education and wage income for women seems however a meaningful strategy to reduce the prevalence of domestic violence in Turkey. With only around 30%, it is evident that the female employment rate is still way below its potential in Turkey. Many girls, especially in the rural areas, are still forced to marry early, which restrains them from higher education.

Low educational attainment leads to less employability in the formal sector and thus to economic dependence. It is thus important to continue efforts to combat forced and under 18 marriages and to encourage parents to invest in female education, not only for reducing women's exposure to domestic violence, but as part of a holistic strategy to ensure gender equality by changing the way that women are perceived in the Turkish society. In addition, the lack of adequate child care services in Turkey has to be addressed, as -combined with a critical view of maternal employment- insufficient child care infrastructure makes it difficult for mothers to pursue a professional career.

Initiated by the 2001 Civil Code, important legal reforms, policies and non-governmental initiatives have been undertaken in Turkey over the last years in order to deal with violence against women and increase gender equality. However, implementation of these new laws has not always been effective. There is a need to work on the implementation of these reforms. It is also essential to support policy actions with NGO and private initiatives and increase media coverage, in particular in the field of offering assistance to victims. A first step is to facilitate women to talk about their experiences. According to the 2014 Survey of Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey, 44% of women ever-exposed to physical and/or sexual domestic violence told no one about it. 61% told to their immediate social network, but only 2/3 received any help from them. Finally, only 11% of women ever-exposed to physical and/or sexual domestic violence have approached an institution or organization due to this violence. Most strikingly, only 7% of women ever-exposed to physical and/or sexual domestic violence reported this violence to the police; and for 20% of them their statement was not taken. Finally, according the same survey, 88% of women do not know about Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centers (ŞÖNİMs).

Finally, there is a need for further data collection and scientific research on domestic violence in Turkey. It is clear that the measure of domestic violence is sensitive to context and to methodology. More detailed data and data from different sources should be collected, like for example victim surveys and community surveys (e.g. in shelters, amongst university students, etc.). In addition, different questionnaires on domestic violence and IPV should be tested for the Turkish context. Sample sizes should be increased and respondents should include men, considering them not only as potential perpetrators but also as potential victims of domestic violence. Last but not least, access to administrative and legal data on domestic violence and violence against women would be of advantage.

## Appendix

*Table 1A: Logistic regression of the probability of ever-married women to agree with at least one of the statements<sup>11</sup>*

Probability of agreement with at least one statement		Estimation
<b>Intercept</b>		-1,6482***
<b>Year (ref=2003)</b>	2013	-0,6147***
<b>education (ref=primary completed)</b>	higher	-1,7219***
	less than primary	1,4142***
	secondary completed	-0,4244***
<b>urbanity (ref=urban)</b>	rural	0,3477***
<b>region (ref=West)</b>	Central	0,2001***
	East	-0,0497
	North	-0,1457***
	South	0,1399***
<b>age (ref=20-24)</b>	15-19	0,0427
	25-29	-0,0352
	30-34	-0,0331
	35-39	-0,024
	40-44	-0,0186
	45-49	-0,00728

**N=12755**

Data source: DHS surveys (2003, 2013)

Sample: ever married women aged 15-49

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

<sup>11</sup> In DHS, ever-married women aged 15 to 49 years old are asked if they agree with the fact that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife if she, neglects her children, argues with him, burns the food, and refuses to have sex with him.

Table 2A: Logistic regression of the probability of ever-married women to experience controlling behaviors by her husband

Parameter		prevent to see friends	limit contact to family	distrust her with money	accuse her being unfaithful	want to know where she is	at least one
<b>Intercept</b>		-2.421 ***	-2.7591 ***	-3.0213 ***	-3.3303 ***	-0.5865 ***	-0.3444***
<b>education (ref=primary completed)</b>	less than primary	0.5633 ***	0.6481 ***	0.3465 ***	0.5315 ***	0.1546 **	0.2578***
	secondary completed	-0.3807 ***	-0.315 *	-0.183	-0.2784 **	-0.2112 ***	-0.2418***
	higher	-0.3098 ***	-0.4461 ***	-0.1812 *	-0.3285 ***	-0.0714	-0.1315***
<b>urbanity (ref=urban)</b>	rural	-0.1795 ***	-0.1368 ***	-0.1802 ***	-0.1893 ***	-0.00784	-0.0274
<b>region (ref=west)</b>	Central	0.14 * *	0.1104	0.1503 *	0.1397	0.0389	0.0412
	East	0.1897 ***	0.1029	0.1098	0.00943	0.2647 ***	0.2524***
	North	-0.0551	-0.0541	-0.1364	-0.1531	-0.0953 **	-0.0918*
	South	-0.2436 ***	0.0395	-0.0903	-0.0989	-0.0618	-0.0612
<b>age (ref=20-24)</b>	15-19	0.6418 ***	0.2151	-0.6617 **	0.2043	0.4235 ***	0.43***
	25-29	0.0917	0.0122	0.0402	0.1381	0.0247	0.0469
	30-34	-0.1737 *	-0.0828	0.1097	-0.1402	-0.1373 ***	-0.1293***
	35-39	-0.057	-0.1024	0.2073 **	0.0298	-0.2269 ***	-0.222***
	40-44	-0.3814 ***	0.0174	0.0913	-0.0552	-0.3103 ***	-0.2989***
	45-49	-0.3566 ***	-0.2499 *	0.1529	-0.3399 **	-0.2796 ***	-0.2864***
N=6250							

Data source: DHS survey (2013)

Sample: ever married women aged 15-49

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

Table 3A: Logistic regression of the probability of ever-married women to experience controlling behaviors by her husband (with the husband's level of education as additional control variable)

Parameter		prevent to see friends	limit contact to family	distrust her with money	accuse her being unfaithful	want to know where she is	at least one
<b>Intercept</b>		-2.2794***	-2.5199***	-3.1525***	-3.0402***	-0.5479***	-0.2295***
<b>education (ref=primary completed)</b>	less than primary	0.2859*	0.4264***	-0.1278	0.4385**	-0.0155	0.000159
	secondary completed	-0.1612	-0.239*	-0.0209	0.4385**	-0.0413	-0.0633
	higher	-0.2535	-0.198	-0.0103	-0.3455**	-0.104	-0.0925
<b>urbanity (ref=urban)</b>	rural	-0.088	-0.0983	-0.1678**	-0.1212	0.0218	0.00383
<b>region (ref=west)</b>	Central	0.2135**	0.2056*	0.1281	0.2244*	0.0426	0.0515
	East	0.2476***	-0.00241	0.1772	0.00778	0.2843***	0.2904***
	North	-0.1613	-0.0662	-0.1388	-0.3335**	-0.1013	-0.1018
	South	-0.1838	0.0963	-0.0422	0.00632	-0.0704	-0.0623
<b>age (ref=20-24)</b>	15-19	0.5222**	0.5961**	-1.7604**	0.4448	0.6056***	0.5275***
	25-29	0.1151	0.0627	0.2615	0.0288	0.0767	0.1177*
	30-34	-0.1206	-0.1894	0.2033	-0.0279	-0.1858***	-0.1691***
	35-39	-0.048	-0.1392	0.3857**	0.0924	-0.3278***	-0.2988***
	40-44	-0.3893***	-0.1721	0.2901	-0.1595	-0.4191***	-0.3929***
	45-49	-0.2917*	-0.3651**	0.5337***	-0.5339***	-0.3607***	-0.3417***
<b>husband education (ref=primary completed)</b>	less than primary	0.8955***	0.7511***	0.3129*	0.6221**	0.4448**	0.7008***
	secondary completed	-0.307***	-0.2545**	0.1304**	-0.1271*	-0.1663**	-0.2592***
	higher	-0.4723***	-0.6131***	0.1628	-0.4528**	-0.2951***	-0.3959***

N=6250

Data source: DHS survey (2013)

Sample: ever married women aged 15-49

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

*Table 4A: Husband's level of education by women's level of education (distribution in %)*

<b>Woman's education</b>	<b>Husband's education</b>					<b>sum</b>
	<b>less than primary</b>	<b>than primary</b>	<b>primary completed</b>	<b>secondary completed</b>	<b>higher</b>	
<b>less than primary</b>	6,33		56,73	32,98	3,96	100
<b>primary completed</b>	0,96		45,99	45,32	7,73	100
<b>secondary completed</b>	0		14,9	58,82	26,29	100
<b>higher</b>	0		2,99	25,39	71,61	100

Data source: DHS survey (2013)

Sample: ever married women aged 15-49

Table 5A: Descriptive statistics, ever married women aged 15-59

	Distribution of women who have <i>not</i> experienced phys. and/or sex. violence by last husband during the last 12 month	Distribution of women who have experienced phys. and/or sex. violence by last husband during the last 12 month	Proportion of women who have experienced phys. and/or sex. violence by last husband during the last 12 month
<b>Woman's age</b>			
15-19	0,01	0,02	0,20
20-29	0,19	0,27	0,16
30-39	0,34	0,36	0,12
40-49	0,27	0,25	0,11
50-59	0,19	0,10	0,07
<b>Age difference with partner</b>			
>4 years	0,47	0,51	0,11
<=4 years	0,53	0,49	0,13
<b>Age at marriage</b>			
10-17	0,25	0,32	0,14
18-21	0,40	0,40	0,12
22-29	0,30	0,24	0,09
30+	0,06	0,04	0,09
<b>Type of marriage</b>			
Not arranged	0,44	0,37	0,10
Arranged	0,56	0,63	0,13
<b>Number of children still alive</b>			
0-2	0,63	0,59	0,11
3+	0,37	0,41	0,13
<b>Number of marriages</b>			
One	0,96	0,92	0,11
More than one	0,04	0,08	0,19
<b>Partner's mother tongue</b>			
Turkish	0,83	0,82	0,11
Kurdish	0,13	0,17	0,14
Arabic	0,03	0,01	0,06
Other	0,01	0,00	0,05
<b>Nuclear family</b>			
Yes	0,55	0,56	0,11
No	0,45	0,44	0,12
<b>Alcohol consumption of the partner</b>			
Never	0,80	0,69	0,10
Every day/almost every day	0,03	0,08	0,28
Once or twice a week	0,04	0,07	0,19
A few times a month	0,05	0,08	0,18
Less than once a month	0,09	0,08	0,11

Table 5A (cont)

	Distribution of women who have <i>not</i> experienced phys. and/or sex. violence by last husband during the last 12 month	Distribution of women who have experienced phys. and/or sex. violence by last husband during the last 12 month	Proportion of women who have experienced phys. and/or sex. violence by last husband during the last 12 month
<b>Activity Status</b>			
Formal employment	0,16	0,14	0,10
Informal/irregular employment	0,14	0,17	0,14
Not working	0,70	0,69	0,11
<b>House ownership</b>			
No	0,77	0,85	0,13
By herself	0,12	0,07	0,07
With other people	0,11	0,08	0,09
<b>Contribution to family income</b>			
Only she has income in the household	0,03	0,04	0,16
More than others	0,02	0,02	0,10
About the same than others	0,15	0,13	0,11
Less than others	0,07	0,03	0,06
Nothing	0,74	0,78	0,12

Data source: Domestic Violence Survey Turkey, 2014

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