Research Article

Socio-Economic Factors of Intimate Partner Violence against Women in Turkey: A Cross-Sectional Data Analysis[1]

Kadına Yönelik Yakın Partner Şiddetinin Gerisindeki Sosyo-Ekonomik Faktörler: Yatay Kesit Veri Analizi

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Abstract

In this study, intimate partner violence against women is analyzed from a socio-economic perspective for Turkey. We use Turkish National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women data sets for 2008 and 2014. We use binary outcome models to estimate the effect of socio-economic determinants on intimate partner violence. The education level of a woman reduces the probability of intimate partner violence, which is consistent with the predictions of household bargaining models. The physical, sexual, and psychological violence increases when a woman exceeds or even gets closer to the education level of a man. Male backlash mechanisms explain the violence stemming from the education gap between a male and a female partner. Although employment of women does not affect physical violence, it seems to trigger an increase in sexual and psychological violence. Male Backlash and the theories that define violence as an instrument, and financial extraction theories can explain this result.

Keywords: Intimate partner violence, Turkey, Male Backlash, Household Bargaining, Education.

Jel Codes: J12, J16, K38, C21

Öz

Bu çalışmada, kadına yönelik eş şiddeti Türkiye için sosyo-ekonomik açıdan, 2008 ve 2014 için Kadına Yönelik Aile İçi Şiddet Araştırması veri setlerini kullanarak analiz edilmektedir. Çalışmada sosyo-ekonomik faktörlerin eş şiddeti üzerindeki etkisini tahmin etmek için ikili tercih modelleri kullanılmaktadır. Bulgular göstermektedir ki, bir kadının eğitim düzeyi, ev içi pazarlık modellerinin öngörüleriyle tutarlı olarak, yakın partner şiddeti olasılığını azaltmaktadır. Kadın, erkeğin eğitim düzeyini aştığında hatta yaklaştığında bile fiziksel, cinsel ve psikolojik şiddet artmaktadır. Erkekte geri tepme mekanizmaları, bir erkek ve kadın partner arasındaki eğitim boşluğundan kaynaklanan şiddeti açıklamaktadır. Kadın istihdamı fiziksel şiddeti etkilemese de cinsel ve psikolojik şiddette bir

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[1] This study is produced from the thesis " **Türkiye'de kadına partneri tarafından uygulanan şiddetin sosyo-ekonomik belirleyicileri: yatay kesit veri analizi**", written by Hivdan Yüksel under the supervision of Assistant Professor Hakan Ulucan, and completed in the Social Sciences Institute Institute at Pamukkale University, Turkey in 2019.

artışı tetiklemiştir. Erkekte ters tepme, şiddeti bir araç olarak tanımlayan teoriler ve finansal varlıklara el koyma teorileri bu olguları açıklayabilir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Yakın Partner Şiddeti, Türkiye, Erkekte Ters Tepme, Hane İçi Pazarlık, Eğitim.

Jel Kodları: J12, J16, K38, C2

Introduction

Male intimate partner violence against women is an interdimensional problem. To begin with, it disturbs social cohesion by harming half of the population consisting of women. It may discourage women from participating in employment and politics. Employment loss is directly connected with a potential GDP loss in countries. Male partner violence is associated with the health system since male partner violence leads to serious health problems, such as injuries and psychological problems. Thus, it incurs enormous costs on the health and social security system. The problem influences the security and justice system since it leads to trials ranging from divorces to homicides. The problem adversely affects future generations since children who witness domestic violence are more likely to show similar behaviors like their mothers and fathers, who are potential role models for children in their following ages, which may create an endless circle of violence.

The main aim of this study is to discover the roles of determinants of male intimate partner violence against women in Turkey. Turkey is a developing country, which has been involved in a modernization process during the last two centuries and has a population that gives importance to patriarchal norms. These characteristics sometimes contradict each other, and violence against women is one of the conflicted areas. Thus, the Turkish case provides an opportunity to discover the effect of various mechanisms stemming from the country's nature.

We use micro-level data sets for 2008 and 2014 from Turkish National Research on Domestic Violence Against Women. We use binary outcome models to estimate the effect of socio-economic determinants on intimate partner violence against women[2]. We analyze three forms of intimate partner violence, physical, sexual, and psychological violence against women. The findings suggest that the male partner violence physical, sexual, and psychological against women decreases as the education level of women increases. The education levels of male partners do not affect violence as long as the education level is under or equal to the college level. Above this level, the physical violence level is surprisingly higher. The most sensitive violence type to the education level of male partners is sexual violence, which is negatively related to their education levels. The coefficient of the variable that shows the interaction between partners' education levels shows that violence against women increases when the education gap between couples gets closer or the female education level is higher. This finding is consistent with the predictions of the male backlash hypothesis suggesting that a male may react to the higher socio-economic status of his female partner violently, as he evaluates it as a threat to his traditional leader role in male-female relations.

This study is organized as follows. In the following section, we will discuss the theoretical models explaining partner violence against women. In section 2, we will present the institutional framework and general outlook of women in Turkey. We will introduce data and its descriptive statistics in section 3. We define the methodology in section 4, and we will discuss estimation results in section 5. Finally, the study ends with concluding remarks in the last section.

1. Literature, Theories, and Models

1.1 Literature

Intimate partner violence against women has been regarded as a universal problem since the 1990s, when women's rights defenders and international organizations working on this issue became influential around the world. As a result of these movements, the definition of violence against women was made in the "Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women", which was announced by the

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[2] The scope of intimate partner violence in this study is consistent with the definition of the World Health Organization. The institution defines intimate partner violence as current or former violence against a woman by an intimate or previous partner, husband or ex-husband, boyfriend or ex-boyfriend (WHO, 2014). Therefore, we also address only male violence against women by using the term.

United Nations General Assembly's Resolution 44/104, dated December 20, 1993. According to this definition, violence against women is regarded as any gender-based action or threat of such actions, forceful or arbitrary deprivation of liberty that results in or is probably lead to physical, and sexual or psychological pain or misery to women in public or private life (BM, 1993).

35% of women in the world either experience physical and/or sexual violence perpetrated by their intimate partners; or suffer from non-partner sexual violence (WHO, 2013). Analyzing country case studies, Köse and Beşer (2007) show that 17 % of women living in the north of India are subjected to physical violence, and 22% of women are exposed to sexual violence. 61% and 87% of women in east London have been subjected to domestic violence and sexual violence, orderly. On the other hand, 52% of women In Nicaragua and 67% of women in Japan are subjected to physical domestic violence. Another study conducted in Washington shows that 27% of women were exposed to physical violence from their husbands or partners (Köse and Beşer, 2007).

The ratios in Turkey are close to the world's average. According to the results of Research on Women and Family in Turkey in 2014, 36% of women across the country are exposed to physical violence, and 12% of non-married women are subjected to sexual violence. 44% and 30% of women have been exposed to to psychological violence and economic violence in their lifetime, orderly (KSGM, 2016). These findings indicate that violence against women is a very serious problem in Turkey.

In order to end violence against women, different countries implemented different reforms. Stevenson and Wolfers (2006) show that one-sided divorce law reform, covering 37 states between 1976 and 1985, decreased the probability of domestic violence in the USA. Farmer and Tiefenthaler (1996) examine the domestic violence against women who called the police and requested shelter service to escape from violence in the USA. According to the study, some women use these support services to end their relationships. However, some do not want to end the relationship but rather use these channels to warn their partners. Thus, they go back to their partners since they forgive their partners and want to continue marriages. Farmer and Tiefenthaler (1996) show that if women returning to their marriages do not have any other credible deterrent to prevent violence, violence against them increases due to the decrease in their bargaining power within the household. Similar evidence from Turkey reveals that the panic button application, which was initiated to prevent domestic violence against women and applied in two pilot provinces in Turkey, increases the probability of domestic physical violence by 5-6 percentage points due to the male backlash effect (Tümen and Ulucan, 2019).

Socio-economic conditions and characteristics of women and their partners also affect intimate partner violence against women. According to Tauchen et al. (1991), the increase in women's income in low-income and middle-income families reduces violence. Benson et al. (2003) demonstrate that the probability of violence increases higher earner male partner suffers from economic stress. Furthermore, the cases in which women earn more than men increase the possibility of violence. Macmilian and Gartner (1999) show that a husband can perceive her wife's higher socio-economic status as a threat to his own authority and can resort to violence to re-establish it.

1.2 Theories and Models

In this section, the empirical literature on male partner violence against women, theories, and models about the problem are analyzed in detail. We firstly analyze the global nature of the problem and the empirical studies literature in the following subsection. Then, we start to analyze the theoretical framework used in the analysis of the problem in the literature.

1.2.1 Household Bargaining Model

The Household Bargaining Model[3] is well defined by Aizer (2010). According to this theory, a man's utility increases as the violence against her female partner increases (Aizer, 2010). In other words, we can say that a sadistic type of man is defined in her model. This means that a man can use violence just

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[3] Household Bargaining is the process of bargaining between partners or spouses over the resource allocations in their households. On the other hand, using the term Household Bargaining Models, we refer to Azier (2010) and Aizer (2010) type of models that predict that male partner violence against women is a decreasing function of their socio-economic status.

to increase his utility. On the other hand, the utility of a woman naturally decreases as the violence she experiences increases. According to this model, the increase in the probability of the woman's exit from marriage (divorce) reduces the level of violence she is exposed to. This is because the man should reduce the violence he uses by foreseeing the possibility of the woman leaving the marriage in case of violence. The possibility of divorce for women is more probable with the higher potentials in the labor market. According to Aizer (2010), every improvement in the potential of women in the labor market will increase women's bargaining power, even when women are not working, and will also decrease violence, as it will increase the probability of divorce.

1.2.2 Exposure Duration Theory

This theory was developed in the field of criminology. According to this theory, the greater the time partners are exposed to each other, the higher the violence is. The theory examines domestic violence from a socio-cultural perspective and indicates that the increase in employment will reduce domestic violence due to its negative effect on the time spent together by partners (Dugan et al., 1999). This theory has become popular after the Covid-19 pandemic since isolations have forced partners to spend more time with each other at home.

1.2.3 Male Backlash

This theory, which is more prominent in the sociological literature, states that the violence perpetrated by her partner or spouse increases as the socio-economic independence of a woman increases (Macmillan & Gartner, 1999). Chin (2012) states that any economic progress of the woman may create a male backlash and increase the violence since the man thinks that he should play the role of the traditional family leader in the society. She states that the economic independence obtained by women as a result of their participation in the labor market will be perceived by men as a threat to their own dominance. Backlash mechanisms are strongly associated with the social gender inequality approach, which is used by Gök and Ersoy (2021) to analyze violence against women in Turkey. Their findings suggest that social gender inequality is important in explaining violence against Turkish women.

1.2.4 Seizure of Financial Assets of Women

A man may use violence to extract his wife's financial assets and income. This theory reveals that there is a positive relationship between the economic status of women and violence. The participation of women in the workforce allows them to increase their financial assets. Male partners want to extract the financial assets of women (Chin, 2012).

1.2.5 Theories Defining Violence as Instrument

This theory reveals that men use domestic violence as a tool to increase their household bargaining power (Eswaran and Malhotra, 2011). This theory makes similar predictions with the Theory of Seizure of Financial Assets. According to this theory, men use violence as a tool to exclude women from the household bargaining process. Another reason for using violence is to get the upper hand in decision-making processes. As the bargaining power of a woman increases due to higher socio-economic status, violence against women may increase in the household because her male partner may want to use more violence to suppress the higher power.

1.2.6 Economic Distress Theory

Benson et al. (2003) state that violence will increase due to family stress stemming from low income and unemployment. The stress that a man experiences due to the deterioration in his economic conditions causes him to resort to violence. For this reason, this theory is also called the economic stress theory in the literature. The pressure of society-given provider role on males, working in low-status jobs, and the stress in the workplace also negatively affect intimate partnerships and increase the possibility of violence. This theory also accepts that financial stress-related partner violence is higher for families in poor neighborhoods, with a low level of welfare and many children.

2. Institutional Framework and General Outlook of Women in Turkey

As theories show, the violence against women is very sensitive to the legal framework, institutions of the country, and also to the socio-economic status of women. For this reason, the legal framework of

Turkey is briefly discussed in this section. Furthermore, we will provide a socio-economic outlook of Turkish women.

2.1 Institutional and Legal Framework

Until the last few years, Turkey followed the international trend in combatting violence against women. We analyzed institutional background and improvement in the legal framework from the documents of the General Directorate of Women's Status of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies (KSGM). As significant progress in the legal legislation, the Beijing Declaration was signed in 1995 after the 4th World Conference on Women Action Plan. In 1998, Law No. 4320 on the Protection of the Family was adopted. In 2008, the scope of the law was expanded and entered into force. In addition to this development, the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence was opened for countries' participation in Turkey on May 11, 2011, in Istanbul. This effort is known as the Istanbul Convention, and Turkey signed the participation agreement in November same year. Turkey was the first country to approve this important document" (KSGM, 2012: 14).

Following the participation in the Istanbul Convention, Law No. 6284 on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence Against Women was accepted on March 20, 2012. The requirements induced by the Istanbul Convention and the criticisms on the old law's inability to respond to the needs of women forced the authorities to prepare a new law. The Regulation on the Implementation of the Law and the Regulation on the Opening and Operation of Women's Shelters entered into force in January 2013 (KSGM, 2012). Although there was an improvement from 1998 to 2012 on a legal basis, the law still defines women as members of the family in protecting her against violence, which casts some doubts about protecting an unmarried woman exposed to partner violence.

2.2 Women's Labor Market Conditions

According to the statistics of 2019, 41,721,136 of Turkey's population is composed of men, while 41,433,861 of them are women (TUIK, 2020a). In order to achieve sustainable growth and development in Turkey and to become a developed country, the contribution of women to the country's economy is essential. However, according to 2019 data, the female labor force participation rate is only 34% while the male labor force participation rate is 72%, (TUIK, 2020c). The participation of women in the labor force is extremely low. Figure 1 shows the unemployment rates of women between 1988 and 2018. While the female unemployment rate was around 10% in 1988, it has fluctuated over the years. However, the rate jumped to 14% in 2009 with the effect of the global financial crisis in 2008. In 2019, female unemployment reached a peak of 16% as the highest rate in the last 31 years. The historical process shows that the female unemployment problem has become chronic and worsened over time.
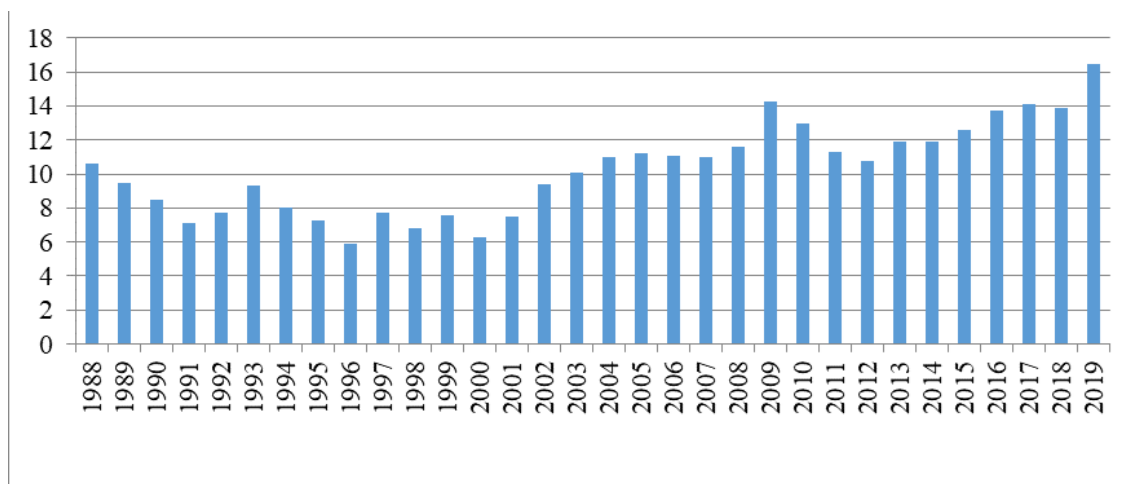

Figure 1. Women Unemployment Rate (TUIK, 2020b)

According to the statistics of TUIK (2020c), while the female employment rate was around 30% in 1988, the male employment rate was around 75%. The difference has decreased over the years. In 2019, the male employment rate was around 63%, while the female employment rate was around 28% (TUIK, 2020c). The difference in employment rate between men and women in Turkey is more than two times.

As can be seen from Figure 2, the potential labor of women in Turkey cannot be used effectively. In order to ensure sustainable growth and development in Turkey, the barriers to women's employment must be removed. As much as women's employment directly affects the country's economy, it also affects violence against women. Since women's participation in the workforce empowers them economically, staying out of employment restricts number of alternatives that they can use against violence, according to Household Bargaining Models.

3. Data and Descriptive Statistics

We use data from Research on Domestic Violence Against Women for 2008 and 2014, which was conducted under the cooperation of the General Directorate of Women's Status (KSGM) and Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, and released by the Turkish Statistical Office (TurkStat [TÜİK]).

Researchers reached 17,168 household members, among which 12,795 women were surveyed via face-to-face interviews in 2008 (KSGM, 2009). For 2014, 11,247 household members were selected, and a survey was conducted with 7,462 women by face-to-face interviews (Kaptanoğlu et al., 2015). We combined the data sets for the respective years and dropped a small number of observations where the residence of households was not recorded. Then, a sample set of 20,116 people in total was created to be used for this study. The questionnaire contains a large data set including household characteristics and male-female characteristics.

One of these actions are considered to be physical partner violence against women: Slapping, throwing an object to partner, pushing her, pulling hair, attacking her, punching her, striking with an item, kicking, defeating, squeezing, burning, using a gun or knife, and threatening her with these tools are the actions subject to physical intimate partner violence. Survey participant women are asked if their partners involved one of these actions during the reference period. The answers are followed to construct to derive physical violence variable. The survey also asks women whether they experienced rape, sexual assault, or sexual harassment from their partners during the preceding 12 months before the survey, which is used to derive sexual violence variable. Women are questioned about whether their partners were involved in cursing, insulting, and threatening them. This information is used to create the psychological violence variable.

Table 1 shows that psychological violence is the most prevalent type when the ratios of victims are concerned. As these are ratios derived according to intimate partner violence in the preceding 12 months of the survey date, the values can not be interpreted as low. As shown in Table 2, as women's education levels increase, their exposure to violence decreases. This is consistent with Aizer's (2010) model based on the Household Bargaining Theory . As the increase in education level will lead to an improvement in labor market conditions, the power of women will increase. For educated women, it is easy to resist violence. In front of a more educated wife, the man sees that the probability of her leaving the relationship or marriage is higher. Thus, he realizes that he should avoid himself from violence against her in order to sustain his marriage.

The ratios from various types of violence are ordered according to the fertility of women in Table 3. Physical violence is the highest for women who have one child. Sexual violence is the highest among women with 5 children, and psychological violence is the highest among women whose fertility is 4. Finally, economic violence is at the top when women have 3 children. In addition, the general trend is that the rate of violence increases as the number of children grows. These statistics are consistent with Benson et al. (2003), suggesting that the number of children increases violence.

Table 1. The percentage of women exposed to intimate partner violence in the preceding 12 months of the Survey Date.

Type of Violence	Percentage (%)
Physical Violence	8.56
Sexual Violence	6.21
Psychological Violence	22.61
Economic Violence	12.14

Note: Authors' own calculations using 2008 and 2014 Women and Family Survey in Turkey.

Table 2. Violence by Educational Status

Educational Status	Physical Violence (%)		Sexual Violence (%)		Psychological Violence (%)		Economic Violence (%)	
	LAst 12 months	In lifetime	Last 12 months	In lifetime	Last 12 months	In lifetime	Last 12 months	In lifetime
No degree	11.05	46.30	9.41	19.79	23.95	45.38	12.81	24.48
Primary Sch	8.70	38.01	6.74	14.15	24.35	43.17	13.66	28.41
Middle Sch.	8.40	21.87	4.16	8.02	20.12	30.47	11.17	21.05
High Sch.	6.81	20.81	3.77	7.31	21.14	33.93	10.86	24.55
College	3.90	14.29	1.99	4.89	15.43	27.65	4.97	11.99
Above Col.	1.79	12.50	0	1.79	5.36	24.48	1.79	10.71

Note: Authors' own calculations using 2008 and 2014 Women and Family Survey in Turkey.

Table 3. Violence rate by the number of children

Number of children	Physical Violence (%)		Sexual Violence (%)		Psychological Violence (%)		Economic Violence (%)	
	LAst 12 months	In lifetime	Last 12 months	In lifetime	Last 12 months	In lifetime	Last 12 months	In lifetime
0	4.02	9.47	2.14	3.90	11.50	18.63	7.85	12.07
1	11.58	29.25	5.95	10.54	24.45	39.17	13.32	28.10
2	8.93	35.86	6.26	12.84	25.28	43.93	13.10	29.44
3	9.86	44.38	8.11	17.34	27.21	47.67	14.99	30.22
4	10.13	53.25	9.53	20.73	27.99	50.57	12.45	27.93
5	9.40	51.83	10.05	25.07	24.93	53.13	12.79	25.85
6	7.37	51.35	8.35	22.11	22.85	49.14	9.34	24.08
7+	11.62	55.72	10.33	22.32	24.35	51.66	11.81	19.74

Note: Authors' own calculations using 2008 and 2014 Women and Family Survey in Turkey.

4. Methodology

Binary outcome models, linear probability model (LPM), Logit, and Probit, are used in the estimations. In these models, the dependent variable takes two values, 1 or 0 (Davidson and MacKinnon, 1984). In our case, physical, sexual, and psychological violence were defined as dependent variables. We denote the dependent variable as 1 when the corresponding woman was subjected to violence and 0 when she was not exposed to intimate partner violence in the reference period. The independent variables, on the other hand, are the education level of the woman, the education level of the male spouse, the woman's control over her income, the employment status of the woman in the last week, the number of children, age, province, region, and year fixed effects.

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_i + \beta_2 H_i + \beta_3 (E_i x H_i) + p + y + (r_x y) \qquad +\varepsilon_i \qquad (1)$$

Equation (1) shows econometric specification, which is estimated by using LPM, Logit, and Probit. X in the equation represents the characteristics of the corresponding woman. This vector of variables includes the woman's age, education, and fertility. In addition, we include the variables of whether the woman works in the last week in the labor market and whether she is able to spend her income independently. Variable H indicates the education level of the woman's partner. As can be seen from $(E_i x H_i)$ term, the interaction of the education variables of the woman and her male partner is added to our estimation equation. In addition, p and y are province and year fixed effects, respectively, and the $(r_x y)$ variable is included in the model to capture the region-year interaction.

5. Estimation Results

We estimate the model specified in the previous section for physical, sexual, and psychological violence against women. The estimation results on these violence types differ in many dimensions. Thus, the results are given in three different subsections correspondingly.

5.1 Physical Violence

Table 4 shows the estimation results on physical violence. Among the education variables, the group without a diploma is the reference group. LPM estimation shows that there is no difference between being a primary school graduate and having no diploma on the probability of exposure to intimate partner violence, as shown by the insignificant coefficient estimated. On the other hand, secondary school graduates are 4% less likely to experience physical intimate partner violence than the reference group. The effect is 8% for high school graduates, 9 % for university graduates, and 9% for women with master's/doctorate degrees. Logit and Probit estimation gives similar results to LPM.

Educated women can better protect themselves against violence as education provides awareness and development of personal skills. Our findings are supported by Ergin et al. (2005) and Ulucan (2017), who suggest that an increase in the education level of women reduces violence. Education is also a factor that improves the potential in the labor market. Thus, our estimation results related to the education level support the predictions of Aizer (2010) using the Household Bargaining Models, which emphasizes that violence will decrease if there is any improvement in labor market conditions.

Partners' education levels do not affect the physical violence level for those with an education level less than or equal to college, as shown by insignificant coefficients. On the other hand, if a male partner's education level is above college, the probability of physical violence against her female partner increases by 9%. Regarding the partner education level, the results of Logit and Probit estimations are similar to the results of LPM.

We also examine the interaction between the education degrees of partners. Physical violence against women is lower than the reference group by 69% when a woman's education level is primary school and her partner's is above college. On the contrary, the probability of exposure to violence increases as the education gap widens in favor of women. We can interpret this result as an increase in physical violence against women because the male partner may have perceived the higher education status of women as a threat to the male's traditional leader role given by the patriarchal structure. This result is in accordance with the predictions of the Male Backlash Theory.

The capability of a woman to spend all of her income without any intervention of her partner does not affect violence, as shown by the corresponding insignificant parameter estimate. Similarly, the

employment variable demonstrating whether the woman worked in the last week just before the survey does not influence the probability of violence.

Table 4 . Estimation Results on Physical Violence

Physical Violence	LPM	LOGIT	PROBIT
Woman's Education			
Primary School	-0.0182395 (0.0138913)	-0.2708113 (0.2067163)	-0.1570107 (0.1010098)
Secondary School	-0.04397*** (0.0130175)	-1.362454*** (0.3851774)	-0.642601*** (0.1540772)
High School	-0.0856345*** (.0116143)	-3.611168*** (1.023175)	-1.436077*** (0.340998)
College	-.0909208*** (0.0119291)	-0.7704491 (0.5087559)	-0.3651698 (0.269938)
Master's/Doctorate	-0.0987634*** (0.0192353)	0.4115622 (1.567294)	0.1660522 (0.7306567)
Partner's education			
Primary School	0.0083029 (0.011365)	0.0470785 (0.1232872)	0.0333966 (0.0642021)
Secondary School	-0.0197754 (.0180749)	-0.2528897 (0.2121643)	-0.1343438 (0.1087481)
High School	-0.0157447 (.0182442)	-0.1923492 (.2113776)	-0.0920082 (0.1078573)
College	-0.0377958 (0.0333521)	-0.4949914 (0.4709719)	-0.235505 (0.2570336)
Master's/Doctorate	0.975486*** (0.0224678)	-0.6414629 (1.145832)	-0.2923682 (0.5045448)
Woman X Partner Education			
Women Primary X Man Primary	-0.001966 (0.0155788)	0.0558738 (0.2200032)	0.0480707 (0.1084881)
Women Primary X Man Middle	0.0154559 (0.0220697)	0.2278145 (0.2935261)	0.1409956 (0.1464583)
Women Primary X Man High School	-0.0004504 (0.0218049)	0.0276282 (0.2895245)	0.0350051 (0.1444037)
Women Primary X Man College	0.0130248 (0.0366907)	0.1692288 (0.5413268)	0.0954739 (0.2872387)

Women Primary X Man Master/Doctorate	-0.6980915*** (0.2269281)	2.260997 (1.516217)	1.260044 (0.7797841)
Women Secondary X Man Primary	0.058918*** (0.022199)	1.488269*** (0.4158437)	0.7208284*** (0.1747038)
Women Secondary X Man Middle	0.0875648*** (0.0228314)	1.851404*** (0.4319216)	0.9113112*** (0.1855388)
Women Secondary X Man High School	0.0292367 (0.0223292)	1.15694*** (0.4460012)	0.5341788*** (0.1912338)
Women Secondary X Man College	0.0535646 (0.0393533)	1.49361*** (0.6464168)	0.6714622** (0.3195138)
Women Secondary X Man Master/Doctorate	-1.005304*** (0.0472757)		
Women High Sch. X Man Primary	0.0799119*** (0.0221584)	3.570273*** (1.037091)	1.405536*** (.3528822)
Women High Sch. X Man Middle	0.0895101*** (0.0245296)	3.666658*** (1.050641)	1.492462*** (0.3626084)
Women High Sch. X Man High School	0.0584009*** (.0199212)	3.281399*** (1.039997)	1.263189*** (.3543283)
Women High Sch. X Man College	0.0631354* (0.0349024)	3.251426*** (1.134945)	1.255969*** (0.4318368)
Women High Sch. X Man Master/Doctorate	-0.8884057*** (0.0786601)	4.27896 (1.727788)	1.759738** (0.7283385)
Women College X Man Primary	-0.0326442* (0.0178602)		
Women College X Man Middle	0.0657962* (0.0396269)	0.3567934 (0.8955046)	0.1637211 (0.4221068)
Women College X Man High School	0.0854448*** (.0255733)	0.7624004 (0.5793205)	0.3676601 (0.3032052)
Women College X Man College	0.0590382* (0.0343008)		
Women College X Man Master/Doctorate	-0.9542348*** (0.0337148)		
Women Master/Doctorate X Man Primary			
Women Master/Doctorate X Man Secondary			
Women Master/Doctorate X Man High School	0.0242675 (0.026382)		
Women Master/Doctorate X Man College	0.0500253 (0.0370513)		

Women Master/Doctorate X Man Master/Doctorate	-0.8999224*** (0.0839069)		
Woman can spend all income	-0.0030836 (.0058333)	-0.1015748 (0.0987525)	-0.0508068 (0.0479064)
Woman worked last week	0.0006704 (0.0053768)	0.0542512 (0.081699)	0.0160087 (0.0403161)
Province Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
RegionXyear	Yes	Yes	Yes
Woman's age	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of Children	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: The physical violence variable is a dummy denoting whether the woman was sexually violated by her partner in the preceding 12 months of the survey date or not. We clustered the standard errors at the province level. ***, ** , and * demonstrate significance level at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively. Some education interaction variables could not be estimated due to the lack of observation numbers.

5.2 Sexual Violence

Table 5 shows the estimation results on sexual partner violence against women. The LPM results show that the primary school degree reduces sexual violence by 2%. This coefficient is 4% for secondary school, 6% for high school, and 7% for college graduates. For education variables, Logit and Probit results are similar to those from LPM except for primary school. The effect of education on sexual violence is similar to physical violence, which is consistent with Yodanis (2004) stating that the rate of exposure to sexual violence is lower when women have a high level of education. We should also note the negative correlation between education and sexual violence, which is consistent with the Household Bargaining Models. The partner's education level does not have a significant effect on sexual violence if he is primary or secondary school graduate. On the other hand, the high school degree, college degree, and master's-doctorate degree decrease the probability of sexual violence by 5%, 6% and10% orderly. Logit and Probit results are consistent with the LPM results. As a man's educational status rises, the likelihood of sexual violence diminishes. Unlike physical violence, sexual violence is more sensitive to the education level of the woman's partner.

Sexual violence increases if the gap in educational status widens no matter whose education is higher. The higher probability of violence in the case of higher educational status of women can be explained by using male backlash theory. On the other hand, higher probability of sexual violence when the male has higher educational status can stem from the fact that the man can abuse power coming from his educational status by using sexual violence.

Sexual violence against women decreases by 1% when the woman is able to spend all of her income independently. Women's employment in the last week increased sexual violence by 1.5%. In the estimations of Logit and Probit models, the last week's work of the woman increased the probability of experiencing sexual violence. This result is consistent with Male Backlash Theories.

Table 5 . Estimation Results on Sexual Violence

Sexual Violence		LPM	LOGIT	PROBIT
Women's Education				
	Primary School	-0.0256087* (0.0132269)	-0.310405 (0.2169925)	-0.18965* (0.10484)
	Secondary School	-.0406888*** (0.0111677)	-1.652868*** (0.5723116)	-0.721*** (0.2049)
	High School	-0.067631*** (0.0103859)	0.104233 (0.5877323)	0.1361 (0.27556)
	College	-0.074365*** (0.010923)	-0.4088743 (0.6128566)	-0.0994989 (0.2814796)
	Master's/Doctorate	-0.0518319** (0.0208911)		
Partner Education				
	Primary School	-0.0156006 (0.0110298)	-0.2466757* (0.1277581)	-0.1250364* (0.0656561)
	Secondary School	-0.0182846 (0.01744)	-0.2746483 (0.2127351)	-0.1576142 (0.1085418)
	High School	-0.052273*** (0.016131)	-0.748904*** (0.2499208)	-0.35558*** (0.1209091)
	College	-0.067537*** (0.02508)	-1.116943** (0.554032)	-0.616086** (0.262661)
	Master's/Doctorate	-0.105193*** (0.0248715)	-0.5829933 (1.213098)	-0.2942029 (0.5145593)
Women X Partner Education				
	Women Primary X Man Primary	0.0150843 (0.0147037)	0.1914954 (0.2334841)	0.1276873 (0.1132618)
	Women Primary X Man Middle	0.0138355 (0.0209276)	0.1708438 (0.3041851)	0.1296494 (0.1500035)
	Women Primary X Man High School	0.03413* (0.0194415)	0.4137816 (0.3311929)	0.2189573 (0.158172)
	Women Primary X Man College	0.0559985* (0.0290186)	0.8950682 (0.6196957)	0.5270321* (0.2942062)
	Women Primary X Man Master/Doctorate	0.0006098 (0.0312447)		
	Women Secondary X Man Primary	0.0381976** (0.0179295)	1.698013 (0.6031357)	0.735183*** (0.2254191)

Women Secondary X Man Middle	0.0366492* (0.0198428)	1.683703 (0.6132505)	0.733993*** (0.2338718)
Women Secondary X Man High School	0.0493575*** (0.0186399)	1.708461 (0.641625)	0.728314*** (0.2457741)
Women Secondary X Man College	0.0405321 (0.0278188)	1.383644 (0.9049835)	0.6463779* (0.3794452)
Women Secondary X Man Master/Doctorate	0.0587566** (0.0290222)		
Women High Sch. X Man Primary	0.049628*** (0.017594)	-0.3080201 (0.6383832)	-0.2501261 (0.3004803)
Women High Sch. X Man Middle	0.0534617** (0.021745)	-0.2506438 (0.6549401)	-0.1874323 (0.3101076)
Women High Sch. X Man High School	0.0670947*** (0.0170912)		-0.2112416 (0.3013644)
Women High Sch. X Man College	0.077738*** (0.0263515)		
Women High Sch. X Man Master/Doctorate	0.075274*** (0.028429)		
Women College X Man Primary	0.1249231* (0.0721118)	1.138565 (0.952484)	0.5423313 (0.4605302)
Women College X Man Middle	0.0416963 (0.0308387)	-0.3612503 (0.1183792)	-0.2579558 (0.5020956)
Women College X Man High School	0.066682*** (0.0193728)	-0.0488753 (0.7585458)	-0.1089948 (0.3414824)
Women College X Man College	0.077211*** (0.0259617)		
Women College X Man Master/Doctorate	0.126755*** (0.0354927)		
Women Master/Doctorate X Man Primary			
Women Master/Doctorate X Man Secondary			
Women Master/Doctorate X Man High School	0.0345598 (0.0251296)		
Women Master/Doctorate X Man College	0.0509445 (0.0311162)		
Women Master/Doctorate X Man Master/Doctorate	0.0819711** (0.033143)		
Women can spend all income	-0.0126802*** (0.0046433)	-0.368813*** (0.1209581)	-0.173354*** (0.054986)
Women worked last week	0.0153167*** (0.0048916)	0.3409237*** (0.0891425)	0.162039*** (0.042831)
Province Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes

RegionXyear	Yes	Yes	Yes
Woman's age	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of Children	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: The sexual violence variable is a dummy denoting whether the woman was sexually violated by her partner in the preceding 12 months of the survey date or not. We clustered the standard errors at the province level. ***, ** , and * demonstrate significance level at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively. Some education interaction variables could not be estimated due to the lack of observation numbers.

5.3 Psychological Violence

Table 6 shows the results on psychological partner violence. Being a primary school graduate does not have a statistically significant effect on psychological violence. However, being a secondary school graduate reduces psychological violence by 7%, being a high school graduate by 12% and being a university graduate by 15%. Having a Master's or doctorate degree reduces psychological violence by 16%. The predictions of Household Bargaining models on the relationship between women's education and violence against them accounts for these results. Besides, psychological violence is more sensitive to the level of education than the other types of violence.

Partner's primary school degree increases the psychological violence against women by 2%. Secondary school, high school, and college degrees do not have a statistically significant effect on psychological violence against women. On the other hand, psychological violence against women with a partner with a master's or doctorate degree is higher by 82%. More educated men sometimes use more psychological violence, according to the findings. Estimated interaction coefficients show that psychological violence expands when the educational gap between couples is widened in favor of women, which is consistent with the expectations of male backlash theory.

Psychological violence is lower among the women who can spend all their income. The probability of psychological violence also decreases in this group according to Logit and Probit estimations. Women who are able to control their income have more bargaining power in the household reducing the probability of being exposed to violence according to household bargaining models.

Having worked in any job in the last week increased the psychological violence by 1%. A similar effect is detected in Logit and probit estimations. The results are consistent with male backlash and extraction effect theories. It is known that men resort to violence with the urge to protect their own status in the face of women's empowerment. It can also resort to violence in order to seize the financial assets that it provides with the income it earns. These results support the findings obtained in the study of Macmilian and Gartner (1999).

Table 6 . Estimation Results on Psychological Violence

Psychological Violence	LPM	LOGIT	PROBIT
Woman's Education			
Primary School	-0.0155025 (0.0188265)	-0.1673694 (0.1418141)	-0.1017903 (0.0786362)
Secondary School	-0.0796326*** (0.0168881)	-1.844443*** (0.3055376)	-0.8699964*** (0.1295109)
High School	-0.1299468*** (0.0156796)	-2.854209*** (0.5149186)	-1.298988*** (0.1961838)
College	-0.1569002*** (0.015938)	-0.2581694 (0.3136522)	-0.1359888 (0.1849127)

Master's/Doctorate	-0.164241*** (0.0313098)	-1.190394 (0.80136)	-0.608095 (0.3960742)
Partner Education			
Primary School	0.0253767* (0.015037)	0.1507728* (0.0910376)	0.0920926* (0.0525283)
Secondary School	0.0246083 (0.0253868)	0.1528266 (0.1454759)	0.0887419 (0.0852457)
High School	0.0391722 (0.0263149)	0.2314501 (0.1450118)	0.1396917 (0.0848209)
College	0.0048995 (0.0529862)	0.0417356 (0.3034384)	0.0222729 (0.1800156)
Master's/Doctorate	0.8297824*** (0.045688)	-0.1061674 (0.5579686)	-0.0555571 (0.3094756)
Woman X Partner Education			
Women Primary X Man Primary	0.0317317 (0.0213109)	0.2598493* (0.151631)	0.1556165 (0.0847551)
Women Primary X Man Middle	0.0335084 (.0315153)	0.2635193 (0.1979228)	0.1637766 (0.1133408)
Women Primary X Man High School	-0.0106381 (0.0315875)	0.0224152 (0.1958072)	0.0156809 (0.1117396)
Women Primary X Man College	-0.0120496 (0.0580621)	-0.0065409 (0.3484943)	0.0065817 (0.2037982)
Women Primary X Man Master/Doctorate	-0.8427374*** (0.1909664)	0.1350603 (1.294934)	0.0916154 (0.7267491)
Women Secondary X Man Primary	0.1545262*** (0.0289905)	2.234089*** (0.3258012)	1.103118*** (0.1460686)
Women Secondary X Man Middle	0.1513387*** (0.0319348)	2.263484*** (0.3333784)	1.128719*** (0.1529086)
Women Secondary X Man High School	0.1013345*** (0.0328294)	1.968901*** (0.339414)	0.9462296*** 0.1559281
Women Secondary X Man College	0.0850607 (0.0615951)	1.869587*** (0.4580451)	0.8908858*** (0.2391956)
Women Secondary X Man Master/Doctorate	-0.4782435 (0.4007781)	3.2028** (1.834874)	1.684421*** (1.030274)
Women High Sch. X Man Primary	0.1473329*** (0.0299706)	2.95338*** (0.5324028)	1.354733*** (0.211901)
Women High Sch. X Man Middle	0.1561924*** (0.0347127)	2.9991*** (0.5416051)	1.386657*** (0.220009)
Women High Sch. X Man High School	0.1413352*** (0.0298541)	2.92563*** (0.531)	1.338613*** (0.2108184)
Women High Sch. X Man College	0.1298928** (0.0560125)	2.851188*** 0.6002254	1.302616*** (0.2680977)

Women High Sch. X Man Master/Doctorate	-0.7349958*** (0.101368)	2.722601*** (1.002448)	1.233851** (0.5133698)
Women College X Man Primary	0.2625253*** (0.0992447)	0.819102 (0.5543615)	0.4708538 (0.3299111)
Women College X Man Middle	0.1221962* (0.0658661)	0.0337694 (0.5346879)	0.0072293 (0.3067808)
Women College X Man High School	0.1296433*** (0.0367482)	0.1102568 (0.3669871)	0.0534251 (0.2149543)
Women College X Man College	0.1222731** (0.0551335)		
Women College X Man Master/Doctorate	-0.7234107*** (0.0717958)		
Women Master/Doctorate X Man Primary			
Women Master/Doctorate X Man Secondary			
Women Master/Doctorate X Man High School	0.0707953 (0.1092681)	0.5285212 (1.321686)	0.228235 (0.6768714)
Women Master/Doctorate X Man College	0.0442802 (0.0735415)		
Women Master/Doctorate X Man Master/Doctorate	-0.8641053*** (0.0566672)		
Woman can spend all income	-0.0250561*** (0.0092896)	-0.1689689*** (0.0610236)	-0.0974199*** (0.0348025)
Woman worked last week	0.0199867** (0.0084853)	0.1320979*** (0.0513368)	
Province Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
RegionXyear	Yes	Yes	Yes
Woman's age	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of Children	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: The sexual violence variable is a dummy denoting whether the woman was psychologically violated by her partner in the preceding 12 months of the survey date or not. We clustered the standard errors at the province level. ***, ** , and * demonstrate significance level at 0.01, 0.05, and 0.1, respectively. Some education interaction variables could not be estimated due to the lack of observation numbers.

6. Conclusion

This study shows that male partner violence against women in Turkey can not be explained by using only one theory. Instead, there is a mix of mechanisms that explain intimate partner violence against women. The education level of a woman reduces the exposure to violence, validating the predictions of household bargaining models. On the other hand, male backlash mechanisms explain the violence

stemming from the education gap between a male and his female partner. The physical, sexual, and psychological violence increase when women exceed or even get closer to the education level of men. Although employment of women does not affect physical violence, it has a positive effect on the types of sexual and psychological violence. The employment of women has triggered an increase in sexual and psychological violence. Male Backlash, the theories that define violence as an instrument, and financial extraction theories can explain this phenomenon.

Our results show that the employment of women is not enough alone to eliminate violence. This means that legal and institutional support is required. For this reason, it is very important for public institutions and organizations to act together. Under the coordination of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Health, the relevant units of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, universities, municipalities, and relevant non-governmental organizations should contribute to the struggle as stakeholders. Another essential step is to update the national research on the problem because the time since the last survey in 2014 currently exceeds six years, which is the duration between 2008 and 2014 surveys. The new dynamics of the problem must be known to determine steps towards solving the problem.

The violence stemming from patriarchal attitudes and norms shows that there is a need to transform the social mentality to fight against violence against women. Politicians cannot make progress in the country by always obeying the pressures of the traditional segments of society. Sometimes, in order to make progress, it is necessary to lead society and transform it using mass media and education. Violence against women is just one of such issues.

Acknowledgments

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Socio-Economic Factors of Intimate Partner Violence against Women in Turkey: A Cross-Sectional Data Analysis

Kadına Yönelik Yakın Partner Şiddetinin Gerisindeki Sosyo-Ekonomik Faktörler: Yatay Kesit Veri Analizi

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Genişletilmiş Özet

Giriş

Türkiye'de kadına yönelik partner şiddetinin arkasındaki faktörlerin analiz edildiği bu çalışmada, şiddet olgusunun arkasında yatan mekanizmaların açığa çıkarılması hedeflenmektedir. Bu çalışma, son iki yüzyılda batılılaşma sürecine girmiş, gelişmekte olan bir ülke olan, ve aynı zamanda ataerkil normların geçerliliğini sürdürdüğü Türkiye için, kadına yönelik eş şiddetine sosyo-ekonomik bir perspektiften bakmaktadır. Çalışmada kadınlara yönelik şiddet türlerinden fiziksel, cinsel ve psikolojik şiddet olmak üzere üç tür yakın partner şiddeti analiz edilmiştir. Resmi verilere göre, Türkiye'de evli kadınların %36'sı fiziksel şiddete, evli olmayan kadınların ise %12'si cinsel şiddete maruz kalmaktadır. Kadınların %44'ü ve %30'u yaşamları boyunca düzenli olarak psikolojik şiddete ve ekonomik şiddete maruz kalmaktadır (KSGM, 2016). Bu bulgulardan yola çıkarak kadına yönelik şiddetin ülkemizde çok ciddi bir sorun olduğu görülmektedir. Sosyo-ekonomik belirleyicilerin eş şiddeti üzerindeki etkisini tahmin etmek için çalışmada ikili sonuç modelleri kullanılmıştır. Tahminlerde, kadının en güncel şiddet mağduriyetinin sebeplerini açıklamak için, anketin yapıldığı son yılda görülen şiddete odaklanılmıştır.

Veri ve Tanımlayıcı İstatistikler

Çalışmada Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü (KSGM) ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Nüfus Etütleri Enstitüsü işbirliğinde yürütülen ve Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK) tarafından yayınlanan Kadına Yönelik Aile İçi Şiddet Araştırması'nın 2008 ve 2014 yıllarına dair verileri kullanılmıştır. Bu iki yıla dair tüm verileri birleştirip ikamet edilen yer değişkeni kayıp olan gözlemler silindikten sonra toplam 20.116 kişilik bir örneklem seti oluşturulmuştur.

Anket verileri incelenerek sorunu tanımlayıcı istatistikler ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Türkiye'de anketin yapıldığı tarihten geriye doğru son 12 ayda eşi veya partnerinin fiziksel şiddetine maruz kalmış kadınların oranı %8.56'dır. Bu oran cinsel şiddette %6.21, psikolojik şiddette %22.61'dir. Fiziksel, cinsel ve psikolojik şiddete en çok diplomasız kadınlar maruz kalmışlardır. Sahip olunan çocuk sayısı açısından bakıldığında, son 12 ayda; fiziksel şiddete maruz kalmış olanlar en çok 1 çocuklu kadınlardır. Cinsel şiddete maruz kalmış olanlar en çok 5 çocuklu kadınlar iken, psikolojik şiddete maruz kalmış olanlar en çok 4 çocuklu kadınlardır.

Yöntem

Çalışmada yöntem olarak, bağımlı değişkenin iki sonuçlu olmasından dolayı, nitel tercih modellerinden, ikili tercih modellerinin kullanılması uygun görülmüştür. Kullandığımız modeller spesifik olarak En Küçük Kareler (EKK) yöntemi ile tahmin ettiğimiz Doğrusal Olasılık modeli, En Yüksek Olabilirlik yöntemi ile tahmin ettiğimiz Logit ve Probit modelleridir. Bağımlı değişken, karşılık gelen kadın şiddete maruz kaldığında 1, kalmadığında 0 değerini almaktadır.

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{i\ +} \beta_2 H_{i\ +}\ \beta_3(E_i x H_i) + p + y + (r_x\ y)_{+}\varepsilon_i \qquad (1)$$

Tahmin denklemi olarak yukarıdaki denklem kullanılmıştır. Denklemdeki X vektörü, kadının yaşını, eğitimini ve sahip olduğu çocuk sayısını içerir. Ayrıca kadının son bir hafta içinde işgücü piyasasında çalışıp çalışmadığı, gelirini kendi inisiyatifiyle harcayıp harcamadığı da X vektörüne dahildir. H değişkeni kadının partnerinin eğitim seviyesini gösterir. Görüldüğü gibi, tahmin denklemimize kadın ve erkek eğitim değişkenlerinin etkileşimi de, $(E_i x H_i)$, eklenmiştir. Bu değişkenin katsayısı, Türkiye'de hangi şiddet teorilerinin daha etkili çalıştığını ortaya koyma açısından fayda sağlamaktadır. Ayrıca p ve y sırasıyla il ve yıl sabit etkileridir. $(r_x\ y)$ değişkeni bölge-yıl etkileşiminden kaynaklanan değişimleri yakalamak için modele dahil edilmiştir.

Bulgular

Türkiye'de kadına partneri tarafından uygulanan şiddetin en önemli belirleyicilerinden biri olan eğitimin kadına yönelik şiddetin azalmasına her tür şiddet türünde de olumlu etkisi olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Eğitim değişkenlerinde referans grup diplomasızlar olarak belirlenmiştir. Her bir eğitim derecesinin katsayısı söz konusu grubun diplomasızlara göre ne düzeyde daha farklı şiddete uğradığını göstermektedir.

Fiziksel şiddet sonuçlarına yakından baktığımızda, Doğrusal Olasılık Modeli tahmin sonuçlarına göre, ilköğretim mezunu olmak ile diploma sahibi olmamak arasında yakın partner şiddetine maruz kalma olasılığı açısından bir fark yoktur. Öte yandan, diplomasız gruba kıyasla, ortaokul mezunlarının fiziksel yakın partner şiddeti yaşama olasılıkları % 4 daha azdır. Bu oran lise mezunları için %8, üniversite mezunları için % 9 ve yüksek lisans/doktora derecesine sahip kadınlar için % 9'dur. Logit ve Probit tahminleri de doğrusal olasılık modeliyle paralel sonuçlar vermektedir. Kadının eğitim seviyesi arttığında şiddet azalmıştır. Erkeğin eğitim düzeyinin ise fiziksel şiddet üzerinde anlamlı etkisi olmadığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Erkeğin eğitim derecesine en duyarlı olan şiddet türü cinsel şiddettir. Bu şiddet türü erkeğin eğitimi arttıkça düşmektedir.

Kadının erkek partnerlerinin eğitim düzeyi, üniversite mezunu ve altında olanlarda fiziksel şiddet düzeyini, anlamlı olmayan katsayılarla gösterildiği gibi etkilememektedir. Öte yandan erkeğin eğitim düzeyi yüksek lisans veya doktora ise kadına yönelik fiziksel şiddet olasılığı %9 oranında artmaktadır. Partnerin eğitimi ile ilgili olarak Logit ve Probit tahminlerinin sonuçları LPM sonuçlarına benzer. Benzer sonuçlar Logit ve Probit tahmini ile de verilmektedir.

Cinsel şiddet ile ilgili tahminler incelendiğinde, Doğrusal Olasılık Modeli sonuçları, ilkokul diplomasının, diploması olmayanların referans grubuna kıyasla cinsel şiddeti %2 oranında azalttığını göstermektedir. Bu katsayı ortaokul için %4, lise için %6, üniversite mezunları için %7, yüksek lisans veya doktora derecesine sahip olanlar için %5'tir. Eğitim değişkenleri için Logit ve Probit sonuçları, katsayısı anlamsız olarak tahmin edilen ilkokul derecesi dışında, Doğrusal Olasılık Modeli sonuçları ile benzerlik göstermektedir.

Erkek partnerin eğitim düzeyinin ilkokul ve ortaokullarda cinsel şiddet üzerinde anlamlı bir etkisi yoktur. Öte yandan lise, üniversite ve yüksek lisans-doktora derecesi cinsel şiddet olasılığını sırasıyla %5, %6, %10 oranında azaltmaktadır. Logit ve Probit sonuçları, Doğrusal Olasılık Modeli sonuçlarıyla tutarlıdır. Erkeklerin eğitim durumu yükseldikçe cinsel şiddet olasılığı azalmaktadır. Fiziksel şiddetten farklı olarak cinsel şiddet, kadının partnerinin eğitim düzeyine daha duyarlıdır.

İlkokul mezunu olmanın psikolojik şiddet üzerinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir etkisi yoktur. Ortaokul mezunu olmak psikolojik şiddeti %7, lise mezunu olmak %12, üniversite mezunu olmak ise %15 oranında azaltmaktadır. Yüksek lisans veya doktora derecesine sahip olmak psikolojik şiddeti %16

oranında azaltmaktadır. Azalma oranlarından görüldüğü gibi psikolojik şiddet, diğer şiddet türlerine göre eğitime daha duyarlıdır.

Kadın ve erkek eğitim durumlarını birlikte karşılaştıran etkileşim değişkeninin tahmin sonuçları incelendiğinde kadının, erkeğin eğitim seviyesine yaklaştığı ve erkeğin eğitim seviyesini geçtiği durumlarda fiziksel, cinsel, psikolojik şiddetin arttığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bu durum Erkekte Geri Tepme Teorisi ile açıklanabilir. Bu teoriye göre erkek, kadının sosyo-ekonomik alanlarda güçlenmesini kendi egemenlik alanına tehdit olarak algılayıp şiddet eğilimini arttırabilmektedir. Özellikle az gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkelerde geleneksel rollerin hâkim olması neticesinde bu mekanizmanın etkisi gözlemlenmektedir.

Kadınların son hafta istihdam edilmiş olmasının fiziksel şiddet üzerinde etkisi olmadığı bulgusuna ulaşılmıştır. Diğer yandan, kadın istihdamının kadına yönelik partnerin uyguladığı cinsel ve psikolojik şiddet türleri üzerinde arttırıcı bir etki yaptığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Kadınların çalışmasının cinsel ve psikolojik şiddetteki artışı tetiklemesi Erkekte Geri Tepme Teorisi ve Şiddetin Araçsallaşması Teorisi'nin öngörülerine uygundur. Kadının karar alma mekanizmalarında ne derece etkin olduğunu gösteren gelirini kendi inisiyatifiyle kullanmasının fiziksel şiddet üzerinde istatistikî olarak anlamlı bir etkisi olmadığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Ancak bu değişkenin cinsel ve psikolojik şiddet türlerini azalttığı tespit edilmiştir. Kadının çalışması ekonomik olarak bağımsızlığını artırdığından gelirini de kendi iradesiyle kullanma gücünü sağlamaktadır. Kendi elde etmiş olduğu gelir üzerinde kendi tasarrufunu göstermesi şiddetle mücadelesinde kendisine bazı seçenekler sağlamaktadır. Bu durum, Aizer (2010)'in Nash Pazarlık Teorisi'yle açıklanabilir. Gelirini kendi tasarrufunda kullanabilmesi kadınların şiddet karşısında daha tavizsiz duruş sergileyebilmesini sağlar. Kadının şiddet gördüğünde boşanma ihtimalinin artması şiddeti azaltıcı etki yapmaktadır.

Sonuç ve Tartışma

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de kadına yönelik şiddetin tek bir teori ile açıklanamayacağını göstermektedir. Bunun yerine, kadınlara karşı yakın partner şiddetini açıklayan mekanizmaların bir kompozisyonu söz konusudur. Örneğin, bir kadının eğitim düzeyi tek başına şiddete maruz kalmayı azaltarak hane içi pazarlık modellerinin öngörülerini doğrularken, kendisinden daha düşük düzeyde bir eş-partner eğitim düzeyi ile etkileşime girdiğinde, erkekte geri tepme mekanizmalarını tetikler hale gelmektedir. Yani kadınlar erkeklerin eğitim düzeyini aştığında, hatta onların eğitim düzeyine yaklaştıkça fiziksel, cinsel ve psikolojik şiddet artmaktadır. Kadın istihdamı fiziksel şiddeti etkilemese de cinsel ve psikolojik şiddet türlerini olumlu yönde etkilemektedir. Diğer yandan, kadınların çalışması cinsel ve psikolojik şiddette bir artışı tetiklemiştir. Erkekte geri tepme, şiddeti bir araç olarak tanımlayan teoriler ve finansal el koyma teorileri bu olguyu beraberce açıklayabilir.

Diğer bulgularımıza göre, kadının istihdamı şiddeti ortadan kaldırmak için tek başına yeterli değildir. Kadın istihdamı teşvik edilmeli ve bu teşviklere yasal ve kurumsal şiddeti önleme mekanizmaları da eşlik etmelidir. Yasal ve kurumsal destek çok önemlidir. Bu nedenle kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarının birlikte hareket etmesi çok önemlidir. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı koordinasyonunda Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, Sağlık Bakanlığı, Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığının ilgili birimleri, üniversiteler, belediyeler ve ilgili sivil toplum kuruluşları mücadeleye katkı sağlamalıdır.