

## Women's Attitudes Toward Intimate Partner Violence in Turkey: The Role of Leisure Activities, Religiosity, and Patriarchy

### Türkiye'de Kadınların Yakın Partner Şiddetine Yönelik Tutumları: Boş Zaman Faaliyetleri, Dindarlık ve Ataerkilliğin Rolü

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#### Abstract

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) against women has been considered an essential social and health problem worldwide and attitudes toward IPV are one of the important determinants that may increase the issue's risk. Hence, the primary purpose of this work is to investigate the impact of factors including social activities involvement, religiosity, and patriarchal ideology on attitudes toward IPV. Based on literature related to these factors, three hypotheses were developed to test by the 2013-Turkey Demographic and Health Survey, which includes a sample of 8847 women. Findings from a number of logistic regression models display that participation in leisure activities decreases the acceptance of IPV. On the contrary, an increase in personal religiosity and women's patriarchal beliefs enhances the justification of IPV among women. Among social-demographic characteristics, education and household wealth seem to be important factors preventing the approval of IPV. The results of this study are discussed and concluded.

**Keywords:** Leisure Activities, Religiosity, Patriarchy, Attitudes, Violence

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#### Özet

Kadınlara yönelik erkek şiddeti, dünya çapında önemli bir sosyal ve sağlık sorunudur ve bu şiddet türüne yönelik tutumlar bu konuyla ilgili olan önemli faktörlerden biridir. Bu nedenle, bu çalışmanın temel amacı, sosyal faaliyetlere katılım, dindarlık ve ataerkilliği gibi faktörlerin kadına yönelik aile içi şiddete yönelik tutumlar üzerindeki etkisini incelemektir. Bu faktörlerle ilgili literatüre dayalı olarak, 8847 kadından oluşan bir örnekleme içeren 2013-Türkiye Nüfus ve Sağlık Araştırması kullanılmıştır ve bu ankete dayanarak test edilmek üzere üç hipotez geliştirilmiştir. Bir dizi lojistik regresyon modelinden elde edilen bulgular, boş zaman etkinliklerine katılımın kadına yönelik şiddetin kabulünü azalttığını göstermektedir. Tam tersine, kişisel dindarlığın ve kadınların ataerkilliğe inançlarının artması, kadınlar arasında kadına yönelik şiddetin meşruiyetini artırmaktadır. Bunlara ek olarak, sosyo-demografik özelliklerden eğitim ve hane halkı zenginliği, kadına yönelik şiddetin onaylanmasını engelleyen önemli faktörler olarak görünmektedir. Çalışmanın bulguları Türkiye'nin kültürel zemini bağlamında tartışılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Boş Zaman Etkinlikleri, Dindarlık, Ataerkillik, Tutumlar, Şiddet

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## 1. Introduction

Intimate partner violence (IPV) has been seen as a crucial and widespread social, global health, and human rights concern across the world. IPV stands for intimate partner violence, which can take the form of physical, psychological, emotional, or sexual abuse as well as economic pressure (Tonsing & Tonsing, 2019). Women who experienced IPV are more likely to have unwanted pregnancies, have numerous abortions, and have less sexual autonomy and the problem has also been linked to mental health issues like depression, suicide, and posttraumatic stress disorder (Khan and Islam, 2018; Sarkar, 2008). Moreover, IPV has costs that go beyond mental and physical injury to women; by preventing women from participating in the labor market and lowering their output, IPV slows down national economic development (Marshall & Furr, 2010). Similar to IPV against women by a partner or husband, accepting IPV against women also can be a social issue because even though there are numerous risk variables for IPV, studies have found that a person's attitude toward a partner influences both the abuse and victimization of domestic and family violence (Anaba et al., 2021; Chon, 2021; Flood & Pease, 2009; Wang, 2016). Acceptance of violence fosters aggression because more tolerant people are more likely to believe they have the right to act violently, and violence makes people justify their actions (Bucheli & Rossi, 2017). Additionally, tolerance of IPV against women has an impact on the willingness of victims to seek help (Andersson et al., 2010). It has been argued that women who believe a partner possesses a right to beat his wife in at least certain circumstances legitimize violence against spouses and women are less likely to seek help since they believe a husband has a right to do so (Leonardsson and San Sebastian, 2017). For example, a woman who has a supportive attitude about IPV is less likely than one who possesses an intolerant attitude to disclose their abuse experience to the police and obtain legal and professional support from the government (Joshi & Childress, 2017).

According to Flood and Pease (2009), in three dimensions, attitudes have a role in violence against women: perpetration, individual and institutional reactions to violence against women, and women's responses to victimization. A substantial body of research has determined that although IPV is a fundamental problem for women, many women in developing nations still justify IPV against women. A report supported by the EU Commission and the Republic of Turkey revealed that, In Turkey, 36% of ever-married women who are 15 years old and over have been subjected to violence by a spouse, and the most common psychological outcomes of violence were nervousness, stressed, and anxiety (Palmén et al., 2016). According to this report, In Turkey, more than 80% of women remarked they were aware of the protections and punishments from institutions when they are exposed to violence by a partner. However, in Turkey, 41% of women accept wife-beating in the case of any situation provided by the DHS survey (Marshall & Furr, 2010). That justification for IPV also leads to staying in a marriage with violence in that country. According to Dikmen and Munevver (2020), 27% of women do not want children to stay fatherless, and 21% of those think husbands will stop being violent are important reasons to continue staying in a violent marriage. Nevertheless, there is a scarcity of research examining the effect of different types of predictors on women's response to IPV against them.

The goal of the current research is to significantly advance cross-cultural investigations into IPV attitudes. First, there is a scarcity of research using critical perspectives and systematic analysis to examine women's responses to IPV in Turkey. Moreover, many theoretical approaches developed and used in Western nations and, therefore, this study also tests the transferability of these perspectives in a secular and predominantly Muslim society. In sum, an investigation of the factors that influence Turkish women's perceptions of IPV can aid in the establishment of effective preventive interventions and government regulations to combat women's unequal gender beliefs. Thus, given the established prevalence of IPV, this work investigates data from the 2013 Turkey Demographic and Health Survey to determine the influence of leisure activities, religiosity, and patriarchal beliefs on women's manners toward IPV in Turkey.

### **1.1. Study Background**

Turkey occupies a unique location in South-Eastern Europe, positioned between the European and Asian continents. It has a secular democracy with a population of around 85 million people (Worldometer, 2022), the majority of whom are Muslims. Turkey is a predominantly urban country over 75% of its population lives in urban areas and this number continues to rise over time. On the contrary, there was a significant decrease in the population of rural areas between the 1960s (70%) to 2020 (25%) (Worldbank, 2022).

Even though Turkey has undergone significant structural and social reforms that should help women play a more active role in society, women's position in the state reflects the country's broader systemic inequities. In Turkey, the issue of gender parity has existed from the beginning of the Turkish Republic, both in terms of popular perception and legal improvements (Müftüler-Baç, 2012). After the foundation of the Republic, many things started to change for women. For example, women gained equal education rights in 1924 (Demiray, 2015), in 1930, they received permission to vote in mayoral elections, and in 1934, in general elections., as well as the ability to run for office that many years ahead of their European counterparts (Müftüler-Baç, 2012). However, according to World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Report (2021), Turkey ranked 133 out of 156 on the men-women equality list. Based on the same report, in terms of education access, inequality in the practice of education remains a major problem and Turkish women continue to be at the bottom of the list, which is 101 out of 156. When it comes to employment, only 38% of the women participated in the labor market. Recognizing the benefits of education for girls, many barriers in Turkey, as in many other developing countries, continue to impede equal outcomes.

In Turkey, men's ability to impose authority over their wives is a substantial aspect of their masculine identity (Glick et al., 2002). According to Marshall and Furr (2010), Individuals, in Turkish society, are socialized with traditional sexist views. Gender stereotypes are socialized in the household, and boys and girls learn varied gender roles from an early age (Sakalli, 2002). Girls are raised to be dependent and easygoing in the home, whereas boys are pushed to be more confrontational and autonomous (Oksal, 2017). In Turkey, in marriage, wives are taught to follow their spouses' patriarchal control whereas men are anticipated to protect women and children in order to sustain the collectivist patriarchal framework (Marshall & Furr, 2010). However, in recent years, it is possible to state that the

subordination of girls to men or wives to husbands in Turkey has been decreasing. In other words, many developments and improvements allowed women and girls to gain the same power as men in relations. After the development of the feminist movement, in the 1980s, to demonstrate that the private sphere is political, domestic violence played a significant role in the women's movement's actions and ideas (Küçükalioglu, 2018). Particularly, that movement has helped to raise the voice of women not only for violence against them but also for all other rights.

In addition, there has been relatively limited research in Turkey on sentiments against domestic violence. A small body of research on supporting attitudes toward abuse suggests that Turkish women are particularly supportive of violence against women. For instance, a study<sup>7</sup> demonstrated that 41 percent of Turkish women reported that IPV is acceptable under one of five conditions provided by the Turkish Demographic and Health Survey of 2003 (Marshall & Furr, 2010). Their research indicated that literacy and household wealth are two important factors that reduce the tolerance of IPV toward women in Turkey.

## **2. Conceptual Framework**

Attitudes that tolerate IPV are one of the components that affect IPV and that interact and strengthen one another (Powell and Webster, 2016). Violence against women, including wife-beating and related justifying attitudes, is a complex, multifaceted issue, and a large body of previous research has proven that no single theory can adequately explain supporting attitudes (Haj-Yahia & Uysal, 2011; Schuster et al., 2021). Even though a woman's attitude about wife-beating may be considered a personal trait, views regarding domestic abuse can be influenced by determinants at all levels of society (Flood & Pease, 2009). Therefore, there is a necessity to integrate many theoretical viewpoints into an integrated approach to better comprehend the complex issue of attitudes toward IPV. Instead of one approach, the present research builds on three different perspectives: social activities involvement, religiosity, and patriarchal beliefs.

### **2.1. Leisure Activities Involvement**

The incorporation of feminist ideas, which provide a voice to the somewhat ignored half of humanity, has greatly expanded and strengthened the area of leisure study (Merelas-Iglesias and Sánchez-Bello, 2019). Leisure is important for promoting well-being throughout an individual's life and is a component in maintaining psychological health, which includes reducing stress and buffering the effects of stress (Caldwell, 2005). All societies understand the value of leisure activities in individuals' mental, cognitive, and physical development and can be effective in combatting social ills including drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, and other deviant behaviors (UN, 2021). The five key benefits of leisure, according to Mannell (2007), are that it keeps your mind and hands occupied, provides pleasure, comfort, and enjoyment, enhances personal growth, motivates the formation and affirmation of individual identity, and is a source of information or strategy for dealing with stress. Bygren, Konlaan, and Johansson (1996) state that cultural events have an affirmative effect on individuals' life, and those who regularly attend social and cultural events appear to live longer than those who do not. Leisure activity participation is highly linked to subjective well-being across the lifetime (Ryu & Heo, 2018; Yoon et al., 2020), and this association may have significant implications for psychological

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health (Morse et al., 2021). For example, a study carried out by Iso-Ahola and Park (1996) highlighted the significance of social support gained from involvement in leisure activity participation and implied that leisure activities help to mitigate the negative influence of stress on physical and mental health.

It is knowledge of this study that, in the literature, there is no theoretical framework and statistical work that focuses on the association between leisure activities and IPV against women and its aspects including attitudes toward IPV. On the other hand, the possible benefits of participation in these activities on attitudes toward IPV have not taken attention in previous studies. However, participating in leisure activities may assist individuals to deal more effectually with the difficulties of regular life. Therefore, based on earlier research that demonstrates the positive effect of leisure activities on well-being, psychological health, and physical and mental health, it is the expectation that people who attend more leisure and social activities will be enlightened and will not tolerate traditional behaviors and norms, including accepting violence.

## **2.2. Religion and Attitudes Toward IPV**

Religion consists of many aspects including beliefs, values, doctrines, experience, affiliation, religious practice, attendance at services, religious knowledge, individual moral consequences, and social consequences (King, 2000; Sherkat & Ellison, 1999). Religion can be considered a dynamic phenomenon since religious views are persistent, frequently influencing people's daily lives, behaviors, and choices throughout their lifetimes (Le Ferle & Muralidharan, 2019). IPV against women is influenced by culture, spirituality, and religion, which in turn influences women's marriage constructs (Yick, 2008). Religious and spiritual practices can both openly and covertly encourage domestic violence, despite the fact that victims of abuse use them to cope and find meaning (Yick, 2008). Despite the growing research on the socio-cultural origins of intimate partner violence, scholars in this field have mostly disregarded the influence of religion. Nonetheless, in recent years, this pattern of omission has begun to shift. To reflect the comprehensive and multifaceted nature of religiosity, the existing research on religiosity and involvement in violence against women has begun to use multiple-item indices of religiosity (Jankowski et al., 2011). For instance, research conducted by Ellison et al. (1999) briefly reported that, in data from the National Survey of Families and Households in the US, for men and women, regular attendance at religious institutions among Catholics and Protestants is in an inverse direction related to self-reported domestic abuse commitment. Religiosity appears to be a protective factor against IPV in the literature, although there is evidence to imply that religiousness can be both a risk and a protective factor for IPV (Warren, 2015). Contrary to the protection approach, previous research carried out among college students in the US found that Christian fundamentalism was positively linked to the acceptance of IPV (Koch & Ramirez, 2010).

Since religious institutions are not homogeneous, the function of religion in maintaining norms that encourage gender inequity is complicated (Seguino, 2011). Formal religious institutions that create cultural norms, social regulations, and behaviors, have a significant effect on the rigidity of gender roles and attitudes (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). Religiosity, particularly the specific theological teachings of some religions, can be a negative factor that legitimizes various forms of abuse committed by men against women (Jung & Olson, 2017). Patriarchal beliefs and outcomes may be influenced by a

person's religious affiliation, meaning that certain religions are more patriarchal than others. Nevertheless, whether one organized religion is more patriarchal than another is an empirical topic that has yet to be resolved (Seguino, 2011). Conservative Protestants are more likely to embrace traditional gender norms (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009) while another research indicates that Islam is much more patriarchal than other leading religions (Alexander & Welzel, 2011). Some feminist scholars claim that patriarchal characteristics are ingrained in Muslim identity as a result of indoctrination under Islamic norms (Fish, 2002). For example, according to Haj-Yahia (2003), a Muslim is more accepting of IPV than someone who is involved with another religion or who is not involved with any religion. A study conducted by Chon (2021) demonstrates that being a Muslim is linked to a justifying perception toward wife beating while a Muslim with a great level of devout belief has a less tolerant attitude toward wife-beating.

### **2.3. Patriarchy**

The notion of patriarchy is an important tool for analyzing gender and marital relations (Walby, 1989). Hartmann (1981) emphasizes the importance between patriarchy and capitalism. In that perspective, the material basis of patriarchy is the male control of women over the workforce. According to other feminist scholars, patriarchy, defined as a societal system of men's systemic domination over political, legitimate, economic, and religious institutions (Glick & Fiske, 1997), is the source of violence against women's presence and continuance (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Fidan & Bui, 2016; Malka et al., 2021; Yllo, 1993). In this perspective, patriarchal ideology refers to the beliefs, customs, and behaviors that support male supremacy in marital dynamics (Schuster et al., 2021). In other words, male domination historically has been normalized by patriarchal ideology (Telseren, 2021). Because physical violence is the last resort for keeping subordinate groups in their place, women in societies where patriarchal beliefs are common have frequently been abused (Straus & Gelles, 1986). This relationship is seen as being enshrined in the traditional family structure and bolstered by political and economic structures (Fidan & Bui, 2016). Political, legitimate, economic, and religious institutions also lead to gender disparity by applying different legal standards to men and women and ignoring women's protection from men's violence. The patriarchy's intellectual part serves to justify gender inequalities and to foster acceptance of the gender system (Dobash & Dobash, 1979).

Individual attitudes toward IPV are influenced by cultural factors, which are defined as values and beliefs passed down from generation to generation (Bucheli & Rossi, 2017). The fundamental argument for men's violence is that they play a dominant role in the household in a culture where ideal male behavior is connected with aggression, dominance, and strength (Bucheli & Rossi, 2017). Patriarchal or traditional gender beliefs work by granting men the right to wield authority within their families by enforcing and perpetuating power imbalances between men and women, as well as societal structures that give men an advantage (Tonsing & Tonsing, 2019). Patriarchal views may have an influence not just on women's political and economic involvement, but also on whether or not IPV is considered a crime (Hayes & Boyd, 2017). Marriages are arranged at an early age in traditional patriarchy into families headed by their husbands. Women enter large families through marriage, in which they are subject to all men in the home as well as other prominent members such as other



women (Kandiyoti, 1988). In these families, obedience, protecting and sustaining the family's honor, and doing housekeeping are all expected of women in traditional roles (Tonsing & Tonsing, 2019). Women are supposed to conform to complementarian roles that lack actual interpersonal power, while men are supposed to protect and care for them and these roles reinforce gender inequity in partnerships (Warren, 2015). In these relationships, patriarchy causes gender disparity in relationships and the household, and patriarchal practices are frequently associated with wife-beating which may be seen as examples of men exerting power over women (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). On the other hand, women are socialized by gender roles and expected to care about the family while men are providers of the household. Moreover, if women's value systems demand them to follow traditional roles in which they have less authority in their partnerships, they tend to have less power and independence (Warren, 2015). In sum, individuals who live in a society where patriarchal beliefs and gender disparity is high are more prone to learn traditional gender roles from their senior members of the household (Chon, 2021). Therefore, it is possible for them to tolerable attitudes toward aspects of gender inequality including attitudes toward wife-beating.

It is critical to comprehend the attitudes that lead to attitudes toward IPV against women, which include sexist views about women. Patriarchal beliefs are among the most essential factors, and empirical research shows that they are linked to wife-beating justification (Ahmad et al., 2004; Haj-Yahia, 1998). For instance, a study conducted by Glick, Sakalli-Ugurlu et al. (2002) used two different types of sexist views, which are benevolent sexism and hostility sexism, to explain their effects on attitudes toward wife-beating in Brazil and Turkey in a comparative study. Findings from their study indicated that in both countries hostility and sexism were the robust factors in accepting wife abuse for men and women. Another study carried out by Sakalli (2001), among college students, found that male students who hold more supportive attitudes toward patriarchy and hostile sexism viewed wife beating as more tolerable.

## **2.4. Hypotheses**

The construction of hypotheses of this work was led by the literature on the status of women and gender beliefs in Turkey with a focal point on three different perspectives, including joining leisure activities as a factor of modernization, religiosity, and traditional gender beliefs. Three main hypotheses were developed and tested to examine determinants related to attitudes toward IPV in Turkey.

H1: Turkish women who participate in more leisure activities will be less likely to support IPV against women.

H2: High religiosity among Turkish women will be linked to attitudes toward IPV against women.

H3: Turkish women who support more patriarchal beliefs will be more likely to justify IPV against women.

### 3. Method

#### 3.1. Data

Data from the current research were obtained from the 2013 TDHS carried out from September 2013 through January 2014 by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies with the financial support of The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) within the scope of the Support Program for Research and Development Projects of Public Institutions (KAMAG) (TDHS, 2014). In TDHS-2013, face-to-face interviews were completed with 11,794 households and 9,746 women were eligible in the 15-49 age group, and the survey used face-to-face interviews. Subsequent to cases with missing values in reported attitudes toward wife-beating and predictor variables being removed by listwise deletion, a subsample of 8,847 cases was used for all data analysis. The main reason that 2013 TDHS was used instead of TDHS 2018 is TDHS 2018 did not include variables of religiosity.

#### 3.2. Variables

One dependent, three predictor variables and six demographic characteristics are included in this study. To establish predictors and scale elements for composite independent variables principal components factor and scale reliability analyses were carried out. Each composite variable's scale items had loadings greater than 0.45 on a common factor, and all scales had levels of internal consistency that were higher than or equal to .60 (Cronbach's Alpha).

*Dependent Variable:* The only dependent variable of the present study is attitudes toward wife-beating is a dichotomous variable with 0 = no and 1 = yes. The measurement of this variable is whether a woman participant believed that wife-beating is justifiable within any of the following five circumstances: (a) "if the wife goes out without telling the husband" (yes = .05), (b) "if the wife neglects the children" (yes = .10), (c) "if the wife argues with the husband" (yes = .07), (d) "if the wife refuses to have sex with the husband" (yes = .03), and (e) "if the wife burns the food" (yes = .01). A binary item was generated to represent whether the participant justifies wife-beating in at least one of these conditions.

*Independent Variables:* The first independent variable is leisure activities. Women had a question about the frequency with which they engage in various forms of leisure activities with 0 = no, 1 = irregularly, and 2 = regularly. DHS includes sports regularly, going on holiday, and joining outside meals as reflecting leisure time activities. An index variable was created by the composition of these three items.

The second independent variable is religiosity. Respondents were asked about the frequency with which they practice various factors of religiosity including namaz (prayer), fasting, and wearing a headscarf when going out with 0 = no, 1 = irregularly, and 2 = regularly. A scale variable was created to reflect the religiosity of each woman respondent.

The third independent variable is traditional gender beliefs. Four opinion questions were asked women respondents to whether they agree with traditional gender roles (gender inequality) with 0 = agree and 1 = disagree: (a) family decision by men, (b) educated son better than daughter, (c) women should not



work, and (d) women should be virgin at wedding night. A composite variable was constituted to represent traditional gender beliefs.

*Control Variables:* Six control variables or demographic characteristics were included in the data analysis of this study. First, age is a continuous variable ranging from 15 to 49 years. Second, marital status is a dummy variable recoded as 0 = currently or formerly in a union and 1 = single. Third, the number of children reflects that respondents have how many kids. Fourth, residential location is a binary variable with 0 = rural and 1 = urban. Fifth, educational level is a categorical variable including no education, primary education, secondary education, and higher education (ref.). Finally, household wealth is an index variable created by DHS from 1 = poorest to 5 = richest.

## 4. Results

### 4.1. Descriptive Analysis

Table 1 summarizes the demographic characteristics of women in Turkey. Women respondents' age in the sample arrayed from 15 to 49 years with a mean of 31.4 years (SE = 0.12). Approximately three-quarters of women were currently or formerly in a union (74.6%). The mean level of the number of children was 1.62 (SE = 0.02). Most of the women lived in urban areas as residential locations (73.7%). The majority of the respondents reported they had at least primary and secondary education at the same frequency (37.2% and 37.2%, respectively). The mean level of the household wealth of women was 3.18 on a five-point scale (SE = 0.03). Regarding independent variables, first, the mean of leisure time activities was 1.8 on a seven-point scale (SE = 0.03). Second, the mean of religiosity among women was 4.08 on a seven-point scale (SE = 0.04). The mean level of traditional gender beliefs (gender inequality) was 1.55 on a five-point scale (SE = 0.01). In the context of the dependent variable, more than 15% of the women respondents affirmed that wife-beating was justifiable at least among one of five conditions.

**Table 1. Descriptive Characteristics.**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Min.</b>	<b>Max.</b>
Sample	8,847	100%	-	-
Justify Wife-beating:			-	-
Yes	1,349	15.2%		
No	7,498	84.8%		
Single	2,249	25.4%	-	-
Married (Ref.)	6,598	74.6%		
Rural (Ref.)	2,330	26.3%	-	-
Urban	6,517	73.7%		
No education	917	10.4%	-	-

P. education	3,288	37.2%		
S. education	3,294	37.2%		
H. education (Ref.)	1,348	15.2%		
	<b>M</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>Min.</b>	<b>Max.</b>
Age	31.04	.12	15	49
Children	1.62	.02	0	12
Wealth	3.18	.03	1	5
Leisure activities	1.80	.03	0	6
Religiosity	4.08	.04	0	6
Gender beliefs	1.55	.01	0	4

#### 4.2. Bivariate Analysis

Without accounting for the impacts of control factors, bivariate analysis is used to establish the relationship between three predictor variables and attitudes toward IPV against women. Due to all independent variables being scale variables, a t-test was used and F values were reported.

Table 2 demonstrates that all predictor variables were significantly linked to attitudes toward IPV against women. First, leisure time activities were negatively related to the justification of IPV against women. Women who justified IPV had a lower level of leisure time activities (M = 0.91) than those who did not tolerate IPV (M = 1.76). On the contrary, religiosity and traditional gender beliefs among women were positively linked to attitudes toward IPV. Women who accepted IPV had a greater level of religiosity (M = 4.89) than counterparts who did not justify IPV (M = 4.21). Finally, women who approved of IPV possessed a higher level of traditional gender beliefs (M = 2.05) than those who did not believe IPV against women is acceptable (M = 1.46). Overall, all independent variables possess a positive link with the outcome variable in the expected direction.

**Table 2. Distributions of Attitudes toward Wife-beating by Independent Variables.**

Variables	Estimates (M)			
	Justification of Wife-beating		t	Adjusted F
	Yes	No		
Leisure activities (n = 8,847)	0.91	1.76	18.82	213.46***
Religiosity (n = 8,847)	4.89	4.21	-12.44	210.82***
Gender beliefs (n = 8,847)	2.05	1.46	-21.73	6.46***

\*p < .05. \*\*p < .01. \*\*\*p < .001

### 4.3. Multivariate Analysis

Five models of nested binary logistic regression were carried out to determine the impacts of religiosity and traditional gender beliefs as well as leisure activities on attitudes toward IPV in Turkey independently from the influences of demographic variables. In the initial model (Model 1), only six control variables and a dependent variable were included in the analysis to demonstrate the effects of demographic characteristics on attitudes toward wife-beating. Model 2 assesses the effects of leisure time activities, Model 3 evaluates the impact of religiosity, and Model 4 demonstrates the influence of traditional gender beliefs on the justification of IPV against women. The full model (Model 5) consists of all variables and was conducted to appraise the single effect of each predictor variable on attitudes toward IPV independently from the impacts of other variables. The odds coefficients were reported to interpret significant results. For statistical analysis, a unique statistical software tool called SPSS was used and a complex sample design was conducted to correct the effects of standard errors and weights.

Table 3 displays the findings of logistic regression for the models of control and independent variables for attitudes toward IPV against women. Model 1, as stated above, includes control variables and demonstrated that the number of children is positively associated with the justification of IPV. As the number of children increases by one person, the odds of justification for IPV increases by 12% ( $b = 0.11$ ,  $t = 4.05$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $OR = 1.12$ ). On the contrary, living in urban areas, education, and household wealth decrease the odds of tolerance for IPV. Among women living in urban areas, the odds of justification for IPV is 21% lower ( $b = 0.22$ ,  $t = -2.44$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $OR = 0.79$ ) than that among counterparts living in urban areas. Among women who have no education, primary education, and secondary education, the odds of justification for IPV against women is 7.4 times ( $b = 2.01$ ,  $t = 8.65$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $OR = 7.46$ ), 4.1 times ( $b = 1.42$ ,  $t = 6.56$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $OR = 4.13$ ), and 2.50 times ( $b = 0.91$ ,  $t = 4.47$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $OR = 2.50$ ) higher, respectively, than those women who have higher education. As women's wealth increases by one level, the odds of justification of IPV against women decreases by 25% ( $b = -0.28$ ,  $t = -6.78$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $OR = 0.75$ ).

**Table 3. Logistic Regression: Odds coefficients of Control and Independent Variables for Justification of IPV.**

Variables	Model 1 OR(SE)	Model 2 OR(SE)	Model 3 OR(SE)	Model 4 OR(SE)	Model 5 OR(SE)
Age	1.00(.006)	1.00(.002)	1.00(.006)	1.00(.006)	1.00(.006)
Single	1.04(.13)	1.04(.13)	1.07(.13)	1.00(.13)	1.03(.14)
Children	1.12(.03)***	1.11(.03)***	1.11(.03)***	1.11(.03)***	1.10(.03)**
Urban	0.79(.09)*	0.80(.09)*	0.80(.09)*	0.85(.09)	0.85(.09)
No education	7.46(.23)***	5.71(.23)***	6.69(.23)***	5.42(.23)***	4.20(.23)***

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P. education	4.14(.21)***	3.28(.22)***	3.78(.21)***	3.26(.21)***	2.63(.21)***
S. Education	2.50(.20)***	2.18(.20)***	2.39(.20)***	2.19(.20)***	1.94(.20)**
Wealth	0.75(.04)***	0.81(.04)***	0.76(.04)***	0.77(.04)***	0.83(.04)***
Leisure activities		0.82(.04)***			0.85(.04)***
Religiosity			1.08(.03)**		1.04(.03)
Gender beliefs				1.50(.04)***	1.46(.04)***
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	.150	.159	.153	.173	.179
N	8847	8847	8847	8847	8847

Notes: OR = Odds Ratios; \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

Model 2 examines the role of leisure time activities on manners toward IPV against women. Results from this model echo that participating in leisure time activities is negatively associated with an endorsement for IPV. As one unit increase in attending leisure time activities, the odds of tolerance for IPV decreases by 18% ( $b = -0.19$ ,  $t = -4.97$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $OR = 0.82$ ).

On the contrary, models that examine the relationship between religiosity, traditional gender beliefs, and attitudes toward IPV demonstrate opposite results. Model 3 of Table 3 reveals that personal religiosity is positively associated with the justification of IPV against women. As one unit increases in personal religiosity, the odds of acceptance for IPV increase by 8% ( $b = 0.07$ ,  $t = 2.78$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $OR = .08$ ). Model 4 indicates that women's traditional gender beliefs are positively associated with support of IPV against women. As one level increases in support for traditional gender beliefs, the odds of justification for IPV increase by 50% ( $b = 0.40$ ,  $t = 9.47$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $OR = 1.50$ ).

Model 5 which includes all variables, leisure time activities, and traditional gender beliefs remains significantly linked to attitudes toward IPV against women in the expected direction. In other words, leisure time activities are negatively linked ( $b = -0.16$ ,  $t = -4.08$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $OR = 0.85$ ) while traditional gender beliefs are positively ( $b = 0.38$ ,  $t = 8.83$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $OR = 1.46$ ) related to the justification of IPV. However, when all variables are contained in the model, the influence of religiosity becomes smaller and loses its statistical significance ( $OR = 1.04$ ,  $ns$ ). In sum, these findings tend to echo that personal religiosity possesses a moderate influence on attitudes toward IPV. Based on all results of statistical analysis, three major hypotheses of the present study were supported by the data.

## 5. Discussion and Conclusion

The main purpose of the present study was to examine the relationship between leisure time activities, personal religiosity, traditional gender beliefs, and women's attitudes toward IPV in Turkey. Attitudes concerning wife-beating have individual and societal effects on the issue of IPV against women (Ercan, 2009). First, various studies have found a link between attitudes toward wife abuse and the commitment to violence against women in the household at the individual level (Chon, 2021; Flood &

Pease, 2009; Wang, 2016). Second, approving wife-beating on a societal level compels women to stay in abusive relationships and reduces social and professional assistance (Joshi & Childress, 2017; Leonardsson San Sebastian, 2017). Before going into detail about these connections, it is vital to note that the statistical analysis suggests that, compared to the earlier version of the TDHS in 2003 (41%), justification for IPV against women decreased in Turkey (15%).

The analysis of the present research found that leisure activities decrease the acceptance of IPV. The association between leisure activity involvement and attitudes toward IPV has not attracted any attention in the interpersonal violence literature. Therefore, the present research seems to be the first study to provide light on the influence of leisure activities in determining personal attitudes toward intimate partner violence. The study hypothesized that Turkish women who participate in more leisure activities would have less tolerance for IPV against women. The results of the statistical analysis strongly supported this hypothesis. The findings of this study demonstrated that participation in more leisure activities among women decreased the acceptance of IPV. Based on this finding, the present research suggests that women who obtain advantages from leisure activities may promote self-determination and accountability (Mannell, 2007; Merelas-Iglesias & Sánchez-Bello, 2019), and thus, may prevent the traditional gender beliefs that are commonly accepted in the patriarchal society. Moreover, the importance of involvement in leisure activities needs to take into consideration to combat the justification of gender role beliefs that put women in a secondary position in the household and society.

The analysis utilized to investigate the association between religiosity and tolerance of IPV is the second contribution to the current research. The findings revealed significant impacts of personal religiosity on attitudes toward IPV. The exploration of attitudes toward wife-beating showed that high religiosity among women increases the tolerance for IPV against women, which is coherent with former studies (Renzetti et al., 2015). This result strongly promotes Hypothesis 2. Earlier research suggests that family systems that are patriarchal or conventional are frequently reinforced by religious values (Jung & Olson, 2017). In a predominantly Muslim population, patriarchal attitudes may be supported by Islamic religious traditions (Kazemi, 2000), which may allow husbands the right to make important decisions for their family members. Furthermore, women who are very attached to their religious beliefs may be more willing to submit and obey their husbands' decisions and behaviors that even may harm them.

Regarding patriarchal ideology, Hypothesis 3 predicted that holding high traditional gender beliefs among women would increase the justification of IPV. This hypothesis has high support based on the study's consistent and robust findings. The analysis of the current work revealed that supporting higher patriarchal beliefs among Turkish women increase the support for wife-beating which is coherent with previous studies (Glick et al., 2002; Haj-Yahia, 2003). Despite recent developments, Turkish society still reinforces the husband's supremacy and power, while the wife has an inferior and obedient role, as previously stated. Thus, Turkish women who exhibit a high degree of traditional gender beliefs may more likely support that committing the abuse is a right of a husband or partner under some conditions. In other words, when a woman believes she is not performing her feminine

role, the rationale for beating becomes acceptable (Marshall & Furr, 2010). To maintain their household together, Turkish women who accept their husband's forceful authority are supposed to tolerate, sacrifice, and suffer in silence (Hortacsu et al., 2003). It is reasonable to argue that feminist researchers' core concepts including traditional gender stereotypes can be applied to the Turkish context to explain individual attitudes toward IPV.

Finally, a few demographic characteristics at the individual level merit a brief examination. Educational level and household wealth were found as two significant predictors to decrease justification for IPV. First, education boosts women's self-esteem and awareness while also improving their cognitive abilities in Turkey (Marshall & Furr, 2010). Second, access to wealth is an important step to combat traditional gender beliefs in a developing country. On the contrary, the number of children increases the tolerance for IPV in Turkey. In the Turkish context, regardless of gender, the family is one of the important institutions for members of the household. Especially, women who have more children have an essential duty to keep family together.

There are a few limitations in the present work that should be mentioned. To begin, it's worth noting that the DHS data for all countries is based on cross-sectional studies. A second limitation of the study is that, compared to data from many other countries, in TDHS, the absence of women's experience of different types of IPV, and time spent in an abusive relationship are important deficiencies. Nevertheless, because of their large, often national and random samples, sound sampling methodologies, and strict adherence to ethical scientific research, the DHSs are frequently used internationally and are important for many researchers.

Despite the limitations, the current work provides noteworthy additions to the research on women's attitudes toward IPV in a secular and predominantly Muslim country. In this research, I have investigated potential relationships between leisure activities, religiosity, patriarchal beliefs, and Turkish women's attitudes toward IPV across the country. The findings show a significant association between increased leisure activities and negative attitudes toward wife-beating whereas enhanced religiosity and patriarchal beliefs and support for the issue. However, these findings do not imply that women should be blamed for the violence due to their religious beliefs or gender traditions. This relationship simply indicates that conventional gender ideals must be considered while combating domestic abuse by husbands or partners against women in developing societies. It is a suggestion of this study for formal and informal sources should be set aside to assist long-term efforts aimed at changing gender norms such that IPV against women is no longer accepted.

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