



Empowered yet Deprived from Safer Haven: Investigating the Relationship between Women's Employment and Intimate Partner Violence in Nigeria

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Abstract

Intimate partner violence (IPV) deprives women of their right to peace, safety and good health, thereby posing a threat to economic stability and development. Women's employment status presents a distinct existence of the strength of their empowerment, giving them the opportunities to exercise their freedom and contribute to household demands. The study investigates the relationship between women's employment status and intimate partner violence in Nigeria. It utilizes the nationally representative database from the Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS). We use three measures of intimate partner violence: physical, sexual and emotional violence. For employment status, we categorise women's empowerment into unemployed, unpaid workers, paid workers and self-employed. The study employs descriptive statistics and probit regression to present the results of the analysis. The findings reveal that working women in Nigeria are more likely to experience IPV than non-working women. In addition, the paid-workers and self-employed women appears to be associated with higher risk of emotional violence compared to unemployed women whereas unpaid women are more exposed to sexual violence compared to unemployed women. It is recommended that sensitization and early-detection programmes should be organized using community-wide approach that would help break cultural norms and encourage women to speak out as well as seek help.

Keywords: Intimate partner violence, employment, labour force participation, backlash hypothesis

JEL Classification: F240, E65, E24, J01

Contribution to/Originality Knowledge

This study contributes to the existing literature on women's employment and intimate partner violence in Nigeria. It is unique in that it considers the multidimensional measures of empowerment status and intimate partner violence, which adds value to this area of study.

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1.0 Introduction

Violence is a universal scourge that threatens human life, health, happiness and safety (Danesh, 2011; Funmilayo, 2020). It originates from a variety of situations, including child abuse, forced and early marriages, trafficking, female genital mutilation, intimate partner violence, elderly people maltreated by their caregivers as well as people of all ages who inflict violence on others. However, violence against women particularly arising from intimate relationship



between partners is receiving growing attention. It is one of the most prevalent and dominant human rights issues, depriving women of their rights to a safe and stable home environment (Olayanju, 2015; World Health Organisation, 2017; Sagar & Hans, 2018). Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is the assaultive and coercive behaviour, which comprises physical, sexual and emotional/psychological attacks from an intimate partner (Zegenhagen *et al.*, 2019). IPV has hampered victims' full participation in the society, affecting their social and economic development (Heise & Kotsadam, 2015).

It is estimated that about 1 in 3 women worldwide has experienced physical, sexual and emotional violence during their lifetime (Olowoporuku & Atijosan, 2020). Interventions to lower the prevalence of IPV have focused primarily on empowering women through employment. This really is because women's employment is viewed as a catalyst for economic growth and sustainable development. This grants them opportunities to contribute to household resources and increase their bargaining power inside their homes. Increasing women's employment and decreasing their chances of marital violence are two of the goals of United Nations Global Agenda 2030. This can also help achieving the objective of reducing poverty and gender equality (Canedo & Morse, 2021; Olowoporuku & Atijosan, 2020). However, this dual goal has been empirically affirmed to contradict each other in clear terms. Employment has the potential to increase or decrease marital violence from their partners. Also, IPV can influence abused women to seek employment (Aguero, 2013; Bhattacharya, 2015), it can likewise reduce women's participation or productivity in labour market (Rios-Avila & Canavire-Bacarreza, 2017).

In Nigeria, the incidence of physical, sexual and emotional violence against women is high, as it stood at 30.5 percent in 2008 and it later decreased to 25 percent in 2013. This is attributed to the high percentage of women that seek help against violence in the period. However, it increased to the highest rate of 36 percent in 2018, an increase of about 44 percent in 5 years (Nigeria Demographic Health Survey, 2018). A major factor responsible for the change in figure from 2013 to 2018 is the economic hardship in the country (Project Alert and NOI polls, 2016) while the COVID-19 pandemic may also contribute to increasing incidence of IPV. The changes in the incidence confirm the findings of Olayanju (2015) that intimate partner violence is not a one-off occurrence but rather repeated incidents across the lifetime.

The conventional economic model of exposure reduction hypothesis suggests that the main way to decrease intimate partner violence is to increase women's involvement with the outside world through employment opportunities (Sen, 2000; Sohini, 2014; Alonso-Borrego and Carrasco, 2019). Moreover, the literature on the backlash hypothesis reveals that women's increased income hurts their spouses' egos and even triggers more violence (Aguero, 2013; Sohini, 2014; Bhattacharya, 2015; Lenze & Klasen, 2017). These hypotheses have been tested in different countries with varying results. In sub-Saharan Africa, Tandrayen-Ragoobur (2020) shows that women's labour force participation increases the incidence of intimate partner violence as working women have higher odds of abuse than non-working women. Similar results have been found for India (Sohini 2014) and Vietnam (Bulte & Lensink 2019). Conversely, working in Jordan, Lenze & Klasen (2017) found that women's labour force

participation decreases sexual violence. Evidence from previous studies appears to show no consensus on the link between women's workforce participation and IPV. Although empirical research has generated results on 20 sub-Saharan African countries (Tandrayen-Ragoobur 2020); there is the need to interrogate single country analysis due to the unique characteristics of each country. This study therefore seeks to separately establish the link between employment and IPV in Nigeria by utilizing the 2018 Nigerian Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) dataset.

The contribution of this study is its approach of considering multi-dimensional measures of IPV and empowerment. The multi-dimensional measure of women's employment status is unique as it emphasise the true nature of women's empowerment comprising unemployed women, unpaid women, paid women and self-employed women, rather than the common approach of whether women are employed or not. Using this approach provides detailed information on what status of employment really influence women's intimate partner violence and it offers a value addition to this area of study. The study seeks to find answers to the prevalence of the various forms of violence in Nigeria. It also discusses how women's employment status affects their likelihood of experiencing physical, sexual or emotional violence in Nigeria. The analysis of the results are investigated using the descriptive statistics and probit regression analysis.

The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 explains the insights from existing literature. Section 3 presents the methodology, estimation technique and data source while section 4 discusses the findings and discussion of results. The conclusion, recommendations and policy options are discussed in Section 5.

2.0 Literature Review

Intimate partner violence has been traced to its nature of being an expressive or instrumental act (Alonso-Borrego & Carrasco, 2019). It is expressive when some partners derive direct utility from violence. This occurs when there are changes in income of either partners or resulting from imbalance in access to resources by the husband or wife within the household. It could also be instrumental when it increases a husband's utility indirectly through the desire to fully control the wife's behaviour; the husband may choose to act by inflicting assaultive and coercive behaviour on his wife. The economic and theoretical issues on intimate partner violence can be related to the game-theoretical approaches of the co-operative and non-cooperative theory.

The co-operative approach presumes that the outcome of the negotiation within the household is equally beneficial to household members. It is assumed that women with more resources are less likely to be at risk of spousal violence as this helps women to increase their bargaining power within the household. Empirical studies have also revealed that a woman's access to economic resources enables her to invest more in public goods such as children's education, shelters and health as well as the overall welfare of the household (Vyas & Watts, 2009; Doss, 2013). In essence, it has been advocated that a potential way to prevent women's violence and abuse is to improve their options outside the home through educational attainment,



employment, asset ownership, among others (Alonso-Borrego & Carrasco, 2019). This would contribute greatly to increasing women's overall well-being and empowerment. Studies have also shown that resources such as income, employment, asset ownership and wealth promote women's empowerment, and it leads to a better household bargaining position for them. Similarly, more resources on the part of the female may lead to reduced domestic violence and increase their self-confidence (Vyas & Watts, 2009; Mabsout & Van Staveren, 2010). This is in line with the exposure reduction theory which follows the logic of a cooperative model. Exposure reduction hypothesis also predicts the protective effect of women's labour force participation as it decreases the time a woman spends in the vicinity of her spouse (Chin, 2012; Tandrayen-Ragoobur, 2020). This theory has been confirmed to be relevant by Aizer (2010) in the United States. However, this model has been challenged by the non-cooperative model.

Contrary to the exposure reduction theory, the non-cooperative approach in a family context exists where each member seeks his/her personal interest and there is no pooling of income. However, the theory predicts that women's employment is responsible for triggering more violence as their partners feel insecure or threatened by their spouse's financial independence. As a result, the husband may use force to regain their position within the household. This is in line with the backlash hypothesis which has been confirmed by numerous studies (Aguero 2013; Sohini 2014; Bhattacharya 2015; Lenze & Klasen 2017; Olowoporuku & Atijosan, 2020).

Although there is a fairly robust body of work that supports the backlash hypothesis, there are also studies which suggest that there is no significant relationship between women's labour participation and intimate partner violence (Naved & Persson, 2005; Lenze & Klasen, 2017). In other words, there is no definitive view on the relationship between women's labour force participation rates and intimate partner violence. This study will contribute to the literature by focusing on multi-dimensional aspects of IPV and women's employment status. This is insightful because it provides a detailed analysis of the status of women's employment in Nigeria, taking into account four (4) different levels of women's employment status ranging from unemployed women, unpaid women, paid women and self-employed women while IPV comprising of sexual, emotional and physical violence. This paper seeks to interrogate the relationship between these two variables in the Nigerian context.

3.0 Methodology

Considering the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable (the presence of IPV is assigned a value of 1 and the absence of IPV is assigned a value of 0) in this study, a probit regression model is appropriate to examine the relationship between women's employment status and intimate partner violence in Nigeria. However, the use of Ordinary Least Square (OLS) will be inappropriate as it violates the underlying assumptions for using OLS as there is a dichotomous dependent variable.

The expression of the probit regression model is depicted in equation 1 below:

$$P_i = \text{Prob}(Y = 1|X) = \text{Pr}(Z_i \leq BX) = \theta(X_i' \beta) \quad (1)$$

The model stated in Equation 1 describes the relationship between a specific factor and the outcome of the probability, which is interpreted using the marginal effect (which accounts for the partial change in the probability). The marginal effects provide insights on how the explanatory variables change the predicted probability of project success.¹ The model further explains the probability of occurrence of IPV given the independent variables (X) such that θ is the cumulative distribution function (CDF) of a standard normal variable (ensuring that $0 \leq P_i \leq 1$) and X is a vector of factors that explains the outcome variable while β is a vector of parameters that reflects the impact of changes in X on the probability of occurrence of IPV. The CDF can be define for any kind of random variable including discrete, continuous and mixed. Hence, the CDF for the random variable can further be expressed as:

$$\theta = F_x(X) = P(X \leq x), \text{ for all } x \in \mathfrak{R} \quad (2)$$

The model in Equation 1 is expanded to include:

$$\begin{aligned} IPV = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 EMP + \beta_2 X_i + \beta_3 HHS + \beta_4 SC_i \\ & + \beta_5 PREG + \beta_6 SEC + \beta_7 REG + \beta_8 WI + \beta_8 Z + \mu \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

Where IPV represents the probability of occurrence of intimate partner violence; EMP is employment status (unemployed, unpaid, paid and self-employed women); X_i is respondent's personal characteristics (age, educational attainment, marital status); HHS is household size. SC_i is spouse / husband characteristics (husband's age, working status and husband drinks alcohol); PREG is pregnant wife; RES_L is residential location (rural / urban); REG is region / geo-political zone. WI is wealth index; Z is the distribution variable such as acceptance of wife's beating (PWB); husband domineering and controlling attitude (HDCA) and μ is the error term.

The study gathered the data on intimate partner violence and women's employment status from the Nigerian Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) database 2018/2019. The NDHS 2018/19 data was chosen over other datasets because it has a large sample size thereby strengthens the reliability and validity of the study. It contains the necessary indicators needed for the analysis and it provides special sections regarding husband's employment, sectoral analysis and intimate partner violence. The sample size for this study is 6,386 respondents of ever-married women, aged 15-49 years. The data is analyzed using STATA version 16.

Variable Description

The dependent variable is intimate partner violence (IPV) which was considered for physical, sexual and emotional violence. In the NDHS data, women were asked whether they had experienced various acts of violence. Questions about physical violence include whether she has ever experienced been pushed, shaken, thrown object at, slapped, twisted, punched, kicked,

¹ It is this marginal effect results that is interpreted rather than the original regression result.



dragged, beaten or choked by their husband or partner. Emotional violence is measured by questions on whether she has ever been humiliated in front of others, or threatened to hurt / harm by her husband / partner. Sexual violence is measured by questions such as whether she has ever been physically forced to have sexual inter-course with him even if she did not want to. Therefore, the three outcome variables were used for the analysis and each form of violence is coded as a binary variable, taking a value of “1” if the women are subjected to such violence and a value of “0” otherwise.

The key independent variable is the woman's employment status where the respondent states whether she is unemployed women (coded with 0), unpaid women (coded with 1), paid women (coded with 2), self-employed women (coded with 3). Other explanatory variables include age (numbers in years); marital status (0 = cohabitating ; 1 = married); education attainment (0 = no education, 1 = primary education, 2 = secondary education, and 3 = higher education); wealth status (0 = poorest, 1 = poorer, 2 = middle, 3 = richer, 4 = richest); residential location (2 = rural area and 1 = urban area); pregnancy status of wife (0 = no, 1 = yes); Acceptance of wife's beating (0 = no, 1 = yes) of which five items were used to capture this variable. The questions is that the wife beating is justified if she goes out without telling her husband, neglects the children, argues with husband, refuse to have sex with her husband and she burns the food. Husband's controlling and domineering attitudes (HCDA) (0 = no, 1 = yes) with five items used to measure this variable. Questions were asked whether the husband is jealous if wife talks with other men; husband accuse wife of unfaithfulness, husband do not permit wife to meet female friends; husband tries to limit respondent's contact with family, husband insists on knowing where the wife is. The variable is coded with 1 (Yes) or 0 (No). each of the questions are added together to give the HCDA scale, which is expected to range from 0 and 5, with higher scores reflecting more husband's controlling and domineering attitudes.

4.0 Results, Findings and Discussions

Table 1 reveals the prevalence of intimate partner violence by the employment status. The prevalence of physical violence is highest among unpaid women with 23.5percent of them are being likely to experience physical violence. Emotional violence is also most prevalent among unpaid women with 39.3percent, followed by self-employed women with 33.3percent and then paid workers with 28.4percent and least among the unemployed women with 28.0percent. The justification for higher prevalence of physical and emotional violence among unpaid women could reveal that working within the household do not really earn you the respect from the job. This buttresses the findings of Tandrayen-Ragoobur (2020).

On the other hand, unemployed women have the highest prevalence of sexual violence at 8.2percent while the least sexual violence was among the paid workers with 5.0percent prevalence rate, respectively. This can be attributed to the physiological effect on unemployed women based on their willingness to be employed but could not get a decent job, thereby they find it difficult to meet the erotic needs of their spouse which increases their chance of sexual violence compared to paid / employed women.

Table 1: Prevalence of Intimate partner Violence by Employment Status in Nigeria

Type of Violence	Physical Violence (PHV)	Emotional Violence (EMV)	Sexual Violence (SXV)
Unemployed	15.6%	28.0%	8.2%
Unpaid workers	23.5%	39.3%	6.1%
Paid workers	17.6%	28.4%	5.0%
Self employed	21.7%	33.0%	7.8%
Observations	6,386	6,386	6,386

The prevalence rate of the different forms of IPV by the geo-political zones and residential location in Nigeria is depicted in Table 2. The result revealed that women's experiences of intimate partner violence also differ by the geo-political regions and residential locations due to the different community and societal norms/ practices. Women from the South-east and south-south regions are more prone to physical violence with 32.3percent and 31.0percent, this could be due to high regular intake of alcohol by their husbands while the wives are expected to work and bring their earned income back to the home. North east women experience more of emotional and sexual violence at 44.6percent and 16.5percent respectively. This is attributed to their cultural and religious misinterpretation of women's status (Hassan and Varshney, 2019).

In addition, rural dwellers are far more susceptible to physical, emotional and sexual violence than the urban dwellers because geographic distance and isolation which limits their access to programs and possible interventions. This is also evidenced in the work of Canedo & Morse, 2021.

Table 2: Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence by Regions and Residence in Nigeria

Geo-Political Regions	Physical Violence (PHV)	Emotional Violence (EMV)	Sexual Violence (SXV)
North Central	22.3%	36.6%	6.4%
North East	24.0%	44.6%	16.5%
North West	7.8%	23.4%	3.6%
South East	32.3%	38.2%	9.1%
South South	31.0%	38.2%	8.6%
South West	14.1%	16.7%	2.53%
Residential Location			
Urban	19.5%	28.6%	6.1%
Rural	20.2%	34.2%	8.4%
Observations	6,386	6,386	6,386

Examining the descriptive statistics in Table 3, it is discovered that a fifth (20.0percent) of women experience IPV, about a third (32.0percent) experience emotional violence and 7.5percent experience sexual violence in Nigeria. This suggests that women are more prone to emotional violence, followed by physical violence and then sexual violence.

In addition, 73.4percent of the woman are employed and working while 26.6percent are not working. Considering the status of employment, 56.0percent of the women are self-employed,



10.4percent are into unpaid employment, 6.9 percent are in paid employment while 26.6percent are unemployed. Also, an average of 95.8percent reported that they were in a legal relationship with their spouse.

Furthermore, 6.3percent of the women fall within age range of 15-19 years, 16.7percent are between aged 20 – 24 years, 24.2percent are within age bracket of 25-29 years, 21.3percent are within age group of 30-34 years, 17% are between the ages of 35 and 39 years, 9.1percent are between the ages of 40 and 44 years and 5.5percent are within age range of 45-49 years with an average age of 30.42 years.

For the spouse's characteristics, the husband's average age is reported at 38.8years while husband working was observed to be higher than wife's that are working of which 98.5percent of husband's were found to be working compared to 73.4percent of working women. More so, the percentage of women whose husbands drink/consume alcohol is 23.74percent in Nigeria. Wives who testify to be pregnant are 15.89percent.

Additionally, the results state that 30.4percent of women confirms their acceptance of cultural and social norms while 30.7percent of the women confirms that their husband has a controlling and domineering attitude at home. Rural residents are 60.7percent of the sample while urban residents are 39.3percent. Moreover, 18.4percent of the sample is from North-central zone; 18.6percent from North-east zone; 23.6percent from North-west zone; 12.2percent from South-east zone; 10.6percent from South-south zone; and 16.7percent from South-west zone.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics of Variables Considered for Analysis

Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Forms of Intimate Partner Violence				
Physical violence (PHV)	0.1997	0.3998	0	1
Emotional violence (EMV)	0.3202	0.4660	0	1
Sexual Violence (SXV)	0.0753	0.2639	0	1
Women's employment status				
Employed wife	0.7339	0.4419	0	1
Unemployed wife	0.2661	0.4419	0	1
Status of Employment				
Unemployment	0.2661	0.4419	0	1
Unpaid Employment	0.1044	0.3059	0	1
Paid Employment	0.0694	0.2541	0	1
Self-Employment	0.5601	0.4964	0	1
Marital Status				
Married	0.9577	0.2012	0	1
Cohabiting	0.0423	0.2012	0	1
Respondent's Age group				
15 – 24 Years	0.2299	0.2432	0	1
25 – 34 Years	0.4541	0.3728	0	1

Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
35 – 44 Years	0.2610	0.3759	0	1
45 – 49 Years	0.0550	0.2279	0	1
Spouse Characteristics				
Husband's Age	38.7758	8.7307	19	59
Employed spouse	0.9847	0.1229	0	1
Spouse alcohol consumption	0.2374	0.4255	0	1
Status of Woman				
Pregnant woman	0.1589	0.3657	0	1
Household Characteristics				
Household Size	5.6798	2.8131	2	27
Wealth Index				
Poorest	0.2034	0.4026	0	1
Poorer	0.1939	0.3954	0	1
Middle	0.2101	0.4074	0	1
Richer	0.1975	0.3981	0	1
Richest	0.1951	0.3963	0	1
Social Norms and Attitude				
Acceptance of cultural norms	0.3044	0.4602	0	1
Husband control & domineer attitude	1.2704	1.3429	0	5
Residential Location				
Urban	0.3934	0.4885	0	1
Rural	0.6066	0.4886	0	1

The probit regression results in Table 4 reveal the effect of women's employment status on physical violence, emotional violence and sexual violence. Examining the likelihood of occurrence of physical violence, the results show that there is no significant relationship between women's employment and physical violence in Nigeria. On the other hand, women with paid employment report their likelihood of experiencing emotional violence increased by 7.12percent compared to unemployed women. Since the paid wives have the income that might likely threaten their husband, it could be used to justify the reason for their likelihood of experiencing emotional violence compared to unemployed women. In the same vein, self-employed women have 3.29percent higher likelihood of experiencing emotional violence in Nigeria compared to unemployed women. Additionally, the occurrence of sexual violence is highly prevalent among unpaid women as their tendency to experience sexual violence increase at approximately 2.7percent compared to unemployed women. The results suggest that wife's employment status appears to be associated with higher risk of emotional and sexual violence in Nigeria. This is in line with the findings of Olowoporuku and Atijosan (2020) that employment status does have significant influence on emotional and sexual violence in Nigeria.

In addition, younger women aged between 25–44 years confirmed that they are more likely to be exposed to physical violence compared to the youngest cohorts (aged 15-24years). Women



of all other age groups (25 – 49 years) are likely to experience emotional violence compared to those women between 15 – 24 years. However, wife's age is found to be insignificant in influencing the occurrence of sexual violence.

Compared to the non-educated ones, women with post-secondary education have 5.2percent lesser likelihood of experiencing physical violence perhaps because their level of literacy could help them learn how to better relate with their spouse and avoid issues of violence. Also, women with post-secondary/tertiary education are less likely to experience emotional violence compared to the non-educated women. However, the wife's educational qualification do not significantly impact her likelihood of experiencing sexual violence.

In addition, pregnant wives have a lesser likelihood of being exposed to physical violence in Nigeria because of their maternal health condition compared to those who are not pregnant. Furthermore, women who report that their husbands drinks alcohol have higher likelihood of 15.8percent, 22.0percent and 3.4percent of experiencing physical, emotional and sexual violence respectively, compared to those women whose spouse do not take alcohol. Also, women whose husbands have controlling and domineering attitude have about 7.9percent, 12.9percent and 2.8percent higher risk of experiencing physical, emotional and sexual violence respectively, compared with those whose husbands do not have domineering attitude. These habits of alcohol consumption and domineering attitude have been identified as issues that drive intimate partner violence.

Women in the richer quintiles (richer and richest wealth index) are less likely to experience physical, emotional and sexual violence, compared to those in the poorest group. This suggests that women with higher status may be given preference for their greater contributions to the family as well as the perceptions of their greater competence and social value. Also, women who believe in the cultural norms are found to be more exposed to physical, sexual and emotional violence, compared to those who do not accept such practices in Nigeria.

In addition, women from the South east and South South have higher risk of experiencing physical violence compared to the North central women while women from the North West and South west have lesser likelihood of experiencing physical violence compared to the North central women. Also, women from the North east have higher risk of being exposed to emotional violence compared to the North central women while those from the North West and South west have lesser risk of experiencing emotional violence than North central women. Women from North east and South South have greater risk of experiencing sexual violence compared to the North central women while women from North west and South west have lesser likelihood of experiencing sexual violence when compared to those from the North central.

However, marital status (married), spouse's employment status, spouse's educational qualification and residential location are found not to significantly influence intimate partner violence in Nigeria.

Table 4: Regression Results of the Effect of Women Employment Status on IPV in Nigeria

	PHV	EMV	SXV
Employment Status: Reference category – Unemployment			
Unpaid employment	-0.0196 (0.0162)	0.0113 (0.0219)	0.0270*** (0.0071)
Paid Employment	0.0191 (0.0248)	0.0712** (0.0307)	0.0018 (0.0136)
Self-employment	0.0096 (0.0124)	0.0329** (0.0152)	0.0001 (0.0067)
Marital Status: Reference category – Cohabiting partners			
Married	-0.0047 (0.0228)	0.0396 (0.0300)	0.0153 (0.0100)
Respondent's Age group: Reference category – 15 - 24 Years			
Wife's Age 25 – 34 Years	0.0327** (0.0129)	0.0710*** (0.0168)	-0.0066 (0.0073)
Wife's Age 35 – 44 Years	0.0513** (0.0185)	0.0911*** (0.0236)	0.0044 (0.0105)
Wife's Age 45 – 49 Years	0.0425 (0.0294)	0.0849** (0.0373)	0.0086 (0.0175)
Educational Qualification: Reference category – No education			
Primary education	-0.0246 (0.0166)	0.0072 (0.0213)	-0.0022 (0.0081)
Secondary Education	-0.0161 (0.0173)	-0.0023 (0.0218)	0.0120 (0.0094)
Post-Secondary Education	-0.0515** (0.0232)	-0.0574* (0.0310)	-0.0120 (0.0123)
Respondent's Pregnancy Status			
Pregnant woman	-0.0301** (0.0122)	-0.0135 (0.0167)	0.0056 (0.0071)
Spouse Age			
Husband Age	-0.0020** (0.0008)	-0.0018* (0.0011)	-0.0068 (0.0004)
Spouse's Employment status: Reference category – Not employed			
Employed husband	0.0454 (0.0320)	-0.0469 (0.0518)	0.0123 (0.0167)
Spouse's Habit			
Husband's Alcoholic Consumption	0.1575*** (0.0149)	0.2198*** (0.0177)	0.0340*** (0.0086)
Husband controlling and domineering attitude	0.0792*** (0.0035)	0.1290*** (0.0047)	0.0276*** (0.0018)
Spouse's Educational Attainment: Reference category – No Education			
Spouse's Primary education	0.0265 (0.0187)	0.0331 (0.0224)	-0.0079 (0.0099)
Spouse's Secondary Education	0.0079 (0.0165)	0.0285 (0.0205)	-0.0152* (0.0089)
Spouse's Tertiary Education	-0.0316* (0.0186)	0.0080 (0.0248)	-0.0146 (0.0108)
Household Characteristics			
Household size	0.0032	-0.0011	0.0022**



	PHV	EMV	SXV
	(0.0020)	(0.0025)	(0.0010)
Wealth Index: Reference category – Poorest			
Poorer	0.0309*	0.0105	0.0028
	(0.0122)	(0.0206)	(0.0097)
Middle	0.0018	-0.0134	-0.0099
	(0.0173)	(0.0221)	(0.0102)
Richer	-0.0076	-0.0256	-.0.0255**
	(0.0192)	(0.0250)	(0.0106)
Richest	-0.0386*	-0.0743***	-0.0347***
	(0.0207)	(0.0280)	(0.0112)
Control variables			
Acceptance of Cultural Norms	0.0412***	0.0393***	0.0087
	(0.0108)	(0.0138)	(0.0055)
Husband's Controlling & Domineering Attitudes	0.0792***	0.1290***	0.0276***
	(0.0035)	(0.0047)	(0.0018)
Residential location: Reference category - Urban			
Rural dwellers	-0.0103	-0.0043	-0.0102
	(0.0119)	(0.0155)	(0.0018)
Geo-Political zone : Reference category – North Central			
North East	-0.0225	0.0488**	0.0467***
	(0.0172)	(0.0225)	(0.0112)
North West	-0.1215***	-0.0768***	-0.0246***
	(0.0143)	(0.0206)	(0.0073)
South East	0.0514**	-0.0473*	0.0149
	(0.0222)	(0.0247)	(0.0118)
South South	0.0717***	-0.0203	0.0254*
	(0.0231)	(0.0255)	(0.0130)
South West	-0.0429**	-.0.1740***	-0.0217**
	(0.0187)	(0.0208)	(0.0068)
0Observations	6386	6386	6386
R ²	0.1927	0.1860	0.1732
Log Likelihood	-2577.33	-3259.63	-1410.67
Chi ²	1230.38***	1489.35***	591.21***

Standard errors are in parentheses; *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

5.0 Summary and Recommendation

The study examines whether women's employment increases or decreases their exposure to intimate partner violence in the Nigerian context. The empirical findings add new insights to the debate by considering the multi-dimensional measures of women's employment status and IPV. The result reveals that working women are more vulnerable to intimate partner violence than non-working women which is similar to Tandrayen-Ragoobur's (2020) findings for 20 sub-Saharan African countries. Also, paid-employed women and self-employed ones are vulnerable to emotional violence compared to unemployed women. These findings are contrary to the common wisdom assuming that women's labour force participate would reduce women's exposure to unnecessary marital conflicts and violence. The findings from the study supports the reality of male backlash hypothesis while demonstrating the importance for empowering

women through appropriate laws and legislation. However, unpaid-employed women are more exposed to sexual violence when compared to unemployed ones. The heterogeneous nature of the country reveals different effect of IPV by regions. South-south women are at higher risks of both physical and sexual violence compared to North central women while South east women are more exposed to physical violence than North central women. North east women are at greater risks of emotional and sexual violence than North-central women. However, women from North-west and South west are at lower risk of experiencing the three forms of violence considered in the study.

It is recommended that interventions for addressing IPV should be done using community-based approaches at local and community town hall meetings, as well as religious organisations in order to eradicate marital violence. This should be done by ensuring that early detection programmes that educate women, help them break the silence and encourage them to seek help on time are put in place at community levels. Furthermore, the men need to be educated about the negative effects of spousal violence and abuse even as advocacy against IPV is increased. In addition, survivors of IPV need to be able to have access to safe spaces. Therefore, government must create public policies that can promote the availability of affordable housing and basic needs for survivors that would assist them.

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