

**REPUBLIC OF TURKEY MINISTRY OF FAMILY,
LABOUR AND SOCIAL SERVICES
THE GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL SERVICES**

**FAMILY STRUCTURE IN TÜRKİYE,
ADVANCED STATISTICAL ANALYSES, 2018**

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Republic of Turkey Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services

Research on Family Structure in Türkiye - Advanced Statistical Analyses, 2018

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FOREWORD

Starting with 2000s, our country has been scene to significant advances in social policy, marked not only by major achievements in struggle against poverty and human development, but also by human wellbeing and equality as a fundamental principle. The founding of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies in the year 2011 unleashed a crucial phase in poverty reduction, in child protection, in promoting the wellbeing of the disabled and the elderly, in advancing the socio-economic status of women, in developing family policies and in generalizing services that target families. This powerful administrative structure for the implementation of social policies was further enhanced by the founding of the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services in 2018, allowing centralized coordination of social policies.

Parallel to this rapid transformation in public administration, new emphasis has been placed on the family that is the cornerstone of Turkish society and that benefits from the protection of the Constitution, further strengthening the idea inherited from the past. Assigning the family central position in social policies became the most significant feature of social policy being implemented in our country. Overcoming the problems associated with the transformation that families undergo as a result of globalization and of changes in social and occupational life has become the primary goal of public institutions. Constantly changing conditions and needs of families that are themselves undergoing constant change and transformation require that family policies are participatory, dynamic and data-based. This requirement in turn necessitates comprehensive and carefully designed research on families. Research that The General Direc-

torate of Family and Social Services has been conducting for years provide crucial data on topics such as the structure of the Turkish family, demographic make-up of our country, needs of various social segments and the state of social services.

One of the most important studies carried out towards supporting data-based social policies is the periodically repeated “Research on Family Structure in Türkiye”. The “Research on Family Structure in Türkiye” study sheds light on the characteristics of the household, and on such subjects as education, marriage, divorce, children, old age, kinship and neighborhood relations, providing input for respective social policies. Social scientist and policy makers, however, are more in need of relational analyses than raw data on matters such as family profiles, social issues and tendencies of family members. That is to say, factors that enter into the families’ wellbeing are more important than the level of wellbeing as such and the reasons that lead young people to become addicts are more important than the rate of addiction among young people. Arriving at such information requires advanced studies by academics and specialists. “Research on Family Structure in Türkiye: Advanced Statistical Analyses” is among the best and most useful example of such an advanced study.

The contributions of our academics, all other persons and the Ministry staff who were involved in the study are invaluable if only because the study satisfies an important need in this field. I look forward to more studies of the kind and greater use of their output by our policy-making stakeholders

Zehra Zümürüt Selçuk
The Minister

PROLOGUE

The core of the social life we live as human beings that we find ourselves in all aspects of the physical and the metaphysics is absolutely the family. Understanding human beings, family and society is a necessary condition of identifying social policies peculiar to human nature. Therefore, the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services holds key responsibility in creating social policy and coordinating social services, as well as in gathering data that would constitute input for social policy. The General Directorate of Family and Social Services, in turn, acts in awareness of such responsibilities in its family policies and social services that target families. On the other hand, the aim of data gathering and research activities is not only to benefit organizations responsible for family policies in the strict sense of the term, but an all-inclusive range of stakeholders in public policy. Studies undertaken by the Directorate have generated a body of information the acquisition of which will provide interested academics, public organizations and practicing specialist with the needed quantitative data. Three waves of Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST), which were conducted in 2006, 2011 and 2016 constitute the foremost example in that acquis.

Strengthening family unity and family values in Turkey along with maintaining its dynamic population structure and creating new policies for children to be confident about the future are among significant priorities for the coming years. Divorce rates are rising albeit slightly. Familiarity with bases of harmony or discord between couples, factors that lead to single-parent families, and reasons that enter into changes in marital or divorce-related status emerges is essential for generating policies in this sphere. Further research is needed to unveil

the degree and form of the impact that these changes in the Turkish family have on children. Both basing marriages on sound foundations and identifying types of support to be provided for individuals in the divorce process, as well as for children of divorced couples, require greater knowledge of marriage and divorce dynamics. Meanwhile, Turkey has become a country with an aging population. The aging population, however, is playing significant roles in ensuring domestic welfare such that inter-generational transmission of experience and provision of material and moral support have a major share in the welfare of the Turkish family. Knowing the nature of solidarity among family members, the elements that promote intra-family relations, the determinants and outcomes of transmitting experience and support through generations, and the mechanisms of providing care and support will contribute significantly to development of policies and services for the family.

The RFST includes data on family profiles, fundamental issues and tendencies. Still, scientific gathering of data has to be followed by processing and advanced analysis of such data so that solutions and policies may be developed in priority areas of social policy. “Research on Family Structure in Türkiye-Advanced Statistical Analyses” is an important study to satisfy that need and to offset the shortage of information on urgent needs of families and of the Turkish society in above-mentioned areas. I wish to thank all contributors to the study and hope that it benefits other interested individuals and concerns as well as public institutions.

Ali ÇEVİK

General Director

Directorate of Family and Community Services

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Direct research on the family using a nationally representative sample is quite rare while the need for scientific data on the subject is equally pressing in Turkey. Meanwhile, there is an obvious need for scientific research that would provide data-based input for social policies centering on the family.

This important study has been conducted by the esteemed directors, specialists and staff of The General Directorate of Family and Social Services. We thank all contributors in the phase of systematizing the three datasets of the Family Structure in Turkey (RFST) that was conducted by our General Directorate and used in this research, of identifying the target and scope of scientific articles included in the study and of drawing the final reports. We thank

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ABBREVIATIONS

EU	European Union
ABPRS	Address Based Population Registration System
FTP	Family Training Program
ANOVA	Analysis Of Variance
ASAGEM	The General Directorate of Family and Social Research
ASPB	Ministry of Family and Social Policies
UN	The United Nations
DPT	State Planning Organization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HALE	Healthy Life Expectancy
HLY	Healthy Life Years
HIPS	Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
MANCOVA	Multivariate Analysis of Covariance
MoNE	Ministry of National Education
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCA	Principal Component Analysis
IUD	Intrauterine device
SES	Socioeconomic Status
SHARE	Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
RFST	Research on Family Structure in Türkiye
TCMB	Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey
TDHS	Turkey Demographic and Health Survey
TOKİ	Housing Development Administration
TurkStat	Turkish Statistical Institute
TUSIAD	The Turkish Industry and Business Association
ARS	The National Address Registry System
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WHO	World Health Organization
WHOQOL-OLD	World Health Organization Quality of Life Instrument-Older Adults Module
YADES	Elderly Support Program

INTRODUCTION

Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST) is being conducted regularly at five-year intervals since 2006, and it is planned to be repeated every five years as a part of the Official Statistics Program. The data obtained from the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye are broadly reflected in the final reports of the studies. In addition, nine articles that contain comparative analysis of 2006 and 2011 data were published in 2013 in order to carry out in-depth analyses of selected subjects and to examine specific issues in regard to changing conditions and country's agenda. In this 2018 study, advanced statistical analyses were conducted by using 2006, 2011 and 2016 data sets. Within this scope, 11 intercorrelated articles were written separately and assembled in this book.

The main goal of this study is to analyze the current status of family in Turkey and produce statistical models of household characteristics, marriage, fertility trends, cultural shifts, intra-family relationships, intergenerational solidarity, kinship, values and attitudes regarding children, older people and other cultural subjects and family issues. For this purpose, 11 topics were chosen by considering the prominent subjects of RFST, changing social and economic conditions and the contents that have gained importance in the relevant literature. Analyses were made according to five basic principles: using all three data sets where possible, comparing the data with other nationwide studies that provide data on the same subject; studying international literature; using advanced statistical methods; and making suggestions regarding policies.

The change in family structure is closely related to changes in fertility behaviors, or more generally, changes in demographic

transformation. In this context, Mehmet Ali Eryurt discussed the levels, determinants, and policies of fertility behaviors in Turkey to provide an insight on changes in family structure. Firstly, the transformation in fertility and change in fertility preferences in Turkey were evaluated. In addition, the determinants of current fertility level and fertility preferences, determinants of actual number of children that families have and the number of children they desire were examined by descriptive analyzes and multivariate analysis methods. After these analyzes, the determinants of the gap between the actual number of children that families have and the number of children they desire were analyzed, and in line with all these analyzes, some suggestions were made regarding population policies. Analyzes show that Turkey has a heterogeneous population structure. The fertility rate is below the level of replacement for sub-groups who are living in western regions, are at least high school graduates and who have jobs with social security whereas the fertility rate is still above 3 children for women living in eastern parts of the country. Ideal number of children in Turkey, which is an indicator of fertility preferences, has decreased, albeit slowly. There are differences in sub-population groups in terms of the ideal number of children though not as much as total fertility rate. The desired number of children decreases as going from east to west of the country. As the level of education increases, the number of desired children decreases. As the age at first marriage increases, the likelihood of having more children than desired decreases significantly. These findings present important policy recommendations. Turkey shows different characteristics due to heterogeneous population structure. There is a need to respond to family planning needs of couples that have

more children than they desired and on the other hand, to remove obstacles to having children for other couples that have fewer children than they want. Couples who have more or fewer children than they want, couples who want to postpone having children or who want to wait longer between births should be able to have access to the most appropriate contraceptive methods. Women have started to give birth mostly in health institutions, and prenatal care and postnatal care have become widespread. However, there is still work to be done in giving pre- and postnatal care in a timely and adequate manner and eliminating regional differences. Especially women with high education level and working women have fewer children than they desire. This implies that there are significant challenges for women to maintain their work and home life at the same time. State should take more responsibility regarding child care by opening more public kindergartens for pre-school children and giving adequate child care allowances for institutional child care services. These are the most important policies that will encourage couples to have more children.

İsmet Koç's article is about one-parent families, which is a group less studied. Over the past 50 years, there have been important changes in the family structure in Turkey. During this time, nuclear family structure has changed rapidly at first, and then became stagnant, moreover, the divorce rates have increased and number of extended families have decreased. Stagnancy is observed starting from the second half of the 1990s in the process of transformation of extended family structures into nuclear family. It is observed that in Turkey, the gap between the average number of children and the ideal (desired) number of children is closing, in other words, having two children is establishing itself as a norm in Turkey. One of the most remarkable developments

observed in the transformation of family structures in Turkey is the serious increase in the prevalence of dissolved families which act as a buffer zone, just like transient extended families, for those breaking apart for various reasons from patriarchal extended, transient extended and nuclear families. Data show that two-thirds of single-person households and 90% of one-parent households consist of women. The gender composition of these families alone confirms that these families deserve priority in social policies. But even more important than this is the finding that the number of elderly women is significantly higher than other households. Younger people create more one-parent families. This shows that these family structures ceased to be the result of "necessities" and started to emerge as a result of "preferences" due to socioeconomic, demographic and especially intellectual transformation process in urban areas. The study also points out that there is significant rise in socioeconomic welfare level of one-parent families in recent periods. However, these families are still in a disadvantageous position in terms of average monthly income, expenditure and savings compared to other family structures. Available data are insufficient to develop appropriate policies in all the fields listed. Conducting impact analysis of the applied programs, and expanding, developing or modifying these programs across the country by using these results will also ensure the establishment of an infrastructure that will enable the public budget to be used more effectively.

İsmet Koç and Melike Saraç discussed the changes in the first marriage age, the practices and ceremonies of the marriage process, and the relationship between divorce rates and these practices. According to the main findings of the study, the age at first marriage in Turkey is increasing for both men and women. In

Turkey, marriages at early ages, which is mostly a problem for women, is decreasing significantly. Practices regarding the process of family formation such as dowry, arranged marriage and consanguineous marriage tend to gradually decrease. The first meeting place of spouses is shifting from family/relative and neighborhood towards school/prep school/work and circle of friends. The marriage ceremonies tend to increase both numerically and proportionally. In Turkey divorce rates are rising significantly in terms of both general level and by marriage cohorts. According to these results, the main policy priorities should be: development of national and local policies for reduction and ultimately elimination of early marriages by the relevant institutions, in particular for resistant groups; elimination of discrepancies in the definition of “child” in Turkish Civil Code, Turkish Penal Code and Child Protection Law; regulation of the marriage age in accordance with international conventions. In addition, İsmet Koç and Melike Saraç recommends improving the related policies to eliminate the problems in girls’ enrolment to formal education system and ensuring their school retention; developing services, especially in the family counseling area, solving the problems of one-parent families; and increasing the quality of data in these areas.

Based on RFST data, Aylin İlden Koçkar and Mehmet Harma analyzed the determinants of the intrafamilial conflict frequency, the relation between reaction of the family on conflict and behavioural problems of the child, domestic violence cycles and the changes in the value of children. Domestic violence cycles were discussed in the context of both family structure and behavioural problems observed in children. The family structure of

children who were exposed to violence, the relationship between family characteristics and the punishment given to children were evaluated. According to the analysis, socioeconomic status level, marriage age and related domestic violence affect family disputes. As the age and income level of father increase, the frequency of problems reported by couples decrease. The frequency of problems that men and women experience vary due to differences in education level. According to this, education levels of father and mother are positively related to frequency of problems reported by father, however this pattern is slightly different for mothers. Frequency of problems reported by mothers increase as their level of education increase and decrease as fathers’ level of education increase. Increase in number of children is also associated with increase in the frequency of problems. Tolerance to diversity¹ and experiencing problems create an interesting pattern. In the groups where tolerance is very low or very high, the frequency of problems is lower than the participants who have moderate tolerance to diversity. Domestic violence is part of a general climate of violence. It was observed that the violence was generally a part of a cycle and passed from father to mother and from mother to child, and that the child continues to use violence against his peers or siblings, or against his own family in later years. Therefore, violence should be considered not only as a problem that arises in family therefore something that should be solved in family but also as a phenomenon within the context of culture and social structure. When the changes in the value of child over the years were examined, it was observed that beliefs such as, children providing substantial benefits, children having a positive effect on one’s reputation and

¹Tolerance to diversity of the couples was measured by 6 questions. Participants answered questions about marriage and different ways of being in a relationship. Tolerance to diversity scores of each participant were calculated according to their answers to these questions.

children having negative effects on parents, are consistently declining. For policy suggestions, it was highlighted that adaptive processes of families should be improved by the extension and implementation of support systems for the family. Since violence is not only physical but also psychological, minimizing domestic conflicts and preventing violence at the same time require legal, social, economic, psychological and individual interventions. Therefore, it would be appropriate to improve psychological support services in a professional manner and make them accessible to lower income groups. Punishing children in order to discipline them also have a negative effect. To tackle this a nationwide “good parenting” educational culture should be established. All individuals in the family should be supported in order to break the cycle of violence. Having children at an early age is a risk factor for the mental health of mother and child, and social and psychological interventions should be developed specifically for this group. Family management and care should be supported by creating multi-purpose, community-based programs. In addition to the key issues like health, nutrition, and family planning, topics like effective communication skills, mental health of the family, importance of intrafamilial support, importance of attachment in interaction with the baby and child development should also be added to the community-based programs.

Women’s place in working life is an important factor that affects many aspects of family relations. Gökçe Uysal and Mine Durmaz Aslan analyzed the factors affecting the women’s participation in labor market. Despite the progress made in recent years, low levels of female labor force participation constitute the reason behind Turkey’s limited progress in gender equality. According to the analysis, it is seen that increase in the number of small

children in household negatively affects female labor force participation. The participation decisions of women aged 25-44 are also shaped by life cycle events like marriage and having children. A woman who has a child between the ages of 0 and 3 is less likely to participate in the labor force than other women with similar observable characteristics. The labor force participation rates of married women are lower than women with similar observable characteristics. The needs of dependent elderly individuals/patients or disabled individuals in the households are usually met by women, which may negatively affect the female labor force participation. When evaluated from the perspective of time use, it is seen that usually women are responsible from cooking, ironing, washing, dishwashing and house cleaning, whether they are working or not. Therefore, it can be said that working women work in double shifts. Women who live in households receiving social transfers are more often to participate in the labor force in social transfer intensive regions. Unless the traditional perspective is changed, the burden on women participating in the labor force will increase. In addition, women’s participation in labor force may not always contribute to strengthening her position in the family. Data indicates that women are excluded from decision making even if they have an income. Although new policies have been developed to facilitate the working life of women who have children, there is no sign of improvement observed in the data yet. Supporting policies that will balance work and family life should be improved and institutional services for child and elderly care should be increased.

Zübeyir Nişancı analyzed the dynamics of the problems and conflicts within the family by looking into certain social and economic profiles. Conflict needs to be examined in a context therefore how the social, cultural,

economic and religious backgrounds and characteristics of spouses affect the conflict between them should be examined. In this regard, Nişancı, analyzed whether or not the level of conflict between married couples is affected by the spouses' socio-demographic and socio-cultural similarities or differences and compared the age, education level, income, rural-urban origin, health status and level of religiosity. According to the findings, men among married couples tend to have higher cultural and socio economic status. Couples in which only the husband is working are much more common than couples in which only the wife is working. In addition, men reported better levels of health than women. When all of the comparison criteria are taken into account, couples resemble each other the most in levels of education and religiosity. This shows that individuals pay more attention to sociocultural similarity while choosing a partner. Although couples are more likely to be from different age, income or employment groups, they still prefer individuals similar to themselves in terms of education and religiosity. The average level of conflict in Turkey appears to be very low. However, such low values may be a result of concern about privacy. Multivariate analyses revealed that, with the exception of age, all measures of differences between couples have significant effects on marital conflict levels. The most visible of these effects are the differences in religiosity and of rural-urban origin. Marital conflict evidently increases when there is difference between the religiosity levels of couples. In terms of the rural-urban origin highest levels of conflict are observed when both of the couples are of urban origin. The fact that comparisons of couples' religiosity levels and their rural-urban origins have more visible effects on marital conflict than other categories of comparisons might indicate that sociocultural composition of couples is more influential to the nature of the relationship between them. In the light

of these results, in order to strengthen the family structure protective, preventive and rehabilitative services must be improved both in terms of access and quality. Any social policy regulation and practice that improves working conditions and reduces stress at work also positively affects the relationship between spouses. The findings also indicate that marital conflict increases along with an increase in the number of children. For this reason, it will be necessary to define couples with more children as priority target group for policies. In addition to marriage counseling/therapy, family counseling/therapy should be provided to families with children in order to help organizing intra-family relations. Mass training programs should be organized for university students who are approaching marriage. The significance and benefits of professional counseling and assistance in cases of marital conflict can also be emphasized in the media. Consultation and therapy services should be covered by insurance in order to ensure that all individuals, regardless of their economic status, are able to benefit from couple and family counseling services. Finally, a significant number of citizens try to get help from Presidency of Religious Affairs on family matters by calling its help service line. However, preachers do not have the necessary qualification in family counseling so a system for properly directing callers should be established for the cases regarding family counseling.

Ferhat Kentel, in his article on the intensity of intra-family relations acts on the assumption that family relationships do not solely depend on intra-family dynamics. Kentel begins his article by criticizing a common approach for studies regarding family. This approach often includes propositions that are found in public policy texts and academic paper such as "family is the foundation" and "it is necessary to strengthen family which is

critical for strength and solidarity in society". Undoubtedly, supporting or improving the family will provide an important input for the improvement of community. Families are always influenced by the improvements in other areas of society and by the problems that may arise in a chronic or periodic manner. The discussion of this very basic aspect has the potential to start an important paradigm shift in family policies. Moreover, despite the special importance given to the family, which is traditionally introduced in policy texts, families are dissolving and becoming smaller, with an increasing number of divorces. As the family becomes smaller, dissolved and childless, it loses its position as an institution which includes different generations, different sources of knowledge and experiences and where almost all areas of life are experienced. In this article, 16 types of activities, which are the indicators of the intensity of intra-family relations, were analyzed with reference to RFST data. According to RFST surveys conducted in three periods, the most important activities that families are engaged in together are "food" related. In a way, "eating together" is one of the most important indicators of being a family. It appears that dinner is the most indispensable one in these unions and probably also the area where "traditional ties" become manifested most clearly. "Visits" are also important and frequently observed in families though not as frequently as dinners and weekend meals. As household size increases, the frequency of meeting with relatives, neighbors or friends decreases. Interestingly, the frequency of visits increases in case there is a family member in need of care. Normally this is considered as a factor keeping people at home, however it appears that the reverse is true when outside visits are concerned. Among the lower social classes that suffer from financial difficulties, immediate solidarity networks, which include families and relatives, are relatively weak,

probably because they put a burden on family budget. Reduction in outdoor activities like dining out, going to movies, theatre or picnic suggests that the problem is related mainly to "material means" and associated cultural patterns of consumption. Leaving aside the practice of "dining together at home" which is essential in reproducing the family, "shopping" emerges as the second most frequent activity after "watching TV together". The increasingly widespread mass culture and consumer society codes shape the individuals of families. One of the main problems is that watching TV, which is the most time-consuming activity, does not contribute to the emotional intensity in family and does not increase the quality of relations within family. In this context, Kentel suggests that economic improvements should be made in macro level, and in order to strengthen family's relations with the outside world, women's rights should be protected and strengthened by law. Instead of urban and architectural concepts that leads to erosion in neighbourhood culture, urbanization and spatial policies that facilitate human relations will contribute to the socialization of families with their close environments. Decreasing public institutions' support to television programs and advertisements that promote the consumer culture, and implementing policies, particularly policies that will place children in contact with nature would enable families to spend quality time outside. Finally, rethinking the gender roles is important to protect the family in changing societies. Therefore, educating family members, especially children on compassion and being emotional will provide a very important contribution.

Murat Şentürk discusses kinship and neighbor relations in family conflicts during modernization process. Changes in demographic structure, transformations in economic life, new dynamics of urbanization

and access to employment and education cause changes in kinship and neighbor relations while creating a variety of discussions. Family relationships are still important in Turkey in terms of both social interactions and solidarity. However, due to various social, economic and cultural reasons, there are changes in kinship structure and relations. In Turkey, there is an abundance of both horizontal and vertical relatives. In regions that have more urban areas and younger population, number of relatives and type of relatives increases. In terms of socio-economic level, it is observed that the number of relatives in the upper group is higher. Between 2006 and 2016, there was a decrease in all types of relatives, while the number of grandparents increased. These changes that happen due to the increase in elderly population, mean that the number of elderly relatives of many individuals and households in Turkey will increase. With the increase in elderly population among families and relatives, 45-64 age group has become increasingly important, as they are the ones who care for both young (grandchildren) and elderly people (parents). In 2016, the number of households consisting of one or two members is increasing. As a policy proposal, health, care and social services should be provided for elderly people who live alone, especially in coordination with local administrations and neighborhood representatives, with the support of non-governmental organizations and neighbors. In this regard, the good examples in Turkey should be analyzed and disseminated. For the elderly people that live alone, houses and spaces shouldn't be created independently from the physical and social environment where they live. Supports for elderly people should be increased and diversified in order them to continue living in their homes and neighborhoods. Elderly people living in rural areas should receive special support. The “sandwich generation”

women, who must support elderly relatives and children at the same time, are one of the high-risk groups. This generation has difficult time in both nuclear and extended families, and in one-parent households, they have even more responsibility and work. Social policies are needed to reduce the responsibilities of this generation. Gated housing estates have limitations in terms of kinship and neighborhood relations. In these housing estates, common areas should be established where neighbors can meet and spend time together.

In his article, Mehmet Fatih Aysan analyses intergenerational transfers and offers important clues about the change in family and happiness. It is observed that individual happiness and family happiness have declined between the years 2006-2016, in Turkey. During the same period, intergenerational transfers have also weakened. There has been a rapid decline especially in economic transfers and accommodation support among generations. Analysis show that family happiness increases as the household income increases. Parallel to this, as household's income covers the expenses more easily, the happiness of family increases. Nuclear and extended families are happier than dissolved families. As the economic transfers between generations increase, happiness also increases. Those who plan to live with their children in old age are happier than those who plan to live alone or in a seniors center. Families that receive support from their relatives on problems with their children are happier than those who do not get any support. As RFST data show, intergenerational transfers are generally decreasing. The factors that trigger this negative development should be identified and the problem must be solved. Since extended and nuclear families are happier than dissolved families, institutional supports

are needed to prevent family disintegration. It should be kept in mind that when parents divorce, children are the ones who are affected the most. Therefore, marital conflicts should be addressed, if this cannot be achieved, the divorce process should be resolved quickly for children and spouses. As the findings show, it is important to provide institutional professional support to the spouses who have problems, rather than spouses talking about their marital problems with their close relatives. Considering the positive impact of extended families on family happiness, housing types for extended families should be developed. Although there have been significant improvements, and a rapid rise in social policy spendings in the last 20 years, these significant gains have not contributed to the average happiness in the country, and even a slight decline has been observed. In this context, it is important to investigate why people are unhappy.

The growth rate of older population is about three times the growth rate of total population, and in the coming period, aging will be on the policy makers' agenda even more extensively. Özgür Arun and Jason K. Holdsworth analyzed aging, older people care, and intergenerational relationships in the context of intergenerational care support mechanisms and models. In this article answers to the following questions are sought: "which actors in households are supporting the care needs of older adults", "what is the socioeconomic profile of household family members offering support to older adults?" and "what are the health and daily activity restrictions of care dependent older adults in Turkey?". In households with older adults requiring care, extended families comprise the largest segment in Turkey. Unlike many developed nations where the majority of informal care supporters are spouses or daughters, analysis show that daughters-

in-law comprise the largest percentage of primary care supporters in Turkey. This is followed by daughters and mothers. Looking at the care dependency situation of nuclear families with child(ren) in Turkey, the two main actors in care giving are spouses and daughters. Secondary circle actors are sons, mothers and fathers, while other relatives and formal care givers round up the outer circle of actual care support. The three main actors in patriarchal extended families are daughters-in-law, spouses, and daughters. Secondary circle actors include sons, mothers, and fathers, followed by other relatives and grandchildren as third circle actors. The primary actors are daughters-in-law, daughters, and sons in transient extended families. The three primary actors in single parent households are adult children – daughters, daughters-in-law, and sons. The only care support actor in non-relative households is the formal caregiver. Therefore, the social support network of non-relative households is based only on institutional care support. Considering the fact that aging is a global agenda, learning from international experiences is important in terms of policy options. In this context, it is necessary to examine the successful examples regarding the care of "at risk" populations, including the older adults and to adapt these examples accordingly. To date social policies in Turkey have assumed that the burden of responsibility for the care of older adults should rest upon the family. Within this framework, care support has been defined solely upon the dependency relationship between the care recipient and caregiver. This perspective creates an asymmetric power relationship in the exchange of care support. In the current demographic transformation process, this perspective should be changed and developing stronger and better quality institutional care facilities should be prioritized.

The family structure and the changes in relationships within family are significantly affected by the age structure. In this context, Asghar Zaidi, Radoslaw Antzack and Burcu Özdemir Ocaklı focused on the dynamics of the aging phenomenon and the life quality of older people in Turkish society. The share of older population in total population is increasing rapidly, especially in developed countries. The situation is not different in Turkey. The share of older people is increasing due to decrease in fertility rates and increased life expectancy thus this phenomenon has started to be a concern for both researchers and policy makers. While the academic papers usually focus on the short and long-term costs of aging, Zaidi, Antzack and Özdemir Ocaklı examined older peoples' well-being and quality of life which are issues rarely discussed in Turkey. The phenomenon of well-being was analyzed in terms of health, income, social participation and subjective well-being. According to these analysis, the most stable predictor of well-being is literacy. Literate older persons have a higher chance for being healthy, relatively rich, socially engaged and happy. Age and gender are also important predictors even though they do not apply to all dimensions. When compared to the 60-69 age group, oldest persons are less engaged in social activities and their health status is worst. Women are less socially engaged than men and they reported good health less often which has not changed over 10 analyzed years. Other relatively important predictors are marital status and household size. Older persons without partners are less happy than married persons. People living in most populous households (3 persons and more) are less socially active than persons living alone, which might be the result of stronger involvement in family activities. On the other hand, persons living with other household members have better chances of being in the top of income distribution. When all factors affecting well-being and quality of

life are evaluated together more investment in lifelong learning is emphasized as a policy proposal. Lifelong learning is the main policy instrument since it increases the chances of participating in business life, having a good income and being engaged in social relations for all individual and older persons. Among the sample analyzed the oldest people (80 years old or above) are significantly more disadvantaged. Therefore, special attention should be given to the oldest groups when developing policies for older people. RFST produces important information on older people in general; however, a more extensive research is needed to develop policies for the older population.

1.
FERTILITY BEHAVIOUR IN
TURKEY:
LEVEL, DETERMINANTS AND
POLICIES

Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Ali Eryurt

FERTILITY BEHAVIOUR IN TURKEY: LEVEL, DETERMINANTS AND POLICIES

Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Ali Eryurt¹

I. Introduction

Turkey has experienced a significant demographic change simultaneously with socioeconomic transformation and process of urbanization and modernization. The population of the country which was 13 million in the early years of republic reached 80 million today. While known as an agricultural country with three-fourths of population living in rural areas until the 50s, Turkey now has 90% of her population living in urban areas. Until the 40s, three out of ten newborns died before reaching age one. Today, infant mortality rate is 10 in one thousand. Life expectancy at birth was about 55 years in the 20s and it is presently 78. All these changed the population structure of Turkey and the country is now at a point close to the completion of what is called “demographic transformation” in relevant literature.

The theory of demographic transformation means transition from a stage characterised by high rates of birth and death to another one where both rates are low and population ceases to increase. Although the theory of demographic transition has its four and five-stage versions (Thompson, 1929; Blacker, 1947), the one which is more commonly used was developed by Notestein (1953) and it has three stages. In the pre-industrial first stage of transformation both birth and death rates are high and population growth is slow. At the second stage of transformation, death rates start to fall as health conditions improve parallel to changes in economic structure and industrial revolution while the fall in rates of birth follows

this tendency from behind. There is considerable population increase at this stage. At the last post-industrial stage of transformation both rates are at very low levels. As was the case at the first stage, population growth is again slow.

In Turkey, the most important factor of the process of demographic transformation was the change in the level of fertility. The transformation in fertility in fact started before the republic in Turkey. Fertility was already low before the republic in such big cities of the Ottoman period as İstanbul, İzmir and Bursa (Fişek and Shorter, 1968; Shorter, 1969; Shorter and Macura, 1982; Duben and Behar, 1996; Behar, 1995; TÜİK, 1995). According to Ottoman era population censuses conducted in 1885 and 1907, total fertility rates for İstanbul were measured as 3.5 and 3.8, respectively (Duben and Behar, 1996). The fall of fertility rate in Turkey to those past levels in İstanbul came out only with the 1980s.

The rate of fertility that started to fall with the 1950s when there were 6-7 children per women gained an accelerated rate of decrease with the 1970s. For the last 15 years the rate of fertility is at a level very close to that of replacement. According to birth statistics released by the Turkish Statistical Institute, the total fertility rate is around 2.07 children in 2017. It is, however, not possible to speak about a homogenous and simultaneous fertility transition in sub-groups of population. The starting and rate of fertility transition have differed considerably in sub-groups of population. It has varied considerably by place of settlement, region and ethnic identity (Koç et al., 2008; Sirkeci, 2000; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2006; Yavuz, 2006). Looking at regional level, we see that eight out of 12 statistical regions have rates of fertility below replacement level. While total fertility rate is as low as 1.68 children in Western Marmara region, it is as high as 3.37 children in South-eastern Anatolia. Parallel to change in levels of

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fertility there were significant changes in fertility preferences as well and families with 2-3 children became common as a norm starting with the 90s. The relationship between fertility preferences and actual level of fertility is an important issue debated in literature. Though there are different opinions, it is stated that fertility preference is an important indicator in forecasting future levels of fertility (Bumpass, 1987; Rindfuss et al. 1988; Thomson, 1997; Schoen et al., 1999; Berrington, 2004).

The present study has 4 major objectives that are interrelated: (1) Evaluating the process of fertility transformation and changes in fertility preferences in Turkey; (2) Measuring, by using multivariate methods of analysis, the determinants of actual number of children that families have and the number of children they desire or consider as ideal as an indicator of the level of fertility; (3) Using multivariate methods of analysis to identify the determinants of difference between actual and ideal number of children; (4) Developing suggestions related to measures that need to be taken and population policies on the basis of determinants of difference between actual level of fertility and fertility preferences and the ideal number of children.

II. Data Sources and Methodology

The basic data source of the study is the 2016 the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye survey. The main objective of family structure surveys is to identify the structure of families in Turkey, way of life of individuals in family environments and individuals' value judgements related to family life. The sample of the survey that is representative of Turkey as a whole was designed as multi-stage, stratified and random so as to represent Turkey on the basis of rural-urban distinction at NUTS Level 1 (12 geographical regions). The sampling unit is the household and individuals over age 15 living in selected households. The 2016 the Research

on Family Structure in Türkiye survey (RFST-2016) was conducted jointly by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies) and Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat). The survey basically used two questionnaires: Household questionnaire and individual questionnaire. The household questionnaire included questions related to the characteristics of all individuals in a given household and the house itself. The individual questionnaire was applied to household members over age 15. Education status, employment and income, family relations, daily life and cultural activities as well as data related to fertility levels and preferences such as the number of children and the number of children that respondents would like to have if circumstances were favourable are some of the information collected through this form. Under the RFST-2016, interviews covered 17,239 households and 35,475 individuals (over age 15) living in these households.

Particularly in that part of the present study where fertility transformation and changes in fertility preferences are presented, population censuses conducted since the establishment of republic, demographic surveys representative of the country, and data from Addressed Based Population Registration System were intensively used in addition to the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye surveys.

In that part of the study related to findings, the outcomes of descriptive analyses on the actual number of children, desired number of children and difference between the actual and desired number of children are presented, followed by multi-variate analysis. The methods used in multi-variate analysis are as follows: Poisson regression analysis for the determinants of actual and desired number of children; and binary logistic regression for the determinants of cases where the number of children is fewer or more than what is desired.

In multi-variate analyses, linear regression can be used in cases where the dependent variable is continuous whereas different regression models are used in case the dependent variable is discrete. The Poisson regression model is the most widely used method in literature in relation to count data which is a discrete type of dependent variable. The unit of analysis is woman. Dependent variables are the number of children that women have had since the time of the first marriage and desired number of children. The period of exposure is defined as the period since women's first marriage. Variables related to time are used as years. Independent variables used in analysis include the type of settlement that the individual lived the longest until age 15, the present region, education status, marital status, household type, socioeconomic status, employment status, the age at first marriage and the way marriage was decided upon.

Another multi-variate method of analysis used in the study is the binary logistic regression analysis. The binary logistic regression method yields satisfactory results when examining the causal relationship between dependent and independent variables and relationship of causality when dependent variable consists of two-category data. In binary logistic regression analysis, the cases of having more or fewer children than desired are used as dependent variables.

Analyses are conducted on 2,920 women in the age interval 40-49, the end of the reproductive ages.

III. Transformation in Fertility and Change in Fertility Preferences in Turkey

The stages of transformation in fertility and changes in fertility preferences are addressed in this part by using the seven-stage model developed by Bongaarts (2003).

Table 1.1. Fertility transition stages by total fertility rate intervals

Transition Stage	Total fertility rate interval
Pre-transition (Pre)	7+
Early Transition Stage (Early)	6-6.9
Early/Mid Transition Stage (Early/mid)	5-5.9
Mid Transition Stage (Mid)	4-4.9
Mid and Late Transition Stage (Mid/late)	3-3.9
Late Transition Stage (Late)	2.1-2.9
Post-transition (Post)	0-2.0

Source: Bongaarts, 2003

The young republic had undertaken a problematic legacy from the Ottoman Empire in terms of population too as it was in many other areas. Following great losses suffered in Balkan Wars, First World War and the War of Independence the population living in what was going to be Turkey had considerably shrunk. There was need for population increase to reconstruct social and economic life after a long period of warfare.

Hence, starting from the early years of the republic pronatalist population policies was dominant in Turkey until the mid-50s. Pronatalist population policies were defended mainly on economic grounds that population growth would contribute positively to economic development. It was believed that increasing population would ensure the utilization of otherwise idle natural resources in the country, contribute to social division of labour and to specialization (Cillov, 1974).

In the first 20 years of the republic a series of laws were enacted in line with this approach. In 1929, families having more than 5 children were granted exemption from road tax, and in 1930, it was decided to decorate families with 6 or more children. On 6 May 1930, the Public Health Law No. 1593 was given effect to contribute to population growth. This legislation mandated the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance to adopt measures to facilitate births and reduce infant and child mortality. Article 152 in the Public Health

Law, which was the first official document of pronatalist population policies, prohibited the importation, distribution and marketing of all contraceptives as well as means of abortion. Only items used for curative purposes and sold by pharmacies upon prescription were excluded from the scope of this law. Again in the same period and inspired by the Italian Penal Code, articles 468, 469, 470 and 471 of the Turkish Penal Code of 1926 introduced heavy penalties to practices of abortion and contraception. Penalties on abortion were reinforced with new acts passed in 1936 and 1953. While articles in the Turkish Penal Code pertaining to abortion originally included such expressions as “Crimes of Deliberate Abortion and Causing Abortion”, it was reformulated as “Crimes against the Integrity and Health of the Race” in 1936 (Levine and Üner, 1978; Üner, 1984; Franz, 1994; TÜSIAD, 1999). In the same period again, the Turkish Civil Code adopted in 1926 introduced 18 and 17 for men and women, respectively, as minimum ages for marriage, which was later reduced to age 17 for men and age 15 for women upon the Law No. 3453 enacted in 1938.

In this period the national economy in Turkey was largely based on agriculture. The industrialization policy based on import substitution pursued with the 30s created new employment opportunities at urban centres; however natural population growth in urban areas was sufficient to respond to emerging labour force needs without much need to rural to urban migration (TÜİK, 1995). Agriculture was in a rapid development in rural areas as new tracts of land were brought under cultivation; hence there was no case making rural-to-urban migration necessary. In this period running from 1927 to 1950, the share of urban population in total remained below 25%.

During the Second World War a marked slowdown was observed in population growth despite the continuity of pronatalist policies. Since many males at adult ages were recruited to army,

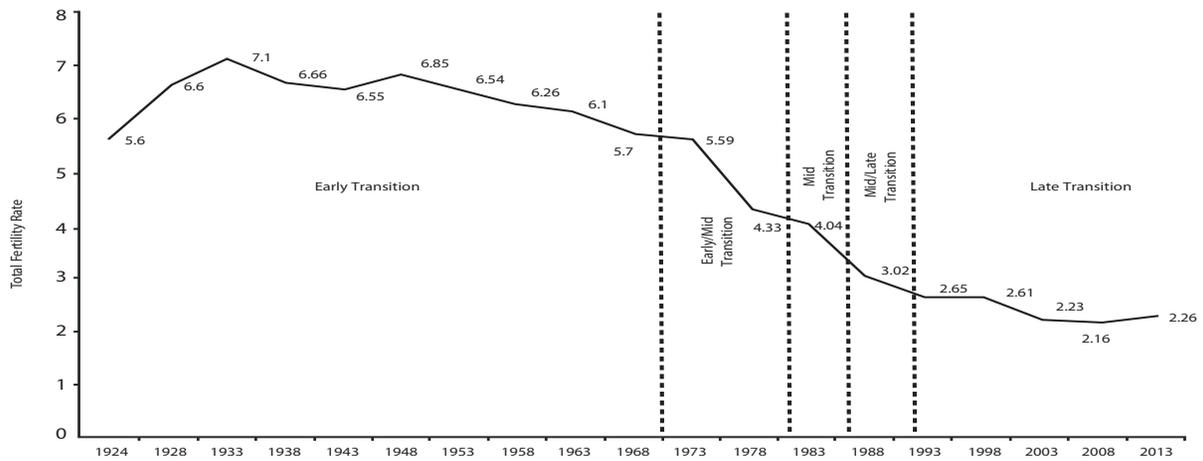
singles postponed their marriages and married ones their new children. Hence, it is possible to consider this period as the one in which fertility tendency was reversed. Governments taking office in the multi-party regime that followed the Second World War did not alter existing policies and maintained pronatalist policies of earlier governments (Üner, 1984).

Total fertility rate which was 5.6 in the early years of the republic then rose as high as 7.1 partly as a result of pronatalist policies but mainly in line with the requirements of economic and social reconstruction, and never fell below 6 until the mid-60s. This period from the start of the republic up to mid-60s constituted the “Early Transition” stage of fertility transformation in Turkey (Figure 1.1).

Socioeconomic features of Turkey started to change with the 50s. The industrialization policy of the period based on import substitution needed more labour force in urban sectors including industry in the first place. In agriculture, area under cultivation had reached its limit and surplus population emerging in rural sector were moving to urban areas. Improvements in social services like health and education made urban centres more attractive and developments in transportation added further momentum to the process of migration. The most significant indicator of social and economic change in that period was rapid urbanization.

Rapid urbanization and problems that its distorted character brought along led to the questioning of pronatalist policies hitherto pursued. The State Planning Organization established in 1960 stressed the problems created by rapid population growth for the first time in its First Five-Year Development Plan (1963-1967). The plan stated that rapid population growth would push per capita income lower; that demographic investments would be compulsory and replace economic investments in order to respond to the

Figure 1.1. Stages of fertility transformation in Turkey



Sources: TÜİK, 1995; HÜNEE, 1980; 1987; 1989; 1994; 1999; 2004; 2009; 2014

needs of increasing population; and that increase in the share of young population would lead to employment problems, uncontrolled growth of cities and emergence of disguised employment in agriculture. The plan further underlined that labour emigration should be encouraged to mitigate the pressure of open and disguised employment and to cover balance of payments deficit (DPT, 1963).

Following this criticism of pronatalist population policies in the First Five-Year Development plan covering the period 1963-1967, the Law No. 557 on Population Planning adopted on 10 April 1965 marked a turning point for population policies in Turkey (Koç et al., 2010). The provisions of the Public Health Law dated 1936 that prohibited contraceptives were repealed. The importation, distribution and marketing of contraceptives were no more penalized. This made other means of contraception with the exception of condom that was already allowed for preventing venereal diseases legal. In addition, the new law lifted the absolute ban on abortion, allowing it in cases where there is fatal threat to the mother and it is known that the expected child would be born as disabled.

As a result of all these developments families started to prefer fewer children and the rate of fertility gradually started falling with the 50s, dropping below 6 in the mid-60s. This meant Turkey's transition to the "early/mid stage" of transformation in fertility. Due to quite rapid social and economic changes, Turkey's stepping in to the next stage of transformation took only 10 years. The rate of fertility fell below 5 children in the second half of the 70s which marked the stage of "Mid transition".

With the 80s, the policy of industrialisation based on import substitution was replaced by liberalization in economy and export oriented growth model which amounted to the policy of integrating national economy with the global market economy. Another important development in terms of population policies took place in this period. Following the military coup of 1980, the concept "family planning" found itself place in the new Constitution. After taking effect of the constitution in November 1982, the earlier antinatalist legislation was revised for a more liberal and comprehensive legislation. Article 5 in this legislation no. 2827 legalized the termination of pregnancy until its 10th week while Article 4 allowed sterilization for both

men and women. According to Article 3 in the same legislation, trained nurses and midwives, besides doctors, could apply intra uterine device (IUD) (Levine and Ünner, 1978; Ünner, 1984; Franz, 1994; TÜSIAD, 1999; Koç et al., 2010).

As a result, downward trend in fertility continued by gaining some speed. Then, the country experienced the “mid/late” stage of transition as the level of fertility fell below 4 children, and the “late” stage of the same process when it further dropped to 3 children in the second half of the 80s.

The level of fertility at national level is slightly above the level of replacement according to TDHS-2013 results. According to TurkStat’s 2017 birth statistics, it is exactly at the level of replacement with 2.1 children. Turkey will have passed to the “post-transition” stage when the level falls to 2 children.

In Turkey, both total fertility rate and the ideal number of children display a downward trend since 1960s (Figure 1.2). In the 60s and 70s while the rate of decrease in total fertility rate was quite high, the ideal number of children remained around the same level as three children. In the 80s, both total fertility rate and the ideal number of children rapidly fell to the level of

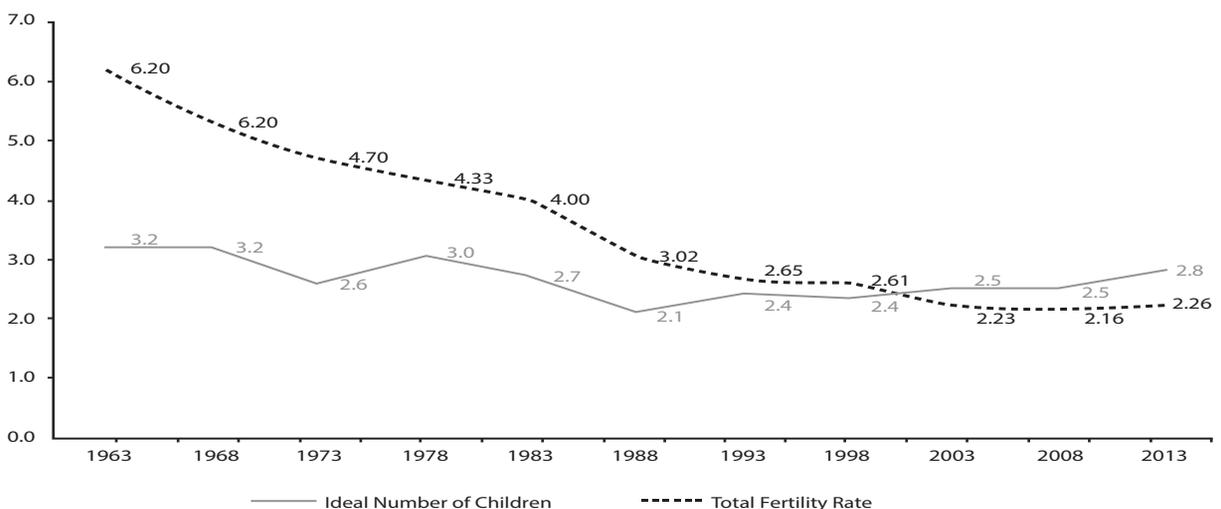
2.1 children in the 1988 survey. During 25 years that followed, the ideal number of children stayed still around 2.5 while total fertility rate dropped from 3 to 2.2 children. As stated in the relevant literature, while the actual number of children is above the number of children desired in the early stages of fertility transformation, the ideal number of children exceeds actual number of children as the process of transformation comes closer to completion (Bongaarts, 2003). In Turkey as well, the ideal number of children started to follow a course above actual number of children with the 2000s (Ünalán et al., 2005).

IV. Number of Actual and Desired Number of Children in Turkey: RFST-2016 Findings

A. Actual Number of Children and its Determinants

In Turkey, the mean number of children that women in the age group 40-49 have is 2.79. While the average number of children drops to 2 among women who have lived abroad for the longest period of time until age 15, it increases to 3 among women grown up in rural environments and it is around 2.6 among women growing up at district and province centres. The mean number of children also varies significantly by regions and decreases as going from east to west. The mean which is as high

Figure 1.2. Changes in total fertility rate and ideal number of children in Turkey: 1963-2013



as 4.6 children in South-eastern Anatolia drops to 2.3 in Western Marmara and Aegean regions. There is inverse relationship between the level of education and number of children where the number of children falls as the level of education gets higher. Women having no schooling have, on average, 4.2 and university graduates have 1.6 children. While divorced women have, on average, 1.8 children, this number increases above 2.8 among those presently married and others with deceased husbands. The number of children varies significantly by family type as well besides marital status. The mean number of children which is 2.2 in dissolved families increases to 2.8 in nuclear families and to 3.1 in extended families. The number of children decreases as socioeconomic status rises. While women in lower socioeconomic status have 3.8 children on average it is 2.1 for children in higher socioeconomic status. Another factor affecting the number of children is women's employment status. Women employed with social security, for example, have 2 children on average; it increases to 3 among women who are not working. The mean number of children that women employed without social security have (2.8 children) is closer to that of non-working women. To go on, characteristics related to the formation of marriage such as the age at first marriage and the type of wedlock are also among factors affecting the number of children. As the age at first marriage gets higher the number of children decreases; women getting married before age 18 have 3.5 children on average whereas others marrying after age 30 have 1.2 children. The way that marriage decision is taken is also influential. Indeed, the mean number of children is 3.4 in the case of arranged marriages without taking woman's consent whereas it is 2.2 when couples take the decision of marriage on their own. The mean number of children is around 3 in other cases such as abduction/*berdel* where the decision of marriage is not taken by women.

After considering the mean number of children to women age 40-49 by their background characteristics, there is need to conduct multi-variate analyses to examine how each variable affects the number of children while other variables are controlled. The Poisson regression analysis which is widely used in cases of count dependent variable is also used in this study in modelling the actual and desired number of children. The unit of analysis in the study is woman. The dependent variable is the number of children that the woman has had starting from the date of marriage up to the date of the study, which is the period of exposure measured in years. The analysis includes control variables such as the type of settlement that the woman concerned lived the longest until age 15 that is her environment of socialization, the present region, education status, marital status, household type, socioeconomic status, employment status, the

Table 1.2. Mean number of children ever born to women age 40-49 by their background characteristics, RFST-2016

	Mean number of children	Number of women
Turkey	2.79	2920
Place of Residence Until Age 15		
Abroad	2.05	59
Subdistrict or village	3.04	1241
District centre	2.59	738
Province Centre	2.64	882
Region		
İstanbul	2.54	549
West Marmara	2.30	129
Aegean	2.32	426
East Marmara	2.39	306
West Anatolia	2.52	295
Mediterranean	2.68	370
Central Anatolia	2.91	135
West Black Sea	2.73	181
East Black Sea	2.89	104
Northeast Anatolia	3.43	59
Central East Anatolia	3.97	127
Southeast Anatolia	4.62	239

Table 1.2. Mean number of children ever born to women age 40-49 by their background characteristics, RFST-2016

	Mean number of children	Number of women
Turkey	2.79	2920
Education Status		
No education	4.17	486
Primary school	2.73	1705
Secondary school	2.37	233
High school	2.03	265
University/postgraduate study	1.62	231
Marital Status		
Married	2.83	2735
Spouse deceased	2.87	62
Divorced	1.76	123
Household Type		
Nuclear	2.75	171
Extended	3.11	2155
Dissolved	2.23	586
Socio-economic Status		
Lower group	3.80	171
Middle group	2.91	2155
Higher group	2.06	586
Employment Status		
Working with social security	2.06	527
Working without social security	2.84	400
Not working	2.97	1993
Age at first marriage		
30+	1.21	110
25-29	2.01	270
18-24	2.72	1822
<18	3.49	717
Arrangement of marriage		
Arranged marriage, with family consent	3.42	371
Arranged marriage, with own consent	2.89	1565
Running away with/abduction/berdel	2.96	193
Own decision	2.24	790

age at first marriage and the way of marriage was decided upon as well as her present social environment, structural-environmental factors and socioeconomic characteristics.

According to results of Poisson regression analysis given in Table 3, with the exception of the place of residence until age 15 and household type, independent variables in the model are statistically significant. Examining places of residence where women lived the longest until age 15, we see that women who have lived in counties, townships and villages are more likely to have one more child by 6% relative to others who have lived at province centres. Compared to South-eastern Anatolia, the tendency to have one more child falls in other regions and reaches the lowest in western regions. In fact, this tendency is lower by 42% in Western Marmara region.

Comparing university graduate women with others we find that the main difference is between primary school graduates and others without primary education. While the rates of primary secondary and high school graduates are closer to that of university graduates, the likelihood of women without primary school diploma to have one more child is higher by 34%. The likelihood of married women and women whose husbands are deceased to have more children relative to divorced women is higher by 30%. Though statistically insignificant, the likelihood of women living in nuclear and extended families to have one more child is higher by 10% relative to women in dissolved families. The tendency to have one more child increases as socioeconomic status is lower: the likelihood of women in lower and middle socioeconomic status to have one more children is higher by about 14% relative to women in higher socioeconomic status. No statistically significant difference was found in this respect between women employed without social security and women who are not working; still, women employed with social security are less likely by 9% to have one more children than others. The age at first marriage is the variable that most apparently affects the number of children. The likelihood to have one more child

Table 1.3. Determinants of children ever born: Results of Poisson regression analysis, RFST-2016

	Ratio	Reliability
Place of Residence Until Age 15		
Abroad	0.99	0.94
Subdistrict or village	1.06	0.03
District centre	1.02	0.47
Province Centre	1.00	
Region		
İstanbul	0.68	0.00
West Marmara	0.58	0.00
Aegean	0.60	0.00
East Marmara	0.62	0.00
West Anatolia	0.67	0.00
Mediterranean	0.70	0.00
Central Anatolia	0.71	0.00
West Black Sea	0.64	0.00
East Black Sea	0.72	0.00
Northeast Anatolia	0.71	0.00
Central East Anatolia	0.87	0.01
Southeast Anatolia	1.00	
Education Status		
No education	1.34	0.00
Primary school	1.09	0.21
Secondary school	1.04	0.62
High school	1.01	0.94
University/postgraduate study	1.00	
Marital Status		
Married	1.31	0.01
Spouse deceased	1.28	0.02
Divorced	1.00	
Household Type		
Nuclear	1.09	0.32
Extended	1.10	0.29
Dissolved	1.00	
Socio-economic Status		
Lower group	1.14	0.03
Middle group	1.13	0.00
Higher group	1.00	
Employment Status		
Working with social security	0.91	0.01
Working without social security	0.98	0.60
Not working	1.00	

Table 1.3. Determinants of children ever born: Results of Poisson regression analysis, RFST-2016

	Ratio	Reliability
Age at first marriage		
30+	0.50	0.00
25-29	0.79	0.00
18-24	0.90	0.00
<18	1.00	
Arrangement of marriage		
Arranged marriage, with family consent	1.13	0.00
Arranged marriage, with own consent	1.07	0.03
Running away with/abduction/berdel	1.13	0.02
Own decision	1.00	
Time elapsed since marrying (years)	1.02	0.00
Prob > F : 0,0000		

is reduced as the age at first marriage rises: The likelihood of women marrying after age 30 to have one more child is smaller by 50% than women marrying before age 18. The way of deciding about marriage also affects the number of children couples have. The likelihood of having one more child of women marrying in arranged ways without their consent or others married through abduction and *berdel* is higher by 13% than women marrying with their own will. With respect to the variable of years passing since marriage which is the period of exposure, each year that follows marriage increases the likelihood of having one more child by 2%.

B. Desired Number of Children and its Determinants

In the survey, respondents were also asked the question how many children they would like to have if all circumstances are favourable. In Turkey, the number of children desired by women in the age group 40-49 in favourable circumstances is 3.3. Comparing this to the actual number of children women have, we find in general that the desired number of

children differs less with respect to background characteristics of women. The ideal number of children as perceived by rural women is higher than those grown up in urban environments. The number is 3.2 for women grown up at province centres and 3.4 for women grown up in small townships and villages. The number of children desired is reduced as going from eastern to western regions. While the number of children desired is 4.4 in South-eastern Anatolia, it falls to 2.6 in Western Marmara. The number declines as the level of education rises. Women not finishing any school want 4 children on average while this number is 2.8 for university graduates. The number of desired children is 2.7 on average for divorced women and 3.3 for those presently married. The number of children desired is, on average, 3 for women in dissolved families, 3.3 for women living in nuclear families, and 3.4 for women living in extended families. The number of children desired goes down as socioeconomic status rises. While women in lower socioeconomic status want 3.7 children it is 2.9 for women in higher socioeconomic status. As for women employed as covered by social security, they want, on average, 2.9 children whereas this number is 3.3 for those employed without social security and 3.4 for those not working. The number of children desired by women marrying at early ages is higher than what is desired by women marrying at later ages: it is 3.6 for women marrying before age 18, and reduces to 2.9 in women marrying after age 30. Women who married in arranged ways without their consent want, on average, 3.8 children against 3 which is wanted by women deciding to marry with their own will.

The Poisson regression analysis was also used as multi-variate method to explore the determinants of the number of children desired. The unit of analysis is woman again and the time elapsing since their rate of marriage is again the period of exposure. The dependent variable is the number

of children desired and independent variables are the same as those used in analysing the actual number of children.

According to the results of Poisson regression analysis (Table 5), the variable of region yields the most significant result statistically. The tendency for more children weakens as going from east to west. For example, the tendency to want one more child is lesser in Western Marmara region by 39% relative to South-eastern Anatolia. In case the place of residence lived the longest before age 15 is a district centre, township or village, the tendency to want one more child is higher by 7% relative to those who lived at provincial centres. When other variables are controlled, the number of children desired does not display any difference of statistical significance by level of education. Though it is not statistically significant, the tendency of

Table 1.4. Mean ideal number of children for all women aged 40-49 by their background characteristics, RFST-2016

	Number of children	Number of women
Turkey	3.31	2920
Place of Residence Until Age 15		
Abroad	2.79	59
Subdistrict or village	3.44	1241
District centre	3.28	738
Province Centre	3.19	882
Region		
Istanbul	3.09	549
West Marmara	2.61	129
Aegean	2.87	426
East Marmara	3.09	306
West Anatolia	3.36	295
Mediterranean	3.52	370
Central Anatolia	3.39	135
West Black Sea	3.09	181
East Black Sea	3.47	104
Northeast Anatolia	3.63	59
Central East Anatolia	4.07	127
Southeast Anatolia	4.41	239

wanting one more children of women without any schooling is higher by 6% relative to university graduate women. The tendency to want one more child in presently married women is higher by 17% compared to divorced women.

Table 1.4. Mean ideal number of children for all women aged 40-49 by their background characteristics, RFST-2016

	Number of children	Number of women
Turkey	3.31	2920
Education Status		
No education	3.97	486
Primary school	3.26	1705
Secondary school	3.24	233
High school	2.92	265
University/postgraduate study	2.82	231
Marital Status		
Married	3.34	2735
Spouse deceased	3.18	62
Divorced	2.74	123
Household Type		
Nuclear	3.31	171
Extended	3.39	2155
Dissolved	3.02	586
Socio-economic Status		
Lower group	3.74	171
Middle group	3.38	2155
Higher group	2.92	586
Employment Status		
Working with social security	2.91	527
Working without social security	3.33	400
Not working	3.41	1993
Age at first marriage		
30+	2.88	110
25-29	3.03	270
18-24	3.25	1822
<18	3.63	717
Arrangement of marriage		
Arranged marriage, with family consent	3.75	371
Arranged marriage, with own consent	3.34	1565
Running away with/abduction/berdel	3.26	193
Own decision	3.04	790

Table 1.5. Determinants of the ideal number of children, Poisson regression analysis, RFST-2016

	Ratio	Reliability
Place of Residence Until Age 15		
Abroad	0.97	0.67
Subdistrict or village	1.07	0.01
District centre	1.07	0.03
Province Centre	1.00	
Region		
Istanbul	0.75	0.00
West Marmara	0.61	0.00
Aegean	0.69	0.00
East Marmara	0.73	0.00
West Anatolia	0.81	0.00
Mediterranean	0.83	0.00
Central Anatolia	0.79	0.00
West Black Sea	0.71	0.00
East Black Sea	0.82	0.00
Northeast Anatolia	0.81	0.01
Central East Anatolia	0.91	0.12
Southeast Anatolia	1.00	
Education Status		
No education	1.06	0.39
Primary school	0.98	0.73
Secondary school	1.01	0.86
High school	0.96	0.45
University/postgraduate study	1.00	
Marital Status		
Married	1.17	0.06
Spouse deceased	1.07	0.50
Divorced	1.00	
Household Type		
Nuclear	0.99	0.86
Extended	0.97	0.71
Dissolved	1.00	
Socio-economic Status		
Lower group	1.03	0.61
Middle group	1.06	0.09
Higher group	1.00	
Employment Status		
Working with social security	0.95	0.11
Working without social security	0.99	0.85
Not working	1.00	

Table 1.5. Determinants of the ideal number of children, Poisson regression analysis, RFST-2016

	Ratio	Reliability
Age at first marriage		
30+	0.93	0.40
25-29	0.93	0.22
18-24	0.96	0.12
<18	1.00	
Arrangement of marriage		
Arranged marriage, with family consent	1.10	0.01
Arranged marriage, with own consent	1.01	0.62
Running away with/abduction/berdel	1.05	0.32
Own decision	1.00	
Time elapsed since marrying (years)		
	1.01	0.08
Prob > F: 0.0000		

The variables of household type, socioeconomic status, employment status and the age at first marriage do not alter the desired number of children significantly in statistical terms. The tendency of women marrying in arranged ways without their consent to want more children is higher by 10% relative to others marrying upon their own will.

C. Difference Between The Desired and Actual Number of Children and Its Determinants

Analyses on the actual and desired numbers of children suggest that while the actual number of children varies significantly with respect to socioeconomic and cultural characteristics, fertility preferences do not differ that much. Hence, it appears that there is a difference between the actual number of children and desired number of children in which some women have more children than they want while others have fewer children than they actually desire. This part will first engage in descriptive analyses on the difference between the number of children desired and actual number of children

and then two distinct logistic regression analyses will be conducted to explore the determinants of having more or fewer children than desired.

In Turkey, 14.6% of women in the age group 40-49 have more children they actually wanted, 40.4% just as much, and 45% have fewer children than they actually wanted. The proportion of women having more children than they wanted is higher among women living for the longest period of time in rural areas until age 15 than others (17%). On the other hand, the highest proportion of women having fewer children than they wanted is observed among those growing up at district centres (51%). While the proportion of women having more children than they wanted climbs up to 30% in South-eastern Anatolia, it remains under 10% in Aegean, Eastern Marmara, Western Anatolia and Eastern Black Sea regions. The relationship between desired and actual number of children varies markedly by level of education. As level of education gets higher, proportion of women having more children than wanted decreases and proportion of women having fewer children than wanted increases. While only 1% of university graduate women have more children than they wanted it is as high as 32% among women not having primary school diploma. On the other hand, while 63% of high school and 66% of university graduate children have fewer children than they wanted, only 28% of women without primary school diploma are in the same position. In terms of marital status, the proportion of those having fewer children than they wanted is higher (56%) among divorced women than all other women groups. Another result in line with this is that the case of having fewer children than wanted is more prevalent among women living in dissolved family type households than others (51%). The relationship between socioeconomic status and the numbers of desired and actual children follows a course similar to that of education level. While 29% of women in lower

socioeconomic group have more children than they wanted this proportion falls to 6% among women in higher socioeconomic group. The employment status too makes a significant difference in actual and desired number of children. As far as women in employment with social security are concerned, 8% of these women have more children than they wanted and 58% have fewer whereas 16% of women not working have more and 43% have fewer children than they wanted. The age at first marriage too is an important factor determining whether women have more or fewer children than they want. 24% of women marrying before age 18 have more children than they wanted, which falls to 3% among those marrying after age 30. 21% of women marrying in arranged ways without their consent and 9% of women marrying upon their own will have more children than they wanted.

The method of binary logistic regression analysis was used to explore the determinants of having more or fewer children than desired. To employ logistic regression method, the variable of difference between the number of children desired and actual number of children was transformed into two categories: For the analysis of the status of having more children than desired women having more children than they desired are assigned the value (1) whereas others having fewer children than or just as much as they wanted are assigned the value (0). Similarly, for the analysis of the status of having fewer children than desired women having fewer children than they desired are assigned the value (1) whereas others having more children than or just as much as they wanted are assigned the value (0). The independent variables used in analysis are the same as those used in Poisson regression analyses.

Table 1.6. Difference between desired and actual number of children, RFST-2016

	More than desired	Just as much	Fewer than desired	Total	Number of women
Turkey	14.6	40.4	45.0	100.0	2804
Place of Residence Until Age 15					
Abroad	12.7	41.8	45.5	100.0	55
Subdistrict or village	16.7	42.2	41.1	100.0	1203
District centre	9.6	39.7	50.8	100.0	711
Province Centre	15.9	38.3	45.7	100.0	835
Region					
Istanbul	14.7	37.1	48.2	100.0	517
West Marmara	15.1	43.7	41.3	100.0	126
Aegean	9.7	47.0	43.3	100.0	413
East Marmara	8.9	40.4	50.7	100.0	292
West Anatolia	8.2	42.2	49.6	100.0	282
Mediterranean	11.0	32.7	56.3	100.0	355
Central Anatolia	19.1	32.1	48.9	100.0	131
West Black Sea	15.3	46.9	37.9	100.0	177
East Black Sea	9.1	50.5	40.4	100.0	99
Northeast Anatolia	29.6	40.7	29.6	100.0	54
Central East Anatolia	25.2	36.6	38.2	100.0	123
Southeast Anatolia	32.9	41.0	26.1	100.0	234

Table 1.6. Difference between desired and actual number of children, RFST-2016

	More than desired	Just as much	Fewer than desired	Total	Number of women
Turkey	14.6	40.4	45.0	100.0	2804
Education Status					
No education	32.1	40.0	27.8	100.0	467
Primary school	13.2	43.5	43.3	100.0	1658
Secondary school	9.9	35.1	55.0	100.0	222
High school	5.6	31.7	62.7	100.0	249
University/postgraduate study	1.0	32.7	66.3	100.0	205
Marital Status					
Married	14.6	40.7	44.7	100.0	2637
Spouse deceased	15.0	46.7	38.3	100.0	60
Divorced	13.2	31.1	55.7	100.0	106
Household Type					
Nuclear	13.9	39.6	46.5	100.0	2078
Extended	17.7	44.6	37.6	100.0	558
Dissolved	12.0	36.7	51.2	100.0	166
Socio-economic Status					
Lower group	28.6	39.8	31.7	100.0	161
Middle group	15.7	41.0	43.3	100.0	2084
Higher group	6.4	37.5	56.2	100.0	550
Employment Status					
Working with social security	7.6	34.9	57.6	100.0	502
Working without social security	15.4	43.8	40.9	100.0	384
Not working	16.2	41.2	42.6	100.0	1916
Age at first marriage					
30+	2.7	22.7	74.7	100.0	75
25-29	4.9	33.6	61.5	100.0	247
18-24	12.8	41.2	46.1	100.0	1776
<18	23.6	43.0	33.4	100.0	704
Arrangement of marriage					
Arranged marriage, with family consent	20.9	37.6	41.5	100.0	359
Arranged marriage, with own consent	15.2	42.2	42.6	100.0	1511
Running away with/abduction/berdel	19.5	40.0	40.5	100.0	190
Own decision	8.9	38.2	52.9	100.0	743

Examining the determinants of the case of having more children than wanted, we find a statistically significant difference between women with respect to their places of residence until age 15. The likelihood of women grown up at district centres to have more children than wanted is lower by 42% than women growing up at

province centres. The likelihood of having more children than wanted is lower in western regions and Eastern Black Sea region than in eastern regions. The likelihood of having more children than wanted increases as the level of education is lower. Indeed, the likelihood of women without primary schooling to have more children than

wanted is 12.5 times greater than university graduate women. As to married women and women with deceased husband, their likelihood of having more children than wanted is about two-thirds of divorced women. The tendency of women living in nuclear and extended families to have more children than wanted is higher than women in dissolved families. As socioeconomic status rises, the tendency to have more children goes down. The employment status does not appear to be a statistically significant variable in regard to the case of having more children than wanted. As the age at first marriage increases, the tendency to have more children than wanted decreases markedly. The tendency of having more children than wanted rises in such cases as arranged, abducted and *berdel* type marriages where the decision is not taken by women.

Looking at determinants of having fewer children than wanted, relationship is the reverse of what it was in the earlier analysis. The likelihood of women grown up at district centres to have fewer children is higher than women growing up at province centres. The likelihood of having fewer children than desired increases as we move from the eastern to western parts of the country. Although some outcomes are not statistically significant, the likelihood of having fewer children than desired increases as the level of education increases. The variables of marital status, household type and socioeconomic status did not yield statistically significant results; nevertheless, it is observed that women living in divorced and dissolved families and in higher socioeconomic status are more likely to have fewer children than they desire. The likelihood of women employed with social security to have fewer children than desired is higher by 27% than women who are not working. The most pronounced effect in this context is observed in the age at first marriage. Relative to women

Table 1.7. Determinants of states of having more and fewer than desired number of children, results of binary logistic regression, RFST-2016

	Having more children than actually desired		Having fewer children than actually desired	
	Ratio	Sig.	Ratio	Sig.
Place of Residence Until Age 15				
Abroad	1.52	0.36	0.73	0.28
Subdistrict or village	0.83	0.18	1.09	0.39
District centre	0.58	0.00	1.24	0.05
Province Centre	1.00		1.00	
Region				
Istanbul	0.66	0.05	1.72	0.00
West Marmara	0.63	0.15	1.36	0.22
Aegean	0.38	0.00	1.46	0.05
East Marmara	0.37	0.00	1.95	0.00
West Anatolia	0.35	0.00	1.92	0.00
Mediterranean	0.43	0.00	2.49	0.00
Central Anatolia	0.74	0.29	2.07	0.00
West Black Sea	0.55	0.03	1.34	0.20
East Black Sea	0.28	0.00	1.45	0.17
Northeast Anatolia	0.91	0.79	1.16	0.66
Central East Anatolia	0.68	0.15	1.74	0.02
Southeast Anatolia	1.00		1.00	
Education Status				
No education	13.54	0.00	0.42	0.00
Primary school	6.40	0.01	0.70	0.08
Secondary school	4.84	0.03	1.04	0.86
High school	3.50	0.09	1.22	0.35
University/postgraduate study	1.00	.	1.00	.
Marital Status				
Married	0.64	0.30	0.98	0.93
Spouse deceased	0.67	0.42	0.72	0.34
Divorced	1.00		1.00	
Household Type				
Nuclear	1.42	0.37	0.81	0.41
Extended	1.30	0.49	0.73	0.43
Dissolved	1.00	.	1.00	.
Socio-economic Status				
Lower group	1.79	0.05	0.83	0.41
Middle group	1.45	0.07	0.91	0.43
Higher group	1.00	.	1.00	.

Table 1.7. Determinants of states of having more and fewer than desired number of children, results of binary logistic regression, RFST-2016

	Having more children than actually desired		Having fewer children than actually desired	
	Ratio	Sig,	Ratio	Sig,
Employment Status				
Working with social security	0.92	0.68	1.27	0.05
Working without social security	1.08	0.64	0.95	0.65
Not working	1.00		1.00	
Age at first marriage				
30+	0.14	0.00	4.82	0.00
25-29	0.27	0.00	2.45	0.00
18-24	0.58	0.00	1.48	0.00
<18	1.00		1.00	
Arrangement of marriage				
Arranged marriage, with family consent	1.22	0.33	1.09	0.57
Arranged marriage, with own consent	1.19	0.28	0.94	0.57
Running away with/ abduction/berdel	1.43	0.14	0.95	0.77
Own decision	1.00		1.00	

marrying before age 18, the likelihood of having fewer children than desired is 4 times greater in women marrying after age 30. The way of deciding about marriage did not yield a statistically significant effect with respect to the case of having fewer children than desired.

V. Conclusion and Policy Suggestions

The present study addresses the change in fertility behaviour in Turkey. In this context, firstly the transformation in fertility and change in fertility preferences are evaluated. Secondly, in order to explore the determinants of the current level of fertility and fertility preferences, the actual number of children women have as an indicator of the actual level of fertility, and the number of children women

would like to have if circumstances allow for as an indicator of the ideal number of children are examined through descriptive and multivariate methods of analysis. Following these, the determinants of the gap between the actual number of children and the number of children desired are analysed and, on the basis of these analyses, some suggestions are developed for population policies.

Turkey is presently at a stage very close to the completion of the process known as “demographic transformation” in relevant literature and also “fertility transformation” as a part of the repealed. According to the 2013 Turkey Demography and Health Survey, the total fertility rate or the mean number of children that a woman would have by the end of her childbearing period (age 15 to 49) is 2.26 children. For the last 15 years, total fertility rate is around 2.1 which is the replacement level. According to 2017 birth statistics of Turkish Statistical Institute, the total fertility rate in Turkey has fallen to 2.07 children. If we take the 7-stage fertility transformation model developed by Bongaarts, Turkey has reached the “Late Transition” stage on the basis of TDHS-2013 data, and “Post-Transition” stage on the basis of TurkStat’s birth statistics. Nevertheless, looking at total fertility rates by sub-groups of population we see that regional differences are quite marked and that some sub-groups are at different stages in the process of fertility transformation. The fertility rate is below the level of replacement and at the stage of post-transition in sub-groups living in western regions, having education level of high school and above, and employed with social security whereas the rate of fertility is still above 3 children for women living in eastern parts of the country and with low level of education, which denotes “Mid-Late” stage in the process of transformation. The heterogeneous nature of

population and large gaps between population sub-groups can be grasped better when it is considered that Turkey reached “Late Transition” stage in the early 1980s.

The ideal number of children, which is an indicator of fertility preferences in Turkey, has also decreased though at a slower rate than fertility. Being around 3 children in the 80s, it dropped to 2.5 in more recent periods. The TDHS-2013 measures the ideal number of children as 2.8. The ideal number of children too displays differences across population sub-groups though not as wide as total fertility rate.

Analyses in the present study on the level of fertility and fertility preferences are conducted by using two questions posed by the 2016 the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye survey. In this survey the number of existing children comes from responses to the question “How many children do you have (all children presently alive)?” and the desired number of children from “How many children would you like to have if all circumstances were favourable?” Analyses covered women in the age group 40-49 at the end of their fertile ages.

The impact of factors determining the actual and desired numbers of children was analysed by using the method of Poisson regression analysis. According to descriptive analyses, 2.79 is the mean number of children that women in age group 40-49 have in Turkey. This mean which increases to 4.6 in South-eastern Anatolia falls to 2.3 in Western Marmara and Aegean regions. Women with no school diploma have 4.2 and university graduate women have 1.6 children on average. The results of Poisson regression analysis too reveal clearly that the likelihood of having one more children is higher at statistically significant level than in other population sub-groups among women living in eastern parts

of the country, in low socioeconomic and educational status, not working or employed without social security, marrying too early and in arranged ways without their consent.

In Turkey, the mean number of children that women in the age group 40-49 like to have is 3.3. The number of children desired decreases as going from eastern to western parts of the country: The number of children desired is 4.4 in South-eastern Anatolia but drops to 2.6 in Western Marmara. The number of children desired falls as level of education rises: While women without primary school diploma want 4 children on average this number is 2.8 in university graduate women. The numbers of desired and actual children vary less with respect to women’s basic characteristics. The number of children desired is quite the same in population sub-groups. It can be considered that this situation is related to the politicization of the issue. The results of Poisson regression analysis conducted to explore the determinants of the number of children desired on the basis of convergence observed in population sub-groups reveal statistically significant difference in very limited number of variables. The results of analysis suggest that, as was the case in the previous analysis, the tendency to want one more children is higher among women living in eastern parts of the country and marrying in arranged ways without their own will.

The relationship between the actual and ideal numbers of children varies with respect to the stage of fertility transformation. In early stages of this transformation the actual number of children is above the number desired, and as the process of transformation comes closer to completion the ideal number of children exceeds the actual number. In Turkey, the ideal number of children started to remain in a course above total fertility rate. However, it is exactly the reverse in those sub-groups of

population with high levels of fertility. The actual number of children is above the ideal number in women living in South-eastern Anatolia, without primary school diploma or in lower socioeconomic group.

In Turkey, 14.6% of women in the age group 40-49 have more children than they wanted, 40.4% have just as much, and 45% have fewer children than wanted. The proportion of women having more children than they wanted is quite higher in eastern regions than in other regions of the country. The share of women having more children than wanted shrinks as education level and socioeconomic status get higher. The proportion of women having fewer children than wanted increases as the age at first marriage rises. The determinants of having more or fewer children than wanted are analysed by using the method of binary logistic regression. The results of multi-variate analysis also confirm that the likelihood of having more children than wanted is lower in western regions and Eastern Black Sea than in eastern regions. The likelihood of having more children than wanted decreases as education level gets higher while that of having fewer children than wanted increases. As the age at first marriage gets relatively older the likelihood of having more children than wanted decreases markedly while that of having fewer children than wanted increases.

Fifty years ago, on 13 May 1968, the UN International Conference on Human Rights had stated in its Proclamation that “Parents have a basic human right to determine freely and responsibly the number and the spacing of their children.” This statement underlines the importance of couples having their means to have as much children as they want and in desired spacing. The Action Plan of the “International Conference on Population and Development” held in Cairo in 1994 with Turkey as one of its States Parties (UN, 1994)

explicitly placed the “right to reproduction” in the agenda of scientific community, service providers and policy makers.

The outcomes of the present study put forth that Turkey has a heterogeneous population structure, that fertility behaviour significantly differs in sub-groups of population, and hence these groups have their differing needs. Consequently, there is need to respond to family planning needs of couples having more children than they wanted and remove obstacles to having children for other couples having fewer children than they want.

An environment must be in place to ensure that couples who already have more children than they want and those who want to have fewer children, to postpone birth or have larger spaces between births have access to methods of contraception that are the most appropriate in their situation. This will largely prevent unwanted pregnancies and facilitate decrease in cases of induced abortion (self-induced miscarriage) that is used as a method of birth control in the country.

In recent years there have been significant improvements in maternal and child health nationwide. Deliveries overwhelmingly take place at health facilities and pre and post natal care has become common. However, there is still need to wage efforts to ensure that pre and post natal care is given adequately and in time, and to reduce inter-regional disparities in this field. This will reduce cases of foetus and newborn mortality.

According to the 2013 Turkey Demographic and Health Survey the prevalence of infertility among women in the age group 15-49 is by 16.1 per cent (Saraç and Koç, 2017). 4.1 per cent of women state that they use assisted reproductive techniques. In reproductive health programmes,

enlarging the scope of policies geared to ensuring access to assisted reproductive techniques will reduce infertility, mitigate social pressures on women and families, enable couples to have just the number of children they want, and thus make it possible to keep the rate of fertility at the level of replacement.

The findings of the survey indicate that 45% of women in the age group 40-49 in Turkey have fewer children than they want. In particular, women with high level of education and working women state they have fewer children than they actually want. This points out to significant difficulties faced in reconciling family life and working life. There is need to have the public sector assuming more responsibility in child-care services. Important policies encouraging having children include the promotion of crèches for preschool children and allocating sufficient funds for institutional child-care services.

Important steps have recently been taken to this effect. The Tenth Development Plan covering the period 2014-2018 targets the following under the “Programme for Protecting Family and Maintaining Dynamic Population Structure”: Strengthening the reconciliation of family and work; promotion of quality, affordable and accessible crèche and preschool education facilities; promoting family-friendly cultural environments by school curricula, printed and visual materials and supporting the activities of relevant CSOs; promotion of child-friendly delivery conditions and practices in the field of health; and provision child-friendly and safe urban environments by local governments. The Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former The Ministry of Family and Social Policies) is the coordinating institution also in charge of the programme. The “Programme for Protecting Family and Maintaining Dynamic Population Structure”

is monitored through the action system of the priority transformation programme (ÖDÖP-Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2018a) and information on steps taken is entered in quarterly periods. Under the part “Component 3: Maintaining Dynamic Population Structure” of the document prepared for the programme, there is detailed information about policies and objectives pursued (Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2018b).

In the process ahead, there is need for studies on the extent to which objectives have been attained and the effects of policies implemented. The design of future family structure surveys and to conduct impact analysis of policies geared to maintaining dynamic population structure will contribute to the enlargement of our domain of knowledge and also to the processes of policy development.

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2.

**FORMATION OF SINGLE-
PARENT FAMILIES IN THE
PROCESS OF CHANGING
FAMILY STRUCTURE IN
TURKEY, ITS DETERMINANTS
AND WELFARE STATUS
(2006-2016)**

Prof. İsmet Koç

FORMATION OF SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES IN THE PROCESS OF CHANGING FAMILY STRUCTURE IN TURKEY, ITS DETERMINANTS AND WELFARE STATUS (2006-2016)

Prof. İsmet Koç¹

I. Abstract

Socioeconomic, cultural and demographic transformations that Turkey is undergoing affect changes of family as well as its formation. As a result of this process we observe that extended, particularly patriarchal family structure is rapidly dissolving; that nuclear family is in stagnation starting from the 1990s after a rather fast increase in the earlier period; and that dissolved family structures, particularly one-person and one-parent families are in a process of rapid increase. This study discussing the process of change in family structure by looking at one-parent families focuses on five fundamental questions to expose priority areas: (1) What is the direction of change in family structure (2) What is the direction of change in lower layers of nuclear, extended and dissolved family structures? (3) What is the direction of change in age and sex of individuals representing one-parent families? (4) Is there a shift from necessity to preference in the formation of one-parent families? (5) Are one-parent families more disadvantaged than other family structures? To respond to these questions, sources used include 2006, 2011 and 2016 data sets of the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye survey (RFST) series and data sets from demographic survey conducted in the period 1968-2013. The study uses both descriptive and multi-variable methods of analysis. In descriptive analyses, the marriage

cohort approach is also used besides data from survey series in order to observe changes along time dimension. In multi-variable analysis, the logistic regression method is used to see whether the welfare status of one-parent families differ from other families. The outcome of the study shows that, as a result of socioeconomic change taking place in Turkey, the nuclearization of family structure and dissolution in extended family structure, particularly in patriarchal family are both continuing. Parallel to this change, there is very significant increase in the momentum, especially after the 1990s, of increase of one-person and one-parent families. It is observed that rapid increase in dissolved families halts and even pushes back the process of nuclearization in family structure. Looking in more detail we also observe the following: as sub-formations of nuclear family, the number of nuclear families without children increases faster than nuclear family with children and when nuclear family with children is taken, there is increase in the number of nuclear families with one or two children parallel to decreasing fertility while there is significant decrease in the number of nuclear families with three or more children. As to findings related to one-parent families that emerged at the third stage of the process of demographic transformation in western European countries and experienced at the second stage of the same transformation in Turkey, we observe that tendency of one-parent families to get younger and womanize is going on. Another change observed in these families is that necessity is being gradually replaced by preference in the formation of such families. Findings related to the welfare status of one-parent families is that it is rapidly going up in the period 2011-2016 though relatively more unfavourable compared to other family structures. Even in those years when the welfare status of these families was unfavourable relative to nuclear and extended families, the status of children in these families in general and with

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respect to age groups is better than children in all other families in terms of preschool enrolment, school attendance and having a private room in house. Despite this development, the state of rapidly growing dissolved families in Turkey, one-parent and one-person families under this group, and women, elderly women, men and children still constitutes a policy priority. There is therefore considerable public benefit in maintaining and enhancing social policy services targeting dissolved, particularly one-parent families.

II. Justification and Objectives

Socio-demographic and economic transformation taking place in Turkey particularly after 1950s led to changes in family structure and emergence of different forms of family. In this process, the functions of traditional families gradually disappeared and emerging forms of family commensurate with new modes of life brought along by modernization started to play an important role in social life (Özbay, 1985; Duben, 1985; Duben and Behar, 1998; Koç, 2014a; Koç et al., 2014b). In the same process where multi-faceted and non-linear modernization tendencies instead of linear ones are observed, the socio-demographic structure of Turkey to has undergone significant changes as in other parts of the world. The process entailed transformation in the structure of family together with and under the influence of many factors including population size and composition, its spatial distribution, sector-wise distribution of labour force, level and norm of fertility, life-expectancy at birth, features related to marriage and formation of family, social status of women, social security system and perhaps the most important of all, social mentality. It is observed that Turkey experienced a transition from young to relatively order population composition in this process. In the 1950s, population under age 15 constituted 40% of total population and it dropped to 26% today. In the same period we see

that the share of population at age 65 and over increased from 3% to 8%. There is also significant change in spatial distribution of population as a result of rapid urbanization. Indeed, while 75% of total population in the country lived in rural settlements, today we see almost 80% of total population in urban settlements. A similar change can also be observed in settlement areas in that today a large proportion of population lives in metropolitan areas whereas it was rural parts where the bulk of population lived in the 1950s. In the same process, sector wise distribution of labour force has also changed: The weight of labour force concentrating in agriculture left its place to industry and particularly to the sector of services. Although the number of births per woman displays a stagnating tendency within the last 10 years, taking the longer term we see that the rate of fertility is also falling and is now at 2.2 which is just above the replacement level, again as a significant demographic change taking place in this period. Again in the same period and parallel to the change mentioned, significant changes took place in the age distribution of fertility where the age interval in which fertility concentrates shifted from 20-24 to 25-29 (Koç et al., 2010; Koç, 2014c). Together with declining fertility, there is a decline in ideal number of children which enables us to forecast better future demographic trends. In the 1960s and 1970s, the difference between the actual number of children and what is considered as ideal number of children was as large as 2-3 children. This gap significantly closed starting with 1990s. Indeed, demographic surveys conducted in the period 1968-2008 show that the gap between the existing level of fertility and the ideal number of children narrowed and the two converged around 2 children. This means that couples are now more determined to have the number of children they actually want and having fewer children is established as a norm. Another supporting development in this respect is that while 68% of women from generations before 1980 stated 3-4

as the ideal number of children, this falls down to 37% in women from generations after 1990 (Eryurt, Canpolat and Koç, 2013). Another factor leading to change in family structure in Turkey is changes taking place in tile in characteristics relating to the formation of marriage (age at marriage, type of wedlock, marriage decision, consanguineous marriage, etc.). Results of family and demographic surveys conducted in Turkey show that the age at marriage is 16 for women marrying in 1970 and earlier, and 24 for women marrying in 2000 and later. In societies like in Turkey where having children or living in extended family is considered as safeguard, the extension of social security too has its transformative effect on family structure. In this respect we see that the proportion population covered by social security that was only 65% in the early 2000s is 89% as of 2016. Another demographic development taking place in Turkey is significant increase in life expectancy at birth as a result of improvements in health, sanitation and hygiene. Life expectancy at birth which is important in determining the lifetime and thus composition of families has increased within the last 40 years by 7 years for women and 5 years for men, making it 81 and 78, respectively (Koç et al., 2010; TÜİK, 2018). As age at first marriage goes higher in all regions and in both rural and urban areas, the proportion of women with exclusively religious marriage, of women marrying without their consent and women in consanguineous marriage is falling down as a result of rapid socio-demographic and economic transformation. In the process of internal migration which intensified in Turkey with the 1950s, the share of the sectors of industry and services mainly organized in urban centres in total production increased and the level of education became a more important factor in finding jobs in these sectors. This situation made the process of forming urban families different from the process in rural areas. In the formation of families, the level of education

and particularly property ownership started to gain importance which in turn made the period of spouse selection longer than it was before. Consequently, postponement of marriages rapidly brought up ages at first marriage higher especially in urban settlements (Duben and Behar, 1998; Duben, 1985; Shorter and Macura, 1982; TÜİK, 1995).

This demographic development turned into a factor that extends the natural life of nuclear families with children and thus exerts its influence on change in family structure in Turkey. We observe other factors supporting this process including the shift of the pattern of female labour from agriculture to industry and services in the process of internal migration and rising levels of education. In the same process, economic independence of urban women with higher levels of education coming as a result of employment also contributed to changing family structure by their postponement of marriage, consequent postponement of having children, increasing rates of divorce and termination of marriage. In the modernization process of Turkey per capita income increased rapidly from 7,000 USD in the early 2000s to 15,000 USD in 2017, bringing along adoption of western ways of life particularly by younger generations. As a result, such forms of dissolved family as one-person and one-parent families which emerged in Western European societies only during the process of third demographic transformation started to appear in Turkey at the second stage of the first demographic transformation (Koç et al., 2010; Koç 2014a). These socioeconomic and demographic transformations taking place in Turkey within the last 50 years inevitably had their impact on change in family structure. In this context the present study has six major objectives. The first is to present the change in family structure taking place in turkey in the period 1968-2016. The second is to expose changes taking place in sub-groups of nuclear,

extended and dissolved families. The third objective is to analyse age and gender structures by focusing on one-parent families. The fourth is to analyse the formation of one-parent families by checking whether there is any shift from necessity imposed by the death of spouse to divorce as a preference. The fifth is to analyse whether one-parent families are in a more advantageous position than other families in terms of socioeconomic well-being. And finally the sixth is to make some forecasts about the future shaping of family structure in Turkey by pointing out to priority areas related to the issue.

III. Methodology

A. Data Sources

The major source of data in the study is RFST-2006, RFST-2011 and RFST-2016 data (ASPB, 2006; ASPB, 2011). A comparative study is possible since sampling and questionnaire designs of these surveys based on samples representing the country and included in the official statistics programme are largely similar. The sampling designs of family structure surveys make it possible to conduct analyses on the basis of the country and 12 regions, and also by urban-rural distinction when 2006 and 2011 surveys are concerned. The study also uses data from demographic studies conducted in the period 1968-2013 and statistics published by TurkStat in construing data from the RFST series and in some consistency analyses. Data sets of family structure survey contain quite detailed information relating to household composition, family structure, household characteristics, and socio-demographic features of household members. Since data mentioned come from household and household member data sets rather than data sets on individuals over age 18, the present study basically used the repealed. Hence, the unit of analysis in the study is households and household members. In the process of data analysis, household weights

built in data sets to remedy for the distribution of family surveys over the sample and cases of non-response were not used since household data sets do not include individual weights and therefore disrupt the pattern related to existing family structures. The coverage of data analyses in the study by RFST data sets is as follows: 12,208 households, 48,235 household members and 24,647 individuals at age 18 and over 12,138 of whom are males in RFST-2006; 12,056 households, 44,117 household members and 23,279 individuals at age 18 and over 11,632 of whom are males in RFST-2011; and 17,239 households, 57,398 household members and 34,475 individuals at age 15 and over of whom 17,536 are males in RFST-2016.

B. Methods of Statistical Analysis

Besides descriptive analyses, multi-variable statistical analyses were also conducted in the study to expose the change in family structure, process of formation of one-parent families and welfare status of these families. In descriptive analyses, the two-stage comparative descriptive analysis approach was followed. Comparative analyses of data from three different surveys were made at the first stage of this approach. Also used in this process is data coming from demographic surveys. While examining family structures at the second stage of descriptive analysis, marriage cohorts were constructed by using RFST-2016 data and comparative analyses were conducted so as to cover experiences of different marriage cohorts in the period 1952-2016. Through this approach, analyses were conducted retrospectively by adding time dimension to family structure surveys, a product of cross-sectional data collection process. The study used the method of logistic regression to identify the determinants of one-parent families. In cases where dependent variable consists two or multi-level categorical data, logistic regression has an important place in examining cause and effect relationship between dependent

variable and independent variables. Independent variables may be categorical or continuous in logistic regression analysis whose objectives are classification and investigation of relationship between dependent and independent variables. In logistic regression, the ratio of the probability of an event to other external events is called Odds Value and the ratio of Odds values of two different events is called Odds Ratio or Risk Ratio. In logistic regression equation Risk Ratio is expressed as $\text{Exp}(\beta)$. Since Odds is the ratio of probability of an event to occur to probability that does not occur, $\text{exp}(\beta_p)$ expresses how many times more or by which percentage the variable Y can be observed more under the impact of variable X_p (Gujarati, 2004). In analyses conducted in the present study to find out the determinants of one-parent families, one-parent families are given the value “1” and others “0”. A three-stage model was followed in model development processes of the analysis. In analyses on determinants of one-parent families, the first stage included only the variable marriage cohort. The variables level of education and marital status of the parent were included at the second stage, and variables socioeconomic level, status in receiving social assistance, and status in borrowing/credit use are included at the third stage.

C. Conceptual Framework

It is observed in studies concerning change in family structure that the terms household and family are mostly used interchangeably. Yet, these two terms denote some distinct features in the conceptual framework. Household is a socioeconomic unit composed of individual with or without kinship ties whereas family is another unit embodying relations established by traditions or laws. Also, while household is defined as a group of individuals staying together, family is a group comprising individuals with blood ties (Koç, 1997; Koç, 1999; Yavuz and Yüceşahin, 2012; Koç, 2014a; Koç, et al., 2014c).

As can be inferred from these definitions, there can be one or more family units in a household or no family unit. Therefore, households with a family unit in are called “family household” and other with no family unit in as “no family household” in the relevant literature (Laslett, 1972; Koç, 1997; Yavuz, 2002; Koç, Özgören and Şirin, 2010; Yavuz and Yüceşahin, 2012). Since the unit of analysis in this study is household, the classification made is actually not related to family structure but to the “composition of households.” In this respect, the terms household and family are used interchangeably in this study since data sources are household based.

The classic approach to family forms is to use the classification of triple typology which consists of nuclear, extended and dissolved family. However, in a country like Turkey undergoing a rather rapid socio-economic and demographic transformation, it is not possible to analyse the change in family structure with this classic typology. Hence, a three-staged path is pursued to construct the family typology used in this study. At the first stage, family forms are classified as nuclear, extended and dissolved. At the second stage secondary family structures are introduced (nuclear without children, nuclear with children; patriarchal extended, transient extended; one-person, one-parent, other, not related). The third stage introduces tertiary family structures (nuclear without children (<age 45), nuclear without children (\geq age 45); nuclear with children-1 child, nuclear with children-2 children, nuclear with children-3+ children; one-person-man, one-person-woman, one-parent-man, one-parent-woman). Explanations about these family forms are given in Table 1.

In the process of constructing family typologies used in this study, household members’ level of affinity to household head is used as basic variable. Besides, sex, age and marital status of household members are also used in defining

Table 2.1. Classification of family structures used in the study and relevant explanations

Family Structure	Explanation
1. Nuclear	Family comprising husband and wife and/or unmarried children.
1.1.Nuclear without children	Family comprising husband and wife only
1.1.1.Nuclear without children (<age 45)	Family comprising husband and wife only where the woman is younger than 45.
1.1.2.Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	Family comprising husband and wife only where the woman is at age 45 or older.
1.2.Nuclear with children	Family comprising husband and wife with their unmarried children.
1.2.1.Nuclear with children-1 child	Family comprising husband and wife with one unmarried child.
1.2.2.Nuclear with children-2 children	Family comprising husband and wife with two unmarried children.
1.2.3.Nuclear with children-3+ children	Family comprising husband and wife with at least 3 unmarried children.
2.Extended	Nuclear family unit plus a person or family added to the first horizontally or vertically.
2.1.Patriarchal extended	Nuclear family unit plus one or more family units added to the first horizontally or vertically.
2.2.Transient extended	Nuclear family unit plus a dissolved family or another person added to the first horizontally or vertically.
3.Dissolved	Family form where nuclear family unit is transformed into one-person one-parent or where family comprises of persons with or without blood tie.
3.1.One-person	Family form consisting of single adult woman or man living alone.
3.1.1.One-person-Man	Family form consisting of single adult man living alone.
3.1.2.One-person-Woman	Family form consisting of single adult woman living alone.
3.2.One-parent	Family form emerging with separation of one spouse from a nuclear family with children as a result of divorce, living separately or death.
3.2.1.One-parent-Man	Family form emerging with separation of woman from a nuclear family with children as a result of divorce, living separately or death.
3.2.2.One-parent-Woman	Family form emerging with separation of man from a nuclear family with children as a result of divorce, living separately or death.
3.3.Other dissolved	Family form emerging as a result of separation of one nuclear element (grandmother-grandchild, grandfather-grandchild, etc).
3.4.Not related	Family form comprising individuals without any blood tie or relation in-between.

forms of family. By taking due account of these variables, all persons in a household were considered and each household member was given a numerical value different from others. Then, total numerical value of the household and family code is obtained by adding up these numerical values. By analysing family codes with respect to family typologies used in the study the number and percentage of households falling within each typology were calculated.

D. Constructing Independent Variables

Large majority of independent variables were used as they were in the data set. Only the variables of marriage cohort and duration in education were constructed or reconstructed by

using other variables or their categories existing in the data set. It will be useful to grasp better discussions in coming sections if the way of constructing these variables is explained at this stage. Since the variable date of marriage does not exist in data sets, it was constructed by using the age of individuals at the time of study, age at marriage and the date of the study. With this variable, 14 different five-year marriage cohorts were constructed retrospectively for the period before RFST-2016, as 2012-2016 the most recent and 1952 and before as the oldest. There are two variables related to levels of education of individuals in family structure analyses. One of these variables denotes steps in level of education and the other is related to duration

in education. Since a retrospective approach is adopted in the study, the variable related to duration in education is classified and used as 0-4, 5-7, 8-11, 12-15 and >15 years instead of the variable denoting levels of education which is negatively affected by frequent changes in the system of education.

E. Limitations

There are three major limitations related to data sets used in the study. The first derives from differences of format in variables included in data sets of family structure surveys. Particularly in relation to RFST-2006 data set, difficulties were faced in comparative analyses since some variables were given in groups and not as they were in questionnaires. Some comparative analyses could not be made since questions or response choices related to some variables are formulated differently although they exist in all three surveys. Another difficulty in the process was that analyses based on data sets displayed unexplainable inconsistency over years. In constructing the variable family structure, no important problem was faced thanks to the standard coding system used in this variable in spite of the fact that codes related to the affinity of household members to the reference person varied from survey to survey. However, the fluctuating nature of the prevalence of family structures in survey series created some important problems in interpreting outcomes. Upon this, efforts were made to overcome these difficulties by adding to series data from the 1968-2013 period of demographic surveys. Another limitation faced in the study was related to analyses on welfare status of one-parent families: The number of variables denoting this status was limited in data sets.

IV. Literature ve Theoretical Framework

As one of the leading themes in social sciences for a long time now, the institution of family is addressed by quite diverse studies in disciplines

of anthropology and sociology. Family studies pioneered by Murdock (1949) and Pearson (1955) today constitute an important literature with its various dimensions. In the context of literature overview, the present study deals with studies on family in general and one-parent families in Turkey.

As far as household studies in Turkey in the context of demographic research are concerned, the chapter in a book authored by Timur comes to the fore as it contains one of the first detailed analyses on the subject (Timur, 1978). The work mentioned had used data from the 1968 Turkey Family Structure and Demographic Problems Survey. It classifies household types in Turkey under 4 categories as nuclear family, patriarchal extended family, transient extended family and dissolved or not related on the basis of person stated as household head. According to findings, 60% of all families are nuclear, 19% are patriarchal extended family, 13% are transient extended while 8% were households with dissolved families or persons with no relation. Patriarchal families were mostly those where married sons shared the same household with their parents. It was found that in 8% of all households married son and other unmarried children accompanied the household head and in 9% there were one or more married sons in the household. One-parent families that we see more frequently in our day had the share of 5% and households with non-related persons made up 3% in total. The outcomes of the survey showed that patriarchal extended family was the most common form (39%) in cases where the male was a farmer. On the other hand, the share of nuclear family goes up to 77% where the male is a professional or holding a managerial position. It is stated that there is no significant variation with respect to levels of education and income. Besides cross-sectional observations, the study asserts that many couples live in extended families in the formation of marriage

and then experience various family typologies. For example, only 37% of households defined as nuclear family at the time of the study were so from the outset. Timur (1978) and Kiray (1985) state that a cycle prevails in family types particularly in rural areas. Young couples start first by living with the family of the husband, and then pass to nuclear family, but assume the character of patriarchal extended family when their sons get married and start living with them. Timur's work includes significant findings also in an effort to establish connections between modernity and family types in Turkey. Constructing a "family modernity index" on the basis of responses given to 16 questions in the questionnaire, the author lists the following as the elements of this index: 1) Decision making processes, 2) Attitudes related to gender roles and relative dominancy of spouses, and 3) Common or distinct participation and marriage roles of spouses. According to this scale, patriarchal extended families in both rural and urban areas are defined as most "traditional" (80%) whereas nuclear families as "least traditional" (43% are defined as "traditional"). It is necessary to note here that the term modernity is attributed by the author. Scale-wise example of this difference is that while decisions are mostly taken by males as household heads in patriarchal extended families, there is mention of more equalitarian structure in nuclear families where women and men take decisions together. By referring to Timur's study (1978), Adams and Trost (2005) assert that extended family is an ideal in Turkey particularly in rural areas and that it usually dissolves as a result of economic reasons. Further, extended family is addressed in the context of urbanization: New migrant to urban centres from rural areas mostly represent chain migration where they settle in locations close to where their relatives or people from the same area live and frequently share the same household though temporarily. According to Adams and Trost, this is not solely the result of

easier access to information and solidarity but also the desire to apply more effective social control mechanisms particularly on women and young family members and maintain traditional value systems. In an article Duben (1985) states that although the proportion of nuclear families is high in Turkey, extended family and wide network of relations maintain their importance in all social classes while wide network of relations is gradually losing weight with rising urbanization and industrialization.

The survey on the Value of Child in Turkey whose report is written by Kağıtçıbaşı (1982) on the basis of field work taking place in 1974 and 1975 presents family types in line with the classification made by Timur (1972). This study found the weight of patriarchal extended family as 12.9% transient extended family as 8.5%, and nuclear family as 78.6%. Nevertheless, Kağıtçıbaşı (1982) argues that nuclear families in Turkey differ from isolated marital companionships observed in industrialized western countries. Particularly in rural areas, Kağıtçıbaşı says, units representing nuclear family characteristics are like extensions of extended family with close ties maintained with other families in which parents live, relatives and neighbours. The same survey also questions the ideal number of children according to adults. The finding obtained from this questioning suggests that although a country of high fertility, Turkey still reminds medium-level fertility countries with respect to norms and values related to household size.

Baştuğ (2003) states that studies in the last 50 years associate significant social, economic, political and demographic changes largely with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and transition to republican regime. Baştuğ underlines that, in these studies again, radical change in family structure is addressed as transition from traditional extended family to nuclear family.

Baştuğ adds this type of approach, though not so explicitly, is based on the assumption that this transformation is an inevitable result of modernization and/or westernization and asserts that the issue under debate is whether the norm adopted in Turkey is nuclear or extended. An approach observed in the study mentioned is that inferences related to kinship, family and household in any given society requires a reading on cultural evolution that the society concerned has been undergoing for a long period of time. Hence, Baştuğ takes family structure starting from the time when Turks were nomadic communities and traces it through passage to settled life. Stating that transition to settled life gained momentum during the Ottoman period and the process was completed in the republican period, Baştuğ concludes that as a result country largely consisted of a settled rural population.

Also referred to in Duben's study (1982), Baştuğ stands against the myth that extended and nuclear families dominate rural and urban areas, respectively, and underlines that nuclear family is prevalent in both rural and urban areas. Baştuğ adds that even if nuclear families are in majority in rural areas, these households are not neolocal but patrilocal. According to Baştuğ (2003), in spite of historical and geographical ties with Islam countries in the Middle East, Turkey is a Mediterranean country especially with respect to cultural characteristics. Hence, kinship relations in Turkey resemble more to those in Spain, France, Italy and Greece rather than Arab countries and Turkic countries in Central Asia. One of the most important features is that individual family members are responsible to each other and kinship relations are strong. Children stay with their parents until they grow up and marry and maintain close relations after marriage as well. Further, in comparison to family structure in Northern Europe nuclear families are closer to relatives and such practices as having keys to each other's house are common. While

mentioning this affinity, Fişek (1982) draws attention to the fact that nuclear family is devoid of clear boundaries and it is as if a part of an extended family in practice. It becomes clearer in that marriage is mostly seen as the union of not two individuals but two families.

Baştuğ (2003) argues that in the case of Turkey such processes as carrying on of generational transfer over both man and woman, taking place of marriages with newly established households and emergence of independent nuclear families set in too early to speak about the influence of "industrialization", "modernization" or "westernization." Hence, according to Baştuğ, the transformation of household structure cannot be regarded as confirmation of the "modernization theory". Further, in cases of transformation to industrial and post-industrial capitalism which is denoted as "modernization" this would of course have its implications on kinship relations, but outcomes would be much more complex than what the "modernization theory" could expect. Stressing that familial dependences and independences as well as kinship relations widely differ by cultures, Baştuğ holds that regarding relatively isolated nuclear family as seen in Northern as the only logical and possible outcome is ethno-centric. The theory of modernization as the focal point of the debate mentioned above describes, in general, the transformation of traditional or backward societies into modern societies. According to Eisenstadt (1966) modernization is historically the process of transformation into social, economic and political systems that emerged first in Western Europe and North America, then expanding to other European countries and to the countries of South America, Asia and Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries. Though the theory has its several versions it is still possible to list some principles common to all: 1) Societies develop passing through a series of evolutionary stages, 2) Besides social differentiation at various levels

and in various patterns, these stages are shaped by the recombination of structural and cultural components that are in harmony with society, 3) Developing societies of our day are in the pre-modern period of evolution and they will, in time, realize their economic growth and assume social, political and economic characteristics observed in societies of Western Europe and North America that are at the highest stage of social evolution, 4) Modernization will come to an end when obstacles to development deriving from structural and cultural characteristics are removed. Since the 1960s, criticism targeting the theory of modernization started to weaken its theoretical pillars. Critical theories in this regard frequently explain the underdeveloped state of the countries of the third world by referring to colonialism, imperialist interventions and neo-colonialism in effect since these countries gained their independence. The essence of these critical theories is that some “centre” countries or regions enjoy their development and strength at the cost of “peripheral” regions. The theory of modernisation argues, in essence, that advanced industrial technologies bring along not only economic growth but also some other structural and cultural changes as well. In the social field, for instance, modern societies come to the fore with their high rates of urbanization and literacy, advanced status in science, health, secularism, bureaucracy, media and transformation facilities. Their rates of birth and mortality are low while life expectancy at birth is long. The family structure in Turkey is in process of transformation from the mid-20th century in terms of marriage and divorce practices and gender roles. In addition to the effect of socio-economic and demographic changes on this transformation, it is also possible to take a look at changes in family structure from a different perspective. At this point, the Developmental Idealism is a theory focusing on the impact on changes in family structure of some intellectual factors apart from structural factors including

the following: normative stance of individuals; their religious and moral values and attitudes; ideas about freedom and equality; positions vis á vis individuality; and perceptions and beliefs regarding family and having children (Thornton, 2001; Thornton 2005; Thornton et al., 2014). Developmental Idealism is a system of values spreading to the world from the west throughout the last two centuries, arguing that it is modern societies that are fine and correct, believing that modern societies and modern family must be adopted by all; that modern families make up modern societies while modern societies ensure the formation of modern family structure (Kavas and Thornton, 2013). The perspective of Developmental Idealism adopts a critical approach to the idea that modernization and development emerged as a result of spreading of western thinking and beliefs all over the world. The definition of modernization and development is important at this point. The modernization model maintains that changes and emerging modes of life and thinking in the west after the Age of Enlightenment spread to all societies in the same direction and with same stages. In this model where traditional societies transform into modern societies, urbanization, industrialization and advances in technology and education have their important place in associating modernization with development models. Development models mentioned here are, as can be inferred are models that have development, industrialization and urbanization as their focal points. In the light of this information, development and modernization models that are based on western ideas and convictions again internalize cultural elements, world outlook, education system and human rights perception of western Europe and place these at the centre of modernization (Krücken and Drori, 1987). As a part of the modernization model, cultural elements of the west pervade all societies via various policies, social movements, scientific work, economic activities and international

treaties (Kavas and Thornton, 2013). Values and attitudes, perceptions and beliefs emerging in societies in this process play an important role in bringing about ideational change. The process of modernization progressed rapidly with the republican period. In this period, the establishment of a new regime and the desire to create a new, modern and secular country led to many reforms striving to adapt European way of life and norms to Turkey. The idea of being a western society was regarded as the main element of modernization, and in this period during which industrialization was taken as synonymous with civilization creating a strong economy was placed at the centre of modernization. Reforms changed not only institutions and legislation but also the way of life and thinking in Turkey. However, there has always been a confrontation between western way of thinking and more traditional groups who wanted to stick to Islamic way of life which led to a dual way of life in the country. Within the last 40 years new arrangements have been introduced in the context of alignment with the European Union. EU accession stands as successful completion of the process of modernization for Turkey (Kavas and Thornton, 2013). Legislative arrangements made in this process of alignment affected issues directly related to family structure such as marriage, divorce and gender roles. Beyond legislation, the desire of citizens to reach European Union standards has been and is influential in the spread of western mentality.

Ideational change is one of the fundamental concepts in the theory Developmental Idealism which Thornton (2001) uses in explaining changes in demographic and family structures of developing countries. It is stated that there is evolution from traditional to modern family structure along with this change. The modern family mentioned here is the one we observe in north-western Europe with the following structural characteristics: Nuclear and single-

spouse, high ages at marriage, young persons having their large area of privileges, married decided by couples mostly on the basis of romantic love affairs, planned fertility, wide use of contraceptives, and equality in gender roles. Changes in the social status of women, way families are established, in perceptions about child raising and the place of child in society, emergence of a new concept of family and spread of western way of thinking are all associated with changes in family structure taking place in Turkey.

The theory of Developmental Idealism provided a framework for recent studies on household structure (Kavas and Thornton, 2013; Koç, 2014a; Thornton et al., 2014; Lai and Thornton, 2015). Thornton et al. (2014) states that the concept of developmental idealism is at odds with many important elements of idealized family historically existing in Iran. Stating that families are typically responsible for organizing all social activities including production, consumption, education, socialization, reproduction, leisure time use, etc. the authors maintain that families are patriarchal and extended structures that are traditionally centres of warmth and affinity. The impact of Islam on family structure in Iran is not overlooked. Though not being a western colony in any period of her history, Iran's intensive trade with Europe starting in the 19th century brought along such concepts of development, growth, modernization, human rights, equality, freedom, parliament and democracy. Hence there was increase in the number of Iranians going out to Europe for education and education institutions within the country. Particularly in the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi cultural norms and moral values of the west were preferred to long-standing religious and cultural values and modernization was taken as synonymous with westernization. In a study by Abbasi-Shavazi and Askari-Nodoushan (2012) conducted in the city of Yazd it is observed that characteristics

related to family and qualified as “modern” are largely identified with “advanced” societies. For example, it is widely stated that early and arranged marriages and high fertility are all attributed to underdeveloped regions whereas gender equality is associated with advanced ones. Additionally, respondents stated that extended families where elderly persons and their adult children or newly married couples and their parents living together would decline and there would be increase in divorces. As in the case of the study by Abbasi-Shavazi and Askari-Nodoushan (2012), the findings of another study conducted in Malawi to test the theory of Developmental Idealism are also remarkable. The study by Thornton and others (2014) discusses the possibility of rejection by societies of some issues that are in the agenda of international organizations like the United Nations for being “imposed upon” and examines whether messages given are taken correctly. When Malawi is concerned, it is possible to talk about situations both facilitating and preventing the spread of developmental idealism. In the country where Christian missionaries were once quite active, a strong attitude against western values was adopted particularly during the term of President Banda, but the situation was the reverse in matters related to family during the next government. Findings here are parallel to those in Iran; characteristics that are related to family and considered as modern are largely associated with development. One finding which turned out to be different than what was expected is women’s perception about future change in age at marriage: They said they didn’t expect that age to increase... It is also observed that developmental values become more common as the level of education gets higher. In their survey conducted in Gansu region of China, Lai and Thornton (2015) dwelled on the impact of developmental idealism on the formation of values related to family. Their article referring to a “world culture” prevailing since the World

War II, states that concepts such as individuality, rights, freedom and equality have become more common and are institutionally recognized. The process of development or growth is an important component of the world culture mentioned. From the lens of development approach, countries are frequently perceived as at higher or lower levels of a specific hierarchy. Despite intensive criticisms targeting this approach reducing countries to a single dimension of development or modernity, it is still observed that this development hierarchy has established itself in the minds of individuals. As far as values related to family are concerned, this stance finds expression in the adoption of decision of marriage by couples concerned, nuclear family, equality of couples, delayed marriage and low fertility that are specific to western societies; in the minds of many, Western Europe and North America have reached the highest point in development. The study concludes that ideas of individuals on development and family lead to the adoption of such characteristics. The developmental idealism perspective has recently been observed in studies on family structure in Turkey as well. The study by Kavas and Thornton (2013) examines, starting from the late Ottoman period, change in family structure in Turkey from the perspective of state policies for modernization and westernization. The study underlines that developmental idealism has led to cultural clashes with local beliefs and value systems and there for met with resistance. The study further argues that the adoption of modernization as the basic principle upon the establishment of a new state in 1923 and more recently efforts to become a part of the European Union are the leading indicators of support given to developmental idealism. As different from studies in China and Malawi that put stress on developmental idealism, this study has no reference any field survey testing the theory. Instead, the study is based on constructed discourses, literature and legislative reforms and also to demographic statistics.

Kavas and Thornton (2013) states that there were reforms during the Ottoman period in the 19th century which placed family as the stepping stone of these reforms in many respects. Despite the consensus reached by the leading political figures of the time concerning the necessity to give effect to changes in classical family structure and the status of women, its practical implementation assumed the form of adopting western norms and transforming the family while, at the same time, remaining loyal to Islamic faith. In legislative area, the adoption of the French Civil Code was considered during the reform period (*Tanzimat*) which was followed by the enactment of Islamic laws with western standards under such names as civil jurisdiction provisions (*Mecelle-i Ahkamı Adliye*) and family law (*Hukuk-u Aile*) accompanied by arrangements related to marriage, divorce, inheritance, and status of women. The latter of the legislative acts mentioned above prohibited polygamy and marriage before adolescence. In the republican period, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk personally stated that individuals in the country “have to prove that they are civilized by their family and general way of life.” also in this period, the Swiss Civil Code was adapted to Turkey, change in patterns of settlement was supported, and nuclear families considered as “good” was preferred to extended families considered as “bad.” The most recent event leading to transformation of ideas relating to family structure is Turkey’s adoption of the perspective of being a member of the European Union. Kavas and Thornton (2013) cite amendments made in the Civil Code in 2002 as examples to this perspective. These amendments equalized the status of woman and man in family.

There are additionally two more studies, both authored by Koç (2014a), addressing the change in family structure both in quantitative terms and from the perspective of developmental idealism. Their findings include analyses of data from the

most recent Family Structure Survey conducted in 2013 and of past Demographic and Health Surveys. Koç (2014a) emphasizes the importance of three major developments in the transformation of family structure in Turkey: 1) Socioeconomic change, 2) Demographic transformation, and 3) Ideational change. The study underlines the importance of the third and refers in particular to antinatalist population policy pursued in the context of the modernization project of the republican period. The study accordingly asserts that population growth was perceived as a problem starting from the first planning period and that development was associated with low rate of population growth. It also lays stress on the decline of extended family in Turkey and foresees an increase in dissolved families.

As far as one-parent families are concerned, studies on the prevalence of such families, their process of formation, characteristics of family members and welfare status are extremely limited. The existing studies focus more on the impact of the incidence of divorce on emotional state of children and on their poor school performance (Şentürk, 2006; Serin and Öztürk, 2007; Yılmaz, 1998; Şirvanlı, 1999; Şirvanlı, 2003; Sardoğan et al., 2007). The limited number of studies on one-parent families in Turkey where the prevalence of this family type is close to that in Western Europe societies makes it difficult to compare in detail their characteristics with those in Europe. The most important study so far conducted in Turkey on one-parent families is by the General Directorate of Family and Social Studies (2011). This survey on one-parent-person families collected data from 473 individuals from one-parent families in rural and urban parts of İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Samsun, Adana, Şanlıurfa and Erzurum provinces through 33 focus group and 276 semi-structured face to face interviews (ASAGEM, 2011). The survey qualitatively examined children, mothers and fathers in one-parent families with respect

to their perceptions of family, their experience as one-parent family, how they cope up with associated difficulties and effects of their family status in psycho-pedagogical, economic, social, cultural and legal terms. Apart from this survey, the Survey on Causes of Divorce in Turkey conducted in 2008 and 2014 by the same ministry places emphasis on increasing rates of divorce on the way leading to one-parent families (ASPB, 2009; ASPB, 2015).

V. Change in Family Structure

Examining together data sets of demographic surveys conducted within the last 50 years we see that the prevalence of nuclear and dissolved families increases as extended family is in decline (Table 2). We observe that the share of dissolved families increased significantly within the last 50 years and reached 19.9% which is higher than the share of extended family (10.8%). The share of nuclear families that stagnates around 69-70% today was 59-60% in the period 1960-70. Leaving aside fluctuations in percentage distribution of family structures over time, we can conclude that in the last 50 years the share of nuclear families increased by 11% and dissolved families by 138% while there is decrease by 57% in the share of extended families.

Data in Table 3 suggest that the increase in the share of nuclear families without children in particular accounts for a considerable part of increase in the share of nuclear families. This increase in families composed of married couples only is basically the outcome of demographic transformation which manifests itself in postponement of fertility and longer life expectancy at birth. Another development associated with this transformation can be found in inner composition of nuclear families with children. There is significant decline in the share of nuclear families with children in the period 2006-2016. This decrease is particularly pronounced in the share of nuclear families

with three or more children. Looking from a wider time interval as 1978-2016, we observe increase in the share of nuclear families with one or two children and decrease in the share of nuclear families with three or more children. There is very significant decline in the share of extended families within the last 40 years. The decline in extended family structure, particularly in patriarchal extended family is remarkable. Indeed, while 19% of families in 1978 were patriarchal, this dropped as low as 5% in 2016. Another development taking place in this period is that transient extended family remained more persistent than patriarchal extended family and eventually became more prevalent than it. TDHS-2013 and RFST-2016 show that shares of transient and patriarchal extended families are getting closer to each other.

In the same period (1978-2016) the share of dissolved families increased from 8% to 20%. In this process it is observed the prevalence of one-person families increased about four times. About two-thirds of one-person families are those of women. The share of one-parent families in Turkey seems to be fixed around 5%. An overwhelming majority of one-parent households (90%) have women as the single parent. In dissolved families, it is observed that the category "other dissolved" is increasing. The weight of those characterized by grandchild-grandmother, grandchild-grandmother (father's) and grandchild-grandfather is remarkable among dissolved families. Dissolved families with persons without any relation or kinship ties that increased significantly in the period 1978-2016 are mostly composed of young people who moved to urban centres for higher education or seeking employment where these opportunities are more common.

Looking at percentage distribution of family structures by regions (Table 4, Table 5 and Table 6), we see that nuclear family is prevalent in all

Table 2.7. Distribution of Family Structure by Marriage Cohorts. RFST-2016

Family Structure	2007-2016	1997-2006	1987-1996	1982-1986	1972-1981	1962-1971	<1962
Nuclear	69.3	76.8	75.7	67.1	57.4	41.6	19.2
Nuclear without children	22.4	4.3	6.4	21.1	34.2	32.1	16.3
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	22.0	4.0	2.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	0.4	0.3	3.9	20.9	34.1	32.0	16.2
Nuclear with children	46.9	72.5	69.3	46.1	23.2	9.5	2.9
Nuclear with children-1 child	26.1	12.4	16.6	22.7	12.1	5.2	2.0
Nuclear with children-2 children	16.1	32.4	26.3	13.1	6.3	2.2	0.9
Nuclear with children-3+ children	4.7	27.7	26.4	10.3	4.8	2.1	0.1
Extended	28.1	18.3	18.6	24.0	26.7	29.5	40.3
Patriarchal extended	21.1	9.8	9.0	17.0	19.0	18.0	15.9
Transient extended	7.0	8.5	9.6	7.1	7.7	11.6	24.5
Dissolved	2.6	4.9	5.7	8.9	15.9	28.9	40.5
One-person	1.6	2.3	1.9	4.0	8.4	19.9	31.6
One-person -Male	1.4	1.8	1.3	2.2	2.2	3.8	6.8
One-person-Woman	0.2	0.5	0.6	1.8	6.3	16.1	24.8
One-parent	0.3	1.2	2.2	3.4	3.9	3.1	2.6
One-parent-Man	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.3
One-parent-Woman	0.3	1.0	1.9	2.8	3.6	2.5	2.3
Other dissolved	0.6	1.3	1.5	1.4	3.6	5.9	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

regions without exception. Analyses made on the basis of family structure surveys indicate that the prevalence of nuclear family is as high as 75% in İstanbul, Marmara, Aegean, Western Anatolia and Mediterranean regions, but it falls down to 60% particularly in Western and Eastern Black Sea regions. Again on the basis of family structure surveys, looking at sub-forms of nuclear family we see that nuclear families with children are more prevalent than nuclear families without children in all regions. The proportion of nuclear families without children is the highest in Western Marmara (30%) and the lowest in Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia (10-14%) in RFST 2016. The proportion of nuclear families with children is higher in South-eastern Anatolia (63.4%), Eastern Central Anatolia (55.6%) and in İstanbul (55.1%). Looking at nuclear families by the number of children they have we observe

that nuclear families with one or two children are more prevalent than nuclear families with three or more children in all but three regions in the east of the country. The share of nuclear families with three or more children gets as high as 35.4% in South-eastern Anatolia. Comparing RFST-2006 and RFST-2016 we find that in the period 2006-2016 there is decrease in the share of nuclear families with three or more children whereas there is increase in the c-share of nuclear families with one child in almost all regions.

In the same period again, the share of extended, particularly patriarchal extended families decreased. According to RFST-2016 outcomes, the share of extended families climbs up to over 15% in Eastern and Black Sea regions. The share of extended families remains below 10% in the western part of the country except eastern

Marmara and Central Anatolia. In all regions with the exception Central-Eastern Anatolia, North-eastern Anatolia and South-eastern Anatolia, transient extended family is observed to be more prevalent than patriarchal family. The region with the highest prevalence of patriarchal extended family is North-eastern Anatolia with 10.4% while it remains below 10% in all other regions.

Analyses made of the basis of marriage cohorts that is based on the year of marriage indicate that only 19.2% of families established before 1962 constituted nuclear family in the RFST-2016 period and that 405 of remaining families are in the status of extended or dissolved family (Table 7). This shows that family structures are not static; they transform dynamically in time, and nuclear families transform into extended and dissolved families in time. It is observed that this transition takes place in particular as from families with children to nuclear families with children and from nuclear families with few children to nuclear families with more children. Another important transition is observed in one-person and one-parent families. The higher proportion of one-person and one-parent families in older marriage cohorts seems to be associated both with transition in time to such families and older age structures of these families.

VI. Age and Gender Structure of Family Members

In line with demographic expectations, RFST-2006 and RFST-2016 outcomes show that there are 98-99 men per 100 women. The outcomes of the RFST-2016 show that sex ratio is 106 in nuclear families and 107 in nuclear families with children (Table 8). In nuclear families with children, sex ratio recedes from 110 to 102 as the number of children increases. This may be the outcome of the son preference in families with few children. In extended families, particularly in transient ones, the number of women is well

above the number of men. Considering that transient extended families with gender ratio of 81 are nuclear external units added to nuclear families, it can be inferred that unbalanced demographic composition observed in these families derives from demographic events like death, divorce and being a part of domestic migration processes.

As to gender composition in dissolved families (Table 8), the RFST-2016 data show that only 37% of household members are males. Since this proportion was 63% in the RFST-2006 period, it is clear that there has been significant decrease in the period 2006-2016 in male population living in dissolved families. In dissolved families where women have their significant weight, there are only 60 males per 100 women according to RFST-2016 outcomes. Consistent with these findings, about 65% of one-person households are those where women live alone and in one-person households there are 57 males per 100 women while there are 58 males per 100 women in one-parent households. Women's weight is clearly seen in other types of dissolved family. On the other hand, males are absolutely dominant in numbers in households where persons with no relation live together. There are 232 males per 100 women in these households. This confirms once more that they are households composed of male students or male labour force.

Looking at the relationship between family structure and age structure of household members forming the family (Table 9) we see in RFST-2016 data that child population (under age 18) have their largest shares in nuclear family (33%) and extended family (31%) whereas elderly persons (age 65 and over) have their largest share in dissolved families (19%). It is further observed that dissolved family also has the smallest share of children and largest share of persons at working ages (14% and 67%, respectively). Taking one-person families as a

Table 2.8. Percentage distribution of household members by gender on the basis of family structure and sex ratios. RFST-2006. RFST-2011 and RFST-2016

Family Structure	RFST-2006		RFST-2011		RFST-2016	
	Female Percentage	Sex ratio*	Female Percentage	Sex ratio*	Female Percentage	Sex ratio*
Nuclear						
Nuclear without children	51.3	105.3	48.3	107.1	48.7	105.5
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	49.9	99.6	50.7	97.1	50.0	100.0
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	50.0	100.0	49.6	101.7	50.0	100.0
Nuclear with children	49.8	99.3	51.2	95.4	50.0	100.0
Nuclear with children-1 child	51.5	106.2	47.8	109.0	48.4	106.6
Nuclear with children-2 children	52.4	109.9	47.4	110.8	47.6	110.2
Nuclear with children-3+ children	52.7	111.3	47.3	111.3	47.9	109.0
Extended	50.2	100.6	48.7	105.3	49.6	101.5
Patriarchal extended	48.7	94.9	50.9	96.3	53.2	88.1
Transient extended	50.1	100.4	49.6	101.7	51.3	95.0
Dissolved	47.1	89.1	52.0	92.1	55.4	80.6
One-person	34.7	53.1	58.1	72.0	62.5	60.0
One-person -Male	27.3	37.6	57.6	73.6	63.9	56.5
One-person-Woman	36.2	56.7	61.1	63.6	63.1	58.4
One-parent	62.9	169.9	37.0	169.9	24.6	306.1
One-parent-Man	32.3	47.8	64.3	55.6	66.7	49.8
One-parent-Woman	37.4	59.7	59.0	69.4	63.3	57.9
Other dissolved	63.6	175.0	40.3	147.9	30.1	232.0
Total	49.6	98.3	49.8	101.0	50.9	96.4

Table 2.9. Percentage distribution of household members by age groups on the basis of family structure. RFST-2006. RFST-2011 and RFST-2016

Family structure	0-17	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Total
		2006						
Nuclear	35.3	10.2	15.4	15.5	11.3	6.9	5.4	100.0
Nuclear without children	0.1	4.3	11.4	6.0	15.7	27.9	34.7	100.0
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	0.3	18.7	49.5	25.7	5.1	0.2	0.4	100.0
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	18.9	36.2	44.9	100.0
Nuclear with children	40.1	11.0	15.9	16.8	10.7	4.1	1.4	100.0
Nuclear with children-1 child	20.7	11.4	25.4	12.7	15.9	9.8	4.1	100.0
Nuclear with children-2 children	36.9	10.3	17.1	19.9	11.5	3.2	1.0	100.0
Nuclear with children-3+ children	51.4	11.3	10.7	16.3	7.8	2.1	0.4	100.0
Extended	32.9	12.9	15.4	10.5	9.9	7.9	10.5	100.0
Patriarchal extended	30.9	15.4	17.6	8.5	9.7	9.1	8.7	100.0
Transient extended	35.0	10.1	13.0	12.6	10.1	6.7	12.4	100.0
Dissolved	17.9	14.7	14.6	10.1	10.7	10.7	21.2	100.0
One-person	0.0	2.5	8.1	5.9	8.7	19.7	55.1	100.0
One-person -Male	0.0	5.7	16.3	10.0	6.2	12.9	48.8	100.0
One-person-Woman	0.0	1.3	5.0	4.3	9.7	22.3	57.5	100.0
One-parent	27.9	18.9	15.9	12.1	11.3	7.1	7.3	100.0
One-parent-Man	31.3	15.2	13.8	12.1	11.6	4.9	11.2	100.0
One-parent-Woman	27.0	19.4	16.2	12.1	11.2	7.4	6.7	100.0
Other dissolved	13.3	12.8	18.1	11.3	13.3	10.8	20.4	100.0
Not related	1.5	56.1	31.8	0.0	1.5	4.5	4.5	100.0
Turkey	33.6	11.1	15.4	13.9	10.9	7.4	7.7	100.0

Table 2.9. Percentage distribution of household members by age groups on the basis of family structure. RFST-2006, RFST-2011 and RFST-2016

Family structure	0-17	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Total
2016								
Nuclear	33.0	10.5	16.9	15.1	11.8	7.6	5.2	100.0
Nuclear without children	0.1	5.1	14.5	5.4	16.5	29.2	29.3	100.0
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	0.4	19.0	54.3	19.9	5.6	0.6	0.2	100.0
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	20.5	39.6	39.8	100.0
Nuclear with children	38.7	11.4	17.3	16.7	11.0	3.8	1.0	100.0
Nuclear with children-1 child	23.3	10.3	25.8	13.0	15.2	9.3	3.1	100.0
Nuclear with children-2 children	38.5	10.3	18.4	19.4	10.3	2.5	0.5	100.0
Nuclear with children-3+ children	49.6	13.3	10.3	16.4	8.8	1.4	0.2	100.0
Extended	30.5	13.8	17.4	10.6	10.4	8.6	8.7	100.0
Patriarchal extended	28.5	16.4	19.9	7.5	10.4	10.5	6.8	100.0
Transient extended	32.1	11.7	15.3	13.2	10.4	7.0	10.3	100.0
Dissolved	14.0	17.4	18.3	10.8	10.7	9.3	19.4	100.0
One-person	0.0	7.1	19.9	6.2	9.7	14.4	42.6	100.0
One-person -Male	0.0	9.5	38.0	11.4	8.7	9.9	22.6	100.0
One-person -Woman	0.0	5.3	6.5	2.5	10.5	17.8	57.4	100.0
One-parent	24.5	17.1	17.8	15.3	13.4	6.4	5.6	100.0
One-parent-Man	25.6	10.4	19.2	16.7	10.4	8.3	9.4	100.0
One-parent-Woman	24.4	18.0	17.6	15.1	13.8	6.1	5.1	100.0
Other dissolved	19.0	15.8	16.3	12.0	10.6	9.8	16.6	100.0
Not related	0.7	71.4	22.2	2.4	0.5	1.0	1.8	100.0
Turkey	30.6	11.8	17.1	13.9	11.4	7.9	7.3	100.0

Table 2.10. Distribution of wider age groups by family structure and average age in Turkey. RFST-2011 and RFST-2016

Family structure	0-14	15-64	65 ve +	Total	Average age	Distribution of elderly population
2011						
Nuclear	27.6	67.2	5.2	100.0	29.9	50.5
Without children	0.0	70.7	29.3	100.0	54.2	42.9
With children	32.4	66.6	1.0	100.0	25.7	8.6
Extended	25.9	65.4	8.7	100.0	32.2	20.8
Patriarchal extended	26.5	63.3	10.3	100.0	32.1	13.5
Transient extended	25.1	68.1	6.8	100.0	30.3	7.3
Dissolved	9.8	70.7	19.4	100.0	40.1	27.7
One-person	0.0	57.4	42.6	100.0	55.1	18.7
One-person	17.3	77.1	5.6	100.0	31.9	3.0
Other	5.7	86.4	7.9	100.0	29.8	6.1
Turkey	25.4	67.3	7.3	100.0	30.2	100.0

Table 2.10. Distribution of wider age groups by family structure and average age in Turkey. RFST-2011 and RFST-2016

Family structure	0-14	15-64	65 ve +	Total	Average age	Distribution of elderly population
2016						
Nuclear	25.6	67.8	6.5	100.0	32.2	49.0
Without children	0.0	67.8	32.2	100.0	56.8	39.2
With children	30.6	67.8	1.6	100.0	27.5	9.8
Extended	24.1	62.1	13.8	100.0	35.1	25.1
Patriarchal extended	23.6	59.5	16.9	100.0	37.3	14.2
Transient extended	24.5	64.3	11.2	100.0	33.2	11.0
Dissolved	9.8	66.1	24.1	100.0	44.2	25.8
One-person	0.0	52.5	47.5	100.0	59.4	16.9
One-person	19.1	74.1	6.9	100.0	32.4	2.9
Other	8.3	71.1	20.6	100.0	42.5	6.1
Turkey	25.4	67.3	7.3	100.0	31.4	100.0

sub-category of dissolved family, we see that about 42% of family members are old. Although the share of elderly population is the smallest in nuclear family in general, it may reach as high as 29% in nuclear family without children as a sub-category of nuclear family and 40% in nuclear families without children where women's age is 45 and over. The share of elderly population is larger in extended family structure (9%) exceeding the country average. This share increases slightly and reaches 10.3% in transient extended family. Looking in more detail to the family structure with the highest share of children we see that it is 39% in nuclear families with children. In nuclear families with three or more children, children make up about a half (49.6%) of total household members. As to family forms with large shares of adult population we see not related (97.5%), other dissolved (75%) and nuclear families without children (60%).

VII. Parental Characteristics in Single Parent Families and Process of Formation

This section analyses socioeconomic characteristics such as age, employment status and marital status of parents in one-parent families to reach some clues concerning the process of formation of these families. In these

families in 90% of which the parent is a woman, it is observed that parents are getting younger in time as the share of younger parents increases (Table 11). The average parental age which was 51.53% in the RFST-2006 period dropped to 50.13% in the RFST-2016 period. While the trend of getting younger is limited to one year for female parents, it is five years for male parents. As to age distribution of parents, the share of parents at age 65 and over decreased from 18.3% to 14.6% in the period 2006-2016 while the share of parents in the age group 25-44 increased from 53.2% to 58.5%. In the same period, the share of male parents at age 65 and over decreased from 35% to 32% and that of female parents from 17% to 12%. Findings related to age structures of parents in one-parent families, the tendency of these parents to get younger in time as contrary to parents in all other family structures confirm once more that there is transition from necessities to preferences. RFST-2011 and RFST-2016 data (Table 12) point out to no significant change in labour force participation rates of parents in nuclear and extended families. However, there are significant increases in labour force participation in dissolved families both in general and in its sub-categories. While the labour force participation rate increases from 25% to 32%

Table 2.11. Percentage distribution of ages of parents by family structures. 2006-2016

Family structure	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Total	Average age
2006								
Nuclear	0.9	19.9	28.9	23.2	14.4	12.8	100.0	46.95
Nuclear without children	1.7	12.9	6.0	12.1	25.9	41.4	100.0	58.08
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	7.2	55.8	25.9	9.8	0.4	0.9	100.0	33.58
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.7	33.6	53.6	100.0	65.34
Nuclear with children	0.6	21.9	35.6	26.4	11.1	4.4	100.0	43.32
Nuclear with children-1 child	1.6	32.6	16.8	23.0	17.7	8.3	100.0	44.29
Nuclear with children-2 children	0.3	20.8	40.2	26.9	8.7	3.2	100.0	42.62
Nuclear with children-3+ children	0.1	13.6	47.3	29.0	7.8	2.2	100.0	43.18
Extended	0.8	11.2	19.2	25.4	22.3	21.1	100.0	52.49
Patriarchal extended	0.4	3.0	6.9	25.1	31.3	33.2	100.0	59.06
Transient extended	1.3	22.1	35.7	25.8	10.3	4.8	100.0	43.83
Dissolved	4.3	12.0	14.8	16.9	17.5	34.4	100.0	54.76
One-person	2.5	8.1	5.9	8.8	19.7	55.0	100.0	61.56
One-person -Male	5.7	16.3	10.0	6.2	12.9	48.8	100.0	56.74
One-person-Woman	1.3	5.0	4.3	9.7	22.3	57.4	100.0	63.38
One-parent	1.2	7.5	25.6	27.6	19.9	18.3	100.0	51.53
One-parent-Man	0.0	3.8	11.3	23.8	26.3	35.0	100.0	58.64
One-parent-Woman	1.3	7.9	27.1	28.0	19.2	16.6	100.0	50.80
Other dissolved	12.5	31.7	19.6	18.3	8.5	8.5	100.0	41.25
Not related	55.6	37.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	3.7	100.0	26.26
Total	1.3	17.5	25.6	22.8	16.1	16.7	100.0	48.89
2016								
Nuclear	1.2	16.5	27.4	23.9	17.3	13.7	100.0	48.01
Nuclear without children	1.2	11.2	5.0	13.3	31.5	37.9	100.0	58.46
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	5.8	55.8	24.3	12.7	0.9	0.4	100.0	34.37
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	0.0	0.1	0.2	13.4	39.0	47.2	100.0	64.42
Nuclear with children	1.2	18.6	36.2	28.0	11.8	4.2	100.0	43.92
Nuclear with children-1 child	1.9	22.7	20.2	28.0	18.8	8.4	100.0	46.11
Nuclear with children-2 children	0.7	18.5	42.6	27.0	9.2	2.0	100.0	42.73
Nuclear with children-3+ children	1.1	12.9	49.0	29.5	5.9	1.7	100.0	42.67
Extended	1.3	9.4	16.7	25.2	23.4	23.9	100.0	53.54
Patriarchal extended	1.6	6.4	9.0	22.6	30.0	30.4	100.0	56.89
Transient extended	1.1	12.1	23.5	27.6	17.5	18.2	100.0	50.56
Dissolved	4.1	11.6	14.3	15.3	18.4	36.2	100.0	55.71
One-person	3.6	11.8	9.0	9.7	18.5	47.5	100.0	59.42
One-person -Male	7.2	21.7	15.2	11.4	15.5	28.9	100.0	50.93
One-person-Woman	1.5	6.2	5.4	8.7	20.2	57.9	100.0	64.21
One-parent	0.4	7.3	28.0	30.5	19.1	14.6	100.0	50.13
One-parent-Man	0.0	3.7	24.1	25.9	14.8	31.5	100.0	53.64
One-parent-Woman	0.5	7.8	28.5	31.1	19.7	12.4	100.0	49.72
Other dissolved	5.8	13.4	16.9	17.8	18.0	28.1	100.0	52.27
Not related	42.0	44.9	5.8	2.9	1.4	2.9	100.0	28.78
Total	1.8	14.8	23.7	22.3	18.2	19.3	100.0	50.13

for parents in dissolved families, this increase is from 23% to 30% in one-person families and from 23% to 31% in one-parent families. In this period, the labour force participation rates increase, respectively, by 53% and 43% in one-person-woman and one-parent-woman families. This again shows adults in one-parent families gradually participate more to labour markets and accelerate the process of transition from necessity to preference. Looking at marital status of household members by family structure on the basis of RFST-2006 and RFST-2016 data (Table 13), we see that the share of never married and presently married adults is shrinking while that of household members whose spouses have died or who divorced is on the rise. The most striking finding here is that the share of divorced parents increased by 1.5 times from 1.95 to 4.8% in this period of five years. It is observed that all parents in nuclear families are married by definition. The

share of divorced parents increases in extended family structures while there is no significant change in shares of never married and divorced adults or those who lost their spouses. The fact that the share of parents whose spouses have died is around 8-9% in these families points out that such families function as a shelter for those broken apart from nuclear families and the probability that their transition into dissolved family is high. This probability is higher in transient extended families than in patriarchal extended families. Focusing on parents living in dissolved families we see that there is increase in the share of never married and divorced ones within the last 10 years while there is decrease in the share of presently married and widowed parents. This finding seems to be associated with falling rates of marriage and rising rates of divorce in Turkey.

Table 2.12. Distribution of parents' employment status within the last week by family structures. 2011 and 2016

Family structure	2011	2016
Nuclear	64.2	64.3
Nuclear without children	34.4	41.9
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	87.6	87.1
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	19.2	31.1
Nuclear with children	73.8	74.0
Nuclear with children-1 child	66.5	68.6
Nuclear with children-2 children	77.8	78.4
Nuclear with children-3+ children	76.0	75.3
Extended	51.7	49.7
Patriarchal extended	37.6	41.3
Transient extended	62.0	56.9
Dissolved	24.6	31.5
One-person	23.2	30.3
One-person -Male	44.4	55.0
One-person-Woman	10.7	16.4
One-parent	23.2	30.7
One-parent-Man	46.2	49.3
One-parent-Woman	20.3	29.0
Other dissolved	29.9	33.0
Not related	55.6	66.2
Total	55.6	55.4

The interesting point is the presence a group of parents in dissolved families whose marriage is still continuing (6.3%). Spouses of these persons may be those in domestic or external migration processes or it may be assumed that they are living separately prior to official divorce. 39% of men living in one-person families have never been married while 71% of women in one-person families are widowed. The RFST-2016 data indicate that 30% of men and 13% of women in one-person families are divorced. The lower percentage of divorced women in one-person families may be attributed to the fact that about three-fourths of women in these households are widowed and that divorced women re-marry within a shorted period then divorced men in Turkey (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu, Eryurt and Koç, 2012). Adults who have never been married are represented more in other dissolved families.

The distribution of marital status in one-parent families provides important clues to the process of formation of these families. The fact that the share of widowed parents in these families dropped from 65% to 48% in the period 2006-

Table 2.13. Percentage distribution of parents' marital status by family structures. 2006-2016

Family structure	Never married	Married	Divorced	Spouse deceased	Total
2006					
Nuclear	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear without children	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear with children	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear with children-1 child	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear with children-2 children	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear with children-3+ children	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Extended	0.9	88.2	1.0	9.9	100.0
Patriarchal extended	0.4	95.4	1.8	2.4	100.0
Transient extended	1.1	83.6	2.4	12.9	100.0
Dissolved	19.0	8.6	14.0	58.5	100.0
One-person	16.1	4.7	11.1	68.1	100.0
One-person -Male	29.2	8.6	18.7	43.5	100.0
One-person-Woman	11.2	3.2	8.3	77.3	100.0
One-parent	0.0	15.3	19.8	64.9	100.0
One-parent-Man	0.0	24.1	20.4	55.6	100.0
One-parent-Woman	0.0	14.1	19.7	66.2	100.0
Other dissolved	60.3	8.5	12.1	19.2	100.0
Not related	85.2	3.7	11.1	0.0	100.0
Total	2.9	86.5	1.9	8.7	100.0
2016					
Nuclear	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear without children	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear with children	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear with children-1 child	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear with children-2 children	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Nuclear with children-3+ children	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Extended	0.9	88.7	1.5	8.8	100.0
Patriarchal extended	1.0	94.3	0.7	4.0	100.0
Transient extended	0.8	83.8	2.2	13.1	100.0
Dissolved	21.1	6.3	23.4	49.3	100.0
One-person	22.9	3.7	19.0	54.4	100.0
One-person -Male	38.8	6.8	29.9	24.5	100.0
One-person-Woman	13.9	2.0	12.8	71.3	100.0
One-parent	0.4	14.4	37.1	48.1	100.0
One-parent-Man	0.0	7.5	36.3	56.3	100.0
One-parent-Woman	0.4	15.1	37.2	47.3	100.0
Other dissolved	38.7	3.3	19.9	38.1	100.0
Not related	89.9	1.4	4.3	4.3	100.0
Total	4.7	79.7	4.8	10.7	100.0

2016 and that the share of divorced parents increased from 20% to 37% can be interpreted as an indicator that these families are in transition from formation on the basis of necessity to formation on the basis of preference. Though their percentage is very small (0.4%), the recent emergence of adults without marriage history seems to be supporting this finding. Further, there is significant number of adults in these families who are still married (by 14-15%) who may be living separately prior to divorce or for reasons such as migration, seeking employment in other provinces, etc. In one-person-parent-man families the share of parents getting divorce or widowed in the period 2006-2016 tends to decline. As to one person-parent-woman families the share of never married and divorced parents is increasing while that of widowed parents is in decline. This can be interpreted as women's pioneering in the process of transition from necessity to preference.

VIII. Welfare Status of Single Parent Families

According to RFST-2016 results, 52% of families in Turkey are at low or very low, 30% medium and 18% are at high or very high socioeconomic level (Table 14). Compared to RFST-2011, these figures show that the share of low and very low socioeconomic status families decreased while that of medium, high and very high levels increased in the period 2011-2016. Looking at changes taking place in this period with respect to family structures we see that the share of families in low and very low socioeconomic status declines in all family structures with the exception of extended family while that of high and very high status families is rising. Although decrease in low and very low socioeconomic status families reaches significant dimensions in dissolved families, this increase actually takes place not in high and very high but in dissolved families in medium socioeconomic status. A similar situation is also

true in one-parent families. While the share of one-parent-man families in high and very high socioeconomic status increases from 8% to 21% there is no significant change in the status of one-parent-woman families. Yet, there is significant decrease in the share of one-parent-woman families in low and very low socioeconomic status and these families move to medium level socioeconomic status in time. As can be seen in Table 15, the average monthly household income in Turkey increased from 1,396 TL to 2,812 TL in the period between RFST-2006 and RFST-2016. It is observed that this income increase at country level holds true for all family structures. Increase in average monthly income that doubled (2.1-2.2 times) in nuclear and extended families is not this much in dissolved families and found as 1.9 times. The most limited income increase in this period is observed as 1.7 times in one-person households. Again in this period in which income increase in one-parent families is 2.1 times, it is as high as 2.7 times in one-parent-man families. It remains limited to 2 times in one-parent-woman families. Looking at average monthly spending and saving of families we find that average monthly consumption increased from 1,163 TL to 2,389 TL and average monthly saving from 231 TL to 423 TL nationwide in the same period. This increasing tendency in both spending and saving is valid for all family structures. The rate of saving which is around 15% in nuclear families increases to 17% in extended families and drops to 14% in dissolved families. The tendency to make monthly saving falls to 12% in one-person-woman families and down to 11% in one-parent-woman families. This shows that one-parent-woman families in particular are economically more vulnerable since they have to allocate larger parts of their income to consumption expenditures.

The outcomes of the RFST-2016 show that 13% of families in Turkey receive social assistance and 31% borrow or use credit. In

comparison with the RFST-2011 outcomes, the share of families receiving social assistance has increased in the period 2011-2016 while there is partial decline in the share of families borrowing or using credit. The share of families receiving social assistance increases to 9% in nuclear families, to 14% in extended families and to 20% in dissolved families. It is, however, one-parent families that this share increases fastest in the period mentioned. The share of those receiving social assistance which was 19% in the period of RFST-2011 increased to 25% in the period of RFST-2016. Again in the same period, there is decrease in the share of one-parent-man families receiving social assistance whereas it increased significantly in one-parent-woman families reaching 26% in the period RFST-2016. As far as borrowing and credit usage are concerned, both are declining in all family structured in the period mentioned. RFST-2016 outcomes show that 35% of nuclear families, 38% of extended families and 20% of dissolved families have borrowed or used credit. In one-person families the prevalence of borrowing and using credit remains at 16%, rising to 25% in one-parent families and to 29% in one-parent-woman families. RFST-2016 data indicate that all family structures use banks in borrowing. In one-parent families, there are also cases of borrowing from friends (7%) and from parents and siblings (2-3%).

The share of families with at least one elderly member in need of care increased from 5.3% to 8.4% in the period 2006-2016. This increase can be explained by aging population besides the possibility of increasing applications made in this direction upon social policies phased in for persons in need of care. This share increased from 1.6% to 4.7% in nuclear families, from 7% to 8.5% in dissolved families, and from 22.6% to 25.6% in extended families. Looking at in more detail to extended family structures we find that the presence of at least one person in need

of care increases as high as 33-34% in transient extended families. This situation is associated with older age composition of such families and the place of these households as a shelter for persons breaking apart with other family units. As to dissolved families, the presence of a household member in need of care increased from 4% to over 10% in the period 2006-2016.

Another indicator relating to family welfare is the statement of the level of happiness coming from family members. Looking at the state of family happiness by family structures (Table 17) we see that all family structures state to be quite happy in both 2006 and 2016. However in passing from RFST-2006 to RFST-2016 there is decrease in the share of households stating to be fairly happy, happy or very happy as the share of those stating unhappiness increases. While there is no significant change in the level of happiness in nuclear families, significant decreases in levels of happiness of extended families and in particular dissolved families. Focusing on dissolved families we observe that the share of dissolved families stating to be unhappy increased from 4.6% to 10.4% in RFST-2006 while happy ones dropped from 78.0% to 60.4%. Taking one-parent families, we see that the level of happiness in these families is lower than in all other family structures both in RFST-2006 and RFST-2016 and the share of one-parent families is increasing in time.

Logistic regression is applied through three-stage modelling approach to expose the characteristics, process of formation and determinants of one-parent families. The results of the first model (Table 18) show clearly the effect of time in the formation of one-parent families. Compared to families established in 1962 and before, we see that one-parent families increase in time and their number is 2.34 times higher in the period 2007-2016 relative to 1962 ($p < 0.01$). In the second model, the variables of marital status

Table 2.14. Percentage distribution of households' socio-economic level by family structures. 2011 and 2016

Family structure	Very high	High	Medium	Low	Very low	Total
2011						
Nuclear	4.4	11.4	27.5	47.0	9.7	100.0
Nuclear without children	4.3	9.9	22.0	55.9	8.0	100.0
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	12.6	24.6	28.9	31.1	2.8	100.0
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	1.5	5.0	19.7	64.2	9.6	100.0
Nuclear with children	4.4	11.9	29.3	44.1	10.3	100.0
Nuclear with children-1 child	6.8	15.0	32.1	40.8	5.4	100.0
Nuclear with children-2 children	5.0	13.5	30.4	43.1	7.9	100.0
Nuclear with children-3+ children	0.8	6.0	24.3	49.3	19.5	100.0
Extended	2.1	6.9	26.0	54.3	10.7	100.0
Patriarchal extended	1.4	5.9	28.8	53.4	10.5	100.0
Transient extended	2.6	7.6	24.0	55.0	10.9	100.0
Dissolved	3.9	12.9	25.9	43.3	14.0	100.0
One-person	4.3	13.6	23.3	39.8	19.0	100.0
One-person -Male	4.9	15.8	28.3	36.8	14.1	100.0
One-person-Woman	3.5	11.0	17.3	43.3	24.8	100.0
One-parent	3.5	12.1	24.4	49.1	11.0	100.0
One-parent-Man	3.9	3.9	15.7	64.7	11.8	100.0
One-parent-Woman	3.7	13.4	25.8	46.6	10.6	100.0
Other dissolved	2.8	8.5	33.2	45.7	9.7	100.0
Not related	8.6	40.0	34.3	17.1	0.0	100.0
Total	4.0	11.0	27.1	47.5	10.4	100.0
2016						
Nuclear	4.5	13.7	32.1	36.9	12.8	100.0
Nuclear without children	7.4	11.3	26.2	39.8	15.3	100.0
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	18.3	25.7	31.9	18.9	5.1	100.0
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	4.7	7.7	24.8	44.9	17.9	100.0
Nuclear with children	3.3	14.6	34.5	35.8	11.8	100.0
Nuclear with children-1 child	6.2	21.2	36.0	30.0	6.7	100.0
Nuclear with children-2 children	2.4	14.9	37.5	36.0	9.3	100.0
Nuclear with children-3+ children	0.6	5.1	27.8	43.6	22.9	100.0
Extended	1.0	6.6	30.4	46.4	15.6	100.0
Patriarchal extended	0.9	6.4	29.6	46.7	16.3	100.0
Transient extended	1.1	6.8	31.0	46.1	15.0	100.0
Dissolved	6.8	14.3	23.3	33.2	22.3	100.0
One-person	8.4	14.5	16.7	31.0	29.4	100.0
One-person -Male	12.9	20.5	24.7	28.8	13.2	100.0
One-person-Woman	5.9	11.2	12.1	32.3	38.5	100.0
One-parent	4.4	13.0	31.6	36.9	14.1	100.0
One-parent-Man	12.5	8.8	33.8	35.0	10.0	100.0
One-parent-Woman	3.6	13.4	31.4	37.1	14.5	100.0
Other dissolved	3.9	12.7	32.5	38.2	12.7	100.0
Not related	14.5	36.2	37.7	11.6	0.0	100.0
Total	4.6	13.1	30.2	37.2	15.0	100.0

Table 2.15. Households' income and spending averages and social assistance and loan/credit status by family structure. 2011 and 2016

Family structure	2011					2016				
	Average income (TL)	Average spending (TL)	Average saving* (TL)	Receiving social assistance (%)	Using loan/credit (%)	Average income (TL)	Average spending (TL)	Average saving* (TL)	Receiving social assistance (%)	Using loan/credit (%)
Nuclear	1,468	1,222	246	8.0	37.9	3,110	2,638	473	9.3	35.4
Nuclear without children	1,313	1,056	257	4.5	31.9	2,612	2,229	383	7.4	28.0
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	1,939	1,364	575	4.7	41.7	3,729	3,113	616	7.4	38.2
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	1,110	956	154	4.5	28.7	2,375	2,042	333	7.4	25.8
Nuclear with children	1,519	1,276	242	9.1	39.8	3,365	2,847	519	10.3	39.1
Nuclear with children-1 child	1,631	1,321	310	5.6	41.5	3,767	3,108	659	8.2	41.7
Nuclear with children-2 children	1,634	1,359	275	7.4	38.4	3,500	2,991	509	8.7	40.0
Nuclear with children-3+ children	1,231	1,110	121	15.3	40.0	2,531	2,216	315	16.2	33.8
Extended	1,403	1,197	206	10.9	38.6	3,032	2,528	504	13.7	37.5
Patriarchal extended	1,370	1,154	215	10.7	40.3	3,109	2,593	516	15.9	39.0
Transient extended	1,426	1,227	199	11.1	37.4	2,969	2,475	494	11.8	36.3
Dissolved	1,097	906	191	15.0	20.3	2,095	1,805	290	19.8	19.9
One-person	974	796	179	12.9	14.7	1,731	1,507	223	18.6	15.7
One-person-Man	1,337	1,041	296	11.7	20.8	2,271	1,946	325	15.2	23.1
One-person-Female	755	647	107	13.6	11.0	1,425	1,259	166	20.5	11.6
One-parent	1,142	1,022	121	18.5	28.3	2,392	2,119	273	25.1	25.2
One-parent-Man	1,220	983	236	22.4	34.3	3,252	2,788	464	11.3	29.0
One-parent- Woman	1,133	1,026	107	18.0	27.6	2,310	2,055	255	26.4	24.8
Other dissolved	1,260	1,021	240	16.2	26.5	2,808	2,382	426	15.1	29.8
Not related	1,626	1,054	573	13.4	14.4	5,453	3,763	1,689	29.5	24.6
Total	1,395	1,163	231	9.6	34.9	2,812	2,389	423	12.7	31.1

Table 2.16. Presence of minimum number of elderly persons in need of care in households by family structure, 2006 and 2016

Family Structure	2006	2016
Nuclear	1.6	4.7
Nuclear without children	5.1	5.6
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	0.0	1.2
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	6.9	7.9
Nuclear with children	0.6	4.4
Nuclear with children-1 child	1.3	3.8
Nuclear with children-2 children	0.3	3.8
Nuclear with children-3+ children	0.4	5.7
Extended	22.6	25.6
Patriarchal extended	14.7	19.2
Transient extended	32.9	33.7
Dissolved	7.0	8.5
One-person	5.4	6.1
One-person -Male	4.9	3.9
One-person-Woman	5.4	8.5
One-parent	3.6	10.2
One-parent-Man	7.5	11.0
One-parent-Woman	3.2	10.1
Other dissolved	20.2	19.1
Not related	0.0	1.0
Total	5.3	8.4

and duration in education besides time effect are controlled for. In this model too, the time effect is still observed albeit at lower level of statistical significance. Looking at the effect of marital status we observe that compared to married parents the probability of formation of one-parent family is 2.1 times higher in parents with deceased spouse and 2.4 times higher in divorced parents which is in harmony with descriptive analyses. The probability of one-parent family formation increases when parents' duration in education is shorter. One-parent

family risk is 2 times greater in duration of 5-7 years in education than 15 years or longer and about 3 times greater when duration in education is limited to 0-4 years.

In the third and last model, the variables of socioeconomic level, receiving social assistance, and use of loan/credit are added to variables present in the first two models. It is observed in this model that besides time effect the variables marital status and duration in education remain to be influential on the formation of one-parent families. Looking at the effect of socioeconomic level as one of the newly added variables, we see that the probability of forming one-parent family is quite higher in parents at low and very low socioeconomic levels compared to parents at high and very high socioeconomic levels ($p < 0.05$). In addition to this, the incidence of receiving social assistance is higher by 2.2 times ($p < 0.01$) and loan/credit use is higher by 1.7 times ($p < 0.05$) in one-parent families.

The results of multi-variable analysis support findings obtained from descriptive analyses made earlier from several respects. The first is that analyses on the basis of marriage cohorts show increase in the prevalence of one-parent families in the period 1962-2016 when all other possible factors are controlled. The second point is related to the importance of divorcing and being widowed in the process of formation of one-parent families. These results marking the determining role of divorce in the formation of one-parent families also support the thesis on transition from necessity to preference. The third point is the negative correlation between duration in education and formation of one-parent family. The fourth point which may be associated with the last one is that one-parent families have the higher risk of being at lower or medium levels in terms of socioeconomic status. And the fifth point is that as a result of their lower socioeconomic status these families are involved more in social assistance and borrowing.

Table 2.17. Families' statements about happiness in general by family structure, 2006 and 2016

Family Structure	Unhappy	Medium	Happy
2006			
Nuclear	1.9	19.3	78.8
Nuclear without children	1.9	16.7	81.4
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	1.4	12.3	86.4
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	2.0	18.1	79.9
Nuclear with children	1.9	20.0	78.1
Nuclear with children-1 child	1.6	19.2	79.1
Nuclear with children-2 children	1.6	19.4	79.0
Nuclear with children-3+ children	2.4	21.2	76.4
Extended	2.4	20.1	77.5
Patriarchal extended	2.6	21.0	76.3
Transient extended	2.0	18.5	79.5
Dissolved	4.6	17.4	78.0
One-person	5.0	22.5	72.5
One-person -Male	7.1	21.4	71.4
One-person-Woman	3.8	23.1	73.1
One-parent	7.9	30.4	61.7
One-parent-Man	9.6	36.1	54.2
One-parent-Woman	7.7	29.7	62.6
Other dissolved	5.7	33.3	60.9
Not related	1.9	23.1	75.0
Total	2.3	20.1	77.6
2016			
Nuclear	4.6	17.4	78.0
Nuclear without children	1.9	16.7	81.4
Nuclear without children (<age 45)	3.6	13.8	82.6
Nuclear without children (≥age 45)	4.9	16.7	78.4
Nuclear with children	4.6	17.8	77.7
Nuclear with children-1 child	4.2	17.8	77.9
Nuclear with children-2 children	3.8	16.8	79.4
Nuclear with children-3+ children	5.9	19.0	75.1
Extended	5.2	21.0	73.7
Patriarchal extended	5.8	20.6	73.6
Transient extended	4.6	21.6	73.8
Dissolved	10.4	29.2	60.4
One-person	11.5	29.3	59.3
One-person -Male	14.4	31.5	54.2
One-person-Woman	9.8	28.0	62.2
One-parent	9.5	28.9	61.6
One-parent-Man	14.4	33.6	52.1
One-parent-Woman	9.0	28.5	62.6
Other dissolved	10.2	29.8	59.9
Not related	6.8	25.6	67.7
Total	5.5	19.5	75.0

Table 2.18. Determinants in single parent families, logistic regression, 2016

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Significance	Odds ratio	Significance	Odds ratio	Significance	Odds ratio
Marriage Cohort	-	-	-	-	-	-
2007-2016	0.000	2.340	0.020	2.241	0.032	2.010
1997-2006	0.000	1.467	0.029	1.652	0.042	1.554
1987-1996	0.034	1.310	0.037	1.256	0.045	1.117
1982-1986	0.042	1.270	0.049	1.119	0.053	1.120
1972-1981	0.103	1.090	0.121	1.091	0.135	1.030
1962-1971	0.160	1.007	0.198	1.042	0.201	1.001
<1962	-	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000
Marital Status						
Divorced	-	-	0.000	2.350	0.020	2.230
Spouse deceased	-	-	0.000	2.093	0.029	2.055
Married	-	-	-	1.000	-	1.000
Other	-	-	0.070	1.030	0.101	1.007
Duration in education						
0-4	-	-	0.000	2.908	0.000	4.944
5-7	-	-	0.000	2.126	0.000	3.733
8-11	-	-	0.051	1.158	0.000	3.027
12-15	-	-	0.057	1.124	0.000	1.978
>15	-	-	-	1.000	-	1.000
Socio-economic Level						
Very High	-	-	-	-	-	1.000
High	-	-	-	-	0.051	.601
Medium	-	-	-	-	0.279	.748
Low	-	-	-	-	0.022	1.214
Very Low	-	-	-	-	0.011	2.252
Receiving social assistance	-	-	-	-	-	-
No	-	-	-	-	-	1.000
Yes	-	-	-	-	0.000	2.157
Using loan/credit						
No	-	-	-	-	-	1.000
Yes	-	-	-	-	0.032	1.659

IX. Characteristics of Children and Welfare Status in Single Parent Families

RFST-2016 results show 49% of children under age 18 living in families in Turkey are females and the average age of children in families is 8.9. Comparing with RFST-2011 we see that the proportion of female children remains the same, but the average age drops from 9.4 to 8.9. According to analyses covering families with children the average age of children in all family forms is decreasing in the period 2011-2016. This tendency holding true for both male and female children is relatively more pronounced among children living in transient extended and one-parent families. In one-parent families, the decrease in average age of male children in particular is worth noting. Though the average age of children in one-parent families is also falling, the age of children living in these families is higher than the average age of children living in other family forms in both RFST-2011 and RFST-2016. According to RFST-2016 results children in these families are 2-3 years older than children in other families (Table 19).

Table 20 gives the distribution of the number of children in families. Analyses show that the average number of children under age 18 in families dropped from 1.11 to 0.90 in the period 2011-2016. In the same period where the share of families having no child increased from 45% to 50%, the share of families having one child decreased from 22% to 20%, families with two children from 20% to 19%, and families with three and more children from 13% to 11%. These overall outcomes consistent with falling rate of fertility in Turkey find reflection on family structures as well. On the basis of RFST-2016 results, the average number of children is the highest in patriarchal extended families (1.59) and the lowest in one-parent families (0.72).

The average number of children which was 1.61 in nuclear families in the RFST-2011 period

dropped to 1.42 in the RFST-2016 period. Decreases in the average number of children in other family structures in the same period are as follows: From 1.72 to 1.59 in patriarchal extended family; from 1.61 to 1.22 in transient extended family; and from 0.72 to 0.71 in one-parent family. Taking a closer look to one-parent family as the most resistant form to change in number of children we see that there is no child under age 18 in these families. This is consistent with the finding that the average age of children in these families is higher than in other families. The RFST-2016 results show that the share of one-parent families with one child is 25%, with two children is 14%, and with three or more children is 7%.

The RFST-2016 results show that the rates of school enrolment in the age group 6-24 vary by family structures (Table 21, Table 22 and Figure 1). The rate of enrolment of school age population is 74% for males and 72% for females. These rates drop, respectively for males and females, to 58% and 50% in patriarchal families; to 71% and 66% in transient extended families; and to 69% and 70% in one-parent families. These findings show that female population in all other family structures with the exception of one-parent families are disadvantaged in terms of school enrolment. This disadvantage is particularly apparent in extended families where female school enrolment is very low with 50%. Taking a closer look at rates of school enrolment by family structures (Figure 1), we see that the rates of school enrolment of school age population in almost all age groups are higher in nuclear families and particularly in one-parent families in the periods of RFST-2011 and RFST-2016. While there is no significant difference between family structures in terms of early school enrolment, differences appear after age 12 and it is observed that children in extended families are more disadvantaged while others in nuclear

Table 2.19. Average age of children under age 18 by age groups and family types, 2011 and 2016

Age	Nuclear with Children	Patriarchal Extended	Transient Extended	One-parent	Total
2011					
Male					
0-4	2.22	1.81	2.24	3.08	2.18
5-9	7.05	6.98	7.10	7.54	7.06
10-14	12.01	12.04	11.97	12.19	12.02
15-17	16.16	16.06	16.07	16.23	16.14
Total	9.36	7.87	9.61	12.20	9.38
Female					
0-4	2.22	2.11	2.18	2.36	2.20
5-9	7.08	6.96	6.96	7.51	7.07
10-14	11.93	12.05	12.15	12.32	11.98
15-17	16.06	16.13	16.15	16.16	16.08
Total	9.28	8.18	9.60	12.36	9.35
Total					
0-4	2.22	1.96	2.21	2.75	2.19
5-9	7.06	6.97	7.03	7.53	7.06
10-14	11.97	12.04	12.05	12.25	12.00
15-17	16.11	16.09	16.11	16.19	16.11
Total	9.32	8.02	9.61	12.27	9.36
Girl child ratio	48.6	48.0	48.4	48.4	48.5
2016					
Male					
0-4	2.06	1.88	2.00	2.59	2.04
5-9	7.04	6.86	6.89	7.32	7.02
10-14	12.11	12.07	12.04	12.24	12.11
15-17	16.02	16.09	16.09	16.20	16.05
Total	8.89	7.88	8.95	11.03	8.91
Female					
0-4	2.05	1.95	1.97	2.00	2.03
5-9	7.06	6.96	6.98	7.35	7.06
10-14	12.05	12.10	11.99	12.24	12.07
15-17	16.04	16.13	16.03	16.08	16.05
Total	8.75	8.10	8.99	11.96	8.86
Total					
0-4	2.05	1.92	1.99	2.42	2.04
5-9	7.05	6.90	6.94	7.34	7.04
10-14	12.08	12.08	12.02	12.24	12.09
15-17	16.03	16.11	16.06	16.14	16.05
Total	8.82	7.99	8.97	11.48	8.88
Girl child ratio	48.7	50.1	50.2	48.8	49.0

Table 2.20. Percentage distribution of number of children under age 18 by family types, 2011 and 2016

Age	Nuclear with Children	Patriarchal Extended	Transient Extended	One-parent	Total
2011					
Male					
0	41.9	46.3	43.9	71.7	60.5
1	38.6	33.4	37.1	22.7	26.3
2	15.1	11.7	13.6	3.9	9.9
3 and +	4.3	8.6	5.4	1.6	3.2
Average	0.83	0.88	0.83	0.36	0.57
Female					
0	46.4	48.0	49.9	72.1	63.5
1	36.1	32.7	32.0	20.6	24.6
2	12.5	11.1	11.8	6.3	8.4
3 and +	4.9	8.3	6.3	1.1	3.6
Average	0.78	0.84	0.77	0.37	0.54
Total					
0	19.1	25.3	25.7	55.9	44.9
1	31.1	29.2	27.1	25.2	21.8
2	31.2	22.2	25.4	13.2	20.2
3 and +	18.6	23.2	21.8	5.7	13.0
Average	1.61	1.72	1.61	0.73	1.11
2016					
Male					
0	44.7	44.6	53.8	70.8	65.1
1	38.2	31.4	30.6	22.2	23.9
2	13.7	16.3	11.1	5.6	8.6
3 and +	3.4	7.8	4.5	1.4	2.4
Average	0.76	0.87	0.66	0.38	0.48
Female					
0	48.2	44.0	54.9	71.5	66.9
1	35.4	33.2	29.9	22.1	22.5
2	12.9	14.9	10.2	5.0	8.0
3 and +	3.6	7.9	5.0	1.4	2.6
Average	0.72	0.87	0.65	0.36	0.46
Total					
0	21.8	22.3	34.9	55.0	50.4
1	31.5	23.9	24.2	24.8	20.0
2	29.9	26.0	24.8	13.7	18.5
3 and +	16.9	27.7	16.1	6.5	11.1
Average	1.42	1.59	1.22	0.72	0.90

and one-parent families are more advantaged in terms of school enrolment.

Table 23 gives percentage distribution of children in the age group 3-5 by family structures in terms of their attendance to preschool and child-care institutions. It is observed that in the period of five years between RFST-2011 and RFST-2016 the rates of preschool enrolment increased in all family structures. While the rate of increase remains at most around 10% in nuclear families with children, patriarchal extended and transient extended families, the rise in the rate of preschool enrolment in one-parent families is from 22% to 52%, which is 1.4 times. According to RFST-2016 results, the rate of preschool enrolment of children in the age group 3-5 is the lowest in patriarchal extended families with 11% and the highest in

one-parent families with 52%. Looking closer look RFST-2016 results in Figure 2 we see that the rate of school enrolment of children in one-parent families is 29% at age 3, then increases to 42% at age 4 and up to 82% at age 5. This increase is much higher than increases observed in other family structures.

Children's private room in their homes is a factor known as having positive effects on their school achievement and personal development. According to figures given in Table 24 the proportion of children having their private rooms in their homes increased in the period 2011-2016 by 33% from 44% to 57%. This increase in private rooms is from 40% to 60% in nuclear families with children, and from 37% to 55% in one-parent families. It is interesting that the rate of increase in the proportion of

Table 2.21. Rates of school attendance of age group 6-24 by family types, 2011

Age	Nuclear with Children	Patriarchal Extended	Transient Extended	One-person Parent
6	71.4	60.5	70.7	83.3
7	97.3	92.5	100.0	90.0
8	100.0	100.0	98.1	100.0
9	100.0	97.4	97.6	100.0
10	99.7	100.0	100.0	100.0
11	99.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
12	99.1	100.0	98.4	100.0
13	95.9	96.8	97.8	97.0
14	93.0	77.1	92.2	95.0
15	85.1	83.3	82.4	80.0
16	80.3	62.9	76.4	75.9
17	70.4	47.2	67.7	75.8
18	58.4	30.8	50.0	84.2
19	58.1	25.0	53.7	56.3
20	53.1	25.0	31.1	38.9
21	46.4	20.5	35.3	56.3
22	36.6	25.0	34.1	60.9
23	31.4	17.5	25.0	37.5
24	28.0	8.2	14.7	13.3
Total	77.8	56.3	74.3	74.6

Table 2.21. Rates of school attendance of age group 6-24 by family types, 2011 (continued)

Age	Nuclear with Children	Patriarchal Extended	Transient Extended	One-person Parent
6	65.2	81.8	69.2	100.0
7	98.9	96.0	100.0	92.3
8	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
9	99.7	96.4	97.5	100.0
10	99.4	100.0	100.0	100.0
11	99.7	96.4	100.0	100.0
12	97.2	100.0	95.6	93.3
13	95.2	93.5	91.4	92.0
14	91.2	80.6	82.0	92.9
15	82.7	53.6	81.1	81.8
16	75.4	53.7	69.4	71.4
17	69.7	28.6	65.6	70.6
18	66.7	11.3	47.7	57.1
19	53.5	16.3	45.9	50.0
20	56.2	13.9	37.0	65.5
21	49.5	20.8	33.3	59.1
22	35.5	10.1	12.1	66.7
23	19.7	2.2	20.0	40.0
24	10.2	0.0	2.8	33.3
Total	76.5	44.4	68.6	75.8

Table 2.22. Rates of school attendance of age group 6-24 by family type and gender, 2016

Age	Nuclear with Children	Patriarchal Extended	Transient Extended	One-person parent
6	56.7	61.4	69.8	46.2
7	94.2	75.0	88.9	100.0
8	96.7	95.0	100.0	100.0
9	96.6	95.0	100.0	89.5
10	98.3	100.0	95.1	88.5
11	98.0	96.9	97.7	94.1
12	96.3	100.0	97.5	95.8
13	96.6	90.7	97.2	96.3
14	92.4	92.5	89.8	97.3
15	89.7	75.8	82.1	78.9
16	85.3	75.0	73.8	75.8
17	75.9	50.0	84.2	70.3
18	57.4	41.0	47.6	52.0
19	48.1	36.8	31.4	43.5
20	46.2	31.4	28.6	48.1
21	44.0	30.0	29.2	42.3
22	34.5	20.8	33.3	41.7
23	29.4	5.7	22.2	42.3
24	30.2	14.3	36.8	42.3
Total	73.8	57.9	70.7	69.0
Female				
6	52.1	59.0	61.4	91.7
7	95.0	92.3	75.0	100.0
8	98.1	95.1	95.0	94.1
9	97.4	100.0	95.0	96.0
10	98.1	97.7	95.0	91.7
11	96.9	98.0	96.9	91.0
12	97.7	97.8	100.0	91.7
13	96.7	83.3	90.7	96.6
14	90.6	83.7	92.5	88.2
15	89.7	84.8	75.8	89.7
16	86.1	66.0	75.0	81.4
17	73.1	50.0	50.0	71.1
18	52.2	27.7	41.0	25.9
19	42.9	17.5	36.8	48.1
20	42.4	20.3	31.4	48.1
21	39.6	14.6	30.0	66.7
22	32.3	12.5	20.8	42.9
23	23.0	7.1	5.7	27.3
24	20.1	9.1	14.3	23.8
Total	72.4	50.3	66.4	69.6

Table 2.23. Percentage of children at age 3 to 5 attending preschool/crèche by family type, 2011 and 2016

Age of Child	Nuclear with Children	Patriarchal Extended	Transient Extended	One-person parent
3	6.9	2.2	4.5	12.5
4	15.5	6.8	4.1	25.0
5	36.0	27.1	37.0	28.6
Total	19.3	10.3	16.1	21.7
2016				
3	6.5	5.7	1.7	28.6
4	18.7	5.3	15.1	42.1
5	36.6	22.9	28.8	82.4
Total	21.1	11.1	16.4	52.0

Table 2.24. Percentage distribution of children with their own rooms by family type, 2011 and 2016

Family Structure	RFST-2011	RFST-2016
Nuclear with Children	39.8	60.0
Patriarchal Extended	67.8	31.5
Transient Extended	60.0	45.4
One-parent	36.6	61.1
Total	43.5	56.6

children having their private room in one-parent families is above of all other family structures with 67%.

These results indicate that although relatively disadvantaged in terms of household welfare, that is in socioeconomic status, average income, consumption and saving tendencies, one-parent families are in quite advantageous position when it comes to rates of school enrolment of both preschool (age 3-5) and school-age children (age 6-24) and also in that children in these families have their private rooms at home.

Figure 2.1. Rates of school attendance of age group 6-24 by family type, 2011 and 2016

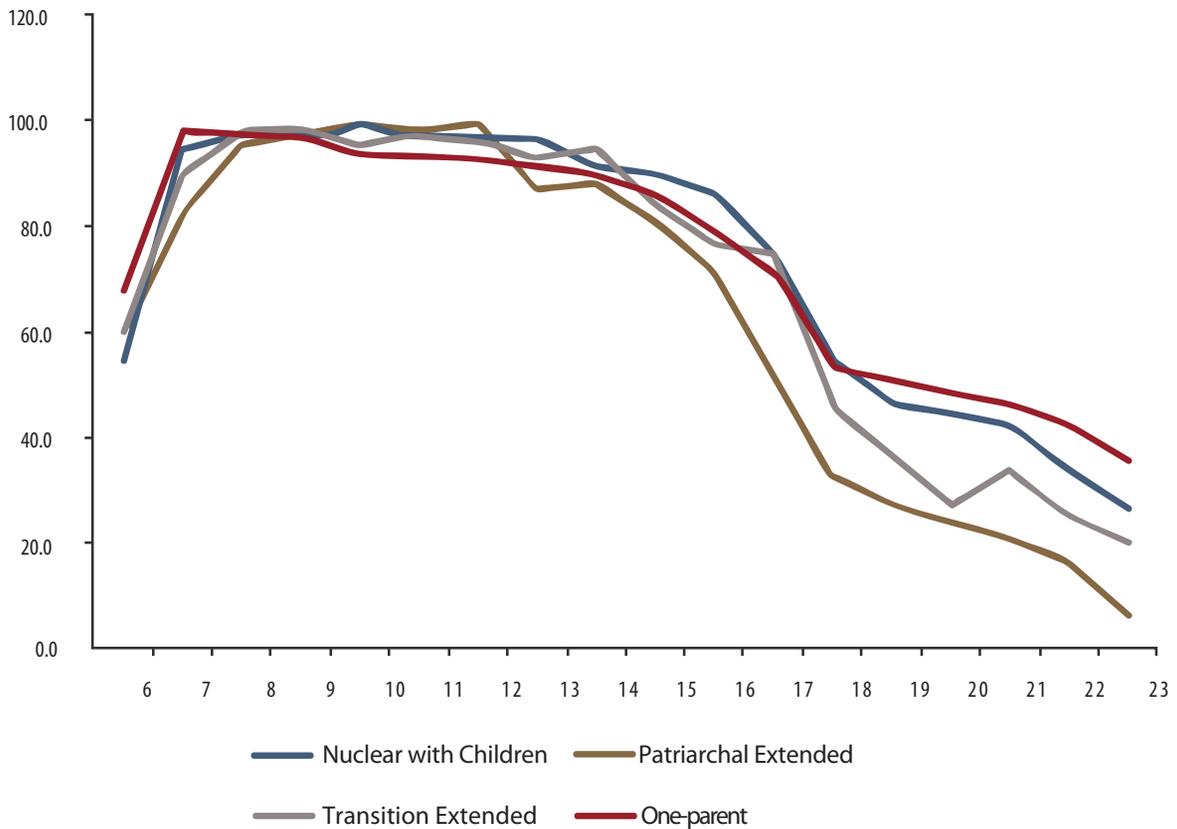
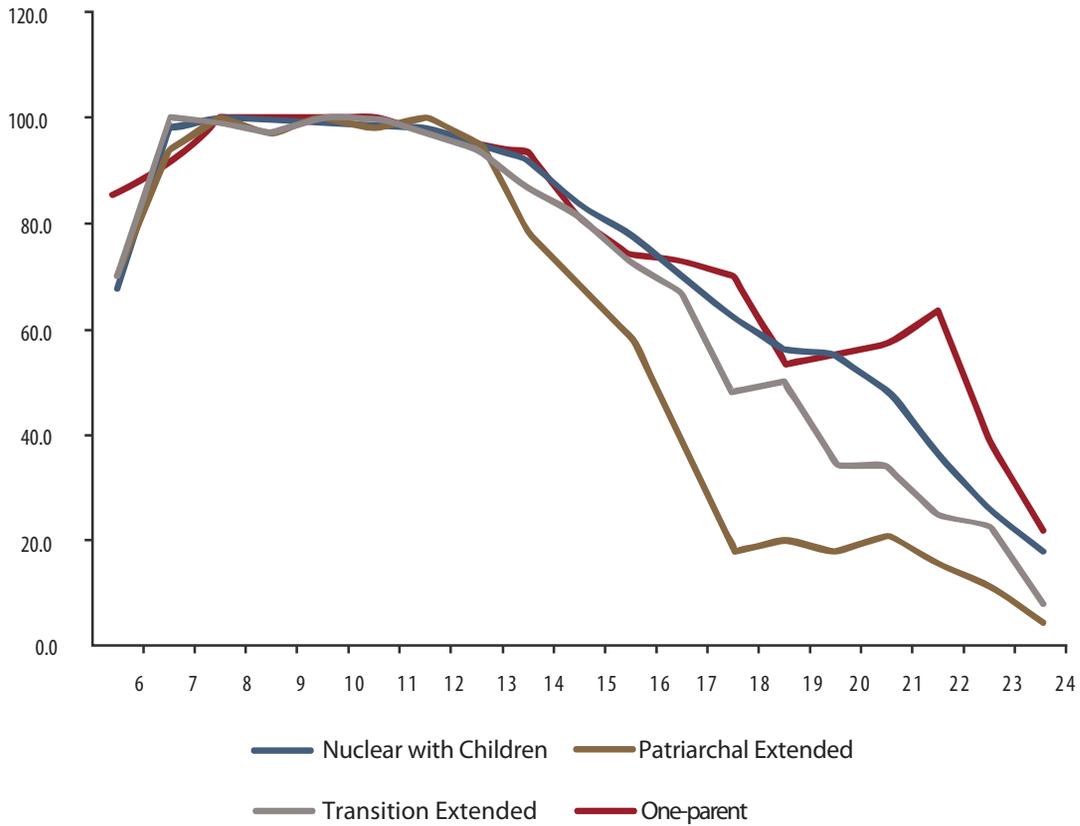
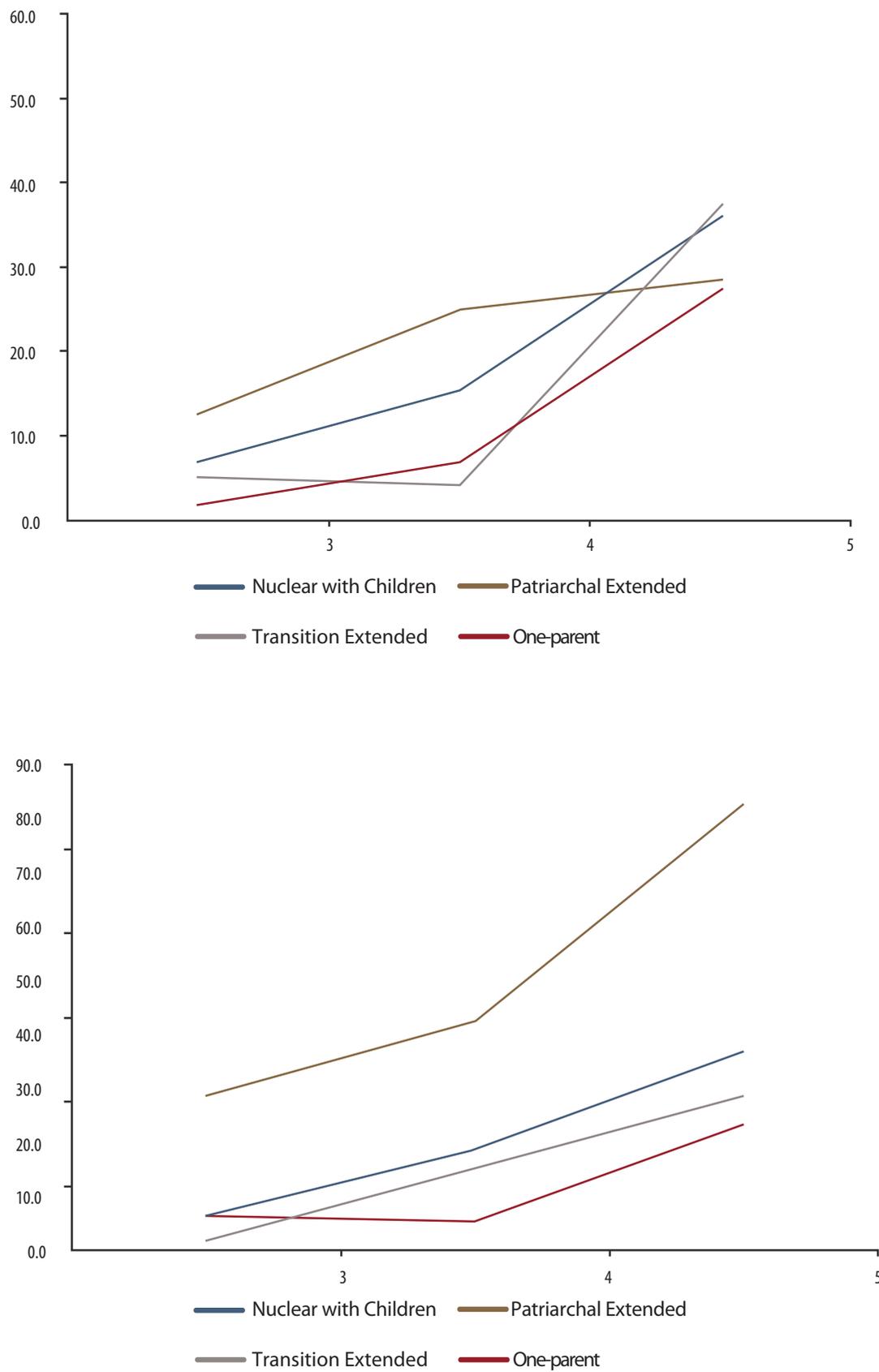


Figure 2.2. Percentage of children at age 3 to 5 attending preschool/crèche by family type, 2011 and 2016



X. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

Quite important changes have taken place in family structure within the last 50 years. In this process nuclear families first increased rapidly up to a point of stagnation; dissolved families have become more prevalent; and extended family structures have declined among with their diminishing social functions. Together with these changes, it is possible to discuss forecasts of future family structures and measures related to planning processes under ten headings:

1. Extended family which persisted around 25% until the mid-80s has then lost its resistance in the face of strong socio-economic and demographic transformations and regressed to the level 11% in the mid-2010s. It is observed that loss of resistance and rapid regression in extended family is basically associated with a similar process in patriarchal extended family which is the most prominent sub-form of extended family. In the process of modernization, the erosion in functions of extended family as a result of changing employment structure, urbanization, change in modes of production in agriculture, higher value attached to children and expansion of the social security system to cover all, the patriarchal extended family structure entered the process of weakening while family structures rapidly turned out as nuclear. In this process where patriarchal extended family is vanishing, it is observed that transient extended family resists to change and assumes new functions in social life. Given that transient extended family consists of individuals or group of individuals added to nuclear family, it can be said that this form serves as a temporary buffer zone for individuals who have broken apart from their families as a result of socio-demographic processes such as demise, aging, divorce, domestic migration, living separately, etc. and who cannot maintain their own household as dissolved family or starting a new household for economic, social or cultural reasons.

2. Stagnancy is observed starting from the second half of the 1990s in the process of transformation of extended family structures into nuclear family. Outcomes of demographic surveys (TDHS-1998, TDHS-2003, TDHS-2008 and TDHS-2013) and family surveys (RFST-2006, RFST-2011 and RFST-2016) conducted in this period show that the prevalence of nuclear families is stabilized around 70%. There are three reasons: Firstly, transition from patriarchal to nuclear family is reduced as a result of falling prevalence of patriarchal extended family. Secondly, the dissolution in patriarchal extended family yielded not nuclear but transient extended family with the 2000s and this family structure maintained its resilience. Thirdly, smaller units breaking apart from extended and nuclear families emerged in the form of dissolved family structures. This is one of the reasons explaining the resistance observed in transient extended family structure especially with the 2000s and rapid increase in dissolved families (about 35%).

3. Nuclear family structures too are affected by socio-economic, demographic and intellectual transformation process as are other family structures. In this process, the composition and life cycle of sub-family forms constituting nuclear family have changed. While the share of nuclear families without children in all nuclear families was 14% in 1978, it increased to 20% in 2016. Spreading of contraceptive use as a method of delaying pregnancies has its important place in this increase. Indeed, while only 38% of married couples used contraceptives in 1978, this increased as high as 74% in 2013. In this process increase was not only in the prevalence but also in the duration of the status of being nuclear family without children. In the process where the status of nuclear family without turned “*permanent*” rather than “*temporary*” two factors seem to be influential. One of these factors is increase in the use of contraceptives, particularly modern methods which delayed the birth of the first

child. The second is the falling rate of mortality as a result of demographic transformation which led to longer-living parents after their children left their original nuclear family.

4. We see that the ideal number of children was around 3 in the 1970s when the average number of children per woman was around 5 and 2.4 in the 2000s when the average number of children per woman was 2.2. The TDHS -2013 results show that the average number of children per woman is 2.3 and the ideal number of children is 2.7. These outcomes suggest that the gap between the average number of children and ideal number of children is closing; in other words, having two children is establishing itself as a norm in Turkey. It is observed that nuclear family with children, which is the most common form of nuclear family is affected most by this process. In the process in which having fewer children established itself as a norm (1978-2016), there is increase by 88% in the prevalence of nuclear families with one child and by 52% in the prevalence of nuclear families with two children whereas there is decrease by 53% in the prevalence of nuclear families with three or more children. The share of families with 3 or more children in nuclear families with children which was 55% in 1978 dropped to 25% in 2016. This situation shows that under the effect of demographic transformation, nuclear families with children turn into households with one or two children and thus reflect the *2 children norm*.

5. One of the most remarkable developments observed in the transformation of family structures in Turkey is the serious increase in the prevalence of dissolved families which turned out as a *buffer zone* out of transient extended family for those breaking apart for various reasons from patriarchal extended family, transient extended family and nuclear family. We observe that one-person and one-parent families which emerged in Western European societies after the

1960s during the process of third demographic transformation started to appear in Turkey with the 1970s, which is the yet early stage of the second demographic transformation. The reason behind the emergence of such families almost simultaneously with Western European societies is the very intensive process of internal migration starting in Turkey in the 1950s, and then manifesting itself as labour migration to other countries with the 1960s. In ensuing years too, there were serious increases in the proportion of one-person and one-parent families again in the process of domestic migration with the dissolution of extended and nuclear families. As much as domestic migration and emigration, rapid increase in the rates of divorce as well as socioeconomic changes in the country was influential on the increase of one-person families by 3.8 times and one-parent families by 1.1 times in the period 1978-2016.

6. RFST-2016 outcomes show that 64% of one-person and 90% of one-parent families consist of women. The gender composition of these families alone confirms that they deserve priority in social policies. But even more important than this is the finding that the number of elderly women is significantly greater than in other households. Indeed, 34% of one-person households and 8% of one-parent families consist of aged women. Given these, there is need to identify policy priorities regarding one-person and one-parent families that tend to increase rapidly.

7. Findings related to the formation of one-parent suggest that these families emerge mainly as a result of demise of spouse and divorce although they still embody married parents. Results of demographic and family surveys point out that there is decrease in the formation of such families as a result of demise of spouse and increase in formation following divorce. Another important development related to the formation of these families is the increasing

presence of younger population in the process. With the participation of younger people to the formation of one-person and one-parent families upon the dissolution of transient extended, patriarchal extended and nuclear families, these families cease to be the result of “*necessities*” and emerge as a result of “*preference*” as a part of socioeconomic, demographic and intellectual transformation especially in urban environments. The results of multi-variable analyses conducted under the study too point out to increase in one-parent families in time, and beyond this, confirm the increasing effect of divorces and emergence of younger parents in the formation of these families.

8. The study also points out that there is significant rise in socioeconomic welfare level on one-parent families in recent periods. However, in spite of this improvement, one-parent families are still disadvantaged relative to other family structures in terms of monthly income, spending and saving. These families allocate a significant part of their earning to consumption spending which lowers their tendency to save. Consistent with these findings, the tendency of these families to receive social assistance or borrow from banks, friends and other family members is much higher than in other family structures. It means that these families try to cover the gap between their spending and income by borrowing or social assistance. It is also observed that the level of happiness in these families is lower than other family structures in both 2006 and 2016. Although these families are in economically disadvantaged status with lower levels of family happiness, they are still better off relative to other family structures in terms of child welfare as measured by three criteria: rates of preschool and school enrolment and having private rooms at home. It is observed that the rate of preschool enrolment of children in these families who are in the age group 3-5 and the rate of school enrolment of children in the age

group 6-24 are both higher and these families are also in better state than others in providing their children private rooms at home. This situation which may seem as a paradox can be explained by the fact that 90% of parents in these families are women and they can use their income, though limited, very efficiently to the benefit of their children. Evaluating all these findings together we can say that one-parent families are still in a disadvantaged position and as such they continue to be a policy priority.

9. Another household type in the contest of dissolved family are those households composed of persons having no kinship ties, which are spreading fast in recent years. These families of whom almost all are in urban, particularly in metropolitan areas are observed to be composed of men (72%) and women (28%) who have moved in to urban areas to seek education and employment opportunities. The “*temporary*” nature of these households indicates that they bear the potential to turn into other family types, particularly to nuclear family in the course of time.

10. Projections to the year 2023, the centenary of the Republic, made on the basis of changes taking place in family structures in the period 1978-2013 the shares of nuclear, extended and dissolved families will be 71%, 7%, and 22%, respectively. In regard to internal composition of these families and assuming that socioeconomic, demographic and intellectual transformation goes on as it has been the following are foreseen: the share of nuclear family stabilizing after a partial increase; the share of nuclear family without children in nuclear family increasing and reaching the level 21%; and nuclear family with children to stabilize around 50% after a slight increase. In this process, the share of nuclear families with three or more children in all nuclear families will further shrink as the share of nuclear families with one child will become more

visible. As to extended families, both family sub-forms under are expected to decrease. It is also expected that the share of patriarchal extended family in all family structures will fall as low as 2% as its social and economic functions are now largely met by economic and social institutions. Transient extended family will remain around 5% for some time for its potential to offer a buffer zone to individuals breaking apart from other family structures. It is forecast that one in each five families will be dissolved family in the centenary of the Republic. In this category, one-person and one-parent families are expected to increase rapidly to reach shares of 12% and 7%, respectively. Given that “*necessities*” will leave their place to “*preferences*” in the process of formation of these families, it is necessary to start taking measures envisaged by the constitution and development plans to keep track of age and gender composition besides the quantitative weight of these families.

Article 41 of the Constitution of Turkey considers family as the foundation of the society and obliges the state to take necessary measures to protect peace and welfare in families. The 10th Development plan prepared by the Ministry of Development for the period 2014-2018 states that “*the institution of family that forms the nucleus of society that binds society and individuals together and individuals raised in the context of tolerance, affection and mutual understanding constitute the foundation of a strong society*” and emphasizes that family has its critical importance in “*strengthening social structure and solidarity*”. The same plan (Ministry of Development, 2013) notes the “*on-going transition from extended to nuclear family*” and changes in the form of relationship between family members and underlines in particular the “*need for monitoring and guidance in solving the problems of one-parent families emerging as a result of increase in the rate of divorce.*” It is also stated in this context

that mechanisms of family counselling and reconciliation will be developed to reduce the incidence of divorce. The “*Protection of Family and Dynamic Population Structure*” as one of the transformation programmes developed in the context of the 10th Development Plan envisages the protection of family welfare, pre-marital training and counselling services, family-based delivery of social assistance and services, and utmost utilization of the demographic opportunity window created by young population composition. Under the coordination of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies), this programme has its components as “*Development of Services to Families*”, “*Enhancing Family Welfare and Inter-Generational Solidarity*” and “*Maintaining Dynamic Population Structure.*” The action plan prepared under the transformation programme has its indicators for monitoring and evaluating progress taking place in this field including the following: number of participants to pre-marital training programmes; number of participants to the Family Training Programme (FTP); number of persons benefiting from family counselling services; number of participants to awareness building programmes in combating bad habits and addictions; number of participants to the FTP module for one-parent families; number of participants to the financial literacy module of the FTP; total fertility rate; and the proportion of children (age 0-4) receiving institutional care services.

As can be seen, data-based planning is essential for translating into life almost all points mentioned in the Constitution and development plans. The Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies) ensured the conduct of two family surveys within the last 6 years. However, sample and questionnaire designs and data quality in these surveys are far from providing

sufficient and reliable data required for taking measures and making plans mentioned in the Constitution and development plans. It is observed that these surveys, like demographic surveys conducted in Turkey, collect information mainly on structural factors while not containing or containing to limited extent information on processes of intellectual transformation and shaping of perceptions, attitudes and behaviour. It will therefore be useful to launch panel type studies to expose the process of family structure transformation in Turkey and mechanisms lying beneath this process. In the same context, these baseline surveys to be designed as panel type also need to take the *Theory of Developmental Idealism* as their basis that is capable of exposing intellectual as well as structural factors involved in the process of transformation of family structure. These surveys are also very important for evidence-based monitoring and evaluation of public spending in this area. Monitoring of existing indicators under the Development plan and development of better indicators will be possible also as a result of panel type surveys. By enabling impact assessment in programmes implemented, these surveys will also ensure the establishment of an infrastructure allowing for much more effective use of public budget for example by scaling up, further developing amending programmes according to outcomes.

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3.

**CHANGE IN AGE AT FIRST
MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE
PRACTICES IN TURKEY AND
ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH
DIVORCE
(2006-2016)**

Prof. İsmet Koç

R.A. Melike Saraç

CHANGE IN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE PRACTICES IN TURKEY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH DIVORCE (2006-2016)

Prof. İsmet Koç¹
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I. Abstract

In addition to changes in timing of and practices related to family formation, sociocultural, economic and demographic transformations taking place in Turkey also radically changed the process of first acquaintance with future spouse, pre-marital ceremonies and features sought in spouses. The present study is designed to seek responses to five distinct but interrelated questions regarding the process of family formation: (1) What is the direction of change in age at first marriage? (2) Is there a decline in tendency to marry at early ages that is observed particularly among women? (3) In relation to marriages, what is the direction of change in such practices as religious wedlock, dowry, consanguineous marriage and arranged marriage? (4) Is there a change, in the course of time, in the frequency of such traditional pre-marriage ceremonies as getting first permission from the girl's family for marriage, betrothal, engagement and trousseau exhibition; ways future spouses get acquainted and features sought in spouse? (5) To what extent increase in rates of divorce is affected by factors like age at first marriage and early marriage in particular, characteristics related to the act of marriage, ways of first acquaintance, traditional pre-marital ceremonies and features sought in spouse? To respond to these questions, the study uses 2006, 2011 and 2016 data from the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST). The study uses both descriptive and

multivariate methods of analysis. In descriptive analyses, the marriage cohort approach is also used besides data coming from survey series in order to observe changes in time dimension. In multi-variable analysis process, factors affecting age at first marriage, early marriages and cases of divorce are investigated by using the method of logistic regression besides the method of Poisson regression. The outcomes of the study suggest that the age at first marriage which was 16 for women getting married in 1952 and earlier in Turkey increased to 24 for women marrying in 2012 and after. For the same period, it is observed that the proportion of women marrying before age 18 dropped from 68% to 8% while that of women marrying before age 15 dropped from 16% to less than 1%. Analyses made on the basis of marriage cohorts point out that there is significant decrease in traditional practices related to the act of marriage such as exclusive religious wedlock, dowry payment and arranged and consanguineous marriages. In the process, family circles as environments of acquaintance have been largely replaced by school, workplace and social media along with significant changes in features sought in prospective spouses. Divorce-related analyses in the study show that increase in rates of divorce in Turkey holds true for marriage cohorts even when all possible independent variables are controlled for and this tendency is also closely associated with such variables as age at first marriage and marriage practices as well as with others including the number of children, level of education, duration of marriage, socio-economic status and real estate ownership. Considering the outcomes of the study as a whole, it is observed that characteristics related to the establishment of marriage in Turkey are in the process of transformation from traditionality to modernity albeit still containing some traditional elements, and that increase in rates of divorce observed in the dimension of marriage cohorts are related to higher levels of education on the part of women,

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having fewer children than before, higher socioeconomic status and finally with increase in real estate ownership. Nevertheless, the fact that 8 per cent of women had their marriage under age 18 even in the marriage cohort closest to the date of the survey indicates that the problem of early marriage still persists.

II. Justification and Objectives

Though assuming different forms in advanced societies, marriage is still among those social institutions preserving its prevalence persistently throughout the world. There is direct relationship between the start of marriage and formation of family in many societies. Consequently, changes in the prevalence, timing and continuity of marriage have their significant impact on the establishment and dissolution of families and hence on family structures. Another effect of the prevalence, timing and continuity of marriage is on the level and pattern of fertility particularly in societies where fertility takes place in the context of marriage. Increase in age at marriage or termination of marriage affect the level and pattern of fertility via its effect on woman's duration in fertility. In the process of modernization experienced by all societies without exception though with differences in time, it is foreseen that significant changes will take place in the timing of marriage and fertility, formation and persistence of marriage (Goode, 1963; Van de Kaa, 1987; Lesthaeghe, 1992). Changes taking place in this process include the following: higher ages at first marriage; emergence of different forms of cohabitation and increase in incidence of marriage termination by divorce. Running parallel to these, age at first birth rises, level of fertility declines as women remain in shorter periods of fertility, family structures change as extended families are transformed into nuclear families depending on the timing and pattern of marriage and fertility, nuclear families with high number of children are replaced by nuclear families with fewer children, and the

tendency of families to nuclearize stagnates with the emergence of single-person or single-parent dissolved families.

Another phenomenon confronting us in the process of modernization is the termination of marriages upon divorce. While rates of divorce are on decline in western European societies where the institution of marriage now assumes different forms, they are rising in countries of Southern Europe, Turkey and Azerbaijan where this institution is still strong (Eurostat, 2018). Despite the fact that rising rates of divorce is foreseen by the theory of modernization and the theory of demographic transformation which is a demographic derivative of the repealed (Givens and Hirschman, 1994; Jones, 1997), it is also experienced as a process that has its significant effects on the quality and persistence of marriages and therefore on the institution of family and its structure. Increase in rates of divorce that started in western countries from the early 1900s was later observed in developing countries as well. As reasons behind rising rates of divorce the following may be mentioned: increased emphasis on individual freedom and women's participation to labour force; weakening of daily life implications of religion; change in perceptions related to traditional values; facilitation of divorces in legal terms, and mitigation of negative outlook to and social pressure on divorced individuals (Preston and McDonald 1979; Givens and Hirschman, 1994; Jones, 1997; Adams, 2004; Thornton, 1985).

It is possible to trace this transformation in the institution of marriage through changes taking place in Turkey in regard to the prevalence, timing and persistence of marriages. Within the last 10 years, there is 7% decrease in the number of marriages while the number of divorces increased by 41% (TÜİK, 2018). For women, the age at first marriage increased by 8 years within the last 50 years and reached 24 while the

level of fertility sharply decreased and stabilized just above the level of replacement. Looking at change in family structure we see increasing prevalence of nuclear family as a result of rapid dissolution of patriarchal family. With the stagnation of nuclear family around 69-70%, dissolved families, particularly single-person and single-parent ones reached a level where they make up 20% of total families. In spite of all these developments Turkey is still classified among countries where marriages are common and divorces are rare (OECD, 2011; 2017). This observation is confirmed by the fact that 97% of women get married albeit postponing its time and only 1.7% gets a divorce. In this sense it can be said that family is still a strong social institution in Turkey and a process experienced throughout life.

The present study intends to respond to five distinct but interrelated questions by using data from the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye series belonging to years 2006, 2011 and 2016. The first question is related to the direction of change in age at first marriage. The second question focuses on whether there is decline in tendency to marry at early ages (younger than age 18) that is observed particularly among women. The third question is about understanding the direction of change in such practices as religious wedlock, dowry, consanguineous and arranged marriages. The fourth question focuses on changes, in the course of time, in frequency of such traditional pre-marital ceremonies as getting first permission from the girl's family for marriage, betrothal, engagement and trousseau exhibition; ways future spouses get acquainted and features sought in spouse. The fifth and the last question is about understanding to what extent increase in rates of divorce which is observed particularly within the last 10 years is affected by factors like age at first marriage and early marriage in particular, characteristics related to the act of marriage, ways of first

acquaintance, traditional pre-marital ceremonies and features sought in spouse.

III. Methodology

A. Data Sources

The main source of data in the study consists of data from RFST-2006, RFST-2011 and RFST-2016. Since sampling and questionnaire designs of these surveys based on samples representing Turkey and included in the official statistics programme are largely similar, it is possible to conduct a comparative study. The sampling design of family structure surveys makes it possible to conduct analysis at country level, by 12 regions, and by urban/rural distinction in the case of 2006 and 2011 surveys. The study also makes use of data from demographic surveys conducted in the period 1993-2013 and marriage and divorce statistics published by TurkStat in interpreting data from the RFST series and in some consistency analyses. Family structure surveys have their advantages over demographic surveys since the latter enable analysis only on the basis of women in relation to marriage process while the repealed allows for analysis based on both sexes, covers not only the age group 15-49 but all individuals at age 18 and over and thus makes it possible to include in analysis older marriage cohorts in establishing marriage cohorts.

Data sets of family structure surveys contain quite detailed information relating to the start, sustenance and termination of marriages. The present study uses individual data sets since relevant data come from data sets related to individuals over age 18 rather than data sets related to households and household members. Hence, the unit of analysis in the study consists of female and male individuals at age 18 and over in all data sets. In the process of data analysis, individual weights built in data sets are used to remedy for the distribution of family surveys

over the sample and cases of non-response. The coverage of data analyses in the study is as follows: 12,208 households, 48,235 household members and 24,647 individuals at age 18 and over, 12,138 of whom are males in RFST-2006 data sets; 12,056 households, 44,117 household members and 23,279 individuals at age 18 and over of whom 11,632 are males in RFST-2011 data sets; and 17,239 households, 57,398 household members and 34,475 individuals at age 15 and over of whom 17,536 are males in RFST-2016 data sets.

B. Methods of Statistical Analysis

Besides descriptive analyses, multivariable statistical analyses were also conducted in the study to expose the process of start, persistence and termination of marriage. In descriptive analyses, the two-stage *comparative descriptive analysis* approach was followed. Comparative analyses of data from three different surveys were made at the first stage of this approach. However, expected outcomes could not be obtained from these comparative analyses due to differences in the expression of some questions and response categories and the fact that data from each survey reflected the common experience of many marriage cohorts. Hence, at the second stage of descriptive analysis, marriage cohorts were established by using RFST-2016 data that included more detailed information on marriage process and comparative analyses were made so as to cover the experience of different marriage cohorts in the period 1952-2016. This approach led to retrospective analyses by adding time dimension to family structure surveys as the outcome of a sectional data gathering process.

In the study, two different multi-variable methods of analysis were used to respond to three different questions. To respond to the question "What are the determinants of age at first marriage" Poisson regression method is used. Since dependent variable used in these

analyses (age at first marriage) is a continuous variable, the Poisson regression technique is preferred as a technique frequently used in relevant literature for such dependent variables. The Poisson regression analysis that is based on a natural statistical distribution and used to define, in a specified period of time (t_i), the number of events randomly emerging at rate λ_i makes it possible to include in analysis categorical variables defined as shadow variables as well in addition to continuous variables (Koç, 2014). A four-stage model was developed in Poisson regression analysis to the contribution of variables included at each stage. Variables added are as follows by stages: Marriage cohort at the first stage; education and socioeconomic status at the second stage; level of traditionality as an index derived from marriage practices at the third stage; and finally other variables at the fourth stage.

The method of logistic regression is used to respond to two different questions of the study. The first of these questions is related to determinants of early marriage observed among women and the second is related to determinants of risk of divorce. In cases where dependent variable consists of two or multiple-level categorical data, logistic regression has its important place in examining cause and effect relationship between dependent and independent variables. In logistic regression analysis which seeks categorization as its first objective and investigates relationship between dependent and independent variables as its second objective, dependent variable may be categorical or continuous. In logistic regression, the ratio of the probability of an event to other external events is called *Odds Value* and the ratio of Odds values of two different events is called *Odds Ratio* or *Risk Ratio*. In logistic regression equation Risk Ratio is expressed as $\text{Exp}(\beta)$. Since Odds is the ratio of probability of an event to occur to probability that does not occur, $\text{exp}(\beta p)$

expresses how many times more or by which percentage the variable Y can be observed more under the impact of variable X_p (Gujarati, 2004). In the present study, to construct dependent variable in analyses related to each marriage, women marrying before age 18 are given the value “1” and others marrying at age 18 and later are given the value “0.” In constructing dependent variable in analyses related to the risk of divorce, women who have experienced divorce earlier are given the value “1” and others without such experience as “0.” In model development, a four-stage process is pursued. Variables included in analyses to expose the determinants of the risk of early marriage are as follows with respect to stages: only the variable marriage cohort at the first stage; variables education level and socioeconomic at the second stage; level of traditionality as an index derived from marriage practices at the third stage; and finally other variables at the fourth stage. In analyses conducted to reach the determinants of the risk of divorce, only the variable marriage cohort is included at the first stage. At the second stage, the variable indicating whether there was early marriage is included. The variable level of traditionality is the one included in the third stage, and finally other variables including the level of education are included at the fourth stage.

C. Constructing Variables

The most of independent variables were used as they are in data set. Only the variables of marriage cohort, duration in education, employment status, case of early marriage, level of traditionality, number of ceremonies and the number of features sought in spouse were constructed or reconstructed by using other variables existing in data set or categories of these variables. Explaining at this stage how these variables were constructed will be useful in understanding better discussions to be made in ensuing parts. Since the variable date of marriage

does not exist in data sets, it was constructed by using the age of individuals at the time of study, age at marriage and the date of the study. With this variable, 14 different five-year marriage cohorts were constructed retrospectively for the period before RFST-2016, as 2012-2016 the most recent and 1952 and before as the oldest.

There are two variables related to levels of education of individuals in family structure analyses. One of these variables denotes steps in level of education and the other is related to duration in education. Since a retrospective approach is adopted in the study, the variable related to duration in education is classified and used as 0-4, 5-7, 8-11, 12-15 and >15 years instead of the variable denoting levels of education which is negatively affected by frequent changes in the system of education. The variable early marriage was constructed by using the variable age at first marriage existing in data set. In constructing this variable, women having their first marriage before age 15 are classified as “too early” and others getting married in the age interval 15-17 as “early.” Variables used in constructing the index of traditionality include consanguineous marriage, dowry, arranged marriage and religious wedding practices. In the process, firstly variables relating to marriage practices are reconstructed so as to assume values “0” or “1”. Then, these variables are summed up to obtain a discrete variable varying from 0 to 5. Finally, by considering breakaway points in the distribution of this discrete variable, women with value 0 are defined as “non-traditional”, those with values 1-2 as “medium traditional” and others with values 3-5 as “highly traditional.” The variable number of ceremonies is constructed by referring to pre-marital variables of getting first permission from the girl’s family for marriage, engagement, henna night, farewell to bachelor life party and trousseau exhibition. This index assumed values in the interval 0-5 and is used as discrete variable

in analyses. The variable features sought in spouse is constructed as an index by using a set of variables including the following: having good education, having high income, having a job, having no marriage experience before, having similar family structure, being devout, sharing the same religious sect, being from the same locality, coming from the same social environment, sharing the same ethnic origin and sharing similar political opinion. This variable which assumes values in the interval 0-11 is also included in descriptive and multi-variable analyses as a discrete variable.

D. Limitations

There are three major limitations related to data sets used in the study. The first derives from differences of format in variables included in data sets of the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye surveys. Particularly in relation to RFST-2006 data set, difficulties were faced in comparative analyses since some variables were given in groups and not as they were in questionnaires. Some comparative analyses could not be made since questions or response choices related to some variables are formulated differently although they exist in all three surveys. Another difficulty in the process was that analyses based on data sets displayed unexplainable inconsistency over years. These limitations faced in comparative analyses were overcome with the variable of marriage cohort obtained from RFST-2016 data. Hence, problems in comparison were largely overcome by exposing changes in starting, persistence and termination of marriage in the course of time retrospectively on the basis of a single data set. Other limitation faced during analyses was that data sets of demographic surveys used as support in family structure studies covered women in the age group 15-49 only. Consequently the present study allocated limited space to comparative analysis of RFST and TDHS data.

IV. Literature and Theoretical Framework

As is the case in all other countries marriage is a long-lasting social institution in Turkey as well. Having its various roles in demographic and social terms, the institution of marriage has its important role in the formation of family which is emphasized as the “foundation” of society in Article 41 of the Constitution of Turkish Republic. In this sense, family should be assessed in social terms as well without sufficing only with demographic analysis of individuals since relationships by affinity are established through marriage (Boratav, 1994; Koç and Koç, 1998; Türkan and Atahan, 2017). Besides marriage practices such as age at marriage, religious ceremony, dowry, consanguineous marriage, those who take decisions of marriage, modes of first acquaintance and features sought in spouse, the incidence of divorce which is increasing is also one of the leading issues in the context of marriage. These interrelated concepts derive from the view that, as a result of the process of modernization, extended families will be gradually replaced by nuclear ones, age at marriage will rise, individuals’ decisions will be effective in both the formation and termination of marriages, and that there will be increase in divorces as well (Goode, 1951; Goode, 1962; Goode, 1963; Van de Kaa, 1987; Goode, 1993).

Starting from the 80s regarded as the end of the process of demographic transformation in Turkey, it is possible to say that now there is a period where rates of marriage decline, rates of divorce increase, individuals get married at higher ages, remarriages are observed more frequently and fertility is postponed as a result of all these (TÜİK, 1995; Koç et al., 2010; HÜNEE, 2014; Beşpınar, 2014). Demographic studies on the institution of marriage in Turkey usually focused on the reflection of age at first marriage and various marriage practices on basic demographical behaviours (Soyer, 1982; Ünalın, 1994; Ergöçmen and Hancıoğlu, 1992;

Civelek and Koç, 2009). The effect of marriage on family structure and fertility behaviour and that of divorce on such behaviour as living alone or remarrying are among issues addressed in the context of marriage. As a social institution marriage is still prevalent in spite of rising age at first marriage in the country. It is confirmed by the fact that a large majority of women remain married until the end of their period of fertility (HÜNEE, 2014). The age at first marriage which is regarded as the major determinant of fertility in Turkey, as it is in almost all countries, continues to rise steadily particularly within the last 20 years. For women getting married before 1978 the age at first marriage could be as low as 15, which increased to 22 for women getting married in the period 2004-2008 (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu, Eryurt and Koç, 2012). By marriage cohorts we observe that the median age in marriage of women in the age group is 20 whereas it is 22 for the age group 15-19 that is younger (HÜNEE, 2014). Further, looking exclusively at marriages on the basis of civil marriage we see that the average marrying age of women which was 22.2 in 2001 rose to 23.6 in 2013 (TÜİK, 2013). Rising levels and expansion of education, real estate ownership, increasing incomes with employment opportunities and urbanization are among factors playing an important role in pushing up marriage age and consequently postponement of age for having the first child (Özbay, 1978; Duben and Behar, 2002; Tezcan and Coşkun, 2004; Koç et al., 2010; HÜNEE, 2014). This change in marriage age and its implications on demographic behaviour is among the areas of interest of large-scale field studies conducted for purposes of developing data-based policies (ASAGEM, 2010, 2011; TÜİK, 2013; HÜNEE, 2014).

Recently, due to health-related and social problems deriving from early marriages and resulting early fertility these issues have become the subject of studies that are expected to guide

policy making (ASPB, 2015; Beşpınar, 2014). In terms of health, problems such as miscarriage, anaemia, hypertension and the risk of early birth giving may arise as a result of early marriage (UNICEF, 2001a; UNICEF, 2001b; Farber, 2003; Finer and Philibin, 2013; Kara Uzun and Orhon, 2013; Karabulut et al., 2013; Bildircin et al., 2014; Aydemir, 2011; Dağdelen, 2011). Further, Clark (2004) and Çakır (2013) states that women marrying at early ages are exposed to violence more frequently throughout their marriage. The UNICEF (2007) defines early marriages as “*marriages usually before age 18 without being prepared to undertake its responsibilities including giving birth in physical, physiological and psychological terms.*” Nevertheless, UNICEF (2014) prefers to present the prevalence of early marriage in a given country through few indicators including the proportion of 20-24 years old women who had married or partnered before the age interval 15-18, the proportion of women in the age interval 15-19 who are married or have partners, and difference in ages of couples. In Turkey, taking civil marriages only, while the proportion of women who are married in the age group 16-17 was 0.99% in 2007, it fell to 0.75% in 2013 (TÜİK, 2015). If taken on the basis of statements made, 15.2% of women in the age group 25-29 were already married by age 18 (HÜNEE, 2014). It is observed that couples involved in early marriage or their families are mostly from low levels of welfare (Malhotra, 1997; Gottschalk, 2007; Fussel and Palloni, 2004; Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu and Ergöçmen, 2012; Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu and Ergöçmen, 2014; UNICEF, 2005; Aydemir, 2011; Çakmak, 2009). Besides, level of education, age differences, ethnicity and place of settlement are factors lying behind the risk of early marriage (UNICEF, 2001b; Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu and Ergöçmen, 2014). According to some studies early marriage may also be the outcome of population movements and wars (North, 2010; Cetorelli, 2014; Aydemir, 2011; Dağdelen, 2011).

It is observed that majority of studies on the culture of marriage in Turkey focus on how regional social and cultural structures find reflection on decision of marriage, pre-marital ceremonies like betrothal and engagement, and wedding practices such as dowry and religious marriage (Örnek, 1995; Çopuroğlu, 2000; Özcan, 2016; Tacoğlu, 2011; Türkan and Atahan, 2017). These studies sought to show that marriage practices in Turkey vary with respect to regions and concluded that getting first permission from the girl's family for marriage, engagement and other marriage practices ultimately derive from the cultural element, social norms, religious faith, values, traditions and customs. This put aside, Balaman (1975) and Türkan and Atahan (2017) asserted that the history and economic structure of societies affect their cultures and thus marriage formations. In specific, the impact of marriage programmes going on since 2007 on selection of spouse as one of the marriage practices is among issues debated in the context of gender (Nüfusçu and Yılmaz, 2012). At the level of basic characteristics, the level of education is a factor influential on women's selection of spouse in Turkey (Koç and Koç; 1998). Looking at the type of wedlock as a phenomenon related to the formation of marriage there is decline in cases of exclusively religious marriage which is formally considered as void while the practice of both civil and religious marriage is still common (HÜNEE, 2014; ASPB, 2014; Keskin, Yayla and Koç, 2018). This confirms that there is no change in the old tradition of having both civil and religious marriage. Though having no legal validity, religious marriage which is also known as "*imam nikahı*" accompanies civil marriage as a sanctifying factor (Türkan and Atahan, 2017). Türkan and Atahan (2017) stress the importance attached to religious marriage in some parts of Hatay province saying that this ceremony is held twice.

Another element reflecting traditionality in

marriage is money/gold or some other forms of dowry given to the family of the bride (HÜNEE, 2015). Türkan and Atahan (2017) defines dowry as money requested from the prospective groom by the father of the prospective bride. Beder-Sen (1996) states that this practice still persists in rural areas. Although the prevalence of dowry practices varies with respect to regions and places of settlement, it is somewhat in decline from 18% to 16% in the period 2006-2011 (ASPB, 2014). Analyses covering women groups with differing risks of marriage in Turkey show that the share of dowry in women's risk of marriage is quite important (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu, Abbasoğlu-Özgören and Keskin, 2015). Similarly, the Marriage Preferences Survey (ASPB, 2015) finds that the family of the bride is the beneficiary of the practice of dowry observed relatively more frequently in the context of early marriage. Some surveys conducted at regional level too show that dowry is observed mostly in arranged marriages and it takes place during pre-marital ceremonies like getting first permission from the girl's family for marriage and betrothal (Nüfusçu and Yılmaz, 2012; Artun, 1998; Örnek, 1995). Çopuroğlu (2000) states that in cases where dowry is beyond what can be afforded, ways resorted include abducting the girl and practice of *berdel*. The same study points out that the tradition of dowry has assumed new forms such as receiving jewellery and other similar practices.

Consanguineous marriages as another indicator of traditionality in Turkey tend to decline in the course of time (HÜNEE, 2015). The findings of a survey on consanguineous marriages in Turkey and its effects on infant mortality indicate that consanguineous marriages are mostly first marriages with primary and secondary cousins, that fertility is high and birth intervals are long in these marriages, and that the practice considerably affects rates of total fertility and infant mortality in Turkey (Tunçbilek and Koç,

1994; Koç and Eryurt; 2017). A survey covering Turkish migrants living in Western Europe states that consanguineous marriages which are quite common among migrants display a tendency to decline when taken with successive generations (Baykara-Krumme, 2015). Consanguineous marriages that maintain its traditional role in the formation of marriage in Turkey are at significant level for women groups with differing risks of marriage (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu, Abbasoğlu-Özgören and Keskin, 2015).

With respect to spouse selection, what comes to the fore are arranged marriages in which marriage decision is taken by persons other than couples concerned and marriages in which marriage decision is taken individually by couples concerned, also known as “love marriages” in relevant literature (Kornblum, 2011). Arranged marriages used to be prevalent particularly in Asian and African countries until the mid-20th century and still persist in our day. These can be defined as marriages in majority of which parents of couples have their share in the formation of marriage, in other words marriages are formed mainly upon their approval. Meanwhile, discussions around arranged marriages and love marriages as found in relevant literature and their various derivatives place stress on the importance of the definition of spouse selection (Tekçe, 2004). For example, it is stated that the definition of love marriage as it is used especially in marriage programmes can be qualified as arranged marriage deriving from modern and free spouse selection. This study defines love marriage as an ideal of freedom based upon selection and draws attention to the point that it is the Turkish equivalent of the concept of “life companionship” used in America as an expression of respect to individual choice (Nüfusçu and Yılmaz, 2012).

In anthropologic and ethnographic studies, arranged marriages are addressed as an important

indicator of family unity established by couples. The theory of alliance argues that at the basis of arranged marriages there are specific purposes like forming ties, developing social relations, allowing union in terms of reproduction and politics, inheritance and guaranteeing the care of parents by couples when they get old. In line with this theory, Rubio (2013) defines this type of marriage as informal agreements between families. And in line with this definition, choosing to marry somebody from immediate environments or one relative is based on the belief that this union will always be fine and remain (Çopuroğlu, 2000). Çopuroğlu (2000) describes arranged marriages as unions where parents start the process by telling their son about possible future brides and refers to marriages in the Euphrates basin as example. Similarly, terms such as appreciating, looking for and investigating about girls are leading ones that start the process of arranged marriages (Bakırcı, 2006; Türkan and Atahan, 2017). Boratav (1994) maintains that such marriages emerge when there is no prospective bride in close environments. While arranged marriages still persist in many societies around the world it seems that marriages especially by young generations in recent times fit to the classification of love marriage (Rubio, 2014; Davis, 2008). Factors behind this transformation include individualization, urbanization and higher levels of education, real estate ownership, employment opportunities and various economic consequences of industrialization. Duben and Behar (2002) state that the emergence of the ideal of love marriage dates back to the 1920s and 30s in Turkey. The process in which love marriages replace arranged marriages that persisted long in Turkey can be observed plainly especially in the period 1993-2013 (HÜNEE, 2014; ASPB, 2014). Similarly, analyses made for the same period on the basis of marriage cohorts confirm the fall of arranged marriages while there is rise in love marriages (ASPB, 2014; Saraç and Koç, 2017). Analyses

made on the basis of marriage cohorts show that while couples married in the period 1981-1990 met each other mostly through relatives, neighbours and neighbourhood environments, others married in the period 2006-2011 met each other in such environments as schools, courses, business and friendship circles where couples themselves decided to marry rather than their families and relatives (ASPB, 2014).

In the context of quantitative studies, factors behind spouse selection were evaluated by establishing explanatory and exploratory statistical models. In this sense, factors behind spouse selection were tried to be explored by controlling such attitudinal variables as household decisions, division of labour and violence against women besides other variables related to urbanization including education, labour force participation and place of settlement (Rubio, 2014). Looking at qualitative studies on spouse selection we find that arranged marriages are addressed around such concepts as welfare, economic consumption, money, property, insurance and services, kinship, dowry, engagement, betrothal and religious marriage. In marriages where decision is made by couples themselves, on the other hand, concepts coming to the fore in the context of life experiences of individuals include equality, division of labour, decision making and nuclear family (Hortaçsu, 2007; Tekçe, 2004). Along the same line, Luhmann (1995) states that, especially after the 18th century, the influential role of love in the formation of marriages derives from a structure based on individual decisions going beyond social inequalities.

The issue of divorce in Turkey too has its ample place in the literature as an indicator of social change and changing outlooks (Levine, 1982). Divorces which were first observed in western societies and then in developing countries tend to rise rather rapidly (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu, Eryurt

and Koç, 2000; Adams, 2004). This rising tendency and increasing number of divorces can be explained by various factors including individualization, weakening of traditional and religious values in time, economic reasons such as women's labour force participation, women's participation to decision making processes, mitigation of legal barriers to divorce and rising status of women (Preston and McDonald 1979; South, 1985; Thorton, 1985; Adams, 2004; Kalmijn and Poortman, 2006). In recent years in Turkey, though the prevalence of marriage institution persists with some postponement of marrying age, there is notable fall in the number of marriages. On the other side of the picture the rates of divorce have increased by 41% in Turkey within the last 10 years (TÜİK, 2018). It can be said that socioeconomic and cultural transformation that Turkey has undergone during the last 50 years has its role on increasing rates of divorce. In 1993, for example, while only 1.6% of married couples divorced, it increased up to 7.1% in 2013. Looking to rates of divorce from the angle of marriage cohorts, the share of the rate of divorce of couples marrying in the period 1979-1983 in total population is 8.3% while the rate of divorce of others marrying in the period 2004-2008 is around 5% (Saraç and Koç, 2017). This is construed as longer exposure to married status on the part of those marrying in the period 1979-1983 relative to others marrying in the period 2004-2008; but it can also be associated with individualized decision of marriage taken by younger cohorts (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu, Eryurt and Koç, 2000).

With the theory of social diffusion, Goode (1951; 1962; 1993) draws attention that while the incidence of divorce that was rare before and associated with the elite section of a society can now be observed throughout the society after the disappearance of class differentials in this regard upon the lifting of legal and normative barriers to divorce. It is observed that a similar process

is now also in effect in Turkey and the incidence of divorce may emerge with individuals from all sections of society. It is observed that the risk of divorce is higher particularly in arranged marriages relative to love marriages. A similar study covering the countries of Southeast Asia also finds that woman's own selection of her husband reduces the probability of divorce (Jones, 1997). Besides spouse selection, there is a range of factors affecting the incidence of divorce: basic characteristics such as education and employment status; marriage related characteristics including age at first marriage, marriage cohort, number of children and age difference between couples; cultural characteristics like the type of wedlock; socioeconomic characteristics like real estate ownership, religious devoutness and attitude in relation to violence against women, and place of settlement (Saraç and Koç, 2017). Tekçe (2004) and Aybek et al. (2015) maintain that the higher risk of divorce in arranged marriages in Turkey derives from short time interval between betrothal and wedding and thus limited communication between couples. Other studies conducted in Turkey in relation to divorce suggest that the incidence of divorce increasing particularly after 2000 has several factors behind including the following: marrying at advanced ages, marriage against woman's own will, living in developed regions of the country, region lived until age 12, having no child or having only one child (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu, Eryurt and Koç, 2000). The recent increase in remarriages too appears in the literature as a factor triggering divorces (Adams, 2004; Kaljmin and Portman, 2003, Cornell, 1989). Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu, Eryurt and Koç (2000) state that remarriage in Turkey takes place after divorce in first marriage and divorce is relatively rare in second and third marriages. The same study concludes that remarriage is more prevalent among women with low level of education, having more than three children, experience of rural life, and not taken up any job

other than in household. It is stated that behind the remarriage of women with these features lies the idea of finding solution to material problems created by divorce.

As can be seen, there are numerous studies in Turkey, parallel to developments taking place in the world, suggesting that the age in first marriage is getting higher; traditional marriage practices such as consanguineous marriage, dowry, arranged marriage and religious wedlock are on decline; ways that couples meet each other shift from family to individual environments, and that there is increase in rates of divorce. In large majority of these studies, despite the absence of theoretical framework used in explaining these changes, the overall tendency is to explain these changes by referring to modernization. The modernization theory and its variants including demographic transformation theory, diffusion theory or developmental idealism theory explain the reasons behind increase in age at marriage and rates of divorce or gradual replacement of traditional marriage practices by modern practices with the adoption by societies and eventually by individuals of western norms in the process of modernization (Goode, 1953; Thompson, 1929; Blacker, 1947; Notestein, 1953; Thornton, 2001; Casterline, 2001; Palloni 2001; Van Bavel, 2004). Livi-Bacci (1986) who added one step further with the theory of forerunners to the framework of social diffusion theory whose first steps were taken by Goode (1952) underlines groups who pioneer changes in demographic events and phenomena. It seems possible to explain changes taking place in Turkey in relation to marriage age, marriage practices and rates of divorce by the theory of forerunners as well as the theory of modernization. Hence, it can be said in this theoretical framework that changes in marriage related issues in Turkey take place with their forerunners as young, urban and well educated individuals living in advanced regions of the country with high level of income

and social security coverage. On the other side of the coin, old, rural, and poorly educated people living in less developed regions with low income and out of social security coverage can be defined as groups resisting to change.

V. Change in Age at First Marriage

As can be seen in Figure 1, the age at first marriage rises in both men and women in Turkey. Indeed, while the age at first marriage in men which was 21.96 in RFST-2006 rose to 24.05 in RFST-2016, the increase for women is from 18.64 to 20.15. These figures show that there is increase in age at first marriage by over two years in men and 1.5 years in women. However, calculating change in age at first marriage over individuals in all age groups and marriage cohorts will lead to biased estimates, making the tracking of real change impossible. This study, therefore, goes beyond comparison on the basis of years and looks into changes in age at first marriage over time through the approach of marriage cohort.

As can be seen in Table 1 and Figure 2, the age at first marriage rose from 16.68 to 27.55 in men and from 16.36 to 23.77 in women within the last 60 years. This means that men and women get married 9 and 7 years older, respectively, than what used to be 60 years ago. Comparing these increases obtained on the basis of marriage cohorts with others on the basis of years makes it possible to see how information from survey years is fouled by the experience of different ages and generations. Change by ages in rates of married women in Figure 3 shows that marriage is postponed as of both survey years and ages. In the RFST-2006, for example, 17% of women in the age group 15-19 were married while it is only 4% in the same age group in the RFST-2016. In the same vein, while the rate of married women in the age group 45-49 was 97% in the RFST-2006, it fell down to 93% in the RFST-2016. These results suggest that there is significant increase in age at first marriage in Turkey while

there is very limited change in the prevalence of marriage and individuals eventually get married though at later ages.

This part of the study investigates how age at first marriage changes in population sub-groups. In this context it will be investigated, again on the basis of marriage cohorts and gender, how the age at first marriage is affected by a range of factors including duration in education, employment status, socioeconomic level, place of settlement lived until age 15 and the region of the country. By duration in education, it is observed that the age at first marriage which is 18 in women attending education for 0-4 years rises to 26 in women attending education for 16 years and longer. We see that these values are 22 and 28 in men, respectively. From the perspective of marriage cohorts it is observed that the age at first marriage is getting higher for all levels of education. For example, the age at first marriage in women with lowest level of education increased by 6 years from 16 to 22 along marriage cohorts. This increase in men is by 5 years from 20 to 25. At the highest level of education, the age at first marriage in the marriage cohort closest to the date of the survey is as high as 27 in women and 29 in men. These results indicate that as level of education gets higher, women's' age at first marriage nears that of men (Table 2).

With respect to employment status, it is observed that men and women covered by social security marry at older ages relative to others who are not working or out of social security coverage. The differentiation is more pronounced with respect to employment particularly among women. While the age at first marriage is 27 in women employed with social security it is 23 in women out of employment. By marriage cohorts, we see that the age at first marriage is higher in both sexes for all employment categories (Table 3).

Figure 3.1. Change in Age at First Marriage in Turkey by Gender, 2006-2016*

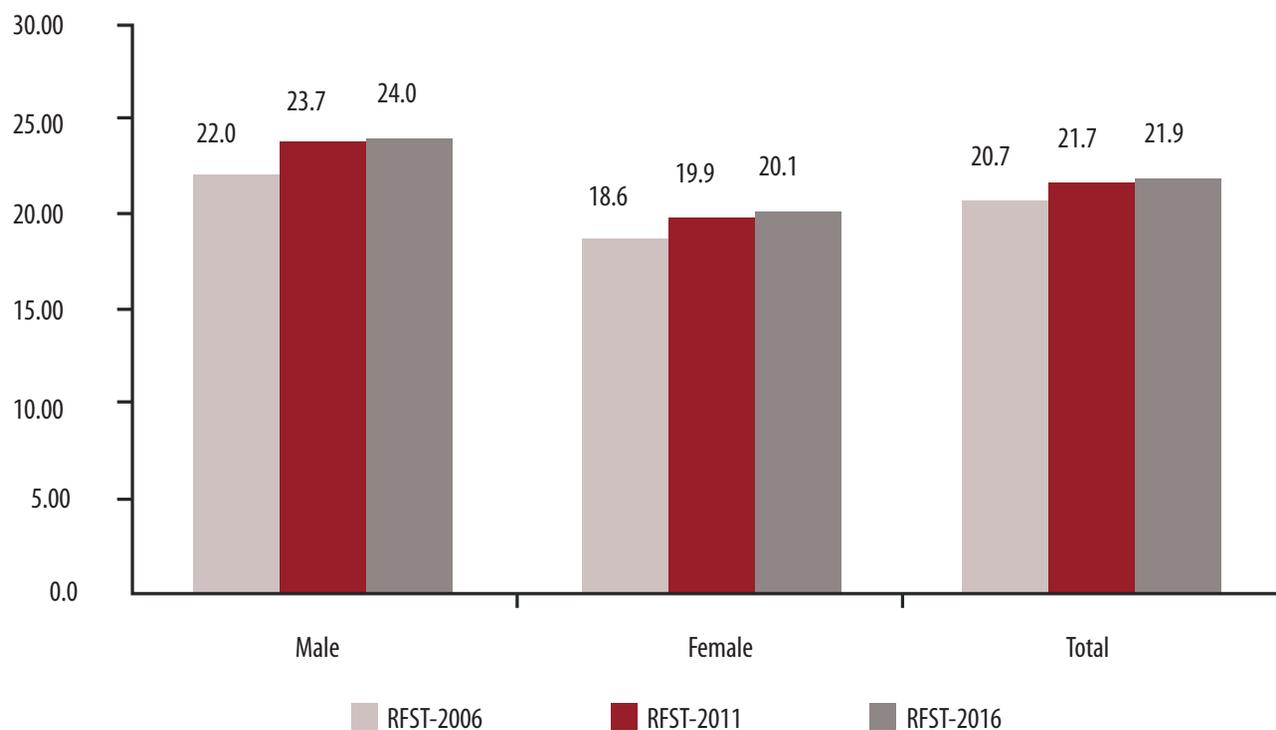


Table 3.1. Change in Age at First Marriage by Marriage Cohorts and Gender, 2016

Marriage Cohort	Male	Female	Total
2012-2016	27.55	23.77	25.57
2007-2011	26.49	22.75	24.55
2002-2006	25.38	21.50	23.36
1997-2001	24.27	20.36	22.21
1992-1996	23.79	19.90	21.76
1987-1991	23.71	19.80	21.64
1982-1986	22.95	19.67	21.23
1977-1981	22.41	18.95	20.57
1972-1976	21.85	18.63	20.04
1967-1971	21.56	18.21	19.59
1962-1966	21.26	17.58	19.00
1957-1961	20.34	17.17	18.19
1952-1956	20.21	16.71	17.88
<1952	18.68	16.36	16.98
Turkey	24.05	20.15	21.93

Figure 3.2. Change in Age at First Marriage by Marriage Cohorts and Gender, 2016

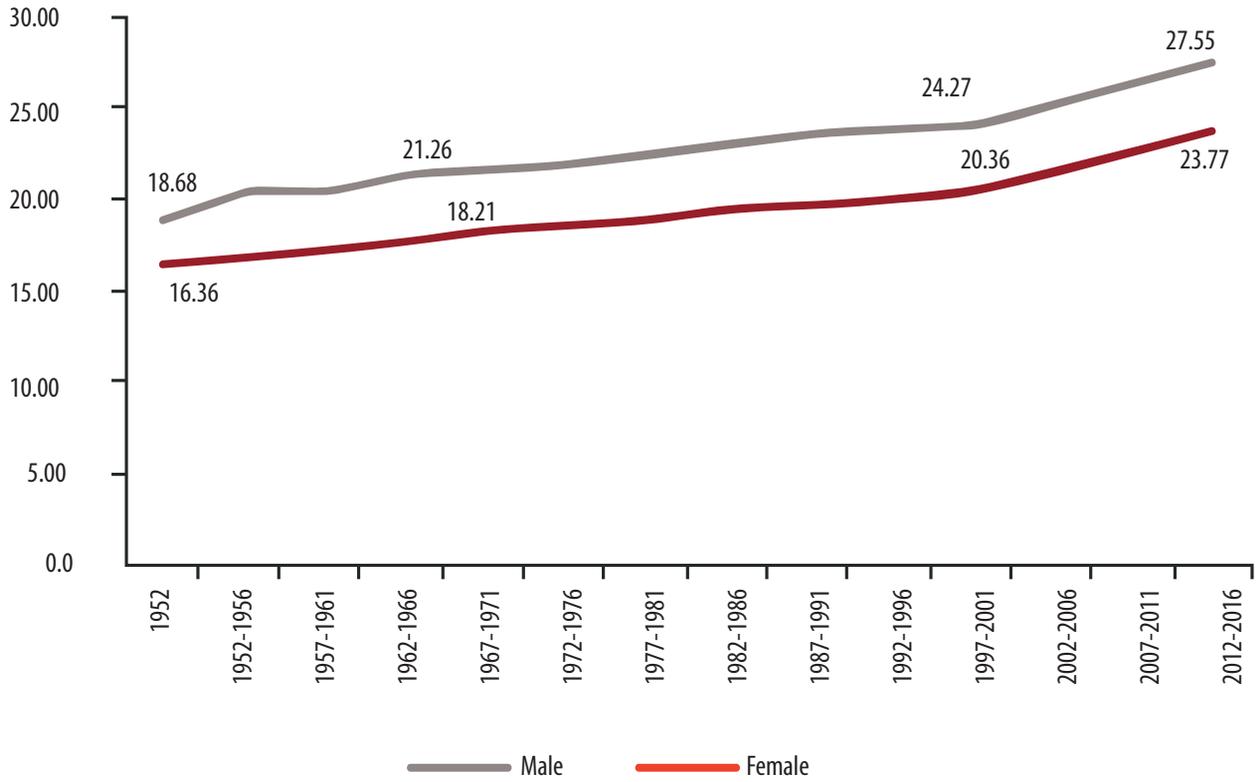


Figure 3.3. Distribution of change in rates of married women by ages, 1993-2016

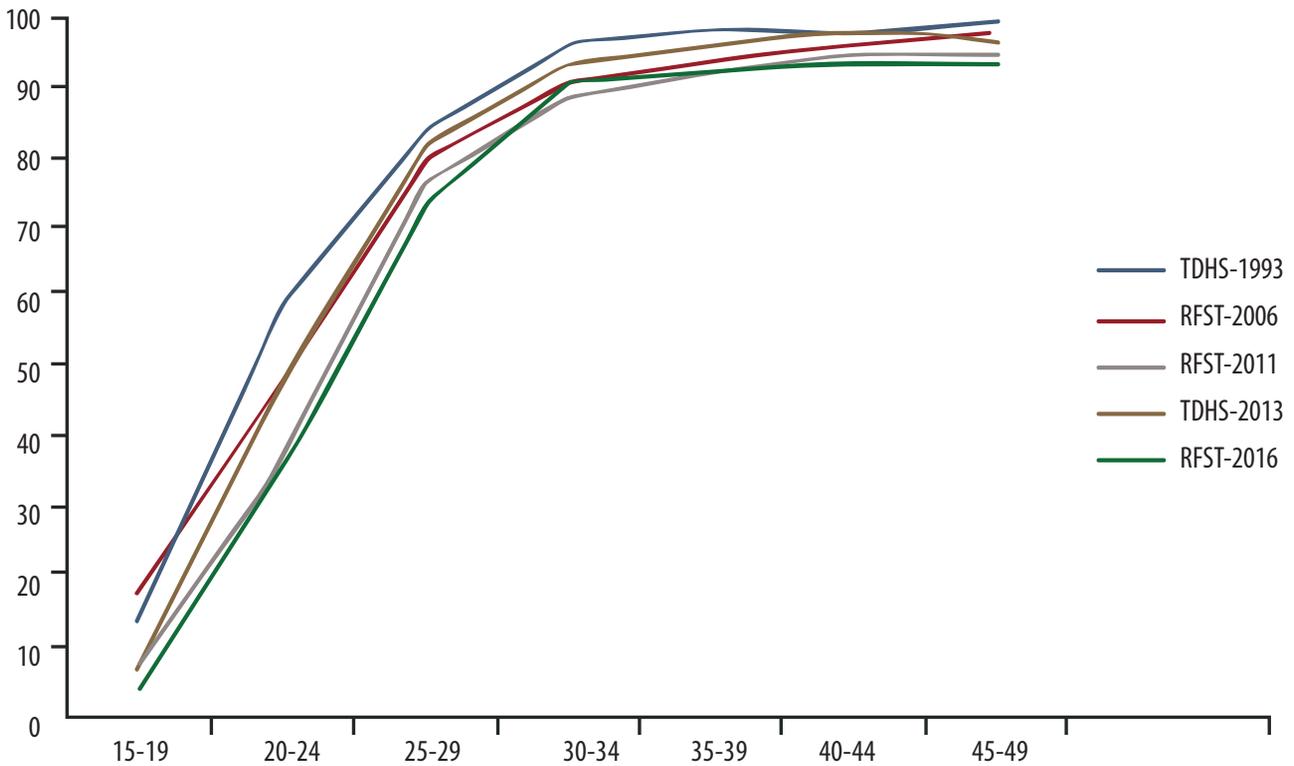


Table 3.2. Change in Age at First Marriage by Duration in Education, Gender and Marriage Cohort, 2016

Marriage Cohort	0-4	5-7	8-11	12-15	16 +	Total
Male						
2007-2016	24.53	26.69	25.01	27.21	28.73	26.99
1997-2006	22.96	24.22	24.47	24.98	26.88	24.82
1987-1996	22.06	23.00	23.72	24.67	27.11	23.75
1977-1986	22.65	21.87	22.73	23.74	26.50	22.70
1967-1976	21.38	21.26	22.18	22.59	25.44	21.73
1957-1966	20.83	20.60	21.66	22.50	23.52	20.93
<1957	19.52	19.42	22.15	21.85	23.79	19.64
Total	21.64	22.79	24.02	25.30	27.63	24.05
Female						
2007-2016	21.67	24.08	20.37	23.72	26.54	23.23
1997-2006	20.15	20.37	19.59	22.02	24.60	20.91
1987-1996	19.35	19.36	19.75	21.80	24.40	19.86
1977-1986	18.53	19.03	20.09	21.50	23.37	19.32
1967-1976	17.90	18.33	19.64	21.64	22.94	18.44
1957-1966	17.14	17.69	18.94	19.58	22.58	17.41
<1957	16.35	17.06	18.55	20.54	23.43	16.55
Total	18.37	19.58	20.01	22.55	25.58	20.15
Total						
2007-2016	22.25	25.42	22.35	25.54	27.74	25.04
1997-2006	20.58	22.04	22.12	23.72	25.97	22.77
1987-1996	19.70	20.97	22.19	23.58	26.18	21.70
1977-1986	19.19	20.43	21.77	22.83	25.73	20.91
1967-1976	18.54	19.86	21.10	22.21	24.82	19.84
1957-1966	17.93	19.23	20.57	21.43	23.27	18.68
<1957	17.03	18.34	20.49	21.29	23.56	17.49
Total	18.97	21.10	22.10	24.12	26.81	21.93

As socioeconomic status gets higher the age at first marriage markedly rises in both women and men. It is observed that the age at first marriage in men at the lowest level of welfare is 23 and 28 in men at the highest level of welfare. In women, these figures are 19 and 24, respectively. By marriage cohorts, we observe a difference by about 7 years between the average age at first

marriage (20.37) in women at highest welfare level who married before 1957 and others marrying in the period 2007-2016 (27.10). This increase remains limited to 5 years in men who marry at later ages than women in any way. By marriage cohorts, it appears that the average age at first marriage in women rises faster than that of men at all welfare levels (Table 4).

Table 3.3. Change in Average Age at First Marriage by Employment Status, Gender and Marriage Cohort, 2016

Marriage Cohort	Employed with social security	Employed without social security	Not working	Total
Male				
2007-2016	27.23	25.49	26.47	26.99
1997-2006	24.89	24.09	25.21	24.82
1987-1996	23.51	22.52	25.20	23.75
1977-1986	22.01	20.51	23.52	22.70
1967-1976	20.59	21.27	22.13	21.73
1957-1966	19.33	20.59	21.10	20.93
<1957	18.64	18.51	19.68	19.64
Total	24.65	23.41	23.10	24.05
Female				
2007-2016	25.53	22.67	22.45	23.23
1997-2006	22.32	20.18	20.67	20.91
1987-1996	20.33	19.03	19.91	19.86
1977-1986	19.37	18.79	19.39	19.32
1967-1976	17.71	17.62	18.53	18.44
1957-1966	16.21	17.09	17.43	17.41
<1957	13.00	16.68	16.55	16.55
Total	26.81	24.52	22.81	25.04
Total				
2007-2016	26.81	24.52	22.81	25.04
1997-2006	24.35	22.06	21.16	22.77
1987-1996	22.83	20.52	21.04	21.70
1977-1986	21.63	19.34	20.88	20.91
1967-1976	20.30	18.43	19.88	19.84
1957-1966	19.03	17.77	18.70	18.68
<1957	18.20	17.05	17.50	17.49
Total	24.23	21.17	20.65	21.93

According to index of traditionality in Table 5 based on some marriage practices (dowry, arranged marriage and consanguineous marriage) the age at first marriage in women categorized as “traditional” is 19; it becomes 20 in women categorized as “medium traditional” and 23 in women categorized as “low level of traditionality”. In men, we see that the age at first marriage rises from 22 to 26 as the level of

traditionality gets lower. Looking by the level of traditionality to ages at first marriage in marriage cohorts we find that the age at first marriage in traditional women getting married in 1957 and before is 16, which rises to 21 in the marriage cohort closest to the date of the survey. In the same period, increases in age are 17 to 23 in women of medium traditionality, and from 18 to 25 in women considered as least traditional.

Table 3.4. Change in Average Age at First Marriage by Welfare Level, Gender and Marriage Cohort, 2016

Marriage Cohort	Very High	High	Medium	Low	Very Low	Total
Male						
2007-2016	29.78	28.53	26.97	25.78	25.51	26.99
1997-2006	27.35	26.60	24.90	24.21	24.03	24.81
1987-1996	27.33	25.12	23.58	22.90	21.71	23.76
1977-1986	25.85	24.27	22.53	21.62	22.11	22.70
1967-1976	25.09	23.58	21.83	20.86	21.58	21.71
1957-1966	25.27	23.14	20.62	20.51	21.13	20.93
<1957	25.48	18.86	20.03	18.99	20.31	19.64
Total	27.74	25.93	24.00	23.04	22.95	24.05
Female						
2007-2016	27.10	25.76	23.18	21.90	21.51	23.24
1997-2006	25.07	23.33	20.99	20.31	20.21	20.92
1987-1996	23.16	21.19	19.64	19.21	18.85	19.86
1977-1986	21.47	20.60	19.22	18.67	18.12	19.32
1967-1976	21.37	19.71	18.55	17.93	18.01	18.44
1957-1966	20.48	17.80	17.59	17.34	17.13	17.41
<1957	20.37	16.88	16.61	16.57	16.36	16.55
Total	24.04	22.13	20.14	19.42	18.93	20.15
Total						
2007-2016	28.54	27.17	25.05	23.69	23.18	25.04
1997-2006	26.26	25.10	22.94	22.12	21.73	22.77
1987-1996	25.34	23.14	21.54	20.91	20.00	21.71
1977-1986	23.52	22.39	20.79	20.06	19.90	20.91
1967-1976	23.07	21.33	20.00	19.18	19.36	19.83
1957-1966	22.63	19.48	18.71	18.58	18.39	18.68
<1957	21.76	17.25	17.57	17.40	17.52	17.49
Total	25.93	23.99	21.96	21.04	20.46	21.93

In males too the age at first marriage rise by successive marriage cohorts at all levels of traditionality. These findings show that the age at first marriage tends to rise in traditional women as well; the margin between marriage age of medium level traditional and traditional narrows; and that there is still significant difference in age at first marriage of least traditional women and others at various levels of traditionality.

With respect to regional variation in average age at first marriage (Table 6), age interval varies from 23 to 25 in men and from 19 to 21 in

women. Thus, it can be inferred that the average age at first marriage does not differ significantly on the basis of regions in the context of common experience of women from different marriage cohorts. However, when the experience of different marriage cohorts are considered, regional variations in the age at first marriage can be seen more clearly. Analyses based on marriage cohorts show that the average age at first marriage is in rapid process of change in each region. The age at first marriage was 16-17 in all regions for women marrying in 1957 and earlier; for the marriage cohort closest to

Table 3.5. Change in Average Age at First Marriage by Level of Traditionality, Gender and Marriage Cohort, 2016

Marriage Cohort	Low	Medium	High	Total
Male				
2007-2016	27.47	26.37	25.09	26.78
1997-2006	26.07	25.12	23.89	25.24
1987-1996	25.03	24.35	22.90	24.20
1977-1986	23.93	23.19	21.31	22.74
1967-1976	22.17	22.36	20.97	21.78
1957-1966	22.18	21.28	20.45	20.99
<1957	20.56	19.68	19.12	19.51
Total	25.78	24.00	22.12	24.03
Female				
2007-2016	24.63	22.60	20.64	23.22
1997-2006	22.60	21.32	19.71	21.39
1987-1996	21.48	20.40	18.96	20.25
1977-1986	20.80	19.49	18.27	19.29
1967-1976	19.68	18.68	17.64	18.37
1957-1966	18.41	17.83	16.92	17.47
<1957	17.52	16.97	16.25	16.72
Total	22.57	20.12	18.46	20.23
Total				
2007-2016	25.97	24.25	22.35	24.81
1997-2006	24.20	22.93	21.37	23.04
1987-1996	23.21	22.06	20.54	21.95
1977-1986	22.32	21.12	19.59	20.83
1967-1976	20.84	20.21	19.01	19.80
1957-1966	20.05	19.01	18.24	18.75
<1957	18.40	17.77	17.12	17.55
Total	24.08	21.74	19.92	21.85

the date of the survey, on the other hand, it is 24 in İstanbul, Western Marmara and Western Anatolia, and in the interval 21-23 in other regions. In men, the average age at first marriage rises rapidly in almost all regions on the basis of marriage cohorts and turns out as high as 26-27 in the last marriage cohort in all regions.

Table 7 gives the results of Poisson regression models developed to identify factors determining the age at first marriage in women. The first model taking marriage cohort only as a variable confirms the outcomes of descriptive analysis

and shows that the age at first marriage is rising in time. It also shows that the age at first marriage increased by 1.4 times in the period ($p < 0, 01$). In the second model, duration in education and socioeconomic level are also included as variables besides marriage cohort. The rise in age at first marriage over marriage cohorts can be seen in this model too. The age at first marriage rises as duration in education gets longer. The age at first marriage in women who have been in education for 15 years and longer is 1.4 times higher than women with educational background of 0-4 years ($p < 0.01$).

Table 3.6. Change in Average Age at First Marriage by Regions, Gender and Marriage Cohort, 2016

Marriage Cohort	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	North-eastern Anatolia	Central Eastern Anatolia	South-eastern Anatolia	Total
Male													
2007-2016	27.61	26.66	26.84	26.88	26.93	27.73	26.51	26.66	27.17	25.65	26.87	25.65	26.99
1997-2006	24.98	24.80	24.80	24.71	24.32	25.33	24.81	24.40	25.07	25.12	24.96	24.33	24.82
1987-1996	24.41	24.05	23.59	23.82	23.33	24.86	22.82	22.86	23.04	24.47	22.90	22.60	23.75
1977-1986	23.05	23.01	23.06	23.08	22.55	23.22	22.33	21.60	22.55	22.05	21.89	21.23	22.70
1967-1976	22.33	21.73	22.76	21.52	21.69	22.16	20.25	21.36	20.91	20.84	21.56	20.54	21.73
1957-1966	21.58	20.95	21.50	21.28	20.74	21.34	20.27	20.25	21.12	20.52	20.41	19.74	20.93
<1957	19.90	20.44	19.54	20.13	19.37	19.12	18.11	19.47	19.48	19.24	22.75	18.99	19.64
Total	24.96	23.92	24.00	24.03	23.84	24.71	23.24	22.94	23.26	23.81	23.81	23.06	24.05
Female													
2007-2016	24.05	23.62	23.37	23.38	23.68	23.24	21.78	23.00	23.48	21.02	22.18	22.54	23.23
1997-2006	21.20	21.04	21.12	21.24	21.02	21.16	20.18	20.69	21.89	20.33	19.88	19.98	20.91
1987-1996	20.56	20.22	20.05	19.86	19.83	20.16	19.58	19.38	19.54	18.72	19.10	18.68	19.86
1977-1986	19.62	19.64	19.77	19.58	19.49	19.59	18.85	18.90	19.26	18.63	18.27	17.91	19.32
1967-1976	18.79	18.27	18.83	17.94	18.75	19.16	18.36	18.20	18.19	18.45	17.29	17.30	18.44
1957-1966	18.08	17.82	18.18	18.02	17.05	17.30	16.69	17.03	18.12	16.56	16.17	16.10	17.41
<1957	16.39	16.77	16.70	16.49	16.68	16.31	15.57	16.87	17.57	16.83	16.17	16.38	16.55
Total	21.02	20.16	20.20	20.23	20.30	20.36	19.41	19.44	19.95	19.21	19.39	19.39	20.15
Total													
2007-2016	25.84	25.19	25.09	25.05	25.29	25.48	23.73	24.59	25.25	23.06	24.18	23.95	25.04
1997-2006	23.08	22.91	22.93	22.92	22.61	23.15	22.29	22.30	23.22	22.61	22.10	21.90	22.77
1987-1996	22.46	22.13	21.79	21.72	21.50	22.35	21.04	20.99	21.30	21.14	20.72	20.41	21.70
1977-1986	21.25	21.39	21.36	21.24	20.89	21.34	20.39	20.08	20.85	20.14	19.99	19.44	20.91
1967-1976	20.15	19.61	20.65	19.41	20.09	20.40	19.17	19.61	19.48	19.30	18.88	18.78	19.84
1957-1966	19.30	19.13	19.40	19.28	18.29	18.72	18.03	18.08	19.18	18.05	17.62	17.49	18.68
<1957	17.18	18.15	17.42	17.80	17.46	17.41	16.22	17.60	18.28	17.29	18.89	17.36	17.49
Total	22.89	21.97	21.98	21.98	21.93	22.37	21.05	20.92	21.47	21.16	21.27	21.02	21.93

Table 3.7. Determinants of Women's Age at their First Marriage. Poisson Regression Analysis, 2016

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Significance	Rate	Significance	Rate	Significance	Rate	Significance	Rate
Marriage Cohort								
2007-2016	0.000	1.402	0.000	1.320	0.000	1.321	0.000	1.323
1997-2006	0.000	1.257	0.000	1.218	0.000	1.220	0.000	1.221
1987-1996	0.000	1.196	0.000	1.161	0.000	1.168	0.000	1.170
1977-1986	0.000	1.171	0.000	1.137	0.000	1.145	0.000	1.145
1967-1976	0.000	1.115	0.000	1.097	0.000	1.106	0.000	1.105
1957-1966	0.000	1.049	0.000	1.045	0.000	1.051	0.000	1.050
<1957	-	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000
Duration in Education								
0-4	-	-	-	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000
5-7	-	-	0.000	1.144	0.000	1.091	0.000	1.105
8-11	-	-	0.000	1.171	0.000	1.115	0.000	1.109
12-15	-	-	0.000	1.223	0.000	1.197	0.000	1.147
>15	-	-	0.000	1.419	0.000	1.341	0.000	1.208
Socio-economic Level								
Very High	-	-	0.000	1.094	0.000	1.081	0.000	1.078
High	-	-	0.000	1.066	0.000	1.055	0.000	1.053
Medium	-	-	0.025	1.016	0.380	1.006	0.490	1.005
Low	-	-	0.805	1.002	0.635	.997	0.452	0.995
Very Low	-	-	-	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000
Level of Traditionality								
Low	-	-	-	-	0.000	1.075	0.000	1.066
Medium	-	-	-	-	0.000	1.057	0.000	1.053
High	-	-	-	-	-	1.000	-	1.000
Number of ceremonies								
	-	-	-	-	0.071	1.004	0.079	1.015
Number of features sought in spouse								
	-	-	-	-	0.801	1.000	0.946	1.000
Place lived until age 15								
Province Centre	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.913	1.001
District Centre	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.965	1.001
Township-Village	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.899	1.002
Abroad	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	1.000
Region								
Istanbul	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.001	1.027
Western Marmara	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.274	1.013
Aegean	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.015	1.022
Eastern Marmara	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.150	1.013
Western Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.328	1.009
Mediterranean	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.000	1.034
Central Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.205	.986
Western Black Sea	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.310	1.011
Eastern Black Sea	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.006	1.036
North-eastern Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.270	.983
Central Eastern Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.792	.997
South-eastern Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000

*Though incorporated into the model, the variables working status and mode of getting first acquainted with the spouse did not yield statistically significant results.

The age at first marriage changes with respect to socioeconomic level as well. Relative to the age at first marriage of women in the lowest socioeconomic level, the age at first marriage is higher by 2% in women from medium socioeconomic level, by 7% in women from high socioeconomic level, and by 9% in women from the highest socioeconomic level ($p < 0.01$). In the third model in which the variables of the level of traditionality, number of ceremonies, and features sought in spouse are included, it is observed that marriage cohorts and duration in education and all associated categories are important variables of statistical significance. Taking the variable of socioeconomic level, it is observed that at present there is no difference in terms of age at first marriage between women in the lowest, low and medium socioeconomic levels whereas the difference in this respect is considerable at statistical significance level between women in high and highest socioeconomic levels and the rest. Taking a closer look at the impact on age at first marriage of the variable level of traditionality included in the model, we see that the age at first marriage rises significantly in statistical terms as the level of traditionality gets lower ($p < 0.01$). It is also observed that the number of pre-marital ceremonies and features sought in spouse do not affect change in age at first marriage ($p > 0.05$). In the fourth model where all other variables are included, it is observed that variables marriage cohort, duration of marriage, socioeconomic level and level of traditionality still persist though their rates are somewhat reduced. The number of pre-marital ceremonies and features sought in spouse do not affect change in age at first marriage in this model too. Another variable found as having no effect is related to the place of living until age 15. With respect regions, ages at first marriage of women are higher only in İstanbul, Aegean, Central Anatolia and Eastern Black Sea regions when compared to those in South-eastern Anatolia ($p < 0.05$). There is no significant difference in this respect when other regions are concerned. These results show that

in multi-variable analyses too variables affecting the age at first marriage persist when other variables are controlled. On the basis of these analyses, it is possible to say that rise in age at first marriage over marriage is real.

VI. Change in Marriages at Early Ages

With respect to the timing of marriage, cumulative change in marriages by ages also provides important information as does change in age at first marriage. Taking cumulative first marriage percentages (Table 8) and when marriage cohort is omitted, it is observed that marriage under age 18 is quite prevalent particularly among women. The rate of early marriage by men which is 6.5% in the RFST-2006 drops to 5.5% in the RFST-2016. While 65% of men have their first marriage until age 24 in the RFST-2006, there is decrease to 57% in the RFST-2016 period. With respect to women, the rate of early marriage which was 31.2% in the RFST-2006 dropped to 27.6% in the RFST-2016. While in the RFST-2006 90.7% of women have their first marriage until age 24, it is 85.3% in the RFST-2016. These findings confirm once more that men and women, particularly the latter, postpone their first marriage in time.

Looking at early marriage by women in line with basic variables (Table 9), we find that the rate of marrying before age 18 which is under 1% in women with educational background of 16 years and longer rises to 30% in women with 5-7 years of education and to 48% in women with 0-4 years of education. It is notable that 9% of women with 0-4 years in education married before age 15. With respect to employment, 34% of women employed without social security married before age 18 while 4% of women who do not work married before age 15. The prevalence of early marriage increases as socioeconomic level is lower. The rate of marrying before age 18 is only 4% in women with very high socioeconomic level while it is as high as 40% in women from the lowest welfare level. Among women in the lowest socioeconomic group, the rate of

marriage before age 15 goes up as high as 7%. The prevalence of early marriage increases as does the level of traditionality. Indeed, while the prevalence of early marriage is by 10% among less traditional women it is as high as 44 in women from the highest level of traditionality. In the same group, the prevalence of marriage before age 16 rises to 6%.

Looking at the relationship between environments of first acquaintance with future spouse and early marriage, we find that the prevalence of early marriage decreases in women who met their future husbands in school/course and business environments (8-10%) whereas it is high (32-33%) among others who met them in family/relative and neighbourhood environments. As can be expected, the prevalence of marriage under age 15 is high in marriages before age 18 (4%). Marrying before age 18 is also prevalent among those living in townships and villages until age 15 and thus passing a significant period in their socialization in rural environments. With respect to regions it is observed that the prevalence of early marriage is over 22% in all regions. The prevalence of early

marriage that is over 30% in Black Sea Region and Central Anatolia rises further up to 40% in eastern regions. Consistent with these findings, the prevalence of marrying before age 15 is also high in Central and Southern Anatolia (6%).

Reflecting the common experience of cohorts marrying at different dates, these analyses made on the basis of findings given in Table 9 are far from indicating the current situation in the prevalence of early marriages and change in the patterns of early marriage occurring in the course of time. Thus, the pattern of early marriage is given on the basis of marriage cohorts for both women and men in Table 10. These analyses show that the rate of early marriage which is 68% in women marrying in 1957 and earlier falls as years pass and drops to 8% for the most recent marriage cohort. It is observed that early marriage by women takes place mostly in the age interval of 15-17 and the number of women marrying before age 15 is limited. The rate of women marrying before age 5 which rises up to 16% particularly among those marrying before 1972 falls under 1% in women covered by the most recent marriage cohort.

Table 3.8. Cumulative Percentage Distribution of Age at First Marriage by Gender, 2006-2016

Age at marriage	RFST-2006	RFST-2011	RFST-2016
Male			
<18	6.5	6.4	5.5
18-24	65.0	61.2	57.0
25-29	93.5	91.6	90.0
30-34	98.6	98.2	97.9
35-39	100.0	99.6	99.5
40 and +	100.0	100.1	100.0
Female			
<18	31.2	29.2	27.6
19-24	90.7	87.9	85.3
25-29	98.3	97.2	96.8
30-34	99.5	99.2	99.2
35-39	100.0	99.7	99.8
40 and +	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3.9. Percentage Distribution Early Marriages by Basic Characteristics of Women, 2016

Basic Characteristics	Before age 15	15-17	Before age 18	After age 18	Total
Duration in Education					
0-4	9.2	38.3	47.5	52.5	100.0
5-7	2.5	27.7	30.2	69.8	100.0
8-11	1.1	21.8	22.9	77.1	100.0
12-15	0.1	4.5	4.6	95.4	100.0
16 and +	0.0	0.4	0.4	99.6	100.0
Employment Status					
Employed with social security	1.1	11.0	12.1	87.9	100.0
Employed without social security	2.8	31.0	33.8	66.2	100.0
Not working	4.1	26.2	30.3	69.7	100.0
Socio-economic Level					
Very High	0.3	3.7	4.1	95.9	100.0
High	1.0	14.2	15.2	84.8	100.0
Medium	2.8	23.4	26.2	73.8	100.0
Low	4.5	29.0	33.5	66.5	100.0
Very Low	6.9	32.9	39.8	60.2	100.0
Level of Traditionality					
Low	1.0	8.9	9.9	90.1	100.0
Medium	3.1	24.6	27.7	72.3	100.0
High	6.4	37.2	43.6	56.4	100.0
Environment of First Meeting					
Family, relatives	4.4	29.0	33.5	66.5	100.0
Neighbours, neighbourhood	4.0	27.5	31.5	68.5	100.0
School/preparatory school/courses	0.4	7.5	7.9	92.1	100.0
Business environment	1.5	8.2	9.7	90.3	100.0
Circle of friends	0.9	11.9	12.8	87.2	100.0
Internet	2.3	11.5	13.8	86.2	100.0
Place Lived until Age 15					
Province Centre	2.7	19.5	22.2	77.8	100.0
District Centre	3.4	19.6	23.0	77.0	100.0
Township-Village	4.4	31.5	36.0	64.0	100.0
Abroad	1.1	19.2	20.3	79.7	100.0
Region					
İstanbul	3.0	19.5	22.5	77.5	100.0
Western Marmara	1.5	24.2	25.7	74.3	100.0
Aegean	3.4	24.0	27.3	72.7	100.0
Eastern Marmara	3.8	20.3	24.2	75.8	100.0
Western Anatolia	3.2	23.8	27.0	73.0	100.0
Mediterranean	3.4	23.4	26.8	73.2	100.0
Central Anatolia	3.7	30.0	33.7	66.3	100.0
Western Black Sea	3.6	29.7	33.3	66.7	100.0
Eastern Black Sea	1.3	28.8	30.1	69.9	100.0
North-eastern Anatolia	4.2	33.2	37.4	62.6	100.0
Central Eastern Anatolia	6.0	31.2	37.2	62.8	100.0
South-eastern Anatolia	6.2	30.1	36.3	63.7	100.0
Total	3.6	24.6	28.2	71.8	100.0

Table 3.10. Percentage Distribution of Early Marriages by Marriage Cohort and Gender, 2016

Marriage Cohort	Before age 15	15-17	Before age 18	After age 18	Total
Male					
2007-2016	0.0	0.3	0.3	99.7	100.0
1997-2006	0.0	1.5	1.5	98.5	100.0
1987-1996	0.1	4.0	4.1	95.9	100.0
1977-1986	0.5	7.5	8.0	92.0	100.0
1967-1976	1.2	12.0	13.2	86.8	100.0
1957-1966	1.6	17.7	19.3	80.7	100.0
<1957	1.3	22.7	23.9	76.1	100.0
Total	0.3	5.2	5.6	94.4	100.0
Female					
2007-2016	0.0	7.9	7.9	92.1	100.0
1997-2006	0.9	16.7	17.7	82.3	100.0
1987-1996	1.8	26.1	27.8	72.2	100.0
1977-1986	3.5	28.3	31.8	68.2	100.0
1967-1976	7.0	36.2	43.2	56.8	100.0
1957-1966	12.9	43.6	56.5	43.5	100.0
<1957	16.4	51.6	68.0	32.0	100.0
Total	3.6	24.6	28.2	71.8	100.0

When limited to the age group 15-49 and compared to TDHS-2013 outcomes, these analyses made with respect to women are found as consistent with the outcomes related to both early marriage and age distribution in early marriage. While it is still a problem when women are concerned, early marriage by men, which was by 23% in the oldest marriage cohort, has now dropped below 1%.

The results of the first model in logistic regression analyses made to identify the determinants of the risk of early marriage (Table 11) show that this risk rapidly increases as we go back to older marriage cohorts from the most recent one: Relative to the most recent marriage cohort, it is 15 times higher in women marrying in the period 1957-1966 and 25 times higher in women marrying before 1957. The results of the second model constructed by adding duration in education and socioeconomic level as variables to the variable marriage cohort show that the variable marriage cohort is still quite influential.

It is also observed in this model that the risk of early marriage increases as women's duration in education gets shorter and that compared to the case of women with duration in education for 16 years or longer, the risk of early marriage is 6 times higher in women with duration in education for 0-4 years. With respect to socioeconomic level, the risk of early marriage is higher by 1.5 times in women at high welfare level, 1.9 times in women at medium welfare level, 2.1 times in women at low welfare level, and 3 times in women at lowest welfare level compared to women at highest welfare level. At the third stage the model introduces, in addition to variables present in the first two models, the variables of level of traditionality, number of ceremonies and number of features sought in spouse. In this model too it is observed that early marriages are influenced significantly by marriage cohort and duration in education variables. With respect to the variable socioeconomic level, the difference between categories very high and high disappears ($p>0.05$) and the risk of early marriage increases

Table 3.11. Determinants of Early Marriage Risk, Logistic Regression, 2016

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Significance	Odds Ratio	Significance	Odds Ratio	Significance	Odds Ratio	Significance	Odds Ratio
Marriage Cohort								
2007-2016	-	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000
1997-2006	0.000	2.481	0.000	1.926	0.000	1.960	0.000	1.995
1987-1996	0.000	4.466	0.000	3.232	0.000	3.149	0.000	3.251
1977-1986	0.000	5.392	0.000	3.735	0.000	3.548	0.000	3.766
1967-1976	0.000	8.792	0.000	5.271	0.000	4.952	0.000	5.348
1957-1966	0.000	15.020	0.000	7.886	0.000	7.555	0.000	8.384
<1957	0.000	24.592	0.000	12.272	0.000	12.338	0.000	13.887
Duration in Education								
0-4	-	-	0.000	5.626	0.000	5.733	0.000	5.547
5-7	-	-	0.000	5.449	0.000	6.400	0.000	4.961
8-11	-	-	0.000	3.917	0.000	3.792	0.000	3.774
12-15	-	-	0.000	2.863	0.000	2.319	0.000	1.430
>15	-	-	-	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000
Socio-economic Level								
Very High	-	-	-	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000
High	-	-	0.048	1.540	0.108	1.165	0.108	1.465
Medium	-	-	0.007	1.857	0.016	1.748	0.015	1.761
Low	-	-	0.001	2.147	0.006	1.903	0.005	1.938
Very Low	-	-	0.002	2.922	0.018	1.766	0.020	1.759
Level of Traditionality								
Low	-	-	-	-	-	1.000	-	1.000
Medium	-	-	-	-	0.000	1.420	0.000	1.360
High	-	-	-	-	0.000	2.394	0.000	2.184
Number of ceremonies	-	-	-	-	0.000	.904	0.000	.894
Number of features sought in spouse	-	-	-	-	0.015	.980	0.037	.983
Place lived until age 15								
Province Centre	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.106	1.323
District Centre	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.387	1.162
Township-Village	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.465	1.134
Abroad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000
Region								
İstanbul	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000
Western Marmara	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.376	.904
Aegean	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.843	.984
Eastern Marmara	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.244	.903
Western Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.070	1.172
Mediterranean	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.478	.944
Central Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.023	1.267
Western Black Sea	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.918	1.010
Eastern Black Sea	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.167	.839
North-eastern Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.011	1.405
Central Eastern Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.003	1.393
South-eastern Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.003	1.304
R Square	-	0.174	-	0.256	-	0.278	-	0.284

*Though incorporated into the model, the variables working status and mode of getting first acquainted with the spouse did not yield statistically significant results.

as socioeconomic level gets lower. Increase in the level of traditionality increases the risk of early marriage very significantly. Relative to the low level of traditionality, the risk of early marriage is 1.4 times higher in medium level traditionality ($p < 0.01$) and 2.4 times higher in high level of traditionality ($p < 0.01$). As the number of pre-marital ceremonies ($p < 0.01$) and the number of features sought in spouse ($p < 0.05$) increase, the risk of early marriage diminishes. The following outcomes are observed in the last model: The effect of variables of marriage cohort, duration in education, levels of socioeconomic welfare and traditionality, number of ceremonies and number of features sought in spouse still persists; though significant as a variable, the place of living until age 15 does not make any category distinct from others; in regional terms, the risk of early marriage is higher than in İstanbul only in the regions of Central Anatolia ($p < 0.05$), North-eastern Anatolia ($p < 0.05$), Central Eastern Anatolia ($p < 0.01$) and South-eastern Anatolia ($p < 0.01$) while other regions does not differ from İstanbul in this respect ($p > 0.05$).

Examining the explanatory power of models with R-square value, we see that explanatory power which is by 17% at the first stage then increases up to 28% in the last model. These results show that variables added to the model stage by stage are important in exposing the determinants of the risk of early marriage.

VII. Change in Characteristics Relating to the Formation of Marriage

The Research on Family Structure in Türkiye surveys series show that characteristics associated with formation of marriages in Turkey are in the process of transformation from traditional to modern practices. Looking at the actor taking decision for marriage on the basis of RFST-2006, RFST-2011 and RFST-2016 data (Table 12), we see that the prevalence of marriage by women upon the approval family

remains at the level 27% without change while the tendency to take the decision by women alone without family consent is rising; that marriages decided by families with the consent of women concerned have increased from 28% to 48%; and that marriages decided by families without the consent of women concerned has fallen from 37% to 15%. These findings suggest that decisions relating to marriage are still taken largely by families while others approved by both families and women concerned are becoming more prevalent. There is no significant change over years in the prevalence of marriages occurring through abduction, berdel and other similar ways. Still, it must be noted that marriages though abduction is prevalent by 7% even in the RFST-2016.

In regard to change in the form of marriage, it is observed that couples mostly get married by having both civil and religious ceremonies. The share of couples having both increased from 87% in the RFST-2006 to 97% in the RFST-2016. Consistent with this increase, there is significant decline in the share of couples with civil marriage only. In the period of 15 years, the share of couples with civil ceremony only has declined from 9% to 4% while those with religious ceremony only from 3% to 1%. There is no significant change in the practice of dowry in the survey period and there is decline from 19% to 16%. A similar situation can be observed in consanguineous marriages as well. The rate of women in consanguineous marriages is found as 23% in all surveys. It is possible to see a modest decline in the share of marriages with first degree relatives while other forms of consanguineous marriage increase again modestly. Findings relating to form/space in which couples first meet each other there is decline in marriages upon acquaintance in family/relative/neighbourhood environments while there is increase in marriages following acquaintance in schools/courses, business environments and internet.

Table 3.12. Percentage Distribution of Characteristics in the Formation of Marriages, 2006-2016

Marriage Practices	RFST-2006	RFST-2011	RFST-2016
Marriage Decision			
Himself/herself, with family approval	27.3	35.4	27.1
Himself/herself, without family approval	1.9	2.9	2.6
Family, with woman's consent	27.9	44.3	47.8
Family, without woman's consent	36.6	12.5	14.8
Eloping/kidnapping	6.1	4.3	7.3
Bride exchange/other	0.2	0.6	0.4
Form of Wedlock			
Civil and religious	86.7	93.4	97.3
Civil only	9.3	3.4	3.5
Religious only	3.4	3.2	1.3
Dowry			
Paid	81.2	81.1	83.3
Not paid	18.8	18.9	16.1
Consanguineous Marriage			
Not relative	77.3	77.5	76.3
Relative	22.6	22.5	23.7
First degree	12.6	12.4	11.8
Other	10.0	10.1	11.9
Environment of First Meeting			
Family, relatives	85.8	78.7	79.3
Neighbours, neighbourhood	2.3	4.1	3.5
School/preparatory school/courses	4.3	5.9	6.6
Business environment	6.8	8.0	10.0
Circle of friends	0.1	0.1	0.6
Other	0.8	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

After analyses on the basis of all women that reflect the experience of different marriage cohorts and prevent the visibility of net changes, it will be useful to observe net changes in marriage practices by applying the same analyses with respect to marriage cohorts. Findings in Table 13 related to how marriage decisions are taken

show that there is rapid increase in marriages decided by couples themselves against again a rapid decline in marriages decided by families. The prevalence of marriages decided by women with the consent of family increased from 9% to 51% and marriages decided by women without family consent increased from 1.7% to 3.3%. The share of marriages decided by families with the consent of women concerned fell from 41% to 35% and others decided by families without the consent of women concerned from 15% to 4%. In spite of significant decline in the incidence of abduction, the share of this form of marrying is still around 7% even in the last marriage cohort. There is also decline in the incidence of berdel marriages as a more traditional practice. In all marriage cohorts, the overwhelming majority (96-98%) of marriages are acted in both types of wedlock (civil and religious). Since there is no information in the RFST about which of these takes place first, analyses based on marriage cohorts may be polluted to a certain extent. When similar analyses are made on the basis of not RFST but TDHS data, it is found that marriages starting with religious ceremony are accompanied by civil wedlock within the first five years and those marriages that are exclusively by religious ceremony remains under 2% especially in new marriage cohorts. Looking at changes in the practice of dowry, the rate which was 35% in marriages taking place before 1952 falls to 11% in the marriage cohort 2007-2016. A large part of this decline (70%) also confirmed by TDHS took place until the mid-80s. The prevalence of consanguineous marriage which was by 25% among women marrying before 1952 is 16% for the marriage cohort 2007-2016. Tracking by marriage cohorts, we find that marriages between first degree relatives are rapidly declining (from 15% to 7%) while those with other relatives still persist.

As can be seen in Table 13 the proportion of

women at the highest level of traditionality declined from 40% to 18%. Consistent with this development, the proportion of women at low level of traditionality increased from 8% to 47%. Looking at change in environments of meeting with the future spouse for the first time we also see significant decline in the share of family, relative and neighbourhood environments. On the other hand, there is significant increase in the share of school and business environments and friendship circles. When these environments are concerned we observe the inclusion of internet and social media too.

Table 14 gives the percentage distribution of women's major characteristics by index of traditionality. The level of traditionality falls as women's level of education rises along with the following other changes: fall in the level of traditionality among women working as covered by social security; rising level of traditionality with lower levels of socioeconomic status; the highest level of traditionality observed among women who spend most of their process of socialisation in rural environments; and high levels of traditionality along women in North-eastern Anatolia, Central Eastern Anatolia and South-eastern Anatolia that may go up to 52-56%.

Looking at the distribution of pre-marital ceremonies by marriage cohorts in Table 15 we find that practices of getting first permission from the girl's family for marriage, betrothal, engagement, henna night and wedding party which were already high in first marriage cohorts are on continuous rise. The prevalence of these practices varies from 83% to 93% in the last marriage cohort. The prevalence of the practices of trousseau exhibition increased from 48% to 57%. It is worth noting that farewell to bachelor life party which was only by 2% in marriages taking place before 1987 increased to 3% in the

1997-2006 marriage cohort and higher up to 7% in the 2007-2016 marriage cohort. Consistent with this increase in the prevalence of pre-marital ceremonies, the average number of ceremonies also increased in time from 4.3 to 5.1.

Examining the distribution of women and men finding features sought in spouse as "important" and "very important" again on the basis of marriage cohorts (Table 16) we find that women and men may look for both similar and dissimilar characteristics. While having similar family structure and being the first marriage of future wife are the most important characteristics for men, for women these lead characteristics are having a job and a similar family structure. This suggests that while men assign importance to have their wives as having their first marriage with them women assign priority to their future husband's job and employment status. Men seem to assign more and more priority to their future wife's educational status while their job status is relatively diminishing in importance. Again, when their future wives are concerned, men's keenness about their devoutness, religious sect, native area, social environment and ethnic origin are losing importance. Looking at characteristics that women seek in men as their partners in life, they look less and less for religious devoutness, sect, social environment, ethnic origin and political opinion. While these characteristics in men are losing importance in the eyes of women, what is upheld and sought include education, job, short working hours and similar family structure. These results show that features sought by men and women in their prospective spouses significantly change in time by marriage cohorts. Looking at number of features sought by men and women we see that the list is becoming shorter for both men and women. The number of features sought in women by men dropped from 7.6 to 6.3 while the number of features sought in men by women decreased slightly from 7.8 to 7.5.

Table 3.14. Distribution of Level of Traditionality by Woman's Basic Characteristics. 2016

Variables	Low	Medium	High	Total
Durtation in Education				
0-4	4.6	40.4	55.0	100.0
5-7	14.1	57.2	28.7	100.0
8-11	27.4	54.5	18.1	100.0
12-15	54.3	38.5	7.2	100.0
16 and +	80.4	18.4	1.1	100.0
Employment Status				
Employed with social security	56.1	36.2	7.8	100.0
Employed without social security	16.1	49.3	34.6	100.0
Not working	18.7	48.6	32.7	100.0
Socio-economic Level				
Very High	71.6	23.3	5.1	100.0
High	45.6	40.9	13.6	100.0
Medium	25.3	51.5	23.2	100.0
Low	13.9	50.2	35.9	100.0
Very Low	7.3	40.8	51.9	100.0
Place Lived until Age 15				
Province Centre	34.8	45.5	19.7	100.0
District Centre	30.0	48.8	21.3	100.0
Township-Village	11.0	47.1	41.9	100.0
Abroad	37.4	45.9	16.7	100.0
Region				
İstanbul	34.0	41.5	24.5	100.0
Western Marmara	31.4	52.7	15.9	100.0
Aegean	26.2	55.3	18.5	100.0
Eastern Marmara	31.8	48.8	19.4	100.0
Western Anatolia	23.1	50.7	26.2	100.0
Mediterranean	20.4	51.0	28.6	100.0
Central Anatolia	13.1	51.4	35.5	100.0
Western Black Sea	17.5	47.0	35.4	100.0
Eastern Black Sea	19.7	52.1	28.2	100.0
North-eastern Anatolia	10.5	37.3	52.2	100.0
Central Eastern Anatolia	11.1	33.1	55.9	100.0
South-eastern Anatolia	9.9	34.2	55.9	100.0
Total	23.4	47.0	29.5	100.0

Table 3.15. Percentage Distribution of Pre-Marital Ceremonies by Marriage Cohorts. 2016

Ceremonies	2007-16	1997-06	1987-96	1977-86	1967-76	1957-66	<1957	Total
Asking for girl's hand	92.1	91.4	90.5	90.7	88.6	86.2	83.8	90.2
Betrothal	88.1	87.5	85.6	85.5	81.8	77.1	74.6	84.9
Engagement	83.5	81.0	78.8	79.1	74.9	71.0	66.2	78.6
Henna night	91.1	88.4	86.9	83.9	80.9	74.4	74.5	85.4
Wedding	93.3	90.0	89.1	86.5	85.3	81.0	80.8	88.3
Farewell to bachelor life	7.1	3.0	1.8	1.8	1.3	0.9	1.7	2.9
Trousseau exhibit	56.5	62.3	63.1	60.9	53.4	50.5	48.2	58.6
Average number of ceremonies	5.1	5.0	5.0	4.9	4.7	4.4	4.3	4.9

Table 3.16. Percentage Distribution of Important and Very Important Characteristics Sought in Spouse by Marriage Cohorts and Gender. 2016

Characteristics	2007-16	1997-06	1987-96	1977-86	1967-76	1957-66	<1957	Total
Male								
Having good education	61.1	63.0	67.1	72.9	75.1	68.4	56.3	66.6
Having a job	42.4	48.1	58.5	65.5	65.4	63.5	60.7	55.1
Having short working hours	58.0	52.3	55.4	54.3	54.5	47.8	48.7	54.5
Having no marriage before	82.2	81.1	84.9	86.5	87.2	88.1	83.6	84.2
Having similar family structure	83.6	83.8	84.9	86.4	88.4	87.2	86.6	85.2
Being devout	77.4	78.2	79.2	76.9	80.8	84.3	88.2	78.8
Sharing the same sect	62.3	64.3	67.2	69.2	73.0	77.3	82.8	67.3
From the same country	27.5	29.9	33.7	37.9	44.2	50.0	58.4	34.8
Sharing the same social environment	49.1	51.3	52.3	57.7	61.7	62.5	68.1	54.2
Sharing the same ethnic origin	50.9	53.0	53.6	58.1	62.6	61.7	75.6	55.5
Sharing a similar political opinion	34.7	35.2	34.4	38.6	45.1	46.6	50.8	37.4
Average number of features sought	6.3	6.4	6.7	7.0	7.4	7.4	7.6	6.7
Female								
Having good education	67.3	70.9	75.6	76.9	78.8	73.2	61.6	72.9
Having a job	91.9	93.3	92.1	92.7	90.6	86.4	78.6	91.2
Having short working hours	69.6	67.2	64.9	63.5	61.4	60.8	54.3	64.9
Having no marriage before	81.0	81.1	85.3	85.5	86.5	85.5	81.6	83.7
Having similar family structure	87.8	88.3	88.6	90.9	90.2	88.6	83.0	88.7
Being devout	81.8	85.4	84.4	83.0	86.5	88.1	86.9	84.5
Sharing the same sect	74.1	77.5	78.8	79.0	81.1	83.5	80.3	78.4
From the same country	34.6	39.1	43.3	47.3	55.2	58.4	59.3	44.7
Sharing the same social environment	55.5	59.0	61.6	63.9	66.5	64.9	66.1	61.3
Sharing the same ethnic origin	58.2	61.9	64.5	63.9	67.3	69.3	71.9	63.7
Sharing a similar political opinion	45.0	48.1	49.7	52.8	56.5	54.3	53.2	50.3
Average number of features sought	7.5	7.7	7.9	8.0	8.2	8.1	7.8	7.8

VIII. Relationship between Age at Marriage and Early Marriage Practices and Divorce

In the period 2001-2017 we see decline in crude marriage rate and increase in crude divorce rate in Turkey. While crude marriage rate declined from 8.4 per thousand to 7.1 per thousand, crude divorce rate increased from 1.3 per thousand to 1.6 per thousand (Figure 4). In numerical terms the number of marriages decreased by 6% while the number of divorces increased by 41% in this period.

Looking at changes in marital status of women in the family structure survey series (Table 17) we find that there is decrease in the proportion of those currently married from 73% to 64% and the proportion of those who have never married increased from 17% to 27%. While there is decrease in the share of widowed women, the share of divorced women increased from 2.1 percent to 2.8 percent, by 33%. Considering all cases of divorce by women up to the date of the survey we see that the cumulative rate of divorce which was by 4% in the RFST-2006 increased to 8% in the RFST-2016.

Analyses made on the basis of marriage cohorts (Table 18) show that the rate of divorced women which are 7.7% in general terms increases from 6.3% to 11% in marriage cohorts. The rate of divorce is 11% for women who made their first marriage before age 15, 8% for women marrying at ages 15 to 17, and 7.5% for women marrying at age 18 and higher. Looking by marriage cohorts we observe the following increases in rates of divorce: from 8% to 29% in women having their first marriage under age 15; from 7% to 10% in women marrying at ages 15 to 17; and from 5.1% to 11% in women marrying at age 18 and higher. The state of being divorced which is only by 4% in women with high values of traditionality index increases to 8% in women with medium level traditionality value and to 11% in women

with low level of traditionality. Change over time shows that the rate of having divorced declines among women at high level of traditionality against increase in women at medium and particularly low levels of traditionality. In fact, the rate of divorce increases from 4% to 16% in women with low level of traditionality.

The rate of divorced women which is 7.7% in the RFST-2016 increases to 10-11% in women with duration in education longer than 8 years, to 13% in women in formal employment, and to 11% in women with high economic status and living in İstanbul. On the other hand, this rate falls down to 4% in women with duration in education is 4 years or shorter and gets as low as 2-3% in women living in Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia regions. The rate of divorce rising up to 13-14% in women who met their husbands first in business and friendship environments, falls down as low as 4% in women who met their husbands first through family and relatives. It is also observed that the rate of divorced women falls as the duration of marriage gets longer. This rate which is as high as 19% in women in the first five years of their marriage first decreases to 8% in women with 15 years of marriage history, and then to 2% in case the duration of marriage is longer than that. The number of children also appears to be influential on the incidence of divorce. The probability of divorce decreases as the number of children increase. The rate of divorced women which is 14% in women without children remains around 3-5% in women having three or more children. It is also observed that the average number of pre-marital ceremonies and the number of features sought in spouse in divorced women are both lower relative to others not having divorce.

Looking at outcomes of logistic regression analyses conducted to expose the determinants of the risk of divorce on the basis of RFST-

Figure 3.4. Change in Crude Marriage and Divorce Rates in Turkey, 2001-2017

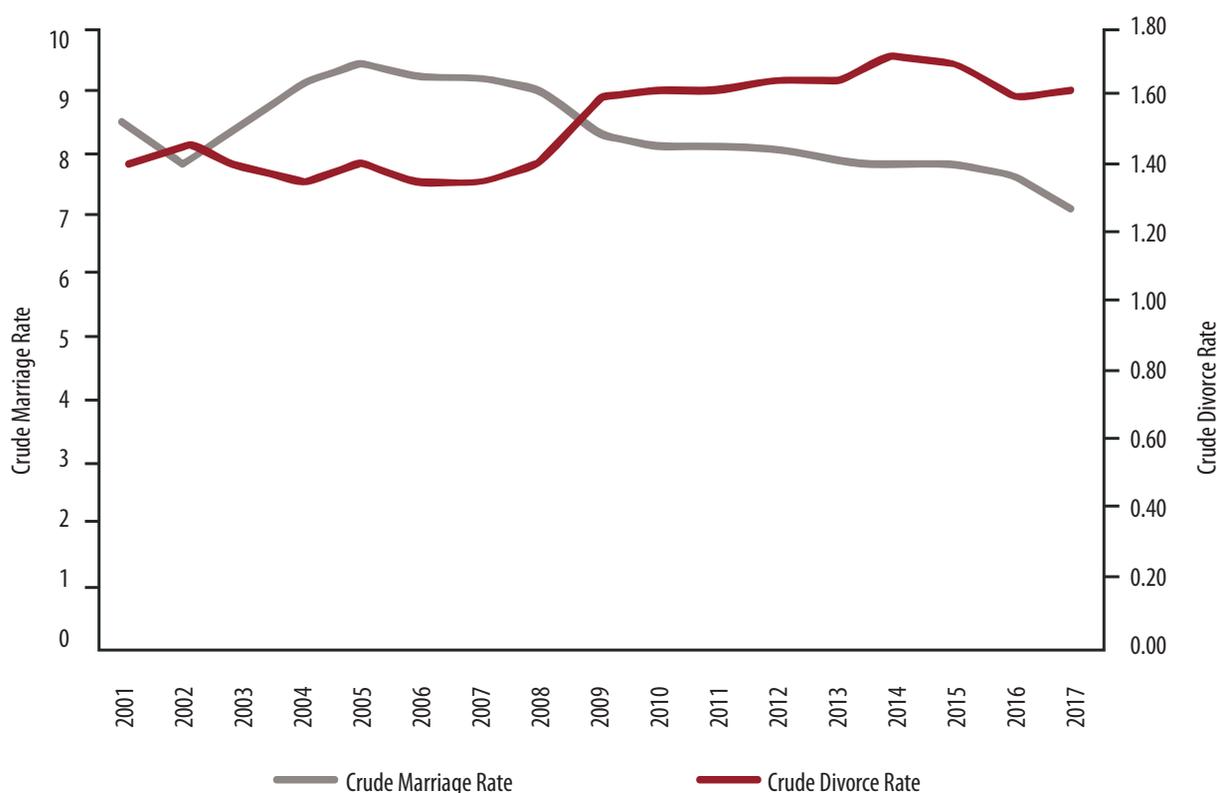


Table 3.17. Percentage Distribution of Women's Marital and Earlier Divorce Status, 2006-2016

Marital Status	RFST-2006	RFST-2011	RFST-2016
Never married	16.5	14.9	27.3
Currently married	72.7	71.1	64.0
Divorced	2.1	3.0	2.7
Widowed	8.8	10.1	5.5
Separated	0.0	0.9	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percentage of getting divorced earlier	4.3	5.6	7.7

2016 data (Table 20) we see that the marriage cohort marriage included in the first model has its significant effect. Relative to the risk of divorce on the part of women marrying in 1957 and earlier, we observe increase in the risk of divorce starting from the marriage cohort 1967-1976. The risk of divorce in women having their

first marriage in the period 2007-2016 is 1.5 times greater than women marrying in 1957 and earlier. In the second model, the risk of divorce does not differ between women marrying before 1957 and others having their marriage in the periods 1957-1966 and 1967-1976 ($p > 0.05$). In succeeding marriage cohorts, the risk of divorce increases ($p < 0.01$). Looking at the variable early marriage that phases in at this stage, we see that the risk of divorce relative to women marrying at age 18 and later is 1.3 times greater among women marrying while at age 15-17 and 2.3 times greater in women marrying younger than age 15 ($p < 0.01$). In the third model, the variables marriage cohort and early marriage maintain their status as determinants of the risk of divorce. With respect to the variable level of traditionality entering the model at this stage, we observe that the risk of divorce is 4.1 times higher in women with low level of traditionality

Table 3.18. Percentage Distribution of Divorce and early Marriage Status of Women by Marriage Cohorts, 2016*

Variables	2007-16	1997-06	1987-96	1977-86	1967-76	1957-66	<1957
Age at Marriage							
<15	29.2	12.5	18.4	9.1	8.1	7.6	11.3
15-17	10.0	10.1	7.7	5.9	5.5	7.2	8.0
>18	10.8	8.1	7.9	6.5	5.5	5.1	7.5
Index of Traditionality							
High	4.3	3.6	3.9	3.1	2.8	6.0	3.6
Medium	10.3	8.7	8.8	8.0	6.8	6.6	8.4
Low	15.9	14.0	14.2	12.8	16.5	3.8	10.8
Total	10.8	8.5	8.0	6.5	5.7	6.3	7.7

*The 2007-2016 cohort is excluded for yet not having completed the risk of divorce.

relative to women at high level of traditionality. In the fourth model, the variables of marriage cohort, early marriage and level of traditionality that were included in earlier stages are observed to affect significantly the risk of divorce as all other variables entering the model at this stage are controlled for ($p < 0.01$). As to effects of other variables included in the model at this stage it is observed that the probability of divorce is reduced as the number of children women have increases and it increases as duration of marriage is longer ($p < 0.01$). It is also observed that variables duration of marriage, number of ceremonies and number of features sought in spouse included in the model are conversely related with the risk of divorce. That is the probability of divorce is reduced as duration of marriage, the number of ceremonies and features sought increase. As women's socioeconomic status rises the probability of divorce increases 2.9 times ($p < 0.01$). The risk of divorce is 1.2 times higher among women owning real estate that others not owning ($p < 0.01$). The probability of divorce in women meeting their future husbands in business environments and friendship circles is 1.4 times higher than others meeting their partners in family environments

and through relatives. The finding that the rate of divorce is high among women meeting their husbands in internet environment is not confirmed by the outcomes of multi-variable analyses. The probability of divorce is higher in women experiencing their socialization process in urban environments (at province and district centres) relative to others having the same process in rural environments. Compared to the risk of divorce in women living in South-eastern Anatolia, that of women in Eastern Black Sea, North-eastern Anatolia and Central Eastern Anatolia does not differ in statistical terms; but their experience in divorce is quite different than that of women particularly in Aegean, Western Anatolia and Central Anatolia regions. These findings confirm once more that the risk of divorce is higher in women living in relatively more advanced regions in Turkey.

Examining the explanatory power of models on the basis of R-Square value, this power which is around 11% in the first model increases with every new model and reaches 45% in the last one. These outcomes suggest that variables gradually introduced to models at successive stages have their important place in determining the risk of divorce.

Table 3.19a. Percentage Distribution of Rates of Divorce by Women's Basic Characteristics. 2016

Variables	Not divorced	Divorced	Total
Duration in Education			
0-4	95.6	4.4	100.0
5-7	93.4	6.6	100.0
8-11	90.0	10.0	100.0
12-15	90.5	9.5	100.0
16 and +	89.3	10.7	100.0
Employment Status			
Employed with social security	87.3	12.7	100.0
Employed without social security	93.1	6.9	100.0
Not working	93.9	6.1	100.0
Socio-economic Level			
Very High	89.0	11.0	100.0
High	92.3	7.7	100.0
Medium	93.3	6.7	100.0
Low	92.8	7.2	100.0
Very Low	94.0	6.0	100.0
Real Estate Ownership			
No estate	92.1	7.9	100.0
At least one	91.2	8.8	100.0
Place Lived until Age 15			
Province Centre	90.3	9.7	100.0
District Centre	92.2	7.8	100.0
Township-Village	95.2	4.8	100.0
Abroad	90.7	9.3	100.0
Region			
İstanbul	89.0	11.0	100.0
Western Marmara	92.3	7.7	100.0
Aegean	93.3	6.7	100.0
Eastern Marmara	92.8	7.2	100.0
Western Anatolia	94.0	6.0	100.0
Mediterranean	92.9	7.1	100.0
Central Anatolia	92.5	7.5	100.0
Western Black Sea	94.3	5.7	100.0
Eastern Black Sea	96.6	3.4	100.0
North-eastern Anatolia	97.8	2.2	100.0
Central Eastern Anatolia	97.3	2.7	100.0
South-eastern Anatolia	97.4	2.6	100.0

Table 3.19b. Percentage Distribution of Rates of Divorce by Women's Basic Characteristics. 2016

Variables	Not divorced	Divorced	Total
Environment of First Meeting			
Family. relatives	95.3	4.7	100.0
Neighbours. neighbourhood	92.7	7.3	100.0
School/preparatory school/courses	92.7	7.3	100.0
Business environment	86.3	13.7	100.0
Circle of friends	86.1	13.9	100.0
Internet and other	87.4	12.6	100.0
Duration of Marriage			
1-5 years	81.0	19.0	100.0
6-10 years	88.4	11.6	100.0
11-15 years	91.3	8.7	100.0
16-20 years	92.2	7.8	100.0
21-25 years	95.9	4.1	100.0
26 and +	97.8	2.2	100.0
Number of Children			
0	86.3	13.7	100.0
1-2	91.4	8.6	100.0
3-4	95.0	5.0	100.0
5 and +	96.7	3.3	100.0
Average Number of Ceremonies	5.00	3.39	4.89
Average number of features sought in spouse	7.91	6.92	7.84
Total	92.3	7.7	100.0

Table 3.20a. Determinants of risk of divorce among women, logistic regression, 2016 *

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Significance	Odds Ratio	Significance	Odds Ratio	Significance	Odds Ratio	Significance	Odds Ratio
Marriage Cohort								
2007-2016	0.004	1.496	0.006	1.358	0.026	1.215	0.042	1.204
1997-2006	0.005	1.715	0.000	2.182	0.001	1.928	0.001	1.336
1987-1996	0.103	1.370	0.008	1.685	0.020	1.590	0.024	1.146
1977-1986	0.220	1.275	0.035	1.531	0.032	1.547	0.312	1.114
1967-1976	0.574	1.123	0.244	1.274	0.133	1.371	0.467	0.883
1957-1966	0.258	0.770	0.361	0.809	0.531	.864	0.402	0.938
<1957	-	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000
Case of early marriage								
<15	-	-	0.000	2.265	0.000	2.990	0.000	2.829
15-17	-	-	0.002	1.279	0.000	1.586	0.000	2.007
>17	-	-	-	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000
Level of Traditionality								
Low	-	-	-	-	0.000	4.081	0.003	1.643
Medium	-	-	-	-	0.000	2.645	0.000	1.649
High	-	-	-	-	-	1.000	-	1.000
Number of Children								
	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.000	.767
Duration in Education								
0-4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000
5-7	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.333	1.149
8-11	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.002	1.708
12-15	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.026	1.485
>15	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.051	1.517
Duration in marriage								
	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.000	0.841
Number of ceremonies								
	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.000	0.698
Number of features sought in spouse								
	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.000	0.932
Socio-economic Status								
Very High	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.000	2.912
High	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.008	2.297
Medium	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.035	1.851
Low	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.244	1.274
Very Low	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000
Real estate ownership								
None	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000
Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.000	1.224
Environment of First Meeting								
Family, relatives	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000
Neighbours, neighbourhood	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.916	0.988
School/preparatory school/courses	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.155	0.717
Business environment	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.041	1.385
Circle of friends	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.027	1.359
Internet and other	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.951	1.026

Table 3.20a. Determinants of risk of divorce, logistic regression, Logistic Regression, 2016 (continued)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Significance	Odds Ratio	Significance	Odds Ratio	Significance	Odds Ratio	Significance	Odds Ratio
Place lived until age 15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Province Centre	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.000	1.697
District Centre	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.021	1.304
Township-Village	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000
Abroad	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.306	0.736
Region	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
İstanbul	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.022	1.694
Western Marmara	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.049	1.191
Aegean	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.000	2.317
Eastern Marmara	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.006	1.970
Western Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.000	2.445
Mediterranean	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.004	1.977
Central Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.001	2.360
Western Black Sea	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.042	1.749
Eastern Black Sea	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.722	0.877
North-eastern Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.457	0.709
Central Eastern Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.797	0.912
South-eastern Anatolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000
R Square	-	0.110	-	0.374	-	0.431	-	0.446

**Though employment status is incorporated into the model as a variable it did not yield statistically significant result.*

IX. Conclusions and Policy Suggestions

A. Conclusions

The findings of the study point out to six major conclusions related to levels and patterns of marriage and divorce running parallel to demographic transition taking place in Turkey.

1. The first important finding of the study is that the age at marriage in Turkey is postponed in both men and women. According to these findings the age at first marriage which was 16 for women and 19 for men marrying in the 1950s increased, respectively, to 24 and 28 in couples marrying in the period 2012-2016. The findings of the study show that in spite of postponement of first marriage 90% of men and 95% of women have their first marriage until age 34. Taking these findings together, we can conclude that marriage is universal in Turkey for both men and

women although there is tendency to postpone it.

2. The second important finding of the study is that the incidence of early marriage (before age 18), a problem area mainly for women in Turkey, has significantly declined. As a matter of fact, the outcomes of the study show that in the period 2012-2016 only 1 woman out of 10 gets married before age 18 whereas it was about 7 out of 10 women in the 1950s. Another important result regarding early marriage is that the incidence of marriage before age 15 which was as high as 16% in older marriage cohorts totally disappears in more recent marriage cohorts.

3. The third important finding of the study is that marrying by paying dowry, marrying upon the decision of families and marrying with close relatives are all on decline though gradually. Analyses made on the basis of marriage cohorts

show that within the last 60 years decreased by 69% from 35% to 11%, marriage with close relatives by 43% from 28% to 16%, and marriages upon family decision by 51% from 79% to 39%. The prevalence of marriages acted upon the decision of families without women's consent declined by 89% from 38% to 4%. Also on decline are more traditional practices like abduction and *berdel* (from 11% to 7%). In international literature, the concept "forced marriage" is used mostly in the context of early age marriages (Ertürk et al., 2012). The use of the same concept in referring to some traditional practices in Turkey like family decision without woman's consent, *berdel* or abduction is not found appropriate since the concept "forced marriage" has its dimensions related to physical, sexual and emotional harassment. Still, what is important to note after these findings is that such traditional marriage practices as dowry, consanguineous marriage, arranged marriage, abduction/abduction and "*berdel*" still linger even in the significant process of socioeconomic and demographic transformation that the country is undergoing.

4. The fourth major finding of the study is related to shift in environments of first acquaintance from family/relatives/neighbours and neighbourhoods to school/course/business and friendship circles. Analyses made by marriage cohorts indicate that the first has dropped from 97% to 55% while the second rose from 2.8% to 45%. These results show that as the prevalence of marrying from traditional environments is still maintained even if reduced by almost a half within the last 65 years, the overall tendency is towards more modern environments such as school/course/business environments and friendship circles.

5. The fifth result from the study is that pre-marital ceremonies are increasing in both absolute and relative terms. Indeed, while the average number of pre-marital ceremonies was 4.3 in marriages taking place before 1957, it is now 5.1. Besides

sheer numbers, there is also significant increase in the prevalence of pre-marital ceremonies including getting first permission from the girl's family for marriage, betrothal, engagement, henna night and trousseau exhibition. As far as pre-marital ceremonies are concerned, the most important phenomenon is the rise of farewell to bachelor life parties up to 7% in the 2007-2016 marriage cohort, which were rarely observed in couples marrying before 1957. As underlined before, these developments confirm once more that traditional and modern practices are observed together in marriages while traditional ones gain some modern characteristics.

6. The sixth outcome of the study is related to changes in levels and patterns of divorce. Both family structure and demographic surveys show that rates of divorce in Turkey are rising significantly in terms of both general level and by marriage cohorts. The proportion of divorced women which was 4% in the RFST-2006 period went up to 8% in the RFST-2016 period. By marriage cohorts we observe that the rate of divorce which was 3-4% in women marrying in 1957 and earlier goes up to 11% in women marrying more recently. The findings of the study also draw attention to high rates of divorce in women marrying before age 18, particularly while younger than 15, and others with low index values of traditionality. With the marriage history approach, they use, demographic surveys draw attention to another development going parallel the increase in rates of divorce: Increase in re-marriages and higher rates of divorce among those who are remarried (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu, Eryurt, Koç, 2012). These analyses that cannot be made in RFSTs because of data gaps can be inferred only from RFST-2016 data by looking at relationship between the number of marriages and the incidence of divorce. The outcomes of these analyses suggest that the number of divorces increases as does the number of marriages in support of outcomes of demographic surveys.

Taking outcomes listed above as a whole we see that instead of sudden ruptures and transformations, age at first marriage, characteristics related to the formation of marriage and rates of divorce change in a process that also embodies some continuity. Thus, it can be foreseen that changes mentioned in the present study will continue in line with their respective trends. These outcomes showing that the process of modernization pervades into sub-groups that insist in maintaining traditional practices largely overlap with the arguments of social diffusion and forerunners that constitute the theoretical framework of the study. Given rapid increase in rates of divorce and its association with women's higher levels of education, their increased participation to labour markets and improvements in their economic status, it can be said that the process can be explained by the "Theory of Exit Option" developed by Panda and Agawaral (2005).

B. Policy Priorities

Considering the socioeconomic and cultural development level that Turkey has reached and objectives that she put ahead, it is necessary to develop policies relating to problem areas of early marriage and divorce that the present study exposes. In this context, policy priorities relating to the problem areas of early marriage and divorce can be listed as follows:

1. The study shows clearly that early marriages are in decline in Turkey. Nevertheless, this practice still persists among some social groups like uneducated women and women living in low-income households. Thus, for reduction and ultimately disappearance of early marriages there is need for *national* and *local* policies specifically targeting these groups. In fact, there are policies developed in Turkey in regard to this specific problem area. The 10th Development Plan covering the period 2014-2018 emphasizes

the *best interest of the child*, points out to the need to eliminate obstacles to access to public services in the fields of education, health, justice and social life, and refers to the need to improve the quality of services extended to youth. Hence, policies related to early marriages and priorities identified in this context must be in compliance with this perspective. In relation to the same issue again, observations and suggestions in the "National Child Rights Strategy Document and Action Plan (2013-2017)" prepared under the coordination of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies) by soliciting the opinions of other relevant institutions must be supported with continuous studies and awareness building activities. However, given that these are national policies, there is still need to develop local policies to be implemented through municipalities and local leaders in relation to this problem area.

2. The Turkish Civil Code stipulates that a person must be over age 17 to get married. As an exception, it is provided that a person can marry at age 16 upon court decision in extraordinary circumstances. Disharmony related to the definition of the child observed in Turkish Civil Code, Penal Code and Child Protection Law and age setting that encourage early age marriages must be eliminated and legislative arrangements must be introduced on the basis of definition of the child as given by relevant international conventions that Turkey is a State Party to.

3. Another policy priority in the process of reducing early marriages is the development of policies geared to empowering women and female children. Eliminating problems in girls' enrolment to formal education system and ensuring their school retention must be the first and fundamental strategy in this policy priority. It will be useful, again in this context,

to implement policies to change some social perceptions regarding the maturation of girls and boys. In other words, efforts must be made in awareness building to eliminate at both national and local levels some religious and cultural perceptions that males become mature only after completing their military service while females are considered as ready for marrying after the start of their menstruation

4. The 10th Development Plan has the following emphasis in the problem area of divorce: “*..due to reasons such migration and urbanization, erosion in cultural values, increased individualization, gaps in training of families and new communication technologies, communication among family members weakened, divorces increased, the share of single-parent families expanded and the institution of family started to get weaker.*” The plan mentions the need for follow-up and guidance in solving problems faced by single-parent families and states that family counselling and reconciliation mechanisms will be developed to reduce the incidence of divorce. This perceptive adopted by the plan must be supported by plans and programmes to be developed by relevant ministries in coordination in a way going beyond the perspective of single-parent families and also focusing on how women can establish a post-divorce life.

5. The continuity of research series covering both problem areas must be ensured in order to have more effective monitoring and evaluation activities regarding early marriages and divorce. In this respect, it is of great importance to ensure the continuation of the Research on Family

Structure in Türkiye surveys conducted in every five years since 2006, which have their influence in determining policy priorities in many areas including these problems, and demographic survey that are conducted also in every five years since 1968. Compared to demographic surveys, Research on Family Structure in Türkiye surveys expose different dimensions related to these two problem areas since they collect information from men as well and cover persons older than age 50. It will therefore be useful if questionnaires used in Research on Family Structure in Türkiye surveys are strengthened in a way to adopt the approach of tracing events back as well, to make these surveys capable of collecting retrospective information, and to transform them into a panel structure supplying information about changes in time dimension.

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4.

**EFFECTS OF INTRAFAMILIAL
CONFLICTS ON CHILDREN
AND CHANGE OF CHILD VALUE
OVER THE YEARS**

Prof. Aylin İlden Koçkar

Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Harma

EFFECTS OF INTRAFAMILIAL CONFLICTS ON CHILDREN AND CHANGE OF CHILD VALUE OVER THE YEARS

Prof. Aylin İlden Koçkar¹

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I. Abstract

In this article, the determinants of intrafamilial conflict frequency, the relations between reactions of the family on conflicts and behavioural problems of the child, the domestic violence cycles and the change of the child value has been investigated according to the 2016 Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST) database in our country. Domestic violence cycles were discussed in the context of both family structure and behavioural problems occurred in children. Family structures of children who are exposed to violence were examined and which features of the family might be related to the punishments imposed on children were assessed.

II. Background

Intrafamilial problems do not just unbalance the individuals in the family, but also unbalance the social environment and society due to the direct relationship between the well-being of the family and the society. Despite of the differences between cultures, research has shown that well functioning families have some common characteristics. It was emphasized that relations in the family are built on trust and open communication, they have flexible borders for adaption to change, independence of the individuals are supported, children are encouraged to take responsibilities and more optimistic family members lead to happier family environment (Nazlı, 2001).

However, attaining this equation is not always possible and families might become

dysfunctional. There might be several reasons for a dysfunctional family which may have negative effects on the family members. Sometimes intrafamilial conflicts result with physical or psychological violence. This hinders fulfilling family processes sturdily and affects the mental health of the family members, especially children negatively. Intrafamilial conflicts might be observed over the relationship between the family members, i.e. between siblings, spouses and between parents and children. Even though different factors cause these problems, family members face difficulties while coping with these conflicts and differences, also inefficacies of coping abilities cause these problems to reach other dimensions. Some of these problems might be weak communication, i.e. avoidance of conversations between family members, no active listening, empathy deficiency, not sharing the responsibilities and not providing emotional support (Kargı and Akman, 2007).

Psychological, economical, sociological, cultural, biological and environmental factors might be counted among many factors that affects family environment negatively. Therefore, family might turn into an environment that conflicts, troubles and differences occur.

In this article, the determinants of intrafamilial conflict frequency, the relationship between reactions of the family on conflict and behavioural problems of the child, domestic violence cycles have been investigated using the data acquired from 2016 Research on Family Structure in Türkiye survey by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies), Directorate General of Family and Community Services. Domestic violence cycles have been discussed in the context of both family structure and, behavioural problems occurred in children. Family structure of the children who are exposed to violence was examined and which features of

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the family might be related to punishments given to the children was assessed.

A. Intrafamilial Conflict and Its Effects on Children

a. Domestic Violence Cycles

Although intrafamilial conflict and domestic violence as a fact are dependent on many risk factors, low socioeconomic status and marriages at younger ages when these young adults are not ready to take on responsibilities, play an important role on the increase of intrafamilial problems and conflicts, and the occurrence of violence.

From the perspective of socioeconomic (SES) causes of domestic violence, the results show that violence between spouses occur more often in the low and middle socioeconomic groups compared to higher SES groups (Page and Ince, 2008). Domestic violence is generally described as “any act of force or coercion that gravely jeopardizes the life, body, psychological integrity or freedom of a person in a family” (Stewart and Robinson, 1998, s. 83). In our country, domestic violence is usually perceived as the violence engaged by men against women. Besides, it is reported that in societies where inequality between men and women is common, men are perceived superior to women, and gender roles are strictly separated, the probability of women being exposed to psychological and physical violence by the spouse is heightened (Jewkes, 2014).

Another conflict at the socioeconomic level between spouses arises either due to the employment of the men or whenever the men do not want to work. The circumstance of not fulfilling the responsibilities inside the family because of the unstable occupational life causes intrafamilial problems. Additionally, higher socioeconomic status of women than their

spouses induce differences. If there is a power disparity between partners towards the women in the means of career, education, income etc., probability of intrafamilial conflicts and violence is increasing (Taylan, 2016). This result interpreted as the men who do not accept the women being more powerful, attempt to build power using violence against women (Ahmedi and Sadeghi, 2016). Within this context, it turns out that intrafamilial conflicts does not only emerge in low income families. However, women who have higher education and income reach social, legal and psychological support easier and thus, coping with the intrafamilial problems is easier and can stay away from the conflict environment (Page and Ince, 2008).

Low socioeconomic status does not only cause conflict between partners, but also induce problems between parents and youngsters. From the view of differences between parents and youngsters who have finished their education but still economically dependent on their families, conflicts were observed mostly regarding unemployment, the ability to fulfill the responsibilities, and difficulties of living conditions or inefficacy of socioeconomic status. In the case of youngsters who do not yet have their economic freedom due to an ongoing education (mostly for the bachelor's degree students), it was concluded that the differences between the parents and the children are the problems on meeting the needs or restrictions of daily expenses which are necessary for living in current conditions (Fox and Timmerman, 2000).

Children of the women who are exposed to violence are affected from the domestic violence both in short and long term. Page and Ince (2008) showed in their study that one of the main factors of man engaging violence to a woman is that him also being exposed to violence in his own family. The child witnessing father engaging violence to the mother learns that showing violence is a

normal behaviour. The child witnessing violence will play various roles and functions as an adult in the future and this witnessing will affect his/her psycho-social health negatively. Children who grow up in families with violence between spouses have higher probability to engage in violence in the upcoming years. One of the theories supporting this notion is the social learning theory by Bandura (Bandura, 1978). Aggression, violence and aggressive attitudes can be learned by observation and imitation as if learning other attitudes. Children who grow up in families with violence between spouses, observe and figure out violence as a way of strategy to deal with stress. There is a higher probability for these individuals to become a violator at later ages (Vuong, Silva and Marchionna, 2009). This is also valid for the situations of being the subject of violence, because while the child is observing and taking the offensive and aggressive attitudes as an example, they also learn how to be exposed to violence. In both situation, the child who grow up in these families with partner violence may have behavioural problems. The literature indicates that the child who witnesses the father perpetrating violence to the mother have higher chance to get depression, anxiety disorders, social adjustment, externalising or internalising problems and oppositional defiant disorders (Kaymak Özmen, 2004). It has also been reported that these children are under higher risk of substance abuse, suicide attempts, and elopement at later ages (Polat, 2001). Children who are exposed and witnessed domestic violence may have problems of being either a perpetrator or victim of violence. These could be using violence over others (usually to peers, to younger children or to siblings), aggressive behaviours, and accepting engagement of domestic violence or the exposure as ordinary, in their own families as adults (Jeevasuthan and Hatta, 2013).

Domestic violence can be mentioned as a cycle. In one study, it was shown that when one of the spouses uses violence on the other spouse, this continues with the victim inflicting physiological or psychological violence on their children (Littman and Paluck, 2015). Thus, children growing up in the families with domestic violence learn violence by modelling and have behavioural or psychological problems in the short or long term. Therefore, they might have a higher a probability of being exposed or engaging violence than the children who grow up in a healthy family environment. All these situations and consequences create domestic violence cycles.

b. Age of Marriage

Academic research has proven that early marriages have a profound contribution to intrafamilial discords and problems. Every year 15 million girls are getting married worldwide before the age of 18. This amount is significantly higher than boys who engage in early marriages (UNICEF, 2016). Early marriages, which is also a violation of Human Rights Declaration lead to many conflicts in the family. Early marriages often cause either dropping out of the school or quitting at an early period of education. These circumstances play an important role on economic problems, lowering of socio-economic status and poverty cycles (Nimoh, 2017). In this context, early marriages create intrafamilial conflicts which are depending on sociocultural status. Having a child at early ages induce conflicts between parents and child due to insufficient moral and material support (Aerts, 2017). Studies based on age differences showed, that when the male is older than the female, it is more likely that the women is subjected to violence from her husband, and the children are subjected to violence by the parents and intrafamilial conflicts more often observed (Krahe, Bieneck and Moller, 2005). Intrafamilial conflicts and problems are negatively correlated

with age and marrying younger may lead to higher risks than marrying later. Some reasons for these have been reported as being inexperienced in relationships, not being able to fulfill responsibilities, involvement of families of spouses, economic reasons, and as the adaptation process to a married life (Camadan, Karataş and Bozali, 2017).

Although average marriage age for both women (24.6 years old) and men (27.7 years old) have increased in Turkey, it can be said that probability of early marriage is still present (TUIK, 2017). In this study, how this situation arises and reflects on intrafamilial conflicts is going to be investigated according to the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye data obtained in 2016.

c. Effects of Intrafamilial Conflict on Children

Family is the place of finding oneself, trust, balance and peace for children. However, children who are exposed to conflicts in the family, may show disruptive behaviours, violence and have conflicts with peers (Cummings and Davies, 1994; Grych ve Fincham, 1990). Witnessing conflicts in the family is a disturbing experience for children. It elicits negative behaviours both directly and indirectly. For instance, one study indicated direct relationship between intrafamilial conflict and child's behaviours (Miller, Cowan, Cowan, Hetherington, and Clingempeel, 1993). Another research showed an indirect relationship between explicit intrafamilial conflict and childhood oppositional defiant disorder with the mediation of parental discipline methods (Mann and MacKenzie 1996). Also, one study showed both direct and indirect relationships between strict parental discipline methods and intrafamilial conflicts which were reported by the parents, and the psychological adaptation behaviour of preschool children (Buehler and Gerard, 2002). However, the effects of intrafamilial conflicts on children was not precisely defined yet. Therefore, the

effects of frequency and quality of intrafamilial problems on children will be discussed in this study.

d. Parental Use of Punishment

Children are perceived as representatives of future and their health in every sense is thought as the responsibility of adults especially their caregivers. Mothers and fathers are the most responsible ones in between these adults and new generations will grow around their attitudes (Bilir, Arı, Dönmez, Atik, San, 1991). A family has an environment where children have their first social experiences. Parents' consistent, loving and positive behaviours are very important for their healthy growth and progress (Yörükoğlu, 2000).

Parents impose reinforcement and punishment in order to educate their children better and raise better adults for the future. Mothers and fathers who want to reinforce their children use various rewards like money, gifts, going somewhere the child would enjoy, praising and doing special activities. In the meantime, parents whose children behave inappropriately use punishment methods like explaining, threatening to punish, deprivation, yelling and insulting, corporal punishment (spanking), threatening to tell the misbehaviour to others, and not talking (Tahiroğlu et al. 2009). The reinforcement and punishment methods of the parents feeling responsibility on their children's development and protection may be affected by the factors like education level of the mother and father, their age, number of the children they have, their occupation and socioeconomic status. However, regardless of the level of education and economic status, parents apply different reinforcement and punishment methods which they think is beneficial for their children and they feel responsible against them.

Even if the mothers and fathers feel a deep love for their children, they can get angry, yell and use violence on them because of many different reasons. Causes underlying this attitude might be the cultural norms, children's behaviours which makes parents angry, or the stress levels of the parents. Parents generally use methods like temporal removal of a privilege, yelling or insult (verbal violence), threatening with telling the misbehaviour to others, being angry, corporal punishment, or threatening with punishment whenever they observe an unacceptable behaviour in their children. Unlike abuse, main purpose of physical punishments is not punishing the children (Biçer, Özcebe, Köse, Köse, Ünlu, 2016). The general logic behind a corporal punishment is "using physical force on the child for experiencing pain without inducing injury in order to control a child's behaviour" (Taylor et al., 2011). Corporal punishments may include; spanking, slapping, pulling hair, shaking, pulling the ear, beating with a belt, or biting.

This was investigated through previous demographic and methodological studies. Within this study, it is aimed to determine the indicators of punishments that parents use in Turkey. Punishments are especially evaluated by the means of mother's and father's age, education and the effects of the conflict that children were exposed to and the cycle of violence.

III. Results

A. Data Source and Methods

In this study, the household data sets were used that were acquired from the family research of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies), Directorate General of Family and Community Services in 2006, 2011 and 2016 (RFST 2006, RFST 2011, RFST 2016). The sampling and the design of 2006 and 2011 Research on Family Structure in Türkiye

surveys which were conducted by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies), Directorate General of Family and Community Services have strong similarities in between.

a. Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this study was determined as "the household" among the used data source. In the range of RFST 2006, demographic information of 48,235 individuals living in the 12,208 households were collected and 23,279 individuals over the age of 18 were interviewed personally. As for the range of RFST 2011, demographic information of 44,117 individuals living in the 12,056 households were collected and 24,647 individuals over the age of 18 were interviewed personally. At RFST 2016, demographic information of 57,398 individuals living in the 17,239 households were collected and 35,475 individuals over the age of 15 were interviewed personally. In the study, household questionnaire and the list of individuals were applied on the reference persons in the household and additionally, individuals questionnaire was applied on the individuals who are at the age of 18 and over. Besides taking the household as the unit of this study, "members of the household" is used as the unit while analyzing the characteristics of the household members such as gender, age and marital status according to the family structure. In the study, the number of households or the number of members in the household, such as weights indicating the population, were used.

B. Results of The Analysis

a. Frequency of Family Conflicts: Descriptive and Predictive Analysis

In the study both descriptive and predictive analysis were carried out on the answers of the question, "How often do you have problems on these issues with your spouse?", which aims

to measure the frequency of the intrafamilial conflicts. Therefore, women (N=13511) and men (N=13511) who were in the subsamples of married couples in 2016 data were subjected to analysis. The mean age for women was 45.03 years (SD = 13.54), while the mean age for men was 48,85 (SD = 13.70). Years of education mean was 8.21 years for men (SD = 4.69), and 6.39 years for women (SD= 4.92). Income of the household per capita was 949.83 TRY (SD = 1139.90). Most of the participants had civil marriage (N=13401; 99.2%). From the remaining participants the number of the participants who had religious marriages 96 (0.7%), and the number of the couples living together without marriage was 14 (0.1%). In this sample factor analysis were made according to the answers of both women and men in order to test whether the conflict issues consist of different factors. Afterwards, variables predicting the frequency of the intrafamilial conflict were tested using regression analysis. In this section results of the mentioned analysis were reported.

The distribution of the problems women and men have in their relationship was presented on the items basis at Table 1. It was observed that the areas where men and women have the most problems with, are the responsibilities of the house and children, spending time with family and smoking habits (see Table 1).

Exploratory factor analysis were performed using both women's and men's statements separately to test whether there are different factors of the frequency of intrafamilial conflict or not. Factor analysis results suggest that the best solution is the one factor structure for both women and men participants. Accordingly, as the result of the factor analysis which was made by Varimax rotation method, one dimension was found at 21 items of "the questions for the frequency of intrafamilial conflicts" for both women and men. Having conflicts explained 33.94% of

Table 4.1. Psychometric features of intrafamilial conflict frequency

Conflict Areas	Factor	
	Female	Male
Cultural Differences	0.678	0.699
Friends/People met	0.677	0.669
Sexual incompatibility	0.670	0.706
Entertainment habits	0.669	0.689
Personality differences	0.665	0.690
Insufficient self-care	0.654	0.670
Political view	0.604	0.638
Clothing style	0.603	0.628
Relations with spouse's family	0.597	0.632
Bringing the problems of work to home	0.588	0.617
Religious view differences	0.586	0.671
Not spending time with family	0.581	0.536
Internet usage	0.569	0.623
Expenses	0.563	0.544
Alcoholism	0.544	0.544
Insufficient income	0.543	0.439
Gambling	0.538	0.589
Jealousy	0.495	0.449
Responsibilities of children	0.482	0.486
Responsibilities of the house	0.448	0.437
Smoking	0.363	0.425
Cronbach Alpha	0.880	0.884

total variance in women, and 35.63% in men. The Cronbach alpha coefficient of internal consistency of the scale was found 0.88 for men and women (Table 1). A significant positive correlation was found between the difference scores of females and males ($r = 0.38, p < 0.001$).

Lastly, two different hierarchical regression analyses (the frequency of conflict of mother and father) were conducted to observe variables like the mother's and father's education, age, monthly income, age of marriage, number children and partners tolerance to diversity predicted the frequency of intrafamilial conflict. At the first model of the regression analysis, the predictive power of the age of mother and father, years of education, monthly income, age of marriage

and children at home were tested. At the second step, mother's and father's tolerance to diversity scores were added. Tolerance to diversity of the couples was measured by 6 questions. The questions consisted of a 5-point likert scale. Participants answered questions about marriage and different ways of being in a relationship.

Tolerance to diversity items

"Couples may live together without marriage (civil or religion)"

"Men may marry someone from a different religion or nationality"

"Women may marry someone from a different religion or nationality"

"Couples may have children without marriage"

"One may marry someone whom he/she met through internet"

"One may marry someone from a different sect"

Items were "couples may live together without marriage (civil or religion)", "men may marry someone from a different religion or nationality", "women may marry someone from a different religion or nationality", "couples may have children without marriage" "One may marry someone whom he/she met through internet", "One may marry someone from a different sect" and having high scores meant high tolerance.

According to the first hierarchical regression

analysis testing the conflict frequency fathers declared, first model consisting the education of mother and father, age, monthly income, the age of marriage of mother and father, and the number of children in the family predicts the conflict frequency significantly ($N=8797$; $R^2= 0.04$, $p = 0.000$). Specifically, the age of father ($\beta = -0.14$, $p = 0.000$) and monthly income ($\beta = -0.03$, $p = 0.026$) negatively predicts and the education of father and mother ($\beta = 0.03$, $p = 0.026$; $\beta = 0.06$, $p = 0.000$ respectively) and total number of children ($\beta = 0.04$, $p = 0.002$) positively predicts the frequency of the conflicts. In other words, while father's age and monthly income increase, the declared frequency of conflict decreases and while the education level of the couples and the number children increase, also the declared frequency of conflict increases. At second model, just the years education of mother positively predicts the frequency of conflict ($N=8797$; $R^2= .001$, $p = .039$; $\beta = .03$, $p = .020$). Third model including the household income per capita and total number of children ($N=8797$; $R^2= .002$, $p = .000$), monthly income negatively ($\beta = -.03$, $p = .026$), and the number of children positively predicted the conflicts declared by the father ($\beta = .04$, $p = .000$). The tolerance to diversity scores

Table 4.2. Determinants of the tolerance to diversity declared by the father and mother

Analysis	Father's declaration of conflict		Mother's declaration of conflict	
	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2
Step 1: <i>Demographics</i>		0.030***		0.040***
Father's age	-0.17***		-0.20***	
Father's years of education	0.04***		-0.01	
Step 2: <i>Demographics</i>		0.001*		0.004***
Mother's age	-0.02		-0.13**	
Mother's years of education	0.03*		0.07***	
Step 3: <i>Demographics</i>		0.002***		0.001**
Household income per capita	-0.03*		-0.03**	
Total number of children	0.04**		0.02	
Step 4: <i>Main Effects</i>		0.004***		0.004***
Tolerance to diversity Father	0.05***		0.03**	
Tolerance to diversity Mother	0.04***		0.05***	
		$\Sigma R^2=0.036$		$\Sigma R^2=0.049$

of mother and father at the last step, significantly predicts the declaration of conflict frequency even after controlling the demographic variables at first 3 steps ($N=8797$; $\Delta R^2= 0.004$, $p = 0.000$). According to the results, beyond the mentioned demographic variables the tolerance to diversity scores declared by the mother and father positively predicts the intrafamilial conflict frequency which was declared by the father ($\beta = 0.05$, $p = 0.000$; $\beta = 0.04$, $p = 0.002$; respectively). Unexpectedly, as the tolerance to diversity scores increase the tendency of the family to declare problems increases.

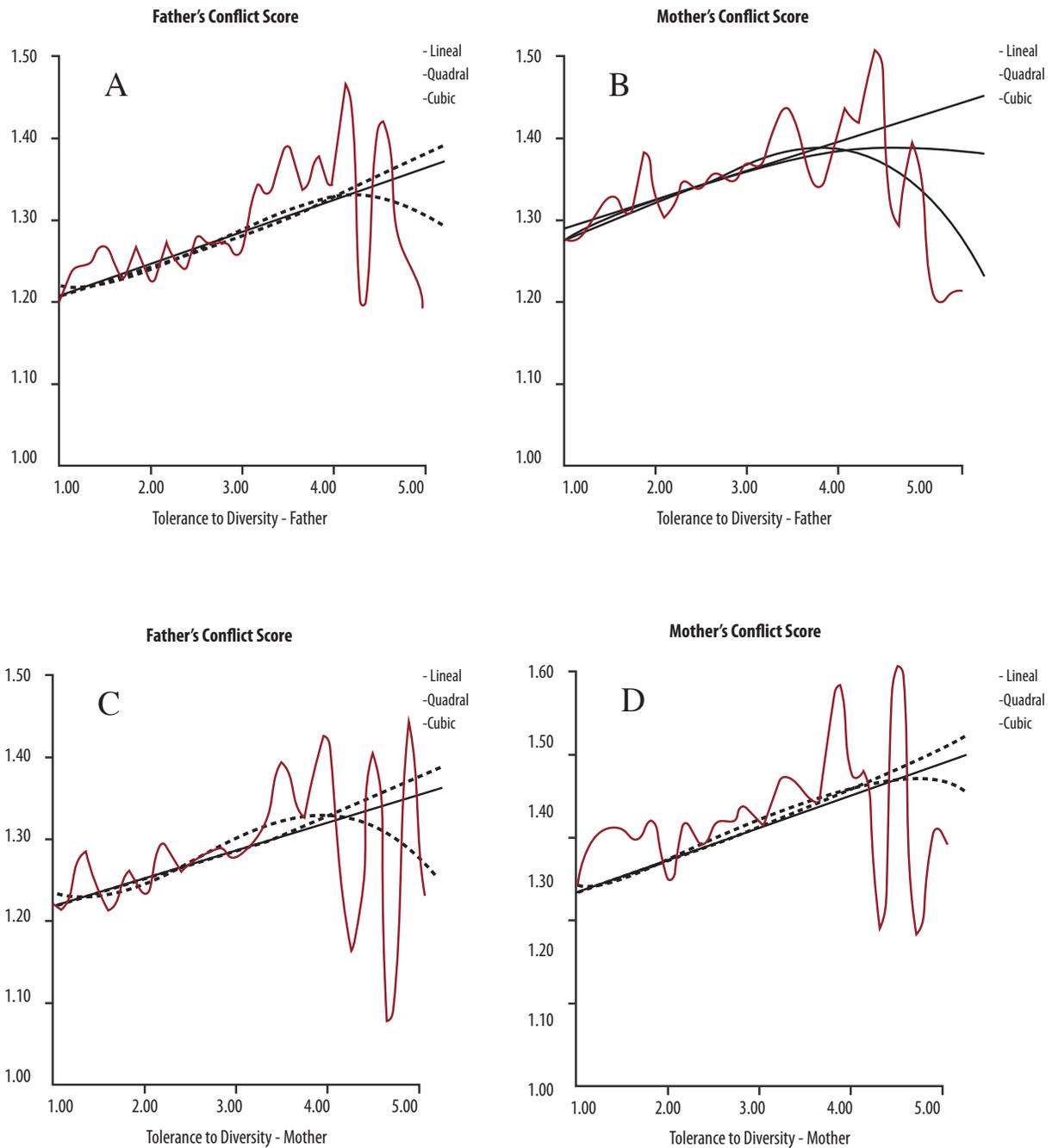
The same analysis strategy was used to predict the conflict frequency declared by the mother. According to the hierarchical regression analysis, the first model including the education of mother and father, age, the monthly income of the household, mother's and father's age of marriage and number of children at home significantly predicts the conflict frequency ($N=8910$; $R^2= 0.05$, $p = 0.000$). Age of father and mother ($\beta = -0.07$, $p = 0.000$; $\beta = -0.13$, $p = 0.000$ respectively), monthly income ($\beta = -0.03$, $p = 0.011$) and years of education of the father ($\beta = -0.04$, $p = 0.005$) negatively predicts; years of education of the mother ($\beta = 0.09$, $p = 0.000$) and total number of children ($\beta = 0.03$, $p = 0.050$) positively predicts the conflict frequency declared by the mother. The second model including mothers age and education level also significantly predicts the conflict frequency ($N=8910$; $R^2= 0.004$, $p = .000$). Specifically, mother's age and years of education significantly predicts the conflict frequency ($\beta = -0.13$, $p = 0.000$; $\beta = 0.07$, $p = 0.000$ respectively). At the third model, monthly income negatively predicts the conflict frequency dependent on the declaration of mother ($N=8910$; $R^2= 0.001$, $p = 0.004$; $\beta = -0.03$, $p = 0.011$). In other words, whenever the age of mother and father, the years of education of father, and monthly income increase, the conflict frequency declared by

the mother decreases and whenever the level education of the mother and number of children increases, the conflict frequency declared by the mother also increases. Mother's and father's tolerance to diversity scores at second step, significantly predicts the declaration of conflict frequency even after controlling the demographic variables at the first step ($N=8910$; $\Delta R^2= 0.004$, $p = 0.000$). According to the results, tolerance to diversity scores declared by the mother and father, like the conflict frequency declared by the father, positively predict the conflict frequency declared by the mother ($\beta = 0.03$, $p = 0.005$; $\beta = 0.05$, $p = 0.000$ respectively).

However, whenever the distribution of the tolerance to diversity scores observed it was seen that the relevant positive relationship may not be linear, and therefore, additional nonlinear curve estimations were conducted just on the tolerance to diversity scores and the intrafamilial conflict frequency. The tolerance of diversity scores obtained from the mother and the father were subjected to 4 different curve estimation analysis on the conflict frequency of both father and mother.

According to the nonlinear curve estimation analyses, nonlinear relationships were observed between the conflict frequency and the tolerances declared by the mother and the father. First, square (*quadratic*) and cube (*cubic*) of the father's tolerance to diversity scores were calculated on father declared conflict frequency. The data were corresponded the most when the cube of the tolerance was calculated ($R_{\text{linear}} = 0.089$, $p = 0.000$; $R_{\text{quadratic}} = 0.089$, $p = 0.000$; $R_{\text{cubic}} = 0.091$, $p = 0.000$). As shown in figure 1.A, whenever the father's declared level of tolerance to diversity was very low ($\beta = -0.23$, $p = 0.000$) and very high ($\beta = -0.32$, $p = 0.000$), the declaration of intrafamilial conflict decreases, and while medium level tolerance to diversity of the father's increases, the declaration of the

Figure 4.1 Couple's tolerance to diversity and conflict frequency



conflict frequency in the family also increases ($\beta = 0.63$, $p = 0.000$). The aforementioned pattern was observed between the father's declared conflict frequency and mother's declared tolerance to diversity (see. figure 1.C), and also between the conflict frequency declared by the mother and the tolerance to diversity scores

declared by the mother and the father (figure 1.B and 1.D respectively). In other words, when tolerance to diversity is very low or very high, there is less declaration of conflict frequency, whereas if there is a medium level of tolerance to diversity, there is more declaration of the conflict frequency.

Table 4.3. Intrafamilial Conflict - Distributions of the questions

	Responsibilities of the house	Responsibilities of children	Not spending time with family	Expenses	Clothing style	Religious view differences	Relations with the spouses family	Alcoholism	Smoking	Gambling	Bringing the problems of work to home	Insufficient income	Friends/People met	Insufficient self-care	Internet usage	Jealousy	Cultural differences	Personality differences	Entertainment habits	Sexual incompatibility	Political view
Mean	1.84	1.68	1.49	1.49	1.19	1.09	1.18	1.07	1.22	1.03	1.12	1.33	1.14	1.12	1.09	1.29	1.09	1.13	1.1	1.06	1.06
Skewness	0.926	1.176	1.874	1.704	3.342	5.145	3.580	6.387	3.346	9.183	4.315	2.389	3.823	4.305	5.662	2.666	5.782	4.329	5.273	6.750	6.623
Kurtosis	0.214	0.642	3.029	2.139	12.083	30.660	14.679	45.873	10.987	92.209	20.963	5.098	16.161	21.101	36.566	6.918	38.132	21.276	31.373	51.678	51.382
SD	0.928	0.892	0.860	0.856	0.540	0.383	0.524	0.346	0.687	0.242	0.444	0.759	0.457	0.434	0.414	0.714	0.405	0.459	0.420	0.330	0.313
Mean	1.93	1.78	1.53	1.59	1.23	1.13	1.28	1.12	1.36	1.06	1.2	1.52	1.19	1.19	1.14	1.29	1.12	1.24	1.13	1.1	1.1
Skewness	0.803	1.049	1.795	1.529	3.039	4.477	2.788	5.038	2.443	7.384	3.466	1.780	3.504	3.598	4.403	2.838	4.608	2.943	4.603	5.847	5.030
Kurtosis	-0.044	0.309	2.470	1.458	9.711	22.197	7.944	27.696	5.087	61.143	12.667	2.293	13.111	14.240	20.701	8.048	23.598	8.565	23.883	38.273	27.469
SD	0.973	0.970	0.929	0.952	0.620	0.483	0.699	0.502	0.868	0.342	0.595	0.955	0.583	0.584	0.534	0.731	0.454	0.645	0.490	0.459	0.431

Male

Female

In brief, while the education levels differentiate between the conflict frequency for the father and the mother, the age and the income of the mother and the father increase, whenever the couples declare less conflict frequency. Therefore, the years of education of the father and the mother are positively related to the declaration of conflict frequency of the father. However, this pattern is little different for the mother. Mothers declared more conflict frequency when their own level of education increases, while they declared less conflict frequency when the years of the education of the father increases. The total number of the children has similar relationship with the conflict frequency for both sides. At the same time, increasing number of children is related to increasing conflict frequency. The relationship between the couple's tolerance to diversity and conflict frequency show a nonlinear pattern. According to nonlinear curve estimation analysis, it was found that conflict frequency of the participants with very low and very high tolerance is less than the participants who declared medium levels of tolerance.

b. Determinants of The Mother's Use of Punishment

At this part of the study, mother's punishment types that she impose on her children and the determinants of these punishments in the family will be investigated. For this purpose, couple data obtained from RFST 2016 data set were analyzed and just the measures related to punishment declared by the mother used. Additionally, father's age and education were also investigated in the analysis. In the analysis 13,511 married women and men were included in total ($N = 27,022$). Mean age for women is 45.03 ($SD = 13.54$), and 48.85 for men ($SD = 13.70$). Mean number of children at home is 2.88 ($SD = 1.74$). When mother and father education levels are examined, mean years of education for the fathers is 8.21 ($SD = 4.69$), and 6.39 years for the mothers ($SD = 4.92$). Household income

per capita is variable (Mean = 949.83 TRY, $SD = 1139.90$).

In order to test if the punishment types are represented at different dimensions, multiple correspondence analysis was conducted because of the categorical answers of the mother declared punishment types imposed to children. Furthermore, exploratory factor analysis was carried out on the measures of "reaction styles to the intrafamilial conflict situations", which was expected to predict the punishments given. Afterwards, independent samples t-test was used to test whether or not the children's gender differences are effective on the punishments given. Finally, besides main demographic features intrafamilial conflict frequency, reaction styles to conflict situations, and mothers general level of happiness were tested using regression analysis to figure out if they predict the punishments imposed to the child.

The types of punishment imposed to children were measured by 12 different questions and the answers were collected as "yes-no". Therefore, multiple correspondence analysis method was preferred to understand if the given punishment types belong to different categories. Two interpretable categories were found according to the multiple correspondence analysis results. While first category included psychological punishments ($eigenvalue = 2.81$), second category includes physical punishments ($eigenvalue = 1.55$). "I put a ban on the internet" and "I put a ban on the mobile phone" items at the scale were classified in an interpretable group and handled as a separate dimension ("Technology restriction"). Psychological punishments comprised of sending into his/her room, not allowing to play, cutting the pocket money, not allowing to watch TV, nagging, not talking for a while, not buying the things they want, and not allowing to see friends. Physical corporal punishments comprise of beating and

Table 4.4. Factor analysis results of reactions to conflict situations

Items	Dimensions		
	Physical violence	Verbal violence	Passive Violence
I use force	0.698		
I break a houseware	0.636		
I separate my bed	0.577		0.301
I reduce expenses	0.556		
I leave the apartment	0.479		
I scold		0.836	
I raise my voice and shout		0.821	
I insult		0.501	
I remain silent/throw into			0.702
I leave the room			0.685
I get cross			0.534
Eigenvalue/Explained variance (%)	3.142 / 22.451	1.398 / 12.708	1.198 / 10.893
Cronbach Alpha	0.63	0.64	0.46

slapping behaviours. Two different variables were formed by collecting the answers for each dimension.

The reaction styles to intrafamilial conflict situations was measured with 11 different 5-point likert type questions (see. Table 4). From the result of the factor analysis run with Varimax rotation method and used for the reaction types measurements, it was understood that the best adaptive model is 3 dimensions structure. Cronbach alpha coefficient of internal consistency for physical violence, verbal violence and passive violence was found at acceptable level ($\alpha = 0.63; 0.64; 0.46$, respectively. see. Table 4). Moreover, correlations between scale dimensions were found significant at an unexpected direction (positive). Accordingly, physical violence and verbal violence ($r = 0.33$, $p = 0.000$) and passive violence ($r = 0.26$, $p = 0.000$) are significantly related. Also, the relation between verbal violence and passive violence is positively significant ($r = 0.27$, $p = 0.000$).

Besides main demographic features (mother's and father's education, mother's and father's age, monthly income), intrafamilial conflict frequency, reaction styles to conflict situations, and mothers general level of happiness were tested using hierarchical regression analysis to figure out if they predict the punishments imposed to the child. Models predict physical and psychological punishments were tested with 2 different hierarchical regression analyses. Within the mentioned demographic variables, after father's age and education at first step, mother's age and education at second step, household mean income at third step were entered in the equation, at which rate intrafamilial conflict frequency, reaction styles to conflict situations (physical/verbal violence and passive violence), and mother's general level of happiness predict psychological and physical punishments was tested.

Relations between psychological and physical punishments that mothers impose to children, demographic variables, and main effects show similar patterns. Accordingly, mother's age (but not father's age) positively predict psychological and physical violence perpetrated to children (see. Table 5). A negative relationship was found between father's and mother's education, household income per capita and using psychological and physical violence on children. In other words, whenever the education and level of income increase, families declared less violence use on children (see. Table 5).

Conflict frequency and reaction styles to conflict situations, which are the main variables of this part of the study, significantly predicted physical and psychological violence imposed on children. Specifically, as it was in the previous part, a negative relationship was found between conflict frequency declared by the mother and father, and both psychological ($\beta_{\text{father}} = -0.04$, $p = 0.000$; $\beta_{\text{mother}} = -0.06$, $p = 0.000$) and physical

($\beta_{\text{father}} = -0.05$, $p = 0.000$; $\beta_{\text{mother}} = -0.07$, $p = 0.000$) violence. In the meantime, it was found that also couple's reaction styles to conflict situations predict psychological and physical violence used on children. While the physical violence spouses use in conflict situations, positively predict the physical and psychological violence use on children ($\beta_{\text{physical}} = 0.04$, $p = 0.000$; $\beta_{\text{psychological}} = 0.02$, $p = 0.026$); verbal and passive aggression between spouses negatively predicts the physical and psychological violence use on children. It was found that the mother's level of happiness does not have any significant effect on psychological and physical violence use on children (see. Table 4).

As it was reported previously, the unexpected relationship between intrafamilial conflict frequency (both mother and father declared) and psychological and physical violence against children was pointing a nonlinear relationship through the distributions. Thus, mentioned relationships were re-tested with curvilinear

analysis³. Curvilinear analysis showed nonlinear relationships between conflict frequency declared by the mother and father and psychological and physical punishment types imposed on the children by the mother. First of all, square (*quadratic*) and cube (*cubic*) of the mother's conflict frequency scores were calculated on mother's type of psychological violence.

The data corresponded best when the square (*quadratic term*) of the tolerance was calculated ($R_{\text{linear}} = 0.223$, $p = 0.000$; $R_{\text{quadratic}} = 0.226$, $p = 0.000$; $R_{\text{cubic}} = 0.226$, $p = 0.000$). It was observed that the relationship is also differentiated between having conflicts and perpetrating psychological violence for the groups that have different intrafamilial conflict frequency. Accordingly, inside the relatively low group, psychological violence decreases towards medium levels (i.e. increases in itself) conflict frequency ($\beta = -0.62$, $p = 0.000$). In the families with relatively high conflict frequency psychological violence usage increases while

Table 4.5. Variables predict violence against children

Analysis	Psychological violence against children		Physical violence against children	
	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2
Step 1: Demographics		0.030***		0.056***
Father's age	0.16***		0.18***	
Father's years of education	-0.07***		-0.17***	
Step 2: Demographics		0.007**		0.020***
Mother's age	0.13***		0.10***	
Mother's years of education	-0.03		0.16***	
Step 3: Demographics		0.000		0.003*
Household income per capita	0.02		0.06***	
Step 4: Main effects		0.054***		0.034***
Father's conflict frequency	-0.03***		-0.02	
Mother's conflict frequency	-0.14***		-0.05	
Mother's physical violence with partner	0.02*		-0.04	
Mother's verbal violence with partner	-0.06*		-0.06**	
Mother's passive violence with partner	-0.09***		-0.09***	
Mother's level of happiness	-0.01		-0.03	
		$\Sigma R^2 = 0.091$		$\Sigma R^2 = 0.113$

Note. *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

³Nonlinear relationships are also tested in the relationships between the punishment used on children and other variables, and it was observed that the best fitting model the linear model.

conflict frequency declaration also increases ($\beta = 0.42, p = 0.000$). Similar pattern was observed in the relationships between conflict frequency declared by the father and physical violence scores declared by the mother ($\beta_{\text{lowconflict}} = -0.47, p = 0.000$; $\beta_{\text{highconflict}} = 0.34, p = 0.000$).

In summary, at this part which the determinants of the psychological and physical punishment types imposed on children by the mother were investigated, a negative relationship was found between the years of education of the mother and the father, household income per capita, and psychological and physical punishment usage. Similarly, a negative relationship was found between the mother's age and usage of punishment. Beyond these demographic features, whenever the physical violence between spouses increases, an increase on psychological and physical punishments imposed on children was observed (violence dominant family environment) and a decrease was seen in

psychological and physical punishment imposed in children whenever relatively less wearing verbal and passive aggression increase. Lastly, it was found that intrafamilial conflict frequency and punishments imposed on children are not linearly related and in the families which conflicts declared very often, punishment usage on children increases and mothers who report relatively less conflict in the family reported lower scores on psychological and physical punishment imposed on children.

c. Determinants of Behavioural Problems in Children

At this stage determinants of behavioural problems in children are tested. Firstly, multiple correspondence analysis is applied due to the categorical answers of the questions regarding behavioural problems in children declared by the mother and the father. Thereby, the main categories of the problems declared by the mother and father was tried to determine. Afterwards,

Table 4.6. Dimensions of the behavioural problems in children

	Father declared		Mother declared	
	Adjustment problems	Conduct problems	Adjustment problems	Conduct problems
Hindering education (not studying etc.)	0.064	0.007	0.056	0.004
Lying	0.400	0.041	0.384	0.062
Stealing	0.138	0.493	0.179	0.690
Smoking	0.111	0.197	0.073	0.237
Alcohol use	0.067	0.229	0.069	0.243
Perpetrating violence to siblings	0.225	0.005	0.253	0.000
Over-spending (money)	0.273	0.002	0.215	0.016
Not accomplishing religious duties	0.296	0.002	0.290	0.016
Substance abuse	0.109	0.229	0.116	0.170
self-care issues, not fulfilling the responsibilities ie: tidying up room	0.244	0.242	0.206	0.136
Clothing style	0.367	0.044	0.535	0.050
Not helping with chores	0.307	0.169	0.382	0.089
Disrespect to elderly	0.371	0.013	0.382	0.020
Inappropriate friendships	0.441	0.006	0.502	0.000
Making friends with the opposite sex	0.198	0.002	0.216	0.032
Playing too much computer/internet games	0.088	0.071	0.077	0.050
Coming home late	0.271	0.025	0.256	0.008
Eigenvalue	3.971	1.778	4.192	1.824

education of the mother and father and their ages, income per capita in the family, reaction styles to intrafamilial conflicts (physical and verbal violence and passive aggression), punishment types imposed to children (psychological or physical violence) were tested using regression analysis in order to find out at which rate they predict. Therefore, just women and men in the subsample consists of married couples in the 2016 RFST data were included in the analysis (N=13511).

Behavioural problems seen in children were measured with 17 different question about the reasons of punishment given to children which were asked to mothers and fathers to answer with “yes” or “no” questions. Therefore, multiple correspondence analysis was performed to understand if the observed behavioural problems belong to different categories or not. Two interpretable categories obtained according to the multiple correspondence analysis results

which was repeated both for the mother’s and the father’s data. First category includes more adjustment problems (*eigenvalue* = 3.97) and second category includes conduct problems (*eigenvalue* = 1.78). The items “hindering the education”, “substance abuse”, “no self-care, not fulfilling the responsibilities like tidy up the room” and “playing too much computer/internet games” were loaded for both two categories (*cross-loading*) and not included in the calculations. Adjustment problems consist of behaviours like lying, perpetrating violence to siblings, over-spending (money) (see. Table 6). Conduct problems consist of behaviours like stealing, smoking, and alcohol use (see. Table 6). Dimensions of adjustment and conduct problems were identified by calculating the mean value of the answers the mother and the father gave, since the mother’s and the father’s answers item weight for every dimension are the same. These calculated variables were used as predictive variable in regression analysis.

Table 4.7. Variables predicting behavioural problems in children

Analysis	Adjustment problems (Mother-Father declared)		Conduct problems (Mother-Father declared)	
	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2
Step 1: Demographics		0.020***		0.006*
Father's age	0.06***		0.05	
Father's years of education	0.11***		-0.06	
Step 2: Demographics		0.020***		0.005*
Mother's age	0.16***		0.03	
Mother's years of education	0.10***		0.02	
Step 3: Demographics		0.002		0.000
Average Household Income	0.05		0.03	
Step 4: Main effects		0.190***		0.008
Father Intrafamilial conflict (Physical violence)	-0.08***		0.01	
Father Intrafamilial conflict (Verbal violence)	0.02		0.02	
Father Intrafamilial conflict (Passive aggression)	-0.04		0.02	
Mother Intrafamilial conflict (Physical violence)	0.02		0.03	
Mother Intrafamilial conflict (Verbal violence)	-0.03		0.04	
Mother Intrafamilial conflict (Passive aggression)	-0.04		0.04	
Mother to child Psychological violence	0.31***		0.02	
Mother to child Physical violence	0.20***		0.06	
		$\Sigma R^2=0.250$		$\Sigma R^2=0.02$

First of all, linear hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to test the predictors of behavioural problems on children. Accordingly, mother's and father's age, education and household income per capita variables were added in the equation at first step. At second step, father's age and education and at third step household monthly income per capita variables were added in the equation. Additional to mentioned demographic features, at fourth step at which rate the mother's and the father's solution styles for the family conflicts (physical, verbal violence and passive aggression), and mother's strict punishment styles used on children (psychological and physical violence) predict adjustment problems were tested. Same analysis strategy was also applied to predict conduct problems in children.

According to linear hierarchical regression analysis results, mother's level of education ($\beta = 0.07$, $p < 0.01$), father's level of education ($\beta = 0.08$, $p < 0.001$) and household income per capita variables predicted children's adjustment problems significantly (see Table 7). In other words, a rise in adjustment problems of children were observed with the increase of the mother's level of education and household income per capita. At the third step, monthly income did not contribute significantly to explain the child's adjustment problems. At the last step, physical violence as declared by the father in intrafamilial conflicts ($\beta = -0.08$, $p < 0.001$) and psychological ($\beta = 0.28$, $p < .001$) and physical punishments from the punishment types that the mother imposed are significantly predicted adjustment problems in children (see Table 7). The Same variables were not able to predict children's conduct problems (see Table 7). According to linear regression analysis, when mother's and father's use of physical violence increases in conflict situations, adjustment problems of the children was declared as decreased. Considering the nonlinear relationships of the reaction styles to conflict situations and related variables at

the previous parts of the study and unexpected relationships at this analysis, it was observed that the aforementioned relations might not be linear, and nonlinear curve estimation analysis conducted using the variables that have significantly predictive role.

Nonlinear curve estimation analysis confirmed the nonlinear relationships between physical violence fathers use in case of conflict situations and adjustment problems of children. Although increasing declarations of physical violence and decreasing adjustment problems of children seemed like related, nonlinear patterns give significant results.

In order to show mentioned relationship, first of all, square (*quadratic*) and cube (*cubic*) of the declared physical violence were calculated on father declared intrafamilial conflict. The data were corresponded the most when the cube of the physical violence variable was calculated ($R_{\text{linear}}=0.016$, $p=0.000$; $R_{\text{quadratic}}=0.016$, $p=0.000$; $R_{\text{cubic}}=0.019$, $p=0.000$). In other words, while the father declared physical violence level is low ($\beta = -1.15$, $p = 0.000$), and high ($\beta = -0.13$, $p = 0.000$), declaring adjustment problems of children decreases, and children were having more adjustment problems whenever the fathers declared that the intrafamilial conflicts solved with physical violence at medium levels ($\beta = 0.66$, $p = 0.000$). A linear relationship was found between physical and psychological violence declared by the mother and adjustment problems. In other words, whenever psychological and physical violence imposed by the mother increase, a significant rise was observed in adjustment problems.

In brief, the determinants of behavioural problems in children were investigated in the analysis of this section and education of the mother/father, household income per capita and after controlling these, the effects of reaction styles to intrafamilial conflicts and strict punishment types imposed by

the mother were tested with linear hierarchical and nonlinear curve estimation analysis. Results mainly showed that adjustment problems in children (lying, not helping the housework, having undesirable friends, etc.) increase when physical and psychological punishment types imposed by the mother become frequent. Nonlinear relationships were found between different reactions to intrafamilial conflicts and adjustment problems in children (physical, verbal violence and passive aggression). Therefore, adjustment problems in children were observed the highest whenever the medium level physical violence used in intrafamilial conflict situations especially by the fathers. After all, it was found that aforementioned variables have no significant effect on predicting conduct problems in children (stealing, smoking, using alcohol etc.).

d. Change of The Punishment Types Imposed by The Mother Within Years

Two different analysis strategies were defined in order to examine the change of the punishment types imposed by the mother within years. First of all, whether the data acquired from the participants at 2011 and 2016 change at the

basis of punishment types or not was tested using independent samples t-test due to the collected data belong to different individuals in the mentioned time frame. The RFST data set of 2006 did not include these questions, therefore it was not included in this analysis. Whether the punishments imposed on children changed or not was studied in a broader time frame with regard to the ages of all participants at 2011 and 2016 data. Only women with children from 2011 and 2016 data were included in the analysis. Mean age of the subsample of 21,848 women was 44.37 years (SD = 13.55). 21.6% of the participants who were included in the analysis stated that they are not graduated from any school, 45.3% stated that they are graduated from elementary school, 11% from secondary school, 12.3% from high school, and 9.8% stated that they are graduated from the university or a higher degree. Household income per capita was declared as 1928.79 TRY (SD = 1886.08). The punishment types imposed on children were calculated as physical and psychological punishments based on the analysis conducted at “the determinants of the punishments imposed by the mother” section.

Figure 4.2. Change of the punishment types imposed by the mother within years

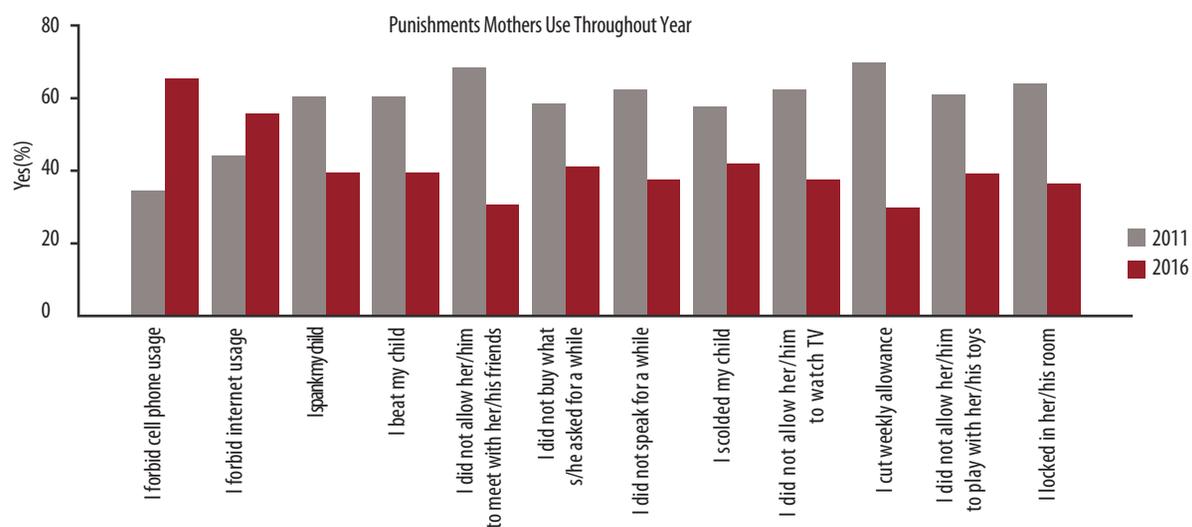


Table 4.8. Variables predicting mother’s type of punishment

Analysis	Mother imposing psychological punishment		Mother imposing physical punishment		Mother technology restrictions	
	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2
Step 1: Demographics		0.04***		0.01		0.06***
Size of the household	-0.05***		0.10***		-0.09***	
Mother level of education	0.14***		-0.05***		0.20***	
Step 2: Main effects		.04***		0.04		0.00
Mother age	-0.19***		-0.21***		-0.02	
		$\Sigma R^2=0.08$		$\Sigma R^2=0.05$		$\Sigma R^2=0.06$

While banning mobile phones and internet was increasing within the punishments imposed by the mother at 2011 and 2016, there was a decrease at other kinds of punishments (see figure 2).

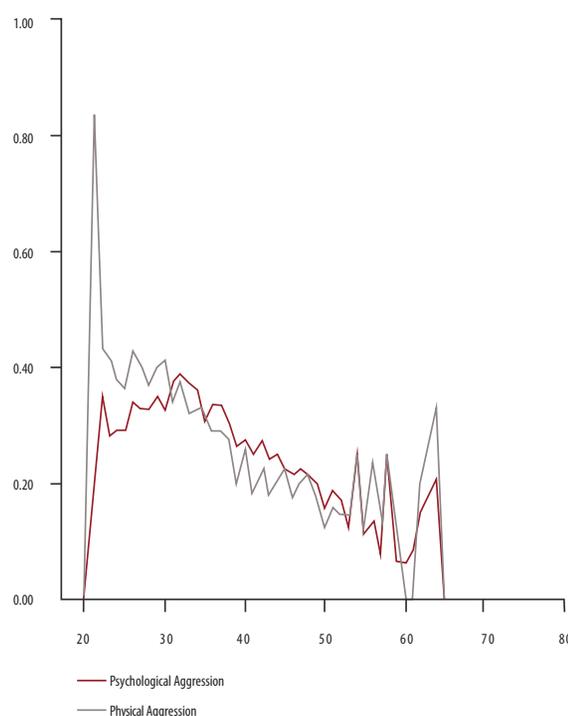
In the analysis conducted after classifying mother’s punishments into subgroups, a decline in violence dimensions was found at the physical and psychological punishments imposed by the mother in 2011 and 2016 ($t(6338) = 5.41, p < 0.001$; $t(6338) = 6.63, p < 0.001$ respectively). A significant increase was observed in technology restrictions ($t(6338) = 21.35, p < 0.001$).

Relatively limited information exists about the change of punishment types at two different year periods. Studying punishment types in different age groups using mother’s age in the large sample might give more detailed information. Hence, at this part whether or not the imposed punishment types changed on the basis of the mother’s age were investigated and if there is a change, effects of the mother’s level of education and differentiation between regions were also studied. Therefore, first of all the correlation between the mother’s age and psychological and physical punishment imposing frequency and technology restrictions was calculated. Afterwards, hierarchical regression analysis conducted to control the mother’s level of education and the size of household. In this analysis, at which rate mother’s age predicts the

physical and psychological punishment types imposed by the mother was calculated after controlling the level of education and the size of household. Finally, group comparisons were done to test if there are regional differences in the aforementioned relationship.

Correlation coefficients proposed significant relationships between the mother’s age and psychological and physical punishment types, and technology restrictions.

Figure 4.3. Change of the psychological and physical violence used by the mother dependent on the age



Accordingly, while the mother's age increases both psychological ($r(6360) = -0.21, p < 0.001$) and physical ($r(6340) = -0.18, p < 0.001$) punishments and technology restrictions infer decreases ($r(6340) = -0.05, p < 0.001$). In other words, all three punishment types (psychological, physical and technology restrictions) decreased while mother's age increasing. In order to examine whether or not the relationship between mothers' age and punishment types observed independent from their level of education and size of the household, size of the household and mother's level of education controlled with hierarchical regression analysis at first step and at second step mother's age included in the equation. According to the results of hierarchical regression analysis, size of the household and mother's level of education significantly predicted the declared psychological punishment types at first model ($\beta_{\text{size of the household}} = -0.05, p < 0.001$; $\beta_{\text{mother's education}} = 0.14, p < 0.001$). Psychological punishment decreased when size of the household increases, and psychological punishment type increased when mother's level of education is higher (see Table 8). At the second step, mother's age negatively predicted psychological punishment type even after the size of the household and mother's level of education was controlled for ($\beta_{\text{mother's age}} = -0.19, p < 0.001$), i.e. psychological punishment declaring frequency decreased when mother's age is increasing (see Figure 3).

Same analysis strategy also applied to physical violence used by the mother. As it is shown in table 8, the size of household and mother's level of education predicted physical punishment types declared by the mother at first stage. While the size of household increasing ($\beta_{\text{household}} = 0.10, p < 0.001$) and mother's level of education decreasing ($\beta_{\text{mother education}} = -0.05, p < 0.001$), physical punishment imposed on children showed an increase. At second step, the relationship between mother's age and

physical punishment showed similar pattern of psychological punishment type. In other words, as the mother's age increasing a decrease observed in physical punishment ($\beta_{\text{mother age}} = -0.21, p < 0.001$) (see figure 3). Mother's age did not significantly predict the technology restrictions applied by the mother after controlling the size of household and mother's education (see Table 7).

e. Regional Differences in Punishments Applied to Children

Finally, MANCOVA analyses were conducted to investigate if the punishments (psychological, physical and technology restrictions) include regional differences. 12 different regions were used as independent variable at MANCOVA (Istanbul, Western Marmara, Aegean, Eastern Marmara, Western Anatolia, Mediterranean, Central Anatolia, Western Black Sea, Eastern Black Sea, Northeastern Anatolia, Mideastern Anatolia, Southeastern Anatolia, for further information see Figure 4 and Table 9b). Besides, the size of household and mother's education used as covariate to control the probable confounding effects. Dependent variables were defined as psychological and physical punishment frequency and technology restriction. According to the analysis results, from the control variables the size of household is only effective on physical violence ($F(1,5357) = 16.42, p < 0.001$), and mother's education is effective on psychological violence ($F(1,5357) = 106.17, p < 0.001$). After controlling these effects, main effect of regional differences is found significant only for psychological and physical punishment ($F_{\text{psychological}}(11,5357) = 12.59, p < 0.001$; $F_{\text{physical}}(11,5357) = 6.37, p < 0.001$) (for mean and standard error values see Table 9a).

In sum, a series of analysis was conducted aiming to investigate the change of the psychological and physical punishments at 2011 and 2016 from

Table 4.9a. Frequency of psychological and physiological punishment used by the mothers based on regions

Regions	Mean (0-1)	Standard error	95% confidence interval	
İstanbul (N = 775)	0.333	0.009	0.315	0.351
Western Marmara (N = 200)	0.220	0.018	0.185	0.256
Aegean (N = 594)	0.305	0.011	0.284	0.326
Eastern Marmara (N = 374)	0.328	0.013	0.302	0.354
Western Anatolia (N = 707)	0.334	0.010	0.315	0.353
Mediterranean (N = 443)	0.321	0.012	0.297	0.344
Central Anatolia (N = 333)	0.272	0.014	0.245	0.300
Western Black Sea (N = 357)	0.273	0.013	0.247	0.300
Eastern Black Sea (N = 279)	0.252	0.015	0.222	0.282
Northeastern Anatolia (N = 304)	0.293	0.015	0.264	0.322
Mideastern Anatolia (N = 370)	0.226	0.013	0.199	0.252
Southeastern Anatolia (N = 622)	0.223	0.011	0.201	0.244
İstanbul (N = 775)	0.276	0.014	0.248	0.304
Western Marmara (N = 200)	0.216	0.028	0.161	0.271
Aegean (N = 594)	0.217	0.016	0.185	0.249
Eastern Marmara (N = 374)	0.234	0.021	0.194	0.274
Western Anatolia (N = 707)	0.309	0.015	0.280	0.338
Mediterranean (N = 443)	0.359	0.019	0.322	0.396
Central Anatolia (N = 333)	0.285	0.022	0.243	0.328
Western Black Sea (N = 357)	0.207	0.021	0.166	0.248
Eastern Black Sea (N = 279)	0.219	0.024	0.173	0.265
Northeastern Anatolia (N = 304)	0.280	0.023	0.235	0.326
Mideastern Anatolia (N = 370)	0.330	0.021	0.289	0.371
Southeastern Anatolia (N = 622)	0.302	0.017	0.269	0.335

Note: Mean values are covariate factor corrected values.

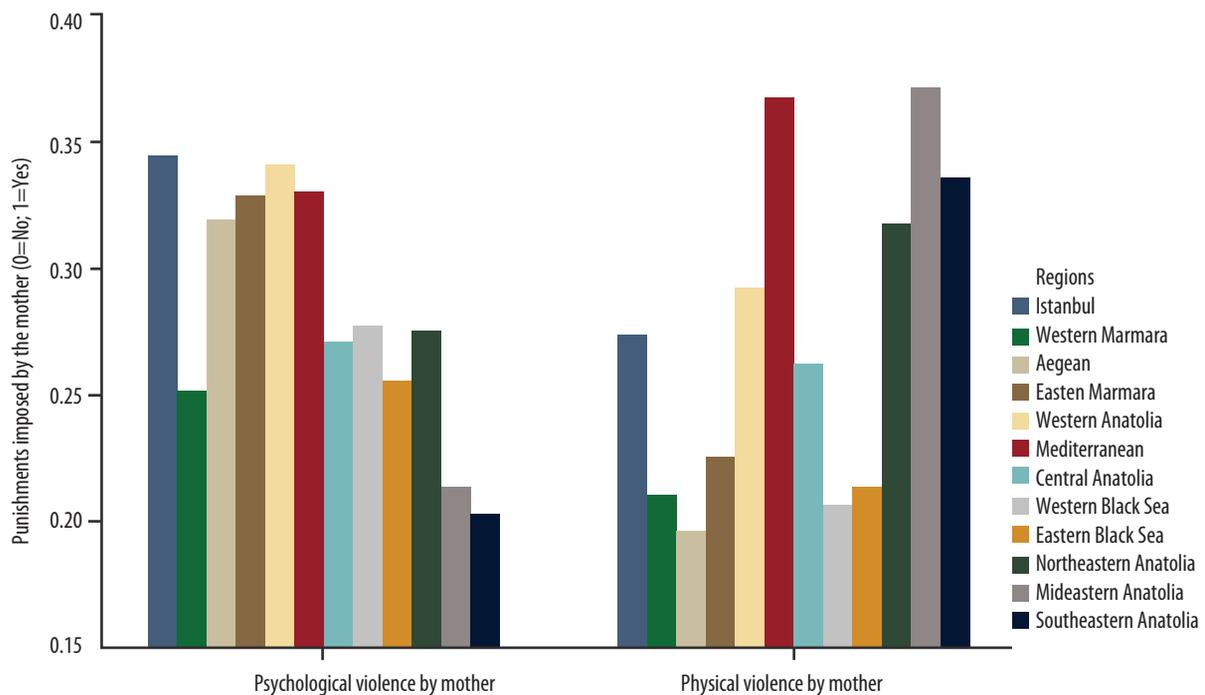
Figure 4.4. Differentiation of punishment types imposed by the mother with regard to regions

Table 4.9b. Cities representing regions

İstanbul					
İstanbul	İstanbul				
Western Marmara	Balıkesir	Çanakkale	Edirne	Kırklareli	Tekirdağ
Aegean	Afyon	Aydın	Denizli	İzmir	Manisa
	Muğla	Uşak			
Eastern Marmara	Bilecik	Bolu	Bursa	Eskişehir	Kocaeli
	Sakarya	Yalova	Düzce		
Western Anatolia	Ankara	Konya	Karaman		
Mediterranean	Adana	Antalya	Burdur	Hatay	Isparta
	Mersin	K.Maraş	Osmaniye		
Central Anatolia	Kayseri	Kırşehir	Nevşehir	Niğde	Sivas
	Yozgat	Aksaray	Kırıkkale		
Western Black Sea	Amasya	Çankırı	Çorum	Kastamonu	Samsun
	Sinop	Tokat	Zonguldak	Bartın	Karabük
Eastern Black Sea	Artvin	Giresun	Gümüşhane	Ordu	Rize
	Trabzon				
Northeastern Anatolia	Ağrı	Erzincan	Erzurum	Kars	Bayburt
	Ardahan	Iğdır			
Mideastern Anatolia	Bingöl	Bitlis	Elazığ	Hakkari	Malatya
	Muş	Tunceli	Van		
Southeastern Anatolia	Adıyaman	Diyarbakır	Gaziantep	Mardin	Siirt
	Şanlıurfa	Batman	Şırnak	Kilis	

21,848 mothers in total. In the analysis, it was observed that both two types of punishments decrease when mother's age increases after controlling mother's education and the size of household. Additionally, according to the analysis comparing the change in years on items basis shows an increase only on internet and mobile phone restrictions at 2016 (in comparison with 2011) and a significant decrease on other imposing punishment items. Finally, some region based differences were found. The most striking result was the use of physical punishment of the mothers in the Mediterranean and Mideastern Anatolia regions, and the tendency to use psychological punishment by the mothers in Istanbul, Western Anatolia and Mediterranean regions comparing the mothers in other regions.

f. Change of The Importance Given to Children by The Mother and Father Within Years

Analysis were conducted to examine the change of the importance of child attributed by the mothers and fathers, based upon the answers given at 10 different items, which were directed to women and men at 2006 and 2016 aiming to measure the importance of child (these questions were not included in the 2011 battery, therefore not included in the analysis). The answers given were varying between 1 (I do not agree) and 3 (I agree). The analysis at this stage were performed separately for women and men and conducted with 53,475 individuals in total who were participated in the study at 2006 and 2016 (25,616 men and 27,859 women). Mean age for women participants was 46.05 (SD = 14.750),

Table 4.10. Factor Weights of child value

Items	Realistic benefit	Reputation	Negative effect
Child should take care of the mother/father when they are old.	0.852		
Child should financially support the mother/father when he/she grows up.	0.796		
Child draws the spouses closer.	0.586		
Male child increases the reputation of the mother.		0.836	
Woman with children has more reputation than those who do not.		0.788	
The continuation of the generation can only be possible by the male child.		0.625	
Child negatively affects the mother's social life/education/career.			0.859
Child negatively affects the father's social life/education/career.			0.839
Every family should have children depending on their economic conditions*			
Cronbach α	0.65	0.65	0.68

**This item was not included in any dimension.*

and mean age for men was 48.49 (SD = 14.28). 77.6% of the participants (N = 41,497) declared having one or more children and mean number of children of the participants in the sample was 2.97 (SD = 1.93).

Value of the child scale is made of 10 questions to understand the meaning of children for individuals. First of all, exploratory factor analysis was carried out on scale items to test if the answers have different dimensions or not. Afterwards, the change of the dimensions between 2006 and 2016 related to child value that were found from the exploratory factor analysis results was investigated using MANCOVA analyses. In MANCOVA analysis sub-dimensions of child value were examined for the changes between different years and genders. In aforementioned analysis level of education of the participants was handled as covariate. Lastly, whether or not there is a change dependent on the age at the sub-dimensions of child value

Table 4.11. Descriptive statistics of child value dimensions

	Year	Gender	mean	SD	N (person)
Realistic benefit	2006	Male	27.156	0.497	8514
		Female	26.818	0.536	10459
		Total	26.970	0.519	18973
	2016	Male	26.582	0.518	11740
		Female	25.907	0.567	14847
		Total	26.205	0.547	26587
	Total	Male	26.823	0.510	20254
		Female	26.284	0.556	25306
		Total	26.523	0.537	45560
Reputation	2006	Male	18.132	0.735	8514
		Female	17.638	0.740	10459
		Total	17.859	0.738	18973
	2016	Male	17.426	0.684	11740
		Female	16.508	0.683	14847
		Total	16.914	0.685	26587
	Total	Male	17.723	0.707	20254
		Female	16.975	0.709	25306
		Total	17.308	0.709	45560
Negative effect	2006	Male	17.572	0.779	8514
		Female	17.338	0.772	10459
		Total	17.443	0.775	18973
	2016	Male	17.449	0.759	11740
		Female	16.749	0.730	14847
		Total	17.058	0.744	26587
	Total	Male	17.501	0.767	20254
		Female	16.992	0.748	25306
		Total	17.219	0.757	45560

was tested using correlation and hierarchical regression analysis by taking the age of the participants as continuous variable.

Three interpretable dimensions were found according to the factor analysis results conducted on the basis of the answers related to child value (Table 10). Accordingly, the “realistic benefit” dimension corresponding to evaluation of the realistic benefits of the child, “reputation” dimension corresponding to social reputation provided or will be provided by the child, and “negative effect” dimension corresponding to the negative effects that the child will create in the family were calculated. The answer given to

the question “Every family should have children depending on their economic conditions.”, were not clustered under any dimension and were not included in the calculations.

According to the results of the MANCOVA analysis, gender and year main effects were significant in three dimensions on the value of the child (Wilk’s $\lambda = 0.999$, $p < 0.001$; Wilk’s $\lambda = 0.979$, $p < 0.001$ respectively). Besides, participant’s level of education, which was a covariate, significantly contributes to explain variance on the value of the child (Wilk’s $\lambda = 0.866$, $p < 0.001$). As shown in Table 10, according to F test results, there is a significant decrease in all three dimensions related to child value (realistic benefit, reputation and negative effect) between 2006 and 2016 ($F(1, 45.555) = 20.51$, $p < 0.001$; $F(1, 45.555) = 10.28$, $p < 0.001$; $F(1, 45.555) = 4.65$, $p < 0.05$; respectively). In addition to year main effect, gender also plays a role in all three dimensions ($F(1, 45.555) = 574.11$, $p < 0.001$; $F(1, 45.555) = 629.42$, $p < 0.001$; $F(1, 45.555) = 98.59$, $p < 0.001$; respectively). In all three dimensions women declared lower scores comparing men (for mean values see Table 11). The differentiations of the child value with regard to time and gender were presented in Figure 5.

Instead of taking 2006 and 2016 (the years that the data were collected to examine the change of the three dimensions of child value in more details) as independent variables, using participants age as independent variable would provide more data points. It might show how the perception of child value changed in years in different generations. Therefore, correlations between the age of participants and the three dimensions of child value were calculated in the beginning. Afterwards, the independent effects of individuals’ age on the perception of child value were investigated after controlling the participants’ level of education and the size of household using hierarchical regression analysis.

Figure 4.5. Differentiations of the value of the child according to years and gender

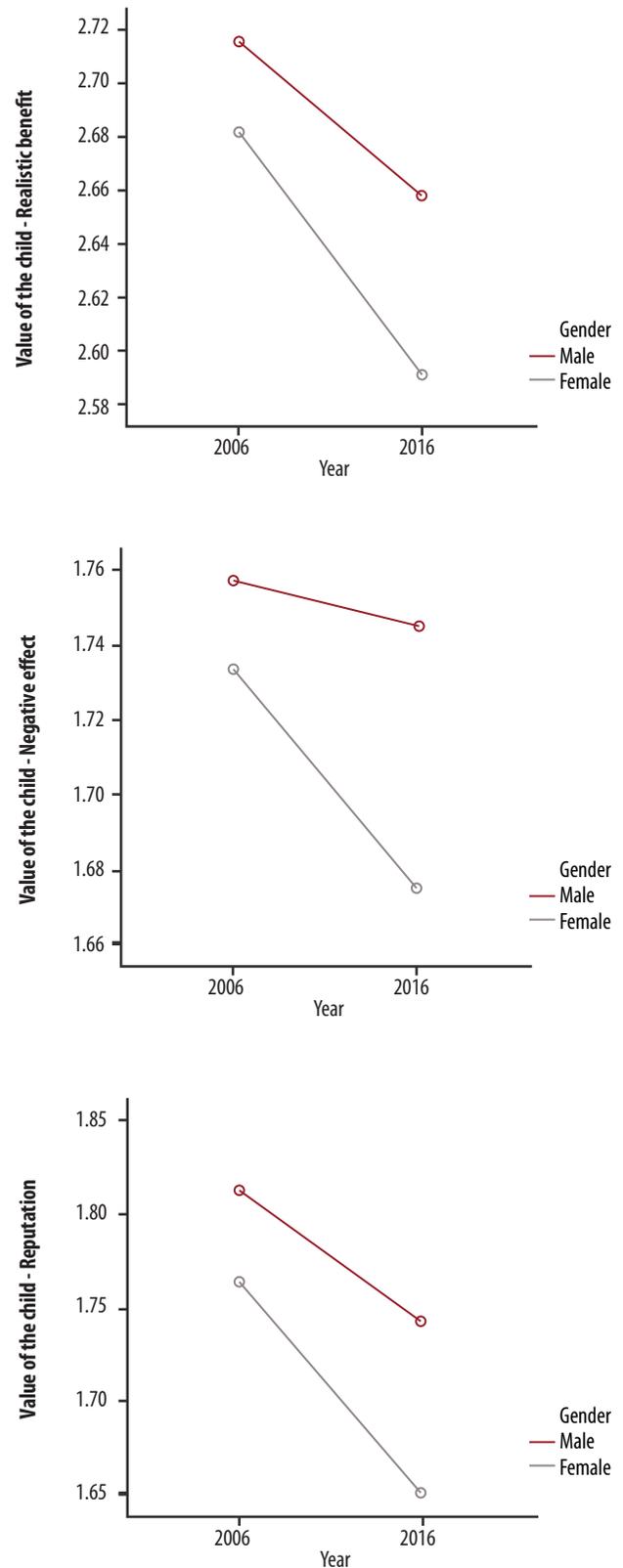


Table 4.12. Variables predicting perception of child value

Analysis	Child value – Realistic benefit		Child value – Reputation		Child value – Negative effects	
	<i>B</i>	ΔR^2	<i>B</i>	ΔR^2	<i>B</i>	ΔR^2
Step 1: Demographics		0.08***		0.08***		0.01***
Size of household	0.08***		0.11***		0.04***	
Level of education	-0.26***		-0.24***		-0.06***	
Step 2: Main effects		0.08***		0.10***		0.01***
Age	0.04***		0.11***		0.03***	
		$\Sigma R^2=0.16$		$\Sigma R^2=0.18$		$\Sigma R^2=0.02$

Positively significant correlations were found between participants' age and the three dimensions of child value. Accordingly, as the age of the participants increase, they assessed the child higher on realistic benefit, reputation and negative effects (social life, education and career) ($r(45.558) = 0.10$, $p < 0.001$; 95% GA [0.09 – 0.11]; $r(45.558) = 0.16$, $p < 0.001$, 95% GA [0.15 – 0.17]; $r(45.558) = 0.03$, $p < 0.001$, 95% GA [0.02 – 0.04] respectively).

Three different hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to study the effects of age on child value independent from the participants' level of education and the size of household.

According to the hierarchical regression analysis, evaluating the child value in the context of realistic benefit, reputation and negative effects were predicted by the size of household positively ($\beta = 0.08$, $p < 0.001$; $\beta = 0.11$, $p < 0.001$; $\beta = 0.04$, $p < 0.001$ respectively) and the mother's education negatively ($\beta = -0.26$, $p < 0.001$; $\beta = -0.24$, $p < 0.001$; $\beta = -0.06$, $p < 0.001$ respectively). Thus, mothers declared that as the size of household increases, children provide benefits, increase their reputation and have negative effects on their career/social life. While the mother's level of education increase children did not perceive as individuals providing benefits, increasing reputation, and did not affect mother's/father's social life and career negatively. Also mother's age showed positive relationships with the three dimensions

of child value, after controlling the size of household and mother's education ($\beta = 0.04$, $p < 0.001$; $\beta = 0.11$, $p < 0.001$; $\beta = 0.03$, $p < 0.001$, respectively). In other words, while the age of the mother increases, there is a declaration that the child provides benefit, increases reputation and negatively affects career/social life.

In sum, at this section examining the value of the child in years, two different approach were presented. The first one is on the difference of how mothers perceive children and the meaning they attribute on children, was investigated between 2006 and 2016, which were the years the data were collected (10 years difference). Therefore, the answers were subjected to factor analysis and on the basis of these dimensions, the differentiations were tested. In this 10 years period, consistent decreases were observed at the notion of optimum benefit of the child (child should take care of the mother/father when they are old), the belief that the child positively affects the reputation (Woman with children has more reputation than those who do not) and increases negative effects (Child negatively affects the father's social life/education/career). A similar tendency was observed when the mother's age was also taken into account. Independent from the mother's level of education and the size of household, as the age of the mother increases (relatively previous generations), an increase was observed in the three dimensions related to mentioned value of the child. Younger generations perceive the child different than the older generation members.

IV. Discussion

Determinants of Intrafamilial Conflict

Frequency

Intrafamilial conflicts points out the problems of family members with each other and family bonds. The literature shows that socioeconomic status, age of marriage and concomitant domestic violence effects intrafamilial conflicts.

When the results of the reactions to intrafamilial conflicts assessed, it has been seen that the parties inferred mostly violent and avoidant reactions to conflicts between spouses. Children gave more agreeable reactions to the conflicts they had with the parents, however it was observed that the mother/fathers demonstrate violent behaviors against them (Camadan, Karataş and Bozali, 2017).

In the current analyses, when conflict frequency declared by the fathers is taken into account, as the father's age and monthly income increases, the declared conflict frequency decreases and as the couples' education level and number of children increases, the declared conflict frequency also increases.

While the father's and mother's age, father's level of education and monthly income increases, conflict frequency declared by the mothers decreases. As the mother's level of education and number of children increases, declared conflict frequency increases in mothers.

In brief, conflict frequency declared by the couples decreases when father's age and level of income increases. Changes in the level of education show differences in terms of conflict frequency in males and females. Accordingly, father's and mother's years of education were positively related with father's conflict frequency, however this pattern is slightly different for the mother. Mothers declared increased conflict frequency when their own level of education increased. As the father's level of education

increases, mothers declared decreasing conflict frequency. Increasing number of children is related with increasing conflict frequency. Low socioeconomic status and marrying young could be affecting the psychological, economic, sociological, cultural and environmental factors may have negative effects on family peace, healthy communication styles and coping with crises.

Tolerance for Differences

In the current study, tolerance to differences declared by the mother and father positively predicts conflict frequency declared by the father. As the tolerance to differences scores increases, tendency to declare more conflict frequency also increased. The relationship between couple's tolerance to differences and conflict frequency shows a nonlinear pattern. According to the results of nonlinear estimation analysis, in the groups of very low and very high tolerance conflict frequency of the participants was found lower than the participants declaring medium level tolerance to differences.

Pronouncing conflicts in a family environment with open communication and tolerance to differences might be normal. Families knowing that differences are going to be tolerated, might openly communicate and have discussions in order to reach solutions. Certainly this study does not clarify if the discussions are enough or the solution was found. However, in any case, effective communication methods should be used in order to reach a solution. In order to solve conflicts in the family, problem solving and conflict management techniques, psycho-educational programs and psychological counseling sessions have been recommended for anger, aggression, in order for the family members to use coping mechanisms sufficiently (Camadan, Karataş and Bozali, 2017). It was observed that the violence is generally a cycle; from father to mother, from mother to children

and children are also reflect the violence they were exposed to their peers, siblings or to their own family when they are grown up. Since the violence engaged is not only physical, also psychological, minimizing the intrafamilial conflicts and preventing violence requires interfering with many factors like legal, social, economical, psychological and personal (Güleç, 2013). If the individuals having conflict are the mother and father, children's legal, social, economical, and psychological rights should not be ignored during this intervention. While risk factors encountered at individual level were taken into account, interferences at relational level to create a healthy family environment should be carried out and professional help should be brought to the families with conflict. Psycho-educational programs and psychological counselling sessions are recommended anger, aggression, problem solving and conflict management issues to manage and solve intrafamilial violence, for effective communication and to use coping skills for the family member. According to Ilkcaracan (1996) who has a more abstract approach to prevent domestic violence, the beliefs and standards of judgements feeding the violence which are common in the society should be questioned and changes in cultural structure should be targeted in order to reach a solution. As a result of all research and proposals, intrafamilial conflicts and violence are argued as a cycle. Socioeconomic status and marrying young has an inevitable contribution to violence.

Determinants of Punishments Imposed on Children

a. Psychological and Physical Violence

Physical trauma can cause serious harm physically and emotionally on children and defined as the minor, major or damages might result in death except accidents. The scope of emotional trauma includes situations like not

giving the love the children need, not paying enough attention, behaving in a threatening manner, and refusal (Myers, Berliner, Briere, Hendrix, Reid, ve Jenny, 2002). It is not possible to say every child who is exposed to emotional trauma, is also exposed to physical trauma, however, every child who had a physical trauma is also exposed to psychological trauma in every condition (Bilir, Arı, Dönmez, Atik, San, 1991).

According to the literature, two-thirds of physically traumatized children are younger than the age of 3. The symptoms seen in physically traumatized children are oedema, scars, soft tissue injury, burnt, scalds of boiled water, bruises, wounds around the body, poisoning and death in the cases of the extreme violence (Bilir, Arı, Dönmez, Atik, San, 1991).

After studying demographic, socioeconomic, civil and psychological factors, it has been reported that parents may impose physical punishments which can cause emotional problems on children (McLeod and Shanahan, 1993). Some common features of the parents imposing physical punishment were identified.

Many parents who impose physical punishment were exposed to these kinds of punishments in their childhood and got hurt emotionally. Most of them have a rejection background as well (Green, 1979). Generally personality disorders were observed in these parents. They perceive themselves as worthless and undesirable individuals due to low self-esteem. Aggression, alcohol or substance addiction risks are high at least in one of the parents (Rosenthal et al., 1984). These parents have a limited social environment and do not have many friends. They could not be in adjustment with the community (Johnson and Morse, 1969). Also, there could be serious problems in the marriages. Besides unemployment and other financial problems, parents who face stressors like intrafamilial

discords might show unfavorable attitudes against their children (Fergusson, D.M. et al., 1984). Situations like unexpected pregnancy, frequently getting pregnant, not having the biological father, disabled child might cause parents to adopt a destructive attitude (Freidrich and Boriskin, 1976).

Some studies showed a relationship between the number of children at home and strict punishment techniques (Qasem et al., 1998, Fox et al., 1995). Tahiroğlu and colleagues (2009) revealed that although statistically number of children and punishment techniques are not significantly correlated, "hitting/corporal punishment" and number of children were found related. 5,6% of parents with one child, 7,3% of parents with 1-3 children, 10,5% of parents with more than 3 children use corporal punishment method. Similar results were observed in reinforcement methods. As the number of children increases, reinforcement methods like kissing/hugging and taking them somewhere they would like, are decreasing (Tahiroğlu et al., 2009).

On the other hand, a relationship was found between the mother's age and strict, physical punishment methods (Regalado et al., 2004). One study conducted in Turkey indicated that the corporal punishment was mostly used by women who gave birth before the age of 19. While reflecting the problems of becoming a mother at a young age on the children is possible, generally the working rates and low socio-cultural standards of these women might be the reason of the situation (Tahiroğlu et al., 2009). Our current study also confirmed this finding. Having a child at a young age is forcing still insufficient coping mechanisms of the mother and causing negative reactions.

It has been known that children are exposed to more inconvenient punishment techniques if they are living with one parent due to divorce or

death (Fox et al., 1995, Regalado et al., 2004). The mother or the father who struggles to earn a living alone might impose inappropriate punishments, due to the stress while he/she undertakes both financial burdens and child care, and psychological strains caused by the divorce or the loss of the partner.

One of the determinants of the punishment and discipline techniques imposed on children is the level of education of the mother and father. As the parents' level of education increases, the negative effects of applied educational techniques decreases (Wade and Kendler 2001). On the other hand, since the increasing level of education decreases the probability of having a child at an early age, possibility of execution of strict punishments is decreasing in many aspects. In current study, it was shown that families declare less violence against children whenever the education and income increases. When the determinants of the psychological and physical punishment types examined, a negative relationship was found between the mother's and father's years of education and household income per capita and imposing psychological/physical punishments.

Another important factor affecting the punishment and discipline methods is mother's employment status. Working mothers reinforce their children with more activity and housewives regularly spend more time with their children. Additionally, housewives use corporal punishment more and working mothers mostly prefer negative punishment, which is removing a desired item (Tahiroğlu vd., 2009). However it is important to mention that the level of education of the working mother is also crucial.

There are also various studies regarding which parent uses physical punishment more. Straus and coworkers (1998) indicated that mothers impose corporal punishment and physical abuse

more often. In the study carried out in Turkey by Tahiroğlu and colleagues (2009) showed similar results supporting this finding. Another study realized in a different culture concludes that the fathers use corporal punishment more (Campbell, 1992).

In the research done by Bilir and colleagues in our country (1991), punishment frequency imposed upon children was investigated. They showed that housewife mothers (65.9%) impose more physical punishment comparing working mothers (45.8%). Families imposing physical punishment were usually families with 2-3 children (67.5%). It was reported that the frequency of fear (34%), sleep disorders (12.4%), speech disorders (6.1%), tics (2.5%), and behavioral disorders (38.3%) in children who are exposed to physical punishment are higher than the group who are not exposed to physical punishment (Bilir et al., 1991).

In many studies regarding discipline methods parents were classified according to their tendencies (very strict, soft, inconsistent) (Reitman et al., 2001, Darling and Steinberg 1993, Buri 1991). For instance, even though “shouting” and “beating” are not the same, they were mentioned as “very strict” attitude (Reitman et al., 2001).

In the analyses of the current study, mother’s age positively predicted psychological and physical violence against children. In other words, as the mother’s age increases, a decrease in both psychological and physical punishment types were observed. Another finding shows that while the number of household increasing, imposing psychological punishment decreases and while the mother’s level of education increasing, psychological punishment types also increase. Besides, as the mother’s age increases, physical punishments imposed decreased. Thus, mother’s giving birth at a young age increasing

the punishments imposed upon children and generates social and emotional risk factors for the child.

Some common characteristics were found in children who are exposed to physical violence and got harmed. These children who were exposed to physical violence have the tendency to face more social and emotional problems in comparison to other children who experienced other discipline methods (Turner and Finkelhor, 1996). Both introverted and extroverted situations like antisocial behaviors, low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, aggression, adjustment problems, and impulsivity might be within these problems (Straus and Kantor, 1994). Parents physical punishment such as hitting increases the probability of child abuse (Whipple and Richey, 1997).

Children who got harmed due to the physical punishments avoid contact with adults. They got afraid if an adult tries to touch or approach them. They are explicitly afraid of their parents and they can lie easily. They can stay calm even in terrifying situations and they do not easily cry. They are also worried when they witness a child crying. Characteristically, they are introverted, shy and extremely violent. Whenever the children who are neglected reach to school age, it is known that they do not attend to classes regularly, sleep during the lectures, get involved in crimes like stealing and vandalism (Kolko et al., 1988). The effects of the physical punishment being exposed during childhood might emerge as depression, suicide, alcohol dependence, using violence in the adulthood (Straus and Kantor, 1994).

When the punishments imposed upon children were investigated, the most common discipline method without applying any force is “explaining why the child’s behavior is inappropriate without imposing any punishment” (Regalado et al.,

2004, Hunter et al., 2000). Similarly, studies conducted in Turkey showed that explaining what is wrong with their behavior without using any strength is a popular discipline method. According to the data Tahiroğlu and colleagues (2009) presented 37.1% of the families use this technique and according to the study carried out by Kırcaali-İftar (2005) “verbal explanation” and “being angry” method is applied by 74% of the families.

Another soft discipline method is “threatening the child without imposing any punishment”. Kırcaali-İftar (2005) implied 18% of the mothers choose this method, and Tahiroğlu et al. (2009) showed that 26% prefers this specific method.

A punishment method which is recommended by the American Psychological Association (APA) (1998) is “not buying something the child wants and removing a desired item”. Tahiroğlu and coworkers (2009) indicated in their study that 21% use this technique.

According to the studies conducted abroad, Regalado and colleagues (2004) showed that 26% of the parents prefer using corporal punishment (i.e. beating) in order to discipline their children., and 67% discipline their children by shouting. According to the data related to Turkey Tahiroğlu and coworkers (2009) presented “insult and shouting” preferred by 29.2%, and “hitting the child in different frequencies” was chosen by 45%. Even if it is not recommended the corporal punishment (beating) technique was preferred in a considerable amount and Kırcaali-İftar (2005) indicated that it was chosen by 20% of the families. However, this study showed that Turkish mothers prefer shouting to discipline their children. In the research carried out by Erkman and Rohner (2006) physical punishment was used at 28%. Bilir and coworkers’ data (1991) presented that 36% of the children who are younger than age 5 were punished by beating.

Other punishment methods that have negative effects on children are emotional pressure and threatening. Tahiroğlu et al. (2009) implied that 15.6% of the parents stop communicating with their child, and 7% threaten to tell the unwanted behaviors to others.

Relationship Between Parental Attitudes and Punishment

Cultural and economic differences between societies affect parental attitudes. Various discipline techniques were adopted and applied from past to present regarding the education of children. Different discipline methods existed like extremely strict attitudes, as well as every democratic and independent methods.

Mother’s and father’s attitudes and discipline approaches are important factors in a child’s life. Parents may demonstrate different attitudes like negligent, protective, rejecting, disciplinary, insensitive, authoritative, democratic and perfectionist (Arı, 2005). These attitudes are also effective on the imposed punishments.

Teachers are other authoritarian figures for the child, who are as important as parents. Independent and inconsistent behaviors of these authoritarian individuals might cause the child feel anxious and display problematic behaviors (Çubukçu, 2004). Therefore, while the discipline techniques or reinforcement-punishment methods are determined, there has to be a consistency between the method applied in the family environment and by the teacher at school. Consistent behaviors of the family and the teacher would contribute positively to child’s development (Taner Derman and Başal, 2013).

Generally, parents who exhibit democratic attitudes are warm and interested towards their child. In this family environment child’s opinions are respected and are taken seriously (Nas, 2001). Children know what kind of

reinforcement or punishment they might face as a consequence of their behaviours, since the rules in this democratic family environments are determined beforehand (Tuzcuoglu, 2003). Therefore, it is not possible to come across very strict punishments and extreme discipline methods in this kind of family structures. Generally, children who grow up in this environment become helpful, smart, friendly and confident individuals (Aslan, 1992).

Parents demonstrating authoritarian attitudes apply restrictions which children cannot understand the reasons clearly and impose physical and psychological punishments (Aslan, 1992). Thus, children who face these kinds of punishments are afraid of their mothers and fathers and cannot develop an inner discipline to follow the rules of their parents when are away from the authority (Pantley, 2002). Children who grow up in these kinds of environment have negative effects like low self-esteem, timidity, and passive personality as a result of not showing affection and the frequent use of punishment (Cağdaş, 2003).

Although parents with overindulgence show affectionate and warm attitudes against their children, unexpected results may occur since there are no control mechanisms, children have to decide on their own frequently, and have unlimited rights (Taner Derman and Başal, 2013). Parents with extreme indulgence, do not give any reaction to their children that is explaining that their behaviour is wrong, even if the children have the tendency to give damage consciously (Cağdaş, 2003). Hence, children who grow up in an environment like this, punishments are insufficient and do not induce the child to display the right attitudes (Yörükoğlu, 2002).

Parents with controlling and judgmental attitudes, generally aim to change the child's behaviour. Judgmental parents identify their

child's behaviour using various adjectives (good, bad, inappropriate, right, wrong etc.) in many situations. Children who are exposed to this starting from early ages internalize judgmental behaviours (Taner Derman and Başal, 2013). Controlling mothers and fathers do not ignore any little misbehaviour of the child and try to correct everything notable. They expect the child to follow the rules in any case (Yörükoğlu, 2002). Therefore, parents with controlling and judgmental attitudes are expected to impose verbal or physical punishment upon their children. Exposure to physical punishment causes emotional damage on children independent of the used discipline technique.

Domestic Violence Cycle and Its Effects on Children

Violence between parents in the family is like a punishment for children. Children might be affected from the violence both emotionally and physically and witnessing or being the victim of this violence may cause domestic violence cycle to emerge. Children imitate the behaviours they see in the family they grow up and take it as an example. Although, the "right" behaviours should have been copied, children who do not have a strong judgement ability at the early periods of their lives, have the tendency to imitate every behaviour they see. Therefore, if the child is growing up in a family that embraces healthy communication and tolerance, he/she will accept these values and imitate, and try to solve the problems by taking these values into account. On the other hand, children who grow up in a family with violent behaviours, might use violence as a problem solving mechanism in their elderly (Sarpkaya, 2012). Individuals are directly or indirectly affected from the family environment that they socialize and build up their personalities. If a man witnesses violence against woman in his family or social environment, he will develop a "male prototype" idea, and he will also have a role in violence transfer from generation to generation (Arıkan, 1997).

In the households that violence occur, children might be both the closest witness and direct victim. Children might be exposed to violence whenever they interfere with the father while the father uses violence on their mother, and in some cases mother who is exposed to violence can engage violence on her children. Therefore, in the household where the father inflicts violence on the mother, children are exposed to direct or indirect physical and emotional violence. As a result of this, children witness domestic violence might show negative effects like introversion, fear, communication problems, and academic failures. In this study, a direct relationship was found between the “inflicting physical and psychological violence on children” declared by the mother and adjustment problems. In other words, as the psychological and physical violence inflicted by the mother increases, the adjustment problems in children also significantly increases. Basically, when imposing physical and psychological punishment by the mother becomes more frequent, children demonstrate more adjustment problems (lying, not helping the housework, having inappropriate friends etc.).

In some sense, direct and indirect effects of marital conflicts on children’s adjustment problems are related to how it is expressed (Cummings and Davies, 1994; Grych and Fincham, 1990). Physical violence, verbal and nonverbal hostility or marital conflicts threatening family integrity are defined as “destructive”, since it is related to the children’s impulsive and aggressive behaviours (Cummings, Goeke-Morey and Papp, 2003, 2004).

Violence do not affect just the person who is subjected to it, it affects every family member, particularly children. Women who are exposed to male violence suffer from various physical harm and also have irreversible emotional damages.

Women subjected to violence may face many negative emotional states like low self-esteem, and loneliness. Besides, she might reflect the anger on her children, which she feels for her husband.

Effective theoretical models, even though they differentiate at related behavioral, cognitive, and emotional fields that they emphasize, suggest that children are affected directly from the violent marital conflicts. For instance, according to social learning theory, exposure to aggression between parents might cause modelling of these behaviours and demonstrating aggression in their interpersonal relationships subsequently (Bandura, 1977). Cognitive-contextual theory refers to direct transfer of the negative cognitive representations of children related to marital conflict, which includes blaming themselves and expectation of threat (Grych and Fincham, 1990). According to emotional security hypothesis, exposure to aggressive marital conflict induces a destructive impression due to escalated emotional reactions against marital conflicts in children and negative internalized representations about the relationship between the parents (Davies, Harold, Goeke-Morey and Cummings, 2002). Eventually, children’s negative emotional reactions are related to behavioural adjustment problems (Cummings et al., 2003).

In current study, it has been observed that as the physical violence between spouses increase, the physical and psychological punishments imposed upon children is increasing (prevailing violence in intrafamilial environment), and while less destructive verbal violence and passive aggression increasing, a decrease was found in psychological and physical punishments imposed upon children. Additionally, no direct relationship was observed between the frequency of intrafamilial conflict and punishments, and

in the families, which declare problems very often the punishment imposed upon children was increased. Besides, mothers who declare relatively less intrafamilial problems, also reported low scores on imposing psychological and physical punishments upon children.

Within the factors affecting intrafamilial violence, at least one of the partners being exposed to intrafamilial violence in the childhood, socioeconomic and sociocultural conditions, age differences, religious views, social support and psychological state can be count. Common characteristics of many men inflicting violence against women are growing up in a family with domestic violence and high levels of alcohol consumption (Altınay and Arat, 2007; Counts, Brown and Campbell, 1999). On the other hand, the labour and middle class families demonstrate more aggression between spouses and conditions like low level of education and unemployment of man was found related to violence against women (Castro, Peek-Asa and Ruiz, 2003; Eisikovitz Winstok and Fishman, 2004). Some studies indicate that higher level of education of woman in comparison to man is a factor increasing the possibility of violence (Goodyear-Smith and Laidlaw, 1999).

Change of The Punishments Used upon Children within Years

In current study it was shown that among punishments imposed upon children between 2011 and 2016, the rates of putting a ban on mobile phone and internet is increased and other punishment types are decreased. In the analysis after grouping the punishments imposed by the mother, a decrease was found in physical and psychological dimensions of applied punishments between 2011 and 2016.

In this study, the size of the household and mother's level of education predicted the physical

punishment types declared by the mother at first stage. While the soze of the household increasing and mother's level of education decreasing, physical punishments imposed upon children also increased. In the cases when mother's age increased, physical punishment decreased.

A series of analysis were conducted on the data collected from 21,848 mother in total to investigate the change of psychological and physical punishments imposed upon children by the mother between 2011 and 2016. In the analysis, after controlling the level of education of the mother and the size of the household, both two types of punishments decreased as the mothers ages increasing. According to the results of the analysis comparing the change of punishments between the years of 2011 and 2016 on items basis, a serious increase was observed in internet and mobile phone restrictions and a significant decrease was seen in other punishments. Finally, some changes was shown in punishments based on the regions. The most salient results were physical punishment use of the mothers in Mediterranean and Mideastern Anatolia and mothers in Istanbul, Western Anatolia and Mediterranean have a tendency to impose more psychological punishment in comparison to other regions. Altınay and Arat's (2007) "intrafamilial violence against women in Turkey" research was a representative study in Turkey. According to this study, the frequency of the women who were exposed to physical violence from her husband just once "in a lifetime" was 35% in Turkey sample, 40% percent in East sample. According to 2008 Turkey population and health research (TNSA) , 24.7% of the women participated in the study were imposed to corporal punishment (beating) indicated whenever at least one of the situations like, burning the food while cooking, disobeying the husband in an argument, spending money for unnecessary things, neglecting children care,

rejecting sexual intercourse occurs, it would constitute the reasonable grounds for the husband to impose corporal punishment upon his wife. This rate is 39.5% at East, 18.3% at West, 5.3% in the women who are graduated from a high school or higher degree, 46.9% in women who did not graduated from an elementary school, 7.1% at high wealth level, and 42.9% at lowest wealth level (TNSA, 2009). Until TNSA-2008, the frequency of women who accept only one of the reasons as a valid ground is decreased from 25% to 13% across the country (TNSA, 2014).

Results of this study points out a couple of clinical implication. The direct relationship between aggressive marital conflict and child's behaviour disorders due to aggression might indicate that the intervention to just one of the parent-child levels (i.e. parents education), is not sufficient to protect the child from the negative effects of aggressive marital conflict. There were no strong evidences regarding the marital conflict which is not aggressive affects the strict punishments imposed by the mother or children's aggressive behaviours. However, constructive problem solving training for couples might be efficient. Yet the apparent negative effects increasing the level of aggression were taken into account, marital interventions aiming interpersonal problem solving might not be sufficient alone. Interventions focusing on anger management and mood regulations might induce a protective effect on parental and children behavioral problems with hindering marital conflict in an aggressive context.

Change of The Value Given to Children within Years

In the current study, as the age of the participants increase, they evaluate the child higher with regards to optimum benefit, reputation and negative effects on the parents social, educational and career life. While the size of household increases, mothers declared the children would be beneficial, heighten their reputation and have

negative effects on career/social life. When mother's level of education increase, children were perceived as beneficial individuals, and providing reputation, however, they did not mention any negative effects on mother-father's social life and career. After controlling the size of household and mother's level of education, while the mother's age increase, children were declared as beneficial, heighten the reputation of the mother and have negative effects on career/social life.

In brief, two different approach were presented at this section that investigating the change of the child value in years. First one, the difference of how mothers perceive children and the meaning they attribute on children was investigated between 2006 and 2016, which were the years the data were collected (10 years difference). In this 10 years period consistent decreases were observed at the notion of optimum benefit of the child (child should take care of the mother/father when they are old), the belief that the child positively effects the reputation (Woman with children has more reputation than those who do not) and increases negative effects (Child negatively affects the father's social life/education/career). Similar tendency was observed when mother's age also taken into account. Independent from the mother's level of education and the size of the household, as the age of the mother increases (relatively previous generations), an increase was observed in the three dimensions related to mentioned value of the child. In other words, younger generation believes less than the previous generations that children have financial/materialistic benefit, positively affect the reputation, and affects mothers career and social life negatively. Today mothers can work despite of their children. This condition is more valid for the cities that have more kindergartens and preschool institutions. On the other hand, expenses of the children are higher in global, and consuming societies. Therefore, apart from providing financial benefits, children themselves incur expenses

due to the globalization of the world. Younger generations perceive the child different than the older generation members. It is also necessary to observe the “Child Value” study understand these differences, which comprises of nearly a 30 years period of time in Turkey (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a, 1982b, 1998).

In the study carried out by Kağıtçıbaşı ve Ataca (2005) the child value was reevaluated in the periods of time that urbanization process was intense. Yet in 1970s most of the population were in the countryside, however today this rate is vice-versa and the majority migrated to the cities. Urban life style is process where an adolescence is dependent on the adults for a long period of time. Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca’s (2005) results predicted that there will be less financial/materialistic expectations from the children. The discriminations between the expectation of help from the children and the actual financial or non-financial help provided by the children, indicate that much less financial help is expected from the children for both the household and for the elder times (Kağıtçıbaşı ve Ataca, 2005).

V. Recommendations

Findings of this study indicated the necessity of enhancing adaptive processes of the families with extending the support systems for the families. Psycho-education programs and psychological counselling sessions on efficiently using coping mechanisms and effective communication, anger, aggression, problem solving and conflict management were recommended by the research in order solve and manage intrafamilial conflicts (Camadan, Karatas and Bozali, 2017). However, of course these have to be competent and professional specialists. In these kinds of families violent events were observed due to reported reasons. It was observed that the violence is generally a cycle; from father to mother, from mother to children and children are also reflect the violence they were exposed to their peers, siblings or to their own family when they are

grown up. Since the violence engaged is not only physical, also psychological, minimizing the intrafamilial conflicts and preventing violence requires interfering with many factors like legal, social, economical, psychological and personal (Güleç, 2013). If the individuals having conflict are the mother and father, children’s legal, social, economical, and psychological rights should not be ignored during this intervention. Around the frame of the National Child Right’s Strategy Document and Action Plan prepared by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies), improving children’s psychological and physical environment subjects which were underlined here has to be considered. While risk factors encountered at individual level were taken into account, interferences at relational level to create a healthy family environment should be carried out and professional help should easily be brought to the families with conflict. According to Ilkkaracan (1996) who has a more abstract approach to prevent domestic violence, the beliefs and standards of judgements feeding the violence which are common in the society should be questioned. Providing necessary trainings should be targeted in order to reach a solution. In accordance with this purpose, social norms supporting the normalisation of woman-man discrimination, perceiving women like an object with ignoring her personality, society’s unresponsiveness to the violence men inflicted on women, and submission of the women against violence should be questioned. An action need to be taken for necessary changes to condemn the violence in the societal structure. As a result of all research and proposals, intrafamilial conflicts and violence are argued as a cycle. Socioeconomic status and age of marriage has an inevitable contribution to this uneasy environment and violence. Besides, it has been observed that these variables are occasionally in a causal relationship with the problems emerge in family environment. Since the family is the building block of the society, it is inevitable that

these conflicts would unbalance the society and cause psychological and sociological problems in the long term.

Although various solutions were found for children's physical development and health, exact solutions are absent to protect them from emotional traumas and physical punishments. Besides the parents' responsibilities, also the governments commit to favour children rights and accept the *Cocuk haklari sozlemesi* of United Nations General Council emphasizing following the children's good in any circumstances is a necessity. However, children still face some unfortunate situations (Bicer, Ozcebe, Kose, Kose, Unlu, 2016). A vast amount of this is the punishments families imposed upon children. Although the families do not punish their children to cause any harm physically and/or on their personality, it has been known that many punishment methods have negative effects on children.

The punishment method which is imposed upon children and cause the substantial damage on their development is physical punishment. The failure to stop physical punishment use on children dependent on various reasons. Many mother and father do not know that the physical punishments are damaging and even they perceive it as contributing. On the other hand, since the physical punishments accepted as "normal behaviors" by the society, application of these punishments continues. Parents do not prefer alternative techniques to physical punishment as they think they are waste of time and a useless effort (Day and Roberts, 1983).

It has been known that the punishment techniques and attitudes of the mothers and fathers are effective on children's psychological and physical development. Therefore, the application of appropriate reinforcement-punishment techniques could be supported by raising the awareness of the parents. In this study, it was

identified that physical punishments decreased, instead parents use more restricting the electronic devices as a punishment. Considering that children and youth have intensively shifted towards the electronic devices, it is easy to understand the common use of the punishment of deprivation from electronics.

When the demographic data was examined, parents' socioeconomic status and some other factors are related with the punishment methods. Generally strict physical punishments are imposed upon children if the women gave birth at a younger age and in families with low socioeconomic status, and there is violence between parents. Considering these data, presentations should be given for the parents with low level of education and income, and for the mothers who gave birth at a young age by making innovations on governmental social policies in order to raise awareness in these individuals.

Whenever the educators at preschools and elementary schools are individuals who have the capacity to analyze the situation of the children precisely and have the knowledge about reinforcement-punishment systems, these educators could contact the family for warning and put effort to preclude incorrect applications.

The main problem of this issue is the intrafamilial violence cycle which is like a punishment for the children even if it is indirect. Verbal or physical violence parents inflict on each other, affects the children directly or indirectly. Parents should be informed about the effects of intrafamilial violence on children.

VI. Social Policy Recommendations

Although some academic studies were carried out about discipline methods and reinforcement-punishment systems applied by the families in Turkey, promotions should have been produced

for new studies that can lead social policies and have the potential to contribute to the literature. A nationwide “good parenting” educational culture should be established using the data collected from the research as a result of these promotions.

- Developing family education regarding family communication skills, counselling and support systems and using them widespread would lay the foundations of a robust society with healthy individuals and families.
- Violence is a system which progresses with the exposure of the child to the violence in the cycle where the subject turns into executer afterwards.
- In order to break these violence cycles all the members of the family should have be supported.
- Good mental and physical health of the children and the adults in the family are related with each other. Issues in mental and physical health causes high costs for the country. Supporting the family should be considered as a preventive health service.
- Supporting the family is important for health, social and economic policies.
- One other way to support the family is enact laws on mental health. Thus, mental health professionals would support the families instead of another person.
- There needs to be an agreement on the articles in the laws concerning the marriage age.
- Having a child at a young age, when one is unable to take on multiple responsibilities is a risk factor for the mother’s and child’s mental health.
- Maximum sensitivity should be assigned to not to encourage young and/or forced marriages

on the tv shows and programs produced for the national tv channels. Turkish Radio and Television Supreme Council should impose sanctions where necessary.

- Negative effects of marrying and having children at a very young age and the effects of these should be shown in public service announcements to raise awareness.
- In the case of young marriages, compulsory education should be given both to the mothers and fathers on how the approach the baby/child developmentally.
- It will also be beneficial for the families of the young married couples’ own families to attend these educational workshops.
- The family education could be the main preventing factor for the child’s mental health.
- Marriage interventions targeting interpersonal problem solving might not be enough alone. Intervention programs are necessary on anger management and emotion regulation. These can cause a protective effect on hindering marital conflict including aggression, supporting good parenting applications, and child’s behavioral problems. Therefore, anger management and emotion regulation skills should be included in the educational planning and applications of crisis interventions.
- Family management and care should be supported by multi-purpose, community-based programs. In the scope of these programs, the rules of the family, goals, borders should be identified. In the community-based programs, other than the key issues like health, nutrition, topics like effective communication, mental health of the family and the members, importance of intrafamilial support, importance of attachment in interaction with the baby, child development and mental health, and mother-child health are also very important.

- Another purpose of this community-based programs should be providing support to deal with the integration of child development education and activities and the daily life issues.
- Therefore, it is recommended to direct more resource in the following areas:

1. Education regarding early childhood:

Enhancing family conditions for now and the future should be targeting both generations. These programs need to be evidence based. The relationship between family and community needs to be strengthened while supporting both the child's and the adult's development at the same time. Because of the extensive interest of the parents on child development, it is better to present nutrition and health activities under child development title instead of giving it the under another title.

2. Education regarding family life:

Hereby, family management, targets and family care topics should be handled. Psycho-education and psychological counselling services should be provided on the topics like effective communication for solving intrafamilial violence and intrafamilial conflicts, coping skills for crisis, and anger, aggression, problem solving, conflict management.

3. Education regarding the protection of the family: Conditions that families face in crisis should be discussed.

- Intra family social rules are recommended:

1. While constructing community-based programs, it is very important to encourage the father's participation or the participation of mother-father together.

2. Fathers' participation should be encouraged for the programs organized before, during and after birth.

3. Fathers should be included in public service announcements and messages regarding child health and mental health.

VII. References

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5.

**DETERMINANTS OF LABOR
FORCE PARTICIPATION
DECISION OF WOMEN IN
TURKEY**

Assoc. Prof. Gökçe Uysal

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DETERMINANTS OF LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION DECISION OF WOMEN IN TURKEY

Assoc. Prof. Gökçe Uysal¹
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I. Introduction

Previous studies and international comparisons show that, in terms of gender equality, Turkey lags behind countries at similar development levels. Turkey ranks 69th in the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) gender inequality index and the gender inequality index is larger in Turkey compared to other countries such as Greece, Poland and Malta as well as Malesia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar (UNDP, 2018). Turkey ranks 69th in the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) gender inequality index and the gender inequality index is larger in Turkey compared to other countries such as Greece, Poland and Malta as well as Malesia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar (UNDP, 2018). One of the most important dimensions of this issue is the low level of the female labor force participation rates in Turkey. Women's participation in the labor force has positive impacts on education and health of children, household savings and the prevention of domestic violence and thus, the participation of women in the labor force is essential not only for women's personal development but also for social welfare, efficiency and economic development.

The low level of the female labor force participation rate is one of the most important structural problems in Turkey. Figure 1 shows the evolution of male and female labor force participation rates over the last decade. As can be seen in Figure 1, the difference between male and

female labor force participation rates is sizeable favoring males. During the past decade, an improvement in female labor force participation rate is observed in Turkey. 23.6% of women aged 15 and more were in the labor force in 2006 and this rate has increased to 32.5% in 2016.

Despite the recent improvement in the female labor force participation rates, the participation of women in the labor force in Turkey is still quite low compared to that in other countries. Figure 2 displays the female labor force participation rates in OECD (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries in 2016. As can be seen in Figure 2, Turkey has the lowest female labor force participation rate among OECD countries. Besides, the female labor force participation rate in Turkey is not only lower than those in more developed countries but also lower than those in countries with a similar development level such as Chile, South Africa and Mexico.

Why the labor force participation of women is so low in Turkey is the most fundamental question regarding this issue, which has serious social consequences. The main aim of this study is to examine the underlying structural factors of the low female labor force participation rates in Turkey. Accordingly, using the microdata from the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST), the factors affecting labor force participation decisions of women will be determined by estimating an economic model.

To date, the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST) have been conducted three times in 2006, 2011 and 2016. However, 2006 survey does not contain any question that gives information on the labor market statuses of individuals and thereby is excluded from this study. A reduced-form econometric model, which allows us to quantify factors affecting

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the labor force participation decision of women independently from each other, will be employed. This reduced-form econometric model will be estimated by a probit model that is used in cases

where the dependent variable is binary and the data follows a normal distribution. In this study, the labor force participation decisions of women will be examined separately for women aged 15-

Figure 5.1. Female labor force participation rates of individuals (15+) in Turkey, 2006-2016 (%)³

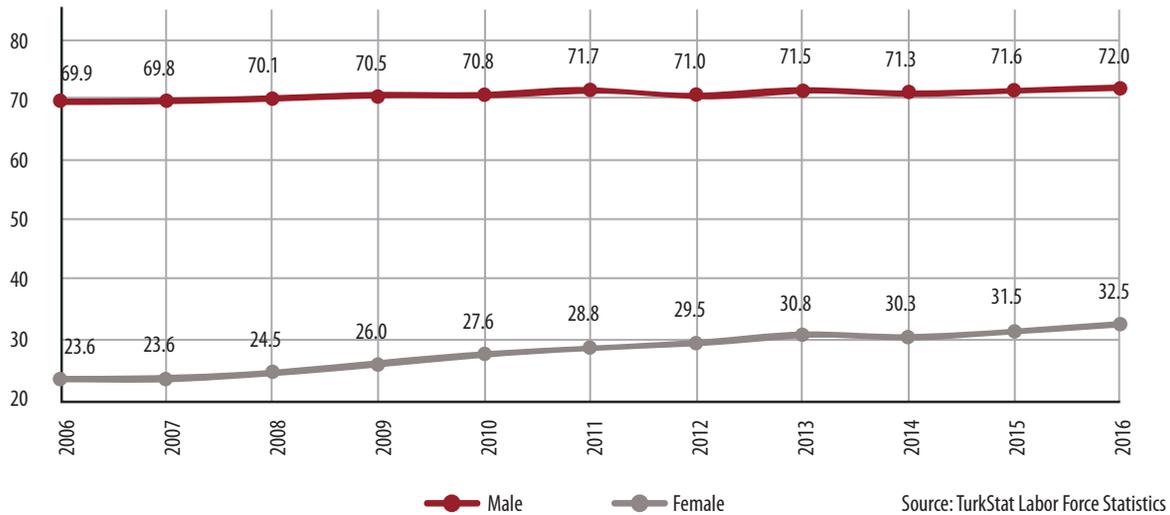
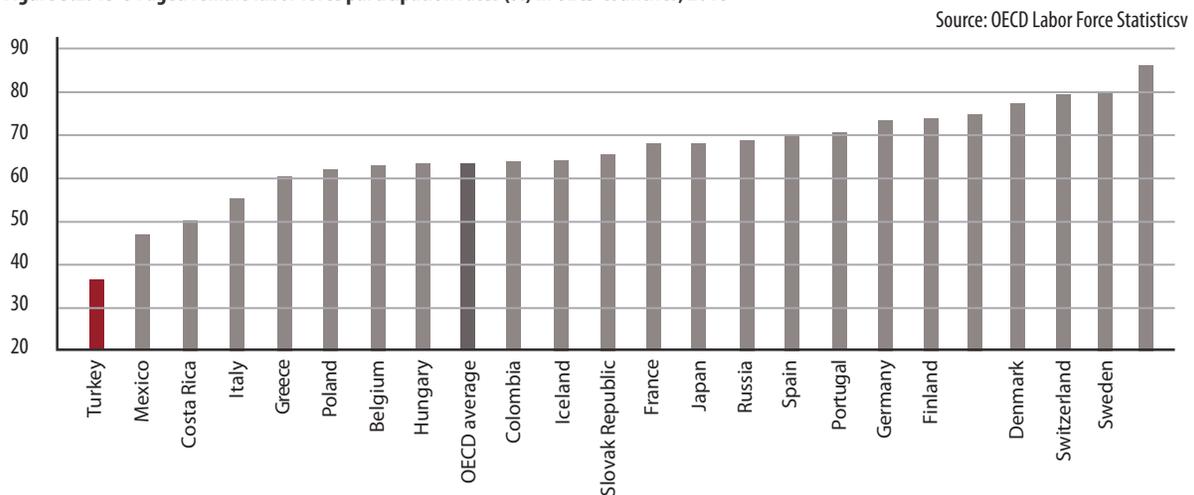


Figure 5.2. 15-64 aged female labor force participation rates (%) in OECD countries, 2016⁴



³ TurkStat made revisions in Household Labor Force Survey to ensure full compliance with the European Union starting on February 2014. This revision causes a break in labor force participation series.

⁴ In Figure 1, labor force participation rates are for individuals aged 15 and more and the female labor force participation rate in 2016 is 32.5%. In OECD database, labor force participation rates are reported for individuals aged 15-64. In order to ensure consistent comparisons across countries, female labor force participation rate in Turkey in 2016 is reported for women aged 15-64 (32.6%) in Figure 2.

24, women aged 25-44 and women aged 45 and more. The main reason for grouping women by age is that women aged between 15-24 continue their education and some of women aged 45 and more are retired. Furthermore, to estimate the effect of social transfers on the female labor force participation, the regression analysis is also conducted separately for regions with intensive social transfer recipients and those without.

II. Literature Review

To shed light on the decision of labor force participation of women in economics literature in Turkey, the most commonly used model is the household production model. In this model, household members jointly make a series of decisions such as consumption, working, child care and child education. To meet consumption needs, households either produce domestically or use labor income to buy products from the market. When household members are deciding on household production and labor supply, they take into account several factors (for instance, relative productivity of individuals in the household production and in the labor market, and relatedly their education levels, the existence of children and elderly individuals in need for care in the household).

Among these factors, all existing studies report that the education increases, marriage and childbearing decrease the probability that a woman participates in the labor market (Tansel, 1994, 2004; Tunalı, 1997; Dayıođlu and Kasnakođlu, 1997; Ercan and Tunalı, 1998; Dayıođlu, 2000; Bařlevent and Onaran, 2003; Dayıođlu and Tunalı, 2003; Tunalı and Bařlevent, 2004; Kızılırmak, 2008; Göksele, 2012; Karaođlan and Ökten, 2012). The impact of the spouse's education on the labor force participation of the married woman is not clear. Bařlevent and Onaran (2003) and Göksele (2012) find that the education level of the spouse positively affects the labor force participation

decision of the married woman and within this context, they highlight the relationship between education and cultural attitudes towards working women. However, neither of these two studies explicitly explains what is meant by the cultural attitudes. On the other hand, some other studies find that women whose spouses are relatively more educated are less likely to participate in the labor force (Karaođlan and Ökten, 2012). Given that the spouses's education is the most important determinant of the household income, it can be concluded that the female labor force participation rates decrease as the household income increases. Likewise, the female labor force participation rates also decrease as the share of the household income which does not belong to the woman increases (Kızılırmak, 2008) or the spouse's income declines (Göksele, 2012).

Although most of studies find that having young children is negatively associated with the participation probabilities of women (Bařlevent and Onaran, 2003), according to Göksele (2012) the impact of the existence of a child and a grandmother in the household is not statistically significant. Göksele (2012) reports that the inclusion of cultural factors eliminates the effects of these variables. Uysal (2013) finds that the existence of another inactive woman in the household negatively affects the possibility that a woman participates in the labor market.

Macro theories on the relationship between the development level and the female labor force participation rate provide complementary factors to household production models. These studies show that female labor force participation rates follow a U-shaped trend based on long-term data and international comparisons. Women are mostly working as unpaid family workers in agriculture at low levels of development where the development level is measured by GDP. As productivity increases in other sectors, household incomes increase, and women exit from the labor

force due to a strong income effect (Goldin, 1994). Existing studies on Turkey stress the decrease in the female labor force participation rates over the time and conclude that this fact might be explained by the reduction in the share of the agriculture in the total employment (İlkkaracan and Tunalı, 2010; Dayıoğlu and Kırdar, 2011) or by accelerated urbanization (Kızılırmak, 2008). The data in developed countries points out that economic structural transformation occurs from agriculture to manufacturing at initial stage. However, employment of women in the manufacturing sector is not common or is frowned upon in some countries (Boserup, 1970; Goldin, 1994; Uraz et al., 2010). Accordingly, outputs of this model imply that the female labor force participation rates decline as the share of manufacturing sector shrinks. In parallel to this transformation, first, education levels of men increase and then those of women do. As production and employment shift to the service sector in the process of structural transformation and women's education levels reach secondary school, women can get jobs in the white-collar sector. The social stigma against women's working in the manufacturing sector does not exist for the white-collar jobs (Boserup, 1970; Goldin, 1994). Therefore, educated women return to the labor market as the number of white-collar service jobs increase. According to this model, the most important driving force behind the rise in the second half of the U-shape in female labor force participation rates is the expansion in the service sector and the rise in the education levels of women. Existing studies on Turkey reveal that Turkey has passed the minimum of the U-shaped curve as the long-lasting decline in the female labor force participation rates decelerated at the end of 1990s (Tansel, 2002). In 2000s, the female labor force participation rates increased, albeit slowly. Given that one-third of women are at least high school graduates and the share of services sector in total employment has reached 50%, the female labor force participation rates

are expected to have increased much earlier and faster. İlkkaracan (2012) states that the increase in the female labor force participation rates does not correspond to the rise in education level.

In this context, Dayıoğlu and Kırdar (2011) conclude that from 1988 to 2008, the urban participation rates increased, albeit slowly, due to the increase in the education levels of new generations and thereby the delayed marriage age and lower fertility levels. However, authors show that the labor force participation rates of new generations are lower than those of older generations for high school graduate and university graduate women. Although high school and university education is more accessible to new generations, authors conclude that the low levels of female labor force participation of new generations can not be explained by variables such as age, marital status, the number of children and thus, this case constitutes a puzzle.

"Cultural economics", relatively new branch in economics literature, examines the effects of "cultural factors" such as confidence, religion, perceptions of citizenship, and gender attitudes on economic outcomes such as development, growth and female labor force participation (Clark et al. 1991; Bentolila and Ichino 2000; Guiso et al., 2006; Alesina et al., 2012; Algan and Cahuc, 2010 are examples among others). Some of studies quantifying the impact of gender attitudes on female labor force participation analyze immigrant women's labor force participation rates in countries such as USA, Canada and Australia, assuming that differences in behaviors of immigrant women reflect the differences in gender attitudes (Reimers, 1985; Blau et al. 2008; Fernandez and Fogli, 2009). Other studies try to quantify the impact of gender attitudes on the labor force participation of women using the answers given to questions reflecting women's attitudes towards working life,

surveys such as *World Values Survey*, *Australian Longitudinal Survey* and *International Social Survey Programme*. All of these studies find that gender attitudes are an important determinant, even controlling for all other factors (Vella 1994; Fortin, 2005; Contreras and Plaza, 2010). They find that attitudes towards gender roles, measured with statements such as “When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women”, “Taking both the good and the bad together, family life suffers when women work full time”, “Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay”, have significant effects on the labor force participation of women. In these studies, the impact of attitudes towards gender roles on female labor force participation is estimated by using reduced-form econometric methods. Variables associated with attitudes towards gender roles are included along with socioeconomic background variables such as age, education, marital status and the number of children where the dependent variable is whether a woman participates in the labor force or not. These variables are constructed by indexing answers given to relevant questions.

Detailed qualitative studies on the relationship between the education and the labor force participation in Turkey have been conducted (İlkkaracan and İlkkaracan, 1998; Özyeğin, 2000; Balaban and Sarioğlu, 2008; Dedeoğlu, 2010; İlkkaracan, 2012). According to these studies, obstacles to the labor force participation of women can be summarized as low levels of wages, bad working conditions, the lack of policies conciliating family and work life, migration and urbanization dynamics, gender roles and gender-based division of labor force and the lack of child care services.

In the absence of other explanatory factors mentioned above, the perception of what the role of women in social and economic fields should be, emerges as a possible determinant

of the participation decision. In this context, the formation of women’s attachment to the labor force remains to be explored as a factor. İlkkaracan (2012) argues that the attachment to the labor force constitutes an important factor as one of every two women living in urban areas participate in the labor force at some point in their lifetime, but participation is not permanent. According to the study of İlkkaracan and İlkkaracan (1998), more than half of women leave their jobs due to family reasons (getting married or giving birth, requests of their spouses and families, becoming housewives, providing care for children and incapacitated adults).

Women’s labor market attachment might depend on how the female and maternity identities are built. Although this issue is not sufficiently examined, there are some findings in several studies on women that gender roles are important determinants of women’s attachment to the labor market. For example, women’s responsibilities regarding domestic work and the question of how this domestic workload is carried out in parallel to working for pay would have a role in the choice whether to work or not (İlkkaracan and İlkkaracan, 1998; Dedeoğlu, 2010; İlkkaracan, 2012). The preference to stay out of the labor market is determined by domestic responsibilities. Even when women prefer to work, the way they participate is shaped by their domestic roles (Dedeoğlu, 2010). Therefore, gender inequality in the division of labor plays a key role in women’s preferences.

Women’s adoption of positions such as “being housewife”, “women do not work in our culture”, “the woman look after her home and children” (İlkkaracan and İlkkaracan, 1998) and primarily and consistently considering their motherhood and wifehood roles while determining their roles in the working life (Beşpınar, 2010; Dedeoğlu, 2010) are important hints in understanding how women build their own roles. The patriarchal

approach and values play an indisputable role in the construction of these roles. Another study (Bespinar, 2010) also emphasizes the priority of patriarchal attitudes such as “preserving honor”, “avoiding gossip”, carrying out domestic responsibilities, which constitute the “main” responsibilities of women, in understanding how women shape their own roles.

In this study, using the data from Research on Family Structure in Türkiye we will attempt to shed light on recent changes in the labor force participation decisions of women as well as to isolate the impact of traditional attitudes on female labor force participation.

III. Data and Methodology

The main aim of this study is to examine the factors affecting the female labor force participation and then, to isolate the effect of traditional attitudes on labor force participation of women along with other potential factors. Therefore, a reduced-form model, which allows us to quantify the factors affecting the labor force participation decision of women, will be estimated by a probit method used in cases where the dependent variable is binary.

The econometric model will be estimated as follows:

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 I_i + \beta_2 X_i + \beta_3 H_i + \varepsilon_i$$

The dependent variable y_i is a binary variable showing whether woman i participates in the labor force. It takes the value of 1 if a woman is employed or unemployed but looking for a job and it takes the value of 0 in all other cases, i.e. if she is out of the labor force. X_i denotes a vector of characteristics of woman i , including age (and its square), education level (the latest educational institution she graduated from) and marital status. H_i contains the household variables of woman i . The household variables included in the analysis are the number of children in the household (0-3

aged, 4-6 aged and 7-14 aged), the household income (equivalent household income deciles), the existence of adults in need for care in the household, the household type and the region of the current residence. Moreover, I_i denotes the index constructed by using the questions reflecting woman i traditional attitudes.

The econometric model given above will be estimated by using data from 2011 and 2016 Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST). As mentioned in the “Introduction” section, RFST surveys are conducted in 2006, 2011 and 2016; however, the 2006 survey does not contain any question providing information on the labor market status of individuals, and therefore is excluded from this study. In this paper, the labor market participation decision of women will be examined separately for women aged 15-24, women aged 25-44 and women aged 45 and more. The main reason behind the disaggregation by age is that women in the 15-24 age-group are more likely to continue to their education and some of women aged 45 and more have already retired. In addition, the effect of whether the household receives social transfers will be estimated. Therefore, an indicator whether the household receives social transfers will be added to the equation above as an additional explanatory variable and this regression analysis will be conducted separately for social transfer intensive regions and the remaining regions.

IV. Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 provides the descriptive statistics of variables used in the econometric analysis by age groups and years. Female labor force participation has increased from 2011 to 2016. According to RFST data, 15.6% of women aged 15 and more are in the labor force in 2011, this ratio is 22.7% in 2016. On the other hand, the highest female labor force participation rate is observed among women in the age group of 25-44. In this age group, the share that participates

in the labor force is 24.7% in 2011 and 33.8% in 2016. The labor force participation rate among 15-24 aged women is 14.4% in 2011 and 18.3% in 2016. Almost half of women in this age group continue to their education and thus, the labor force participation rate among them is lower compared to those in other age groups.

The ratio of married women in the female population has not changed over the years. Individuals who declare their marital status as “married”, “married but living separated” or “living together” are considered as married. The age group of 25-44 has also the highest share of married women (83%). About 70% of women aged 45 and more women are married.

Comparing data from 2011 and 2016 surveys, an increase in the educational levels of women is observed. Based on the last school completed as declared by respondents, the share of women with at least university diploma in the sample has increased. 8.4% of women are at least university graduates in 2011, and this ratio has increased to 12.4% in 2016. The share of at least university graduates is the highest among women aged between 25-44 compared to other age groups. 13.2% of women in this age group are at least university graduates in 2011. This ratio rises to 21.4% in 2016. Although the education levels have increased over time, most women still have less than a high school education (including those who have not finished any educational institution). 76% of women in 2011 and 72.6% of women in 2016 do not have a high school diploma. Another important observation in the data is that the education levels of women have increased especially in the age groups of 25-44 from 2011 to 2016. The share of women without

high school diploma have declined whereas the share of at least university graduate women increased. On the other hand, the share of high school graduates in this age group did not change. This finding indicates an accelerated increase in the education levels of women. Both the increase of compulsory education to 12 years with 4+4+4 education system introduced in 2012 and the boom in the number of universities support the improvements in education levels of women. As explained in the literature review section, a rise in the education level is expected to increase the female labor force participation.

The majority of women in the sample are living in the nuclear households with at least one resident child. In 2011 52.8% and in 2016 51.5% of women are living in these types of households. Households are grouped into nuclear without children, nuclear with at least one resident child, patriarchal extended-family, temporary extended-family, one-parent family, other broken-family, and unrelated-family households.⁵ When the distribution of women with respect to household types in 2011 and that in 2016 are compared, we do not observe a significant change in the household-type distribution of women.

The needs of dependent elderly individuals/patients or disabled individuals in the households are usually met by women, which may negatively affect the female labor force participation. 15.4% in 2011 and 11.4% of women are residing in the households with at least an adult in need for care (elder/patient/disabled) in 2016. The existence of especially young children in the household would reduce the female labor force participation. Therefore, the effect of the

⁵The nuclear family with children consists of a couple and unmarried children, the nuclear family without children consists of husband and wife, the patriarchal extended-family consists of a nuclear family unit and one or more vertical or horizontal family units, the temporary extended-family consists of a nuclear family unit with temporarily added one or more vertical or horizontal family units, the one-person household consists of a male or female adult living alone, one-parent family is the broken nuclear family due to getting divorced, living separately and the death, other broken family emerges when one of members of the temporary extended families separates (grandmother-grandchildren, grandfather-grandchildren etc.) and the unrelated family consists of non-kin and unrelated individuals.

Table 5.1. Descriptive Statistics

Variables	2011				2016			
	15-24	25-44	45+	Total	15-24	25-44	45+	Total
Labor force participation rate (%)	14.4	24.7	6.9	15.6	18.3	33.8	14.7	22.7
Traditionalism index	-0.210	-0.104	0.182	0.000	-0.224	-0.094	0.173	0.000
Being married	20.8	83.1	70.0	63.8	18.0	83.0	70.7	65.6
Going to school	49.4	3.1	0.4	12.7	49.5	7.3	0.5	12.2
Education levels	15-24	25-44	45+	Total	15-24	25-44	45+	Total
Less than high school	63.2	69.8	90.1	76.0	59.9	62.1	87.4	72.6
High school	29.4	16.9	5.9	15.6	27.9	16.5	7.1	14.6
University and more	7.3	13.2	4.0	8.4	12.2	21.4	5.5	12.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Elderly/ill/disabled adult in the household	14.1	10.8	20.9	15.4	9.5	7.6	15.6	11.4
Household Types	15-24	25-44	45+	Total	15-24	25-44	45+	Total
Nuclear without children	3.7	4.8	24.9	12.2	3.3	6.2	27.8	14.9
Nuclear with children	62.8	69.6	29.5	52.8	65.7	69.4	29.2	51.5
Patriarchal extended	12.7	7.5	10.0	9.7	12.7	8.1	9.1	9.4
Temporay extended	10.8	9.8	14.2	11.7	8.1	6.9	11.2	9.0
One-person	0.7	0.8	9.5	4.1	0.5	1.7	11.3	5.6
One-parent	5.3	4.8	6.0	5.3	6.8	5.1	5.5	5.6
Other broken	2.3	2.4	5.8	3.7	2.4	2.3	5.8	3.8
Unrelated	1.8	0.3	0.1	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of children aged 0-3	15-24	25-44	45+	Total	15-24	25-44	45+	Total
0	80.0	73.9	93.6	82.8	80.9	70.9	94.7	83.0
1	15.7	22.1	5.1	14.2	16.0	25.1	4.4	14.5
2+	4.4	4.0	1.4	3.1	3.1	4.0	0.9	2.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	0.25	0.31	0.08	0.21	0.23	0.33	0.06	0.20
Number of children aged 4-6	15-24	25-44	45+	Total	15-24	25-44	45+	Total
0	85.7	73.2	94.1	84.0	87.2	73.6	95.3	85.4
1	12.5	23.9	5.2	14.1	11.6	24.0	4.2	13.2
2+	1.9	3.0	0.7	1.9	1.2	2.4	0.5	1.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	0.17	0.30	0.07	0.18	0.14	0.29	0.05	0.16

number of children aged 0-3, 4-6 and 7-14 in the household on labor force participation decision of women should also be analyzed. 17.3% of women in 2011 and 18% in 2016 are residing in the households with at least one 0-3 aged child. This ratio is much higher among women aged 25-44. Likewise, 16% of women in 2011

and 14.6% in 2016 are living in the households with at least one child between the ages of 4 and 6. Looking at the average number of children, women between the ages of 25 and 44 have a greater number of children in age groups 0-3, 4-6 and 7-14 in the household.

Table 5.1. Descriptive Statistics (continued)

Variables	2011				2016			
	15-24	25-44	45+	Total	15-24	25-44	45+	Total
Number of children aged 7-14	15-24	25-44	45+	Total	15-24	25-44	45+	Total
0	56.1	44.1	80.5	60.7	59.1	48.5	84.4	65.8
1	26.3	32.1	13.1	23.6	28.9	32.1	11.1	22.5
2+	17.6	23.8	6.4	15.8	12.1	19.4	4.6	11.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	0.73	0.90	0.29	0.63	0.58	0.77	0.22	0.50
Equalised household income	15-24	25-44	45+	Total	15-24	25-44	45+	Total
The lowest quintile	24.1	16.7	16.3	18.3	26.0	18.3	14.7	18.2
Second quintile	21.3	19.5	15.8	18.5	21.8	20.4	16.5	19.0
Third quintile	19.5	20.2	24.7	21.7	20.2	18.7	24.0	21.3
Fourth quintile	19.4	19.2	23.2	20.8	18.8	19.4	22.6	20.7
The highest quintile	15.3	24.5	20.0	20.7	13.2	23.3	22.3	21.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Region (NUTS-1)	15-24	25-44	45+	Total	15-24	25-44	45+	Total
Istanbul	14.4	16.8	13.0	14.8	11.3	13.8	10.4	11.9
West Marmara	3.1	4.7	6.7	5.1	4.3	4.9	7.0	5.7
Aegean	11.1	11.9	14.1	12.5	10.8	13.4	16.1	14.1
East Marmara	5.4	7.0	7.3	6.7	7.5	8.9	9.0	8.7
West Anatolia	11.9	13.2	12.4	12.6	12.2	12.5	12.2	12.3
Mediterranean	6.9	6.9	7.0	6.9	9.0	9.8	9.9	9.7
Central Anatolia	7.1	5.8	7.0	6.6	7.2	6.6	6.7	6.7
West Black Sea	6.1	6.7	8.9	7.4	6.3	6.2	8.4	7.2
East Black Sea	4.4	5.0	6.6	5.5	3.9	3.7	5.7	4.6
Northeast Anatolia	6.3	5.3	4.8	5.3	5.2	4.3	3.6	4.2
Central East Anatolia	8.8	6.9	5.2	6.7	8.6	6.6	4.8	6.2
Southeast Anatolia	14.8	9.9	7.2	10.0	13.7	9.4	6.2	8.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

In the literature, there are studies showing that the female labor force participation decreases as the household income increases. The S-shaped labor supply theory in economics literature implies that there is a positive relationship between wage/income and the labor force participation until a certain level of income and beyond this point, a negative relationship prevails. Above a certain level of income both for men and women the income effect dominates

the substitution effect. As mentioned in the literature review section, existing studies point out that this backward bend in the labor supply curve can start at lower income levels for women. In the households where the division of labor is more traditional, higher levels of household income imply that the labor income of women is secondary/dispensable and thereby would affect women's labor force participation adversely. In this study, equalised household income,

which is calculated with the household income obtained from the RFST, will be used to control for this impact. The equivalised household income is a measure of per capita household income calculated by taking into account the household size and the adult-child structure of the households. The equivalised household income equals total household income divided by the equivalence scale. Equivalence scale is calculated by using the constants which are “1” for the reference person of the household, 0.5 for household members aged 14 and over, 0.3 for household members less than age 14. This scale provides a measure of the adult equivalents of the household members in the household. The equivalised household income is grouped into ordered quintiles in both 2011 and 2016, and a set of dummies for each quintile are used in the regression analysis. In each year, the share of women in the last quintile declines and that in first quintile rises as the age of women in the sample increases.

To investigate the effect of traditional attitudes on female labor force participation, a traditionalism index is constructed using related questions. Individuals who agree with the statements “couples can live together out of wedlock (official or religious)”, “a man can marry a woman of a different religion or ethnic group”, “a woman marry a woman of a different religion or ethnic group”, “couples can have a child

out of wedlock” and “persons from different religious sects can get married” and individuals who do not agree with the question “Do you find it appropriate to marry a close relative (cousin from paternal/maternal uncle and aunt)?” are considered as less traditional. The answers given to these questions are summarized in Table 2.

The data suggests that traditional attitudes are relatively less common among young individuals. The differences among age groups are wider in questions related to marriage among people of different religion or ethnicity. On the other hand, there is a consensus among women on the issues such as having a child and the marriage. The share of women who think that couples can not live together out of wedlock and that couples can not have a child out of wedlock is more than 90%.

From 2011 to 2016, significant changes are observed in the answers given to the questions about traditionalism. During this period, the share of women who think inter-religious or inter-ethnic marriages unacceptable increased by 10 percentage points. The share of women who disagree with the statement that a man marries a woman of a different religion or ethnic group increased from 62.5% in 2011 to 73.2% in 2016. Moreover, the share of women thinking that a woman can marry a man of a different religion or ethnic group increased from 67.4% to 77.9%.

Table 5.2. Distribution of women by answers to the questions related to traditionalism

Questions Related to Traditionalism	2011				2016			
	15-24	25-44	45+	Total	15-24	25-44	45+	Total
I find it appropriate to marry a close relative (cousin from paternal/maternal uncle and aunt)	12.3	13.9	14.5	13.9	10.8	13.1	14.9	13.5
Couples can not live together out of wedlock (official or religious)	93.4	93.6	95.4	94.3	94.3	93.8	95.3	94.6
A man can not get married to a woman with different religion and ethnicity.	53.1	57.3	71.1	62.5	65.5	69.1	79.9	73.2
A woman can not get married to a man with different religion and ethnicity.	58.3	62.9	75.2	67.4	71.3	74.9	83.3	77.9
Couples can not have a child out of wedlock.	95.2	95.3	96.1	95.6	96.4	95.9	97.1	96.5
Persons from different religious sect can not marry each other	60.6	63.7	71.8	66.6	59.9	66.4	77.7	70.2

Similarly, the ratio of women who think that persons from different religious sects can not get married increased from 66.6% to 70.2%. Since the answers given to other statements has not changed over the years, these increases imply a reversal of opinion rather than measurement error.

In order to measure the traditional attitudes, an index is constructed with the statements given in Table 2 using principal component analysis (PCA) method. As the value of this index

increases, the individual is considered as “having more traditional attitudes”. Mean values of the index by years and age groups is represented in Table 1. 2011 and 2016 data imply that women aged 45 and more in the sample have relatively more traditional attitudes and the attitudes of young women are relatively less traditional.

V. Regression Results

When the dependent variable takes on two distinct values (1 if in the labor force, 0 if out of labor

Table 5.3. The estimated marginal effects by age groups

Independent Variables	2011			2016		
	15-24	25-44	45+	15-24	25-44	45+
Age	0.0859 (0.90)	0.0387*** (3.29)	-0.0180*** (-4.66)	0.112*** (2.86)	0.0469*** (3.96)	-0.0132*** (-2.58)
Age square	-0.00166 (-0.74)	-0.000558*** (-3.28)	0.000120*** (3.78)	-0.00218** (-2.21)	-0.000646*** (-3.81)	0.0000276 (0.65)
Married	-0.167*** (-6.40)			-0.202*** (-7.66)		
Single		0.0969*** (5.43)	0.0389** (2.10)		0.102*** (5.55)	0.0179 (0.85)
Widowed			-0.0866*** (-5.79)			-0.0980*** (-5.34)
Attending school	-0.230*** (-12.05)			-0.169*** (-12.11)		
Education						
High school	0.0545*** (2.94)	0.0623*** (5.05)	0.0305*** (2.66)	-0.0317* (-1.93)	-0.00805 (-0.59)	-0.00236 (-0.16)
At least university	0.186*** (7.79)	0.305*** (21.85)	0.110*** (8.65)	0.113*** (5.05)	0.189*** (12.78)	0.179*** (11.42)
Household variables						
The existence of elder/patient/ disabled in the household	-0.000999 (-0.04)	-0.0440** (-2.42)	-0.0113 (-1.09)	-0.0238 (-0.98)	-0.0122 (-0.65)	-0.00283 (-0.23)
The number of children aged 0-3	-0.0490** (-2.43)	-0.0519*** (-4.87)	0.0121 (0.89)	-0.0668*** (-3.65)	-0.0946*** (-9.20)	-0.0298* (-1.69)
The number of children aged 4-6	-0.0263 (-1.08)	-0.0322*** (-3.11)	-0.00128 (-0.08)	0.0223 (1.23)	-0.0321*** (-3.10)	0.00307 (0.17)
The number of children aged 7-14	-0.0166 (-1.43)	-0.0270*** (-4.45)	-0.00192 (-0.32)	0.00373 (0.43)	0.0126** (2.06)	0.00532 (0.70)
Equivalent household income by ordered quintiles						
Second %20	0.0429* (1.66)	-0.00751 (-0.42)	-0.0199 (-1.60)	0.00391 (0.19)	-0.0318* (-1.95)	-0.0580*** (-4.01)
Third %20	0.00280 (0.10)	-0.00913 (-0.51)	-0.0145 (-1.25)	0.0264 (1.28)	0.0203 (1.22)	-0.0519*** (-3.82)
Fourth %20	0.0437 (1.63)	0.0287 (1.60)	-0.0182 (-1.57)	0.0510** (2.41)	0.115*** (6.94)	-0.0490*** (-3.56)
The highest %20	0.0884*** (3.10)	0.0975*** (5.38)	-0.00973 (-0.79)	0.0672*** (2.78)	0.293*** (16.37)	-0.0283* (-1.91)

force), the regression coefficients are not equal to the marginal effects. In this case, the marginal effect of a given variable is calculated as $\phi(x_i' \beta) * \beta$. In other words, the marginal effect is not independent from the distribution. Accordingly, it is not technically clear which individuals' characteristics x from the distribution would be used to calculate the marginal effects. Two different methods are used to obtain the marginal effects: (1) to calculate the marginal effects under the assumption that independent variables at their mean values and (2) to estimate the marginal effects for each individual and then to take their average. In this analysis, the second method is followed, and we estimate the marginal effects for each individual and then take their average. The coefficients obtained from the regression analysis are provided in Table 1, the estimated marginal effects of the probit model are provided in Table 3.

The regression analysis verifies that young women in the 15-24 age group make labor force participation decisions in conjunction with education decisions. Indeed, the prevalence of labor force participation among young women who continue their education is significantly lower. Therefore, policies aiming at increasing the prevalence of labor force participation among women in this age group should not discourage them from continuing their education. Moreover, as mentioned above, both the increase of compulsory schooling to 12 years and the rise in the number of universities prolong the time spent in formal education in this age group. Given that the labor force participation rate of university-graduate women is relatively high, encouraging young women to continue their secondary education will help increase labor force participation rates at later ages.

25-44 is called the prime age in the labor market.⁶ Therefore, the results of the regression analysis will be discussed only for women in this age group. The reference category in the analysis of this age group is a woman who is married, does not hold a high school degree, does not have any dependent children younger than 14 years or adults who need care in the household, belongs to the lowest income category and is residing in Istanbul. All other groups will be evaluated compared to this hypothetical reference person. A high school graduate woman, whose all observable characteristics are identical, is 6.23 percentage points more likely to participate in the labor than this hypothetical woman in 2011. In 2016, labor force participation probabilities of high school graduate women and women without high school diploma are not statistically different. Recent studies on the female labor force participation reveal that the increase in the female labor force participation stems from the labor force participation of women with less than high school education (Gürsel et al., 2014). In light of these developments, the difference in participation frequencies between women with high school diploma and women with less than high school education is not statistically significant. On the other hand, the probability that a university graduate woman participates in the labor market is 30.5% more than a woman with less than high school education in 2011 and 18.9% in 2016. The reason behind the narrowing gap during 2011-2016 period is the increase in labor force participation rates of women with relatively low education.

When we look at the reasons for not being in the labor force by education levels, the most frequently mentioned reason is being busy with housework among women not in the labor force (Table 4)⁷. The share of these women declines

⁶ In the life course, individuals exit from the education system and then enter into the labor market and work. In the first years, individuals improve their labor market skills and at the same time increase their productivity. During the period in the labor market, they continue to invest in their human capital by attending both on-the-job training and direct training programs. However, as the retirement age approaches, the return to labor market experience diminishes and due to the shortened investment horizons human capital investments slow down. Therefore, these age groups are generally considered as the most productive age periods in the labor market.

⁷ There is an unexpected increase in the share of women who declare that they are disabled or ill from 2011 to 2016.

Table 5.3. The estimated marginal effects by age groups

Independent Variables	2011			2016		
	15-24	25-44	45+	15-24	25-44	45+
Regions						
West Marmara	-0.0745 (-1.52)	0.0277 (1.27)	0.00929 (0.66)	-0.0566* (-1.72)	0.114*** (4.95)	0.0665*** (3.73)
Aegean	-0.0751*** (-2.83)	0.00829 (0.51)	-0.00447 (-0.40)	-0.00811 (-0.34)	0.102*** (5.88)	0.0626*** (4.28)
East Marmara	-0.0445 (-1.38)	-0.0234 (-1.21)	-0.0138 (-0.97)	-0.0285 (-1.05)	0.0353* (1.80)	-0.00306 (-0.18)
West Anatolia	-0.0619** (-2.31)	-0.0237 (-1.45)	-0.00157 (-0.14)	-0.0623** (-2.57)	0.00544 (0.30)	-0.000400 (-0.03)
Mediterranean	-0.0186 (-0.61)	-0.0146 (-0.74)	-0.00842 (-0.61)	-0.0188 (-0.74)	0.0406** (2.12)	0.0146 (0.88)
Central Anatolia	-0.0935*** (-2.75)	-0.0753*** (-3.37)	-0.0359** (-2.22)	-0.124*** (-4.11)	-0.00147 (-0.07)	-0.0108 (-0.55)
West Black Sea	-0.101*** (-2.85)	-0.0640*** (-2.93)	-0.0571*** (-3.43)	0.00766 (0.26)	0.106*** (4.85)	0.0973*** (5.81)
East Black Sea	-0.0519 (-1.27)	-0.0521** (-2.20)	-0.0281* (-1.70)	-0.108*** (-2.79)	0.0941*** (3.44)	0.0776*** (3.97)
Northeast Anatolia	-0.174*** (-4.08)	-0.115*** (-3.97)	-0.0522** (-2.46)	-0.0938*** (-2.74)	-0.00964 (-0.35)	0.0195 (0.80)
Central East Anatolia	-0.189*** (-4.70)	-0.0867*** (-3.68)	-0.0540*** (-2.72)	-0.158*** (-5.19)	-0.0810*** (-3.34)	-0.0181 (-0.80)
Southeast Anatolia	-0.167*** (-5.57)	-0.0691*** (-3.20)	-0.0699*** (-3.72)	-0.146*** (-5.47)	-0.120*** (-5.24)	-0.105*** (-4.43)
Household Types						
Nuclear without children	0.0777** (2.27)	0.00418 (0.19)	-0.0140 (-1.46)	0.0572 (1.51)	0.0327 (1.55)	0.0258** (2.45)
Patriarchal extended	-0.0226 (-0.81)	0.0549*** (2.68)	-0.0211 (-1.41)	0.0277 (1.24)	0.0814*** (4.36)	0.0597*** (3.66)
Temporary extended	0.0240 (0.89)	0.0355** (2.03)	-0.00698 (-0.49)	0.0303 (1.27)	0.0938*** (5.04)	0.0539*** (3.34)
One-person	0.0808 (1.38)	0.0718 (1.36)	0.0141 (0.68)	0.220*** (2.89)	0.263*** (5.18)	0.0166 (0.72)
One-parent	0.0467 (1.46)	0.0640*** (2.70)	0.0323 (1.62)	0.0390 (1.61)	0.102*** (4.40)	0.0613*** (2.79)
Other broken	0.0251 (0.57)	0.0300 (0.98)	0.0225 (1.00)	0.0677* (1.85)	0.0810** (2.43)	0.0600** (2.38)
Unrelated	-0.0650 (-1.30)	0.0739 (0.84)	0.195*** (3.06)	0.0717 (0.96)	0.260 (1.59)	0.353** (2.02)
Traditionalism index	-0.0105 (-1.40)	-0.0193*** (-4.18)	-0.000161 (-0.05)	-0.0140** (-2.38)	-0.0149*** (-3.16)	0.00888** (2.06)
Number of observations	1806	5769	5377	3393	7742	8566

* Statistically significant at 90% level of confidence

** Statistically significant at 95% level of confidence

*** Statistically significant at 99% level of confidence

Note: The reference categories are "has less than high school education or has not completed any school" for the education variable. "Istanbul" for the region. "the lowest quintile" for the equalised household income variable. "nuclear family with children" for the household type variable

Table 5.4. Women's reasons of not being in the labor force by education levels

Reasons of not being in the labor force	2011				2016			
	Less than high school	High school	More than high school	Total	Less than high school	High school	More than high school	Total
Seasonal working	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.3
Continuing to education /training	8.9	36.4	18.5	13.2	8.2	22.8	9.0	10.3
Busy with housework (including care of children, elderly, ill etc. individuals)	81.5	54.4	43.3	76.3	73.0	62.5	58.4	70.7
Retired or left the job	5.3	8.5	37.1	6.8	4.5	10.3	23.5	6.4
Disabled or ill (unable to work)	3.7	0.2	0.4	3.1	12.9	1.1	1.9	10.6
Elderly (not retired, but thinking that he/she is too old to work)	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
Other reasons	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	1.1	3.1	6.4	1.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

as the education level of women increases. On the other hand, the reason of being retired or quitting the job is frequently expressed by at least university graduate women. In this respect, analyzing the reasons behind the drop out decision of women with tertiary education degrees is essential.

The marriage can be considered as a life-cycle event, which decreases the possibility of participating in the labor force. In the age group 25-44, a married woman is less likely to participate in the labor force compared to an unmarried woman. The probability that an unmarried woman participates in the labor force is 10 percentage points higher.

When there is an adult in need for care in the household, the female labor force participation probability is 5% less in 2011. This effect shrinks and loses its statistical significance in 2016. Descriptive statistics show that the frequency of women who are residing in the households with at least one dependent adult could be a reason why the its effect turns statistically insignificant. In other words, the number of observations in 2016 may not be sufficient to obtain statistically significant results. The other explanation would

be that, as of 2015, TurkStat (Turkish Statistical Institute) started to register the women who receive social transfers for providing care for dependent adults as employed.

The negative effect of having to care for a young child on the labor force participation is clearly observed in the data. Each child aged 0-3 in the household decreases the participation probability of the woman aged 25-44 in this household by 5,19% in 2011 and 9,46% in 2016. The effect of the presence of children aged 4-6 remains constant at 3.2%. At this point, the impact of the delayed childbearing age and longer fertility periods should not be ignored.⁸ In other words, this finding may indicate that women are having children at later ages in 2016.

Variables regarding the roles in household production provide complementary information on the female labor force participation. There is a direct relationship between the labor force participation decision of women and their roles in household production. According to the household production models in economics literature, household members allocate their time to work in the labor market, household production (child care, cooking, laundry etc.)

⁸ In the dataset, there is no information on the age at first childbearing. However, women answer the questions related to the age at the first marriage. The average age at the first marriage increased from 19.85 in 2011 to 20.22 in 2016. This increase during this relatively short period should not be underestimated.

Table 5.5. The share of women who are doing houseworks (%), 2016⁹

Houseworks	Employed	Out of labor force
Cooking	89.8	89.8
Ironing	78.5	79.3
Laundry (including using the washing machine)	91.3	89.2
Dishwashing (including using the dishwasher)	87.7	86.6
Daily tidying and cleaning home	86.7	87.1
Weekly/monthly shopping for food-beverages	47.6	48.0
Paying monthly bills	17.6	13.2

or personal care. Therefore, it is inevitable that individuals who are not working in the labor market allocate more time to the household production. In the RFST data, there are various variables regarding household production. While analyzing these variables, we compare working women to inactive women and we exclude women who are looking for jobs (Table 5). Indeed, women looking for jobs have more time to allocate to household production compared to working women. Besides, we exclude one-person households from the analysis because in these households, household production can not be shared with anyone. According to the data, we observe that women are usually doing cooking, ironing, laundry, dishwashing and cleaning whether they are employed or not.

Even an employed woman can not share the responsibility of household production with her spouse. Therefore, it can be said that a working woman is working a double-shift: she does the housework on top of paid employment. This term was introduced to the literature by Hochschild and Machung (1989). The term “double shift” highlights that women are working both in the labor market and at home and thereby their working hours are longer than those of men. It is obvious from that data that the employed women are working double-shift.

The findings in economics literature indicate that the relationship between income and the labor force participation follows a backward bending curve, namely first increasing then decreasing. However, the results of the econometric analysis in this study reveal an increasing prevalence of labor force participation in parallel with increasing equivalent household income. This fact might be due to two reasons. (1) Households have not reached the income level where the income effect dominates the substitution effect yet. (2) There would be assortative mating in the marriage market. In other words, individuals with similar characteristics are getting married to each other. For example, a university graduate woman is getting married to a university graduate man. In this case both the equivalent household income and the probability that the woman participates in the labor force will be higher.

The participation decision of women differs with respect to the household types. Women living in patriarchal extended-families and extended-families are more likely to participate in the labor force. Economics literature indicates that there are economies of scale in the households.¹⁰ Particularly expenses with relatively larger shares, such as housing costs, imply economies of scale as household sizes increase. As the level of economic development rises, the household sizes get smaller from extended-families to nuclear families. In this sense, as the economic

⁹If houseworks are done by one of the household members, this member's the queue number is available only in the 2016 RFST microdata set. Therefore, the statistics in in this table are provided by using only 2016 RFST data.

¹⁰Economies of scale imply the decrease the decrease in production costs as the scale of production increases. The economies of scale in household production are referred here.

status improves, households might get reduced in size and thus, economic statuses of larger families might be relatively disadvantaged. The fact that women living in extended families participate more in the labor market may imply that these households need the extra income generated by members other than the primary breadwinner.

Women in one-person households and one-parent households are more likely to participate in the labor force. In these households, earning a living for the family depends on one individual's income. Therefore, it is not surprising that the labor force participation of women living in one-parent households is relatively high. Indeed, mothers are living in 90 percent of one-parent households (Koç, 2018).

On the other hand, bringing money to the household does not always lead to being able to participate in the household decision-making mechanisms. In the economics literature, studies examining the household decision-making mechanisms indicate that the involvement of women in the household decisions is higher when they have income from sources outside the household.¹¹ Manser and Brown (1980) and McElroy and Horney (1981) are early examples of these models. Information on the involvement

in the household decisions for both employed and inactive women are available in RFST.¹²

Table 6 represents the involvement in household decisions for married women who are employed and not in the labor force. The role of these women in household decisions is broadly limited. Both working women and women not in the labor force usually make the decisions in matters such as the order of home, shopping and the relationship with neighbours. In other issues, the involvement of these women in the household decision-making mechanisms is quite far from equal. Equal involvement is not observed even in matters concerning children. Unfortunately, the overall picture shows that women are excluded in decision-making mechanisms even if they earn labor income.

Regression results provided in Table 3 show the obvious effect of traditionalism as measured by the index on the female labor force participation. As explained above, the value of the index is lower for women who have more progressive attitudes and higher for women with more traditional attitudes. In other words, as the traditionalism index increases, traditional attitudes strengthen. One standard deviation increase in the traditionalism index decreases the participation of probability by 1.93% in 2011 and decreases it by 1.49% in 2016 (Table 3).

Table 5.6. Married women's involvement in household decisions (%), 2016¹³

Household decisions	Employed	Out of labor force
Choice of home	34.9	26.2
Order of home	77.6	72.1
Matters regarding children*	45.9	39.0
Shopping	58.0	50.8
Relationship with relatives	38.9	33.2
Relationship with neighbours	54.0	49.8
Matters regarding holidays and entertaining	30.4	21.8

**It is calculated for married women living in households with 0-17 aged children.*

¹¹ Women in the labor force may have also income from sources outside the household. However, these incomes are excluded from this analysis for the moment.

¹² Since unemployed women do not earn labor income when the survey is conducted, they are excluded from this analysis.

¹³ If the houseworks are done by one of the members of the household, the queue number of this member is only available in the 2016 RFST micro dataset. Therefore, the statistics provided in this table are given by using only the 2016 RFST data.

Female labor force participation rates have risen from 2011 to 2016 and these increases differ considerably by regions. According to the estimation results in Table 3, even though the probability of participating in the labor force was not significantly different in Western Marmara and Aegean compared to Istanbul in 2011, both regions observed significant increases in 2016. As for the regions of Middle Anatolia and Northeast Anatolia, the relatively lower female labor force participation rate in 2011 compared to Istanbul region has increased in 2016 and statistically reached that of Istanbul. Moreover, Western Black Sea and Eastern Black Sea regions, which have statistically lower rates in 2011, observed significant increases in women's labor force participation in 2016. Note that women who are aged 25-44, do not hold a high school degree, do not have any dependent adult in the household and belong to the lowest income category are considered. In other words, these two regions now have higher labor force participation probabilities than in Istanbul controlling for all other factors. Nevertheless, Southern and Middle Eastern Anatolia regions, which had relatively lower female labor force participations in 2011, could not increase their rates in 2016, thus, the gaps of Southern and Middle Eastern Anatolian regions with respect to Istanbul widened.

Table 5.8. Marginal effects by regions ¹⁵

	2011		2016	
	Social transfer intensive regions	Other regions	Social transfer intensive regions	Other regions
Receiving social transfers	0.0230	-0.0166	0.0904***	0.0331
Traditionalism index	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographic variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Household variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	1434	5069	1756	6924

Note: Social transfer intensive regions are Northeast Anatolia, Central East Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia regions, other regions are Istanbul, West Marmara, Aegean, East Marmara, West Anatolia, Mediterranean, Central Anatolia, West Black Sea and East Black Sea regions

Social Transfers

In the RFST survey, individuals are asked whether they received any in-cash or in-kind assistance that has contributed to their livelihood of household in the last year and if so, its source. Using the responses to these questions, an indicator of receiving social transfer is constructed. This indicator is a binary variable that takes either the value of 1 if an individual is residing in a household that received any kind of assistance from government institutions such as governorship, district governorship, social

Table 5.7. The share of women in the households receiving social transfers (%)

Regions	2011	2016
Istanbul	4.9	3.4
West Marmara	3.0	4.0
Aegean	5.9	4.1
East Marmara	4.2	2.8
West Anatolia	12.7	9.0
Mediterranean	5.2	8.0
Central Anatolia	9.0	3.3
West Black Sea	7.6	7.7
East Black Sea	8.6	6.2
Northeast Anatolia	28.0	22.6
Central East Anatolia	22.1	24.3
Southeast Anatolia	21.1	15.9
Total	10.5	8.4

¹⁵In Appendix, estimated coefficients and marginal effects are provided in A. Table 2 ve A. Table 3, respectively.

assistance and solidarity foundation, office of mufti or municipalities in the last year, 0 otherwise.

The share of women who are residing in the household received social transfers are provided by regions in Table 7. Northeast Anatolia, Central East Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia regions have the highest share of women in the households receiving social transfers.

To quantify the effect of receiving social transfers on the female labor force participation, the regression analysis is also conducted for regions where social transfers are more common (which are called social transfer intensive regions) and others (Table 8). The impact of social transfers on the probability that a woman participates in the labor market is not statistically significant in regions with relatively low incidence of receiving social transfers. Nevertheless, women who live in households receiving social transfers are more likely to participate in the labor force in social transfer intensive regions. In general, recent trends in the world put emphasis on designing the social transfers that do not push women out of the labor force.¹⁴

The RFST data in 2016 shows that in regions where the incidence of receiving social transfer is relatively high, the labor force participation probabilities are higher as well. In other words, a woman who receives social transfers is 9% more likely to participate in the labor force in social transfer intensive regions. In regions where the incidence of receiving social transfers is relatively less common, whether the household receives a transfer or not does not significantly affect labor force participation. The absence of a statistically significant effect might be due to the insufficient number of observations in relatively less social transfer intensive regions.

On the other hand, it would be difficult to establish a causal relationship between receiving social transfers and labor force participation. The econometric analysis shows that in regions where households are more likely to receive social transfers, women who receive them are more likely to participate in the labor force (Table 8). However, based on this finding it is not possible to conclude that receiving social transfers increases the labor force participation. Both the probability that the woman participates in the labor force and the probability of receiving social transfers would be higher in relatively poorer households. In other words, an unobservable (or omitted) variable or factor might both increase the probability of labor force participation and the probability of receiving the social transfers. This line of thinking implies that social transfers are given to households that need financial assistance.

VI. Conclusion

Low levels of female labor force participation constitute the reason why Turkey lags behind similar countries in several important dimensions of gender equality. At the same time, it implies an inefficient use of human capital in Turkey. In this sense, analyzing the structural determinants of the labor force participation decision of women offers insight to policy-makers. Using data from the 2011 and 2016 waves of the RFST, labor force participation decision of women is investigated in this study. Policy recommendations supported by research findings are provided below. It can be argued that the labor market attachment of women aged 45 and older weakens as women in this age group are already reaching retirement ages. Therefore, this analysis focuses on the 25-44-year-old women as this age range is considered to be prime age in terms of labor market efficiency and attachment.

¹⁴Van Berkel and Borghi (2008) study the governance of social policies aimed at activation in the light of recent trends.

1. Keeping young women in the education system is a crucial policy ingredient to increase the female labor force participation.

The findings indicate that keeping 15-24-year-old women in the education system is essential for increasing the labor force participation at later ages. In this period in particular, there is a decrease in the share of women with less than high school education and an increase in the share of women with more than high school education. In other words, it is possible that when women complete the high school education, their probability of attending the university increases. As the education levels increase, the labor force participation rates also increase. Especially, the labor force participation rates of university graduate women are quite high. In this context, the increase in the level of education is important to increase the labor force participation of women.

2. Transforming the gender roles that force women to decide between "marriage" and "staying in the labor force", delaying the age of marriage and implementing policies regarding reconciliation of work and family life would increase the female labor force participation.

The participation decisions of women aged 25-44 are also shaped by life cycle events like marriage and having children. According the analysis conducted, both marriage and childbearing affect closely the labor market participation decisions of women. A married woman's the probability of labor market participation is 10% less than that with similar observable characteristics.

3. It is crucial to institutionalize child care to increase the female labor force participation. Particularly women who have children between the ages of 0-3 are having difficulties

in reconciling work life and family life. Therefore, accessible and high quality child care provision is essential.

It is obvious that there are difficulties reconciling labor force participation and childbearing. Indeed, the labor force participation of women with children is lower. According to 2016 RFST data, a woman who has one child between the ages of 0 and 3, is 9.46 percentage points less likely to participate in the labor force than other women with similar observable characteristics. Furthermore, this difference increased from 5.19% in 2011 to 9,46% in 2016. In other words, work-life reconciliation problems became more severe during this period. On the other hand, each child between the ages of 4 to 6 decreases the probability that the mother participates in the labor force by 3.2%. This effect did not change over the years. At this point, it can be concluded that policies aiming at increasing the female labor force participation between 2011 and 2016 were insufficient, and indeed, the reconciliation got even more difficult. During the same period, the number of daycare centers and kindergartens increased from 1639 to 2048, the number of children in these institutions increased from 52 thousand to 80 thousand.¹⁶ Both the number of children care centers and kindergartens, and the number of children in these institutions are quite low. According to Turkstat Adress Based Population Registration System (ABPRS) statistics, there are 4.8 million children aged between 0 and 4 years in Turkey. To exemplify, the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) statistics can be provided. According to MoNE (2018) statistics, the number of pre-school education institutions are 31,246 and the number of students registered at these institutions are approximately 1.5 million. Moreover, the number of primary schools is 24,967 and the number of registered primary school students is 5.1 million.

¹⁶Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı (2011) ve Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı (2016).

4. More detailed studies at regional-level are required to increase the female labor force participation.

The RFST data shows that there are significant changes in the female labor force participation at the regional level from 2011 to 2016. West Black Sea and East Black Sea regions lagged behind Istanbul in 2011, whereas they gained an advantage over Istanbul in 2016. West Marmara, Aegean, East Marmara and Mediterranean regions were similar to Istanbul in 2011; however, there were significant increases in these regions by 2016. Central Anatolia and Northeast Anatolia regions reached the level of Istanbul. Taking into consideration the size of regional differences, it is essential to deepen the regional-level analyses. Indeed, both the labor supply and the labor demand significantly differ across regions.

5. Transforming gender roles is direly needed to increase the labor force participation of women.

Traditional attitudes pose an obstacle to the participation of women in the labor force. From 2011 to 2016, the negative effect of traditional attitudes slightly declined. The negative impact of women's responsibility for household production such as marriage and child care irrespective of labor market status reflects traditional gender role attitudes. When a working woman gets married and has children, she has to work both at home and at work, in other words, she has to work double shifts. Therefore, traditional gender roles including home care and child care responsibilities negatively affect the labor force participation not only via the traditionalism index but also via marriage and children variables.

When all findings are taken together, there are significant differences in the female labor force participation between 2011 and 2016. However, there are no obvious changes in the structural factors, which are not able to break the long-term trends. Indeed, the problems in reconciling the working life and the care demands of children have increased. Accordingly, policies aiming at encouraging and facilitating equal sharing of household production and child care are vital. Besides, it is crucial to extend and expand the programs aiming work-life reconciliation, and child care services in order to encourage the labor force participation of both parents.

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VIII. Appendix

A. Table 5.1. Estimated coefficients by age groups

Independent Variables	2011			2016		
	15-24	25-44	45+	15-24	25-44	45+
Age	0.476 (0.90)	0.177*** (3.29)	-0.161*** (-4.68)	0.483*** (2.85)	0.164*** (3.95)	-0.0620** (-2.57)
Age square	-0.00921 (-0.74)	-0.00255*** (-3.28)	0.00107*** (3.79)	-0.00943** (-2.21)	-0.00226*** (-3.80)	0.000130 (0.65)
Married	-0.925*** (-6.24)			-0.875*** (-7.50)		
Single	0.443*** (5.40)		0.347** (2.10)	0.357*** (5.52)		0.0843 (0.85)
Widowed	-0.774*** (-5.80)			-0.461*** (-5.33)		
Attending school	-1.278*** (-11.31)			-0.732*** (-11.57)		
Education						
High school	0.303*** (2.94)	0.285*** (5.03)	0.272*** (2.66)	-0.137* (-1.93)	-0.0281 (-0.59)	-0.0111 (-0.16)
More than high school	1.033*** (7.43)	1.397*** (19.66)	0.985*** (8.62)	0.489*** (4.99)	0.661*** (12.42)	0.842*** (11.18)
Household Variables						
The existence of elder/patient/disabled in the household	-0.00554 (-0.04)	-0.201** (-2.42)	-0.101 (-1.09)	-0.103 (-0.98)	-0.0428 (-0.65)	-0.0133 (-0.23)
The number of children aged 0-3	-0.272** (-2.42)	-0.238*** (-4.86)	0.108 (0.89)	-0.289*** (-3.64)	-0.331*** (-9.09)	-0.140* (-1.69)
The number of children aged 4-6	-0.146 (-1.08)	-0.147*** (-3.11)	-0.0114 (-0.08)	0.0965 (1.23)	-0.112*** (-3.10)	0.0145 (0.17)
The number of children aged 7-14	-0.0922 (-1.42)	-0.123*** (-4.44)	-0.0172 (-0.32)	0.0161 (0.43)	0.0441** (2.05)	0.0250 (0.70)
Equivalised household income by ordered quintiles						
Second 20%	0.238* (1.66)	-0.0343 (-0.42)	-0.178 (-1.60)	0.0169 (0.19)	-0.111* (-1.94)	-0.273*** (-4.00)
Third 20%	0.0155 (0.10)	-0.0418 (-0.51)	-0.129 (-1.26)	0.114 (1.28)	0.0709 (1.22)	-0.244*** (-3.81)
Fourth 20%	0.242 (1.63)	0.131 (1.60)	-0.162 (-1.57)	0.221** (2.40)	0.403*** (6.88)	-0.231*** (-3.56)
The highest 20%	0.490*** (3.08)	0.446*** (5.36)	-0.0869 (-0.79)	0.291*** (2.78)	1.023*** (15.60)	-0.133* (-1.91)

* Statistically significant at 90% level of confidence

** Statistically significant at 95% level of confidence

*** Statistically significant at 99% level of confidence

Note: The reference categories are "has less than high school education or has not completed any school" for the education variable, "Istanbul" for the region, "the lowest quintile" for the equivalised household income variable, "nuclear family with children" for the household type variable.

A. Table 5.1. Estimated coefficients by age groups (continued)

Independent Variables	2011			2016		
	15-24	25-44	45+	15-24	25-44	45+
Regions						
West Marmara	-0.413 (-1.52)	0.127 (1.27)	0.0830 (0.66)	-0.245* (-1.72)	0.398*** (4.93)	0.313*** (3.73)
Aegean	-0.417*** (-2.82)	0.0379 (0.51)	-0.0399 (-0.40)	-0.0351 (-0.34)	0.358*** (5.84)	0.294*** (4.27)
East Marmara	-0.247 (-1.38)	-0.107 (-1.21)	-0.123 (-0.97)	-0.123 (-1.05)	0.123* (1.80)	-0.0144 (-0.18)
West Anatolia	-0.343** (-2.30)	-0.108 (-1.45)	-0.0140 (-0.14)	-0.270** (-2.57)	0.0190 (0.30)	-0.00188 (-0.03)
Mediterranean	-0.103 (-0.61)	-0.0670 (-0.74)	-0.0752 (-0.61)	-0.0813 (-0.74)	0.142** (2.12)	0.0686 (0.88)
Central Anatolia	-0.518*** (-2.74)	-0.344*** (-3.36)	-0.320** (-2.23)	-0.537*** (-4.09)	-0.00516 (-0.07)	-0.0509 (-0.55)
West Black Sea	-0.560*** (-2.84)	-0.293*** (-2.93)	-0.510*** (-3.44)	0.0331 (0.26)	0.371*** (4.84)	0.458*** (5.78)
East Black Sea	-0.288 (-1.27)	-0.239** (-2.20)	-0.251* (-1.70)	-0.466*** (-2.79)	0.329*** (3.44)	0.365*** (3.96)
Northeast Anatolia	-0.965*** (-4.04)	-0.528*** (-3.96)	-0.467** (-2.46)	-0.406*** (-2.73)	-0.0337 (-0.35)	0.0918 (0.80)
Central East Anatolia	-1.046*** (-4.63)	-0.397*** (-3.67)	-0.483*** (-2.73)	-0.685*** (-5.15)	-0.283*** (-3.33)	-0.0852 (-0.80)
Southeast Anatolia	-0.924*** (-5.48)	-0.316*** (-3.20)	-0.624*** (-3.73)	-0.632*** (-5.42)	-0.421*** (-5.21)	-0.496*** (-4.42)
Household Types						
Nuclear without children	0.431** (2.26)	0.0191 (0.19)	-0.125 (-1.47)	0.247 (1.50)	0.114 (1.55)	0.121** (2.45)
Patriarchal extended	-0.125 (-0.81)	0.251*** (2.68)	-0.189 (-1.41)	0.120 (1.24)	0.285*** (4.34)	0.281*** (3.66)
Temporary extended	0.133 (0.89)	0.162** (2.03)	-0.0624 (-0.49)	0.131 (1.27)	0.328*** (5.01)	0.254*** (3.34)
One-person	0.448 (1.38)	0.328 (1.36)	0.126 (0.68)	0.953*** (2.88)	0.921*** (5.16)	0.0780 (0.72)
One-parent	0.259 (1.46)	0.293*** (2.69)	0.288 (1.62)	0.168 (1.61)	0.357*** (4.39)	0.288*** (2.79)
Other broken	0.139 (0.57)	0.137 (0.98)	0.201 (1.00)	0.293* (1.85)	0.283** (2.43)	0.282** (2.38)
Unrelated	-0.360 (-1.29)	0.338 (0.84)	1.738*** (3.06)	0.310 (0.96)	0.908 (1.59)	1.658** (2.02)
Traditionalism index	-0.0581 (-1.40)	-0.0883*** (-4.16)	-0.00144 (-0.05)	-0.0607** (-2.37)	-0.0522*** (-3.15)	0.0418** (2.06)
Constant	-6.204 (-1.12)	-3.945*** (-4.32)	4.269*** (4.19)	-5.998*** (-3.61)	-3.812*** (-5.35)	2.054*** (2.89)
The number of observation	1806	5769	5377	3393	7742	8566
Pseudo-R2	0.325	0.272	0.186	0.225	0.234	0.148

A. Table 5.2. The estimated coefficients by regions

Independent Variables	2011		2016	
	Social transfer intensive regions	Other regions	Social transfer intensive regions	Other regions
Receiving social transfers	0.191 (1.26)	-0.0674 (-0.67)	0.462*** (3.93)	0.108 (1.34)
Traditionalism index	-0.165*** (-2.70)	-0.0869*** (-3.89)	-0.0439 (-0.88)	-0.0669*** (-3.84)
Age	0.0637 (0.44)	0.214*** (3.63)	0.301*** (2.73)	0.136*** (3.02)
Age square	-0.00104 (-0.49)	-0.00310*** (-3.64)	-0.00386** (-2.44)	-0.00192*** (-2.98)
Single	0.425** (2.27)	0.443*** (4.81)	0.224 (1.39)	0.363*** (5.07)
Education				
High school	0.515*** (2.71)	0.255*** (4.29)	0.467*** (3.42)	-0.0853* (-1.69)
More than high school	1.931*** (8.28)	1.326*** (17.65)	1.552*** (9.57)	0.539*** (9.55)
Household Variables				
The existence of elder/patient/disabled in the household	-0.170 (-1.00)	-0.227** (-2.33)	0.0635 (0.48)	-0.0989 (-1.29)
The number of children aged 0-3	-0.0246 (-0.25)	-0.319*** (-5.67)	-0.168** (-2.06)	-0.398*** (-9.74)
The number of children aged 4-6	-0.0530 (-0.55)	-0.197*** (-3.60)	-0.0571 (-0.69)	-0.144*** (-3.55)
The number of children aged 7-14	-0.0407 (-0.76)	-0.157*** (-4.81)	0.0621 (1.35)	0.0298 (1.21)
Equivalised household income by ordered quintiles				
Second 20%	0.00618 (0.04)	-0.0575 (-0.59)	0.207* (1.67)	-0.219*** (-3.33)
Third 20%	0.132 (0.69)	-0.109 (-1.16)	0.481*** (3.45)	-0.0329 (-0.50)
Fourth 20%	0.297 (1.45)	0.0823 (0.88)	0.484*** (3.00)	0.331*** (5.00)
The highest 20%	0.627*** (2.72)	0.398*** (4.23)	0.950*** (5.18)	0.950*** (12.98)

A. Table 5.2. The estimated coefficients by regions (continued)

Independent Variables	2011		2016	
	Social transfer intensive regions	Other regions	Social transfer intensive regions	Other regions
Household Types				
Nuclear without children	-0.0401 (-0.10)	0.00638 (0.06)	0.422* (1.77)	0.0574 (0.74)
Patriarchal extended	0.372* (1.95)	0.173 (1.62)	0.389** (2.54)	0.286*** (3.95)
Temporary extended	0.196 (1.05)	0.133 (1.50)	0.458*** (3.00)	0.332*** (4.59)
One-person	0.657 (0.75)	0.277 (1.10)	1.357*** (3.19)	0.802*** (4.12)
One-parent	0.0697 (0.27)	0.368*** (3.01)	0.373* (1.81)	0.347*** (3.87)
Other broken	-0.189 (-0.42)	0.174 (1.16)	0.760** (2.46)	0.188 (1.49)
Unrelated		-0.222 (-0.49)		0.775 (1.28)
Constant	-2.701 (-1.13)	-4.497*** (-4.51)	-7.465*** (-3.97)	-2.958*** (-3.82)
The number of observations	1293	4461	1494	6246

* Statistically significant at 90% level of confidence

** Statistically significant at 95% level of confidence

*** Statistically significant at 99% level of confidence

Note: The reference categories are "has less than high school education or has not completed any school" for the education variable, "the lowest quintile" for the equalised household income variable, "nuclear family with children" for the household type variable. Social transfer intensive regions are Northeast Anatolia, Central East Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia regions, other regions are Istanbul, West Marmara, Aegean, East Marmara, West Anatolia, Mediterranean, Central Anatolia, West Black Sea and East Black Sea regions.

A. Table 5.3. Estimated marginal effects by regions

Independent Variables	2011		2016	
	Social transfer intensive regions	Other regions	Social transfer intensive regions	Other regions
Receiving social transfers	0.0230 (1.25)	-0.0166 (-0.67)	0.0904*** (3.95)	0.0331 (1.34)
Traditionalism index	0.0199*** (2.68)	0.0214*** (3.91)	0.00859 (0.88)	0.0206*** (3.85)
Age	0.00766 (0.44)	0.0526*** (3.64)	0.0589*** (2.74)	0.0420*** (3.03)
Age square	-0.000125 (-0.49)	-0.000763*** (-3.65)	-0.000756** (-2.45)	-0.000592*** (-2.98)
Single	0.0511** (2.26)	0.109*** (4.84)	0.0438 (1.39)	0.112*** (5.11)
Education				
High school	0.0620*** (2.70)	0.0629*** (4.31)	0.0914*** (3.44)	-0.0263* (-1.69)
More than high school	0.232*** (8.53)	0.327*** (19.69)	0.304*** (10.33)	0.166*** (9.76)
Household Variables				
The existence of elder/patient/disabled in the household	-0.0205 (-1.00)	-0.0559** (-2.33)	0.0124 (0.48)	-0.0305 (-1.29)
The number of children aged 0-3	-0.00297 (-0.25)	-0.0786*** (-5.70)	-0.0328** (-2.06)	-0.123*** (-9.92)
The number of children aged 4-6	-0.00637 (-0.55)	-0.0486*** (-3.61)	-0.0112 (-0.69)	-0.0443*** (-3.56)
The number of children aged 7-14	-0.00490 (-0.76)	-0.0388*** (-4.82)	0.0121 (1.35)	0.00919 (1.22)

A. Table 5.3. Estimated marginal effects by regions (continued)

Independent Variables	2011		2016	
	Social transfer intensive regions	Other regions	Social transfer intensive regions	Other regions
Equivalised household income by ordered quintiles				
Second 20%	0.000744 (0.04)	-0.0142 (-0.59)	0.0406* (1.67)	-0.0675*** (-3.34)
Third 20%	0.0159 (0.69)	-0.0269 (-1.16)	0.0941*** (3.47)	-0.0101 (-0.50)
Fourth 20%	0.0358 (1.45)	0.0203 (0.88)	0.0947*** (3.01)	0.102*** (5.03)
The highest 20%	0.0755*** (2.71)	0.0980*** (4.24)	0.186*** (5.27)	0.293*** (13.54)
Household Types				
Nuclear without children	0.00482 (0.10)	-0.00157 (-0.06)	-0.0826* (-1.77)	-0.0177 (-0.74)
Patriarchal extended	0.0496 (0.94)	0.0412 (1.12)	-0.00642 (-0.12)	0.0705** (2.16)
Temporary extended	0.0285 (0.56)	0.0312 (0.95)	0.00704 (0.13)	0.0845*** (2.66)
One-person	0.0839 (0.73)	0.0666 (1.01)	0.183* (1.95)	0.229*** (3.59)
One-parent	0.0132 (0.23)	0.0891** (2.23)	-0.00965 (-0.16)	0.0894** (2.43)
Other broken	-0.0180 (-0.25)	0.0414 (0.91)	0.0660 (0.88)	0.0404 (0.88)
Unrelated		-0.0564 (-0.49)		0.221 (1.18)
The number of observations	1293	4461	1494	6246

* Statistically significant at 90% level of confidence

** Statistically significant at 95% level of confidence

*** Statistically significant at 99% level of confidence

Note: The reference categories are "has less than high school education or has not completed any school" for the education variable, "the lowest quintile" for the equivalised household income variable, "nuclear family with children" for the household type variable. Social transfer intensive regions are Northeast Anatolia, Central East Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia regions, other regions are Istanbul, West Marmara, Aegean, East Marmara, West Anatolia, Mediterreanean, Central Anatolia, West Black Sea and East Black Sea regions.

6.

**MATCH OR MISMATCH?:
THE EFFECTS OF
SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC
AND SOCIOCULTURAL
DIFFERENCES ON MARITAL
CONFLICT**

Asst. Prof. Zübeyir Nişancı

THE EFFECTS OF SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOCULTURAL DIFFERENCES ON MARITAL CONFLICT

Asst. Prof. Zübeyir Nişancı¹

I. Abstract

This article investigates how similarities or differences in the sociocultural and sociodemographic characteristics of married couples affect levels of marital conflict in Turkey. In so doing, this paper uses *The Research on Family Structure in Türkiye* (RFST) dataset, which was collected by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies) in 2016. RFST collected information about all members of the households included in the survey. In total, RFST collected information about 57398 individuals from 17239 households. However, this paper limits its sample to the married couples in the dataset who filled out the survey questionnaire. Accordingly, the sample was limited to 22958 married individuals and hence 11479 couples. Twenty-one questions exploring different dimensions of marital conflict in the RFST were used to calculate two separate conflict indices for females (wife) and males (husband) as dependent variables. Subsequently, couples were compared in terms of their age, education, employment status, income level, rural-urban origin, health status, and level of religiosity. In the final analysis, this paper tests how differences and similarities in these areas affect levels of marital conflict reported by the wives and husbands.

Keywords: Marital conflict, the Sociocultural Profile of Couples, Domestic Conflict, Divorce, Family Structure.

II. Introduction

One of the most important factors influencing family welfare in the society relates to the nature of conflicts or lack thereof between couples. Marital conflict negatively affects individuals' physical and emotional health and the family structure (Fincham, 2003), whereas interspousal adjustment has a positive effect on personal wellbeing (Helms and Buehler, 2007). Divorce rates have been rapidly increasing in the recent years in Turkey. According to TurkStat data, there was an increase of 1.8% from 2016 to 2017.² Such an increase indirectly suggests that marital conflict has also increased and that individual wellbeing and family welfare have been negatively affected as well.

Socioeconomic limitations, irretrievable breakdown of marriage, maltreatment, neglect, irresponsibility, abandonment and adultery, drinking, and gambling are usually listed among the main reasons for divorce (Yıldırım, 2004). There might be different causal relations between the factors causing marital conflict and divorce and. However, it is important to explore similarities and differences in the sociodemographic and sociocultural profiles of the couples in order to understand if and how these differences affect personal each couple's attitudes towards marital relations and marital conflict. Such an investigation would also be a significant contribution towards a more comprehensive understanding of the family structure and for guiding social welfare policies at various levels in the Turkish society. Guided by such goals, this paper uses *The Research on Family Structure in Türkiye* 2016 dataset and tries the answer the question of how similarities and differences between couples' ages, educational levels, income levels, employment statuses, religiosity levels and their geographical origins (rural vs. urban) affect marital conflict.

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²<http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=27593>

A. Literature Review

A large proportion of studies on marital conflict focus on the comparison of the behaviors of couples who more frequently experience conflict and those who have lower levels of conflict. However, merely focusing on couples' behavior is not sufficient for holistically investigating the nature of marital conflict. Evaluating the conflict within a context requires a fuller understanding of how the couples' social, cultural, economic, religious backgrounds, and characteristics affect the conflict between them. The need for analyzing conflict in its ecological context was emphasized in the international literature as well (Fincham, 2003).

The literature associates various factors with increasing levels of marital conflict. Personal characteristics and different conflict styles may lead to marital conflict. Factors like physical, verbal, or psychological violence, infidelity, drinking, or substance abuse are also among the reasons for marital conflict (Fincham, 2003). The focal point of this research, which is the effect of social, cultural, and demographic differences of couples on marital conflict has also been studied. For example, an analysis of the nationally representative data in the Netherlands (Groot and Van Den Brink, 2002) demonstrated that both men and women are satisfied with their marriages if the husband is older than the wife. According to the same research, differences of educational levels between the husband and wife also have a positive effect on the life satisfaction of both couples. An analysis carried out with a representative sample of 723 married individuals in the United States demonstrates that there is an increase in the frequency marital problems between couples when the wife is older than the husband. In such cases, levels of conflict continue to increase as the age difference between the (older) wife and the husband grows bigger (Wheeler, 2010). The wives' income also has an effect on marital satisfaction and marital

conflict. There are various studies in the US and Europe which reveal that the employment and increasing work hours of the wife increase the risks of divorce (Kalmijn, Loeve, and Manting, 2007). For example, a panel research conducted between 1980-1997 in the US with 1704 participants looked at the relationship between women's income and divorce. According to the findings, divorce rates increase parallel to the increase in women's income levels. The impact of the proportion of the wife's contribution to the family budget was also tested in the same research. It was found that divorce rate was at its highest when the wives' contribution was between 40-50%. According to a research conducted in the Netherlands, the risk of divorce increases if the wife earns more and, vice versa. (Kalmijn, Loeve, and Manting, 2007). However, contrary to these studies, an analysis of a nationally representative sample in the US has demonstrated that marital stability increases if the wife works fulltime (Schoen, Roger, and Amato, 2006). Several other studies also show that working women have more harmonious marriages (Kublay and Oktan, 2015; Sezer, 2015; Çili et al., 2004; Nawahat and Mathur, 1992).

Previous research also explored the role of various aspects of religiosity on marital conflict. A research conducted by Call and Heaton (1997) in the United States revealed that divorce rate is the lowest for couples who attend church regularly. Couples with one spouse regularly attending church and another not attending at all have a much higher rate of divorce in comparison to couples in which none of the couples regularly attends church. According to another similar research (Vaaler, Ellison, and Powers, 2009), divorce rate increases when men attend church more often and when women are more conservative than their spouses. In addition, David and Stafford (2015) found in their study of 342 couples in the United States

that a person's individual relationship with God affects interspousal religious communication, thereby indirectly affecting marital quality.

An important portion of the studies on marriage in Turkey focused on marital satisfaction (Çağ and Yıldırım, 2013; Güven and Sevim, 2007; Curun, 2006) or adjustment (Kublay and Oktan, 2015; Tutarel-Kışlak and Çabukça, 2002) instead of conflict (Yılmaz, 2001). For example, a study conducted with 811 married individuals in the city of Ankara reported that spousal support, sexual life satisfaction, and educational level significantly affect marital satisfaction (Çağ and Yıldırım, 2013). According to this study, the variables of gender, number of children, marital duration, interspousal age difference, family income level, and the division of household responsibilities visibly affect marital satisfaction. Social and emotional support between couples, their problem solving capacities and the empathy between them tend to affect functionality and harmony of marriage (Güven and Sevim, 2007; Tutarel-Kışlak and Çabukça, 2002; Pasch and Bradbury, 1998). A study conducted with 452 married individuals in Rize (Kublay and Oktan, 2015) found a significant relationship between marital duration and marital satisfaction. According to the study, marital satisfaction decreases until the 26-35 years interval, but it starts to increase after that (26-35 years interval). Marital satisfaction of married individuals within the 0-5 years interval was found to be significantly higher than that of married individuals within the 6-15 years interval as well.

Understanding factors affecting the level of conflict between couples is critical in terms of designing and implementing protective and preventive interventions and for providing support to couples and families in times of need. In this study, marital conflict will be analyzed in its macro context by displaying the

sociodemographic and sociocultural reasons affecting marital conflict. In this regard, this study aims at contributing to the literature of marital conflict and marital concordance. The results of the study can also guide services offered to families and couples and suggest directions to social policies. As it is discussed in more detail in the conclusion section, findings of this study also indicate the need for further research in this area.

B. Method

a. Data and Sample

The Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST) 2016 dataset was used in this study, which was conducted by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies) in Turkey. The RFST survey has been conducted every 5 years, with the first being conducted in 2006 and the second in 2011. The most recent wave was completed in 2016. The data was collected from face-to-face surveys conducted in households which were selected from residential areas with a population of more than 200 throughout Turkey by means of stratified sampling methods.

In the survey, information pertaining to the household was gathered from a randomly selected main respondent who was older than 18. Household members aged 15 years and older who were present at the time of the survey filled out the survey questionnaire separately. Main respondents provided the basic demographic information about the household members whose conditions did not permit them to answer the survey questions (such as children, elderly, sick, and non-present household members). Information regarding the personal preferences and attitudes of these individuals, was not collected. As part of the RFST 2016 study, 17,239 households were visited and information pertaining to a total of 57,398 individuals were collected.

Only cases in which both couples completed the survey were included into the analysis. Unmarried individuals and cases in which only one of the couples filled out the survey were excluded from the sample. After these exclusions, the number of individuals included into the analyses decreased to 22,958 which is equal to 11,479 couples.

b. Dependent Variables

This study’s dependent variables are the levels of marital conflict reported by men and women. Since this frequency is reported by each couple, a separate marital conflict variable was calculated for each couple (wife and husband).

In order to explore marital conflict, 21 questions were asked to RFST. These 21 questions asked about the frequency of conflict couples experience in 21 different areas. These 21 areas are as follows: (1) Responsibilities regarding the house, (2) Responsibilities regarding children, (3) Family pastime, (4) Expenditure, (5) Dressing style, (6) Difference of religious views, (7) Relations with the family, (8) Alcohol use, (9) Smoking, (10) Gambling, (11) Spouse bringing work related problems to the house, (12) Insufficient income, (13) Relationships with friends and acquaintances, (14) Neglecting self-care, (15) Internet use, (16) Cultural differences, (17) Jealousy, (18) Personality differences, (19) Entertainment habits, (20) Sexual life, and (21) Differences of political views.

Six response categories were provided to the respondents to express the frequency of conflict in each area: (1) Never, (2) Rarely, (3) Sometimes, (4) Often, (5) Always, (6) Not relevant. The “Not relevant” option was chosen when the question was not relevant to the couple. For example, respondents provided the answer “Not relevant” to the question about “Spouse bringing work related problems to the house” in cases in which their spouses did not work.

Since this option indicates the lack of conflict it was coded as “Never”, instead of keeping it as missing.

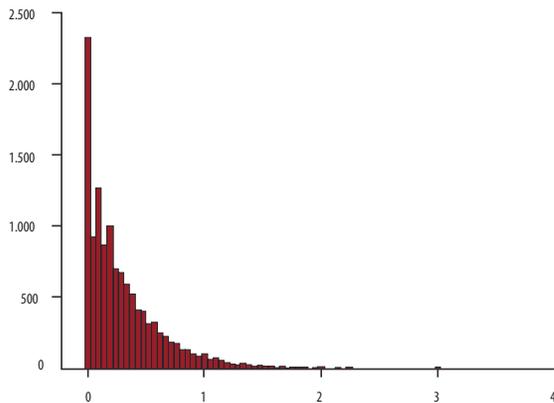
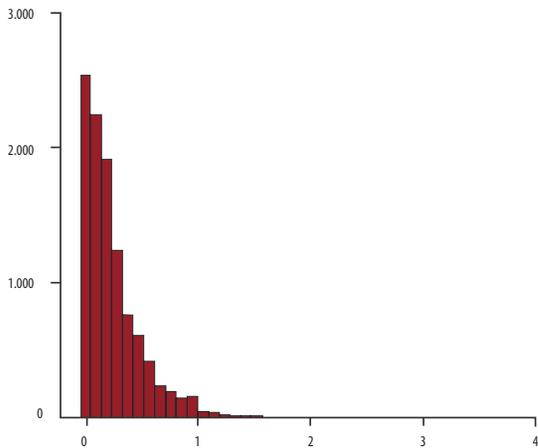
“Never” was coded as 0 since it meant that there was no conflict. The following values were recoded as (1) “Rarely,” (2) “Sometimes,” (3) “Often,” and (4) “Always” respectively. Accordingly, a scale of 0 to 4 was obtained for each of the 21 fields. Eventually, the scores of these 21 variables were added up and then divided by 4 to produce an index of marital conflict. In this index, the value of 0 indicates that no conflict occurs in any one of the 21 areas of conflict, whereas 4 indicates that there is always conflict in all of them.

Table 6.1. Levels of conflict reported by couples (female and male)

	Lowest	Highest	Average	Std. dev.
Women	0.00	3.95	0.31	0.36
Men	0.00	4.00	0.23	0.28

The total conflict scores were reported separately for each couple (wife and husband) in the descriptive statistics. Eventually, scores obtained from the values reported by women and men were used as two separate dependent variables in multivariate analyses in order not to violate the independence of observations assumption in the regression models.

Table 1 provides the descriptive statistics for the reported marital conflict levels by gender. Figure 1 and Figure 2 depict the distribution of the average conflict scores reported by women and men respectively. As we see it in Table 1 and in the two graphs, levels of marital conflict reported by couples seem to be quite low. Average level of conflict is 0.31 for women and 0.23 for men in a scale ranging from 0 to 4. Standard deviation of the conflict level reported by men is 0.28, the value is observed to be 0.36 for women.

Figure 6.1. Levels of Marital Conflict (Women)**Figure 6.2. Levels of Marital Conflict (Men)**

This article uses ordinal logistic regression in the final analyses, which is sensitive to large number of empty cells. A scale ranging from 0 to 4 with decimal points would yield too many empty cells in the final analyses. That is why marital conflict scales reported by men and women were recoded into a scale ranging from 0 to 3 without decimal points with the following strategy. Scores of 0 were kept as 0. Values between zero and one standard deviation above 0 (0.01-0.23 for males and 0.01-0.36 for females) were coded as 1. Scores in the second standard deviation interval were coded as 2 and values above three standard deviations and beyond were coded as 3 in the same manner. Thusly, a new scale of conflict ranging from 0 to

3 were obtained for men and women separately. The values of this scales are categorized as (0) “No conflict,” (1) “Low level of conflict,” (2) “Medium level of conflict,” and (3) “High level of conflict.” Distributions of these variables are presented in the “Findings” section.

These distributions, which have been also used in the final analysis, can be seen in Figure 3 and Figure 4.

c. Independent Variables

This paper investigated how differences in socioeconomic, sociodemographic, and sociocultural characteristics of couples affected marital conflict between them. These areas are: (1) Age, (2) Educational, (3) Income, (4) Employment status, (5) Difference of rural-urban origin, (6) Health status, and (7) Religiosity.

The age difference was initially calculated by deducting the wives’ age from the husbands’ age. In this initial measurement, negative values represent cases where the wife was older than the husband, 0 represents cases where couple are of the same age and positive values represent cases where the husband is older than the wife (Figure 5). In the final analysis, the age difference was recoded into three categories. These three categories are as follows: (1) The wife is older, (2) The husband is older, and (3) They are the same age.

Differences in income, education, and health were calculated in similarly ways to the age difference measurement. Initial measurements that take negative, positive, and zero values were obtained by deducting the wives’ level of income, education, and health status from the husbands’ level of income, education, and health status. Similar to the initial measurements of the age difference, negative values indicate cases in which the wives’ values were higher than the husbands’, positive values indicate cases in

which the husbands' values were higher, and the value of 0 indicate cases in which both couples have same values. As it was the case with the age difference, these values were coded into three categories: (1) wife has higher values, (2) they have the same values and (3) husband has higher values.

Educational information in RFST was collected with the following 12 categories: (1) Did not complete any school, (2) Elementary school graduate, (3) General middle school, (4) Vocational or technical middle school, (5) Primary education, (6) General high school, (7) Vocational or technical high school, (8) 2 or 3-year college, (9) 4-year college or faculty, (10) 5 or 6-year faculty, (11) Master's degree, and (12) PhD degree. In order to obtain a variable with an increasing scale, those who had a diploma of "general middle school," "vocational and technical middle school," and "primary education" were coalesced into "middle school graduate." Likewise, those who responded as "general high school" and "vocational and technical high school" were put together into the same category, forming "high school graduate." Respondents who graduated from a 4-year college or faculty were combined with those who graduated from a 5 or 6-year faculty into the category of "university graduate." After the merges, a variable of education that went from 0 to 7 was formed with the lowest being (0) not having completed a school and the highest being (7) a PhD degree. Measurements were developed for calculating educational difference between spouses by incorporating the abovementioned differences of educational levels for each spouse.

Comparison of the employment status of couples were based on answers given to the question: "Have you actually worked within the last week in order to earn money (cash or in kind)?" Response options for this question were: "The respondent has worked," "The respondent has

not worked but the work relationship continues," and "The respondent has not worked". The first two of these options were combined into "The respondent is working" since they both indicate that the respondent is currently employed. Accordingly, the employment status variable was coded as a dichotomous variable: (1) "working" and (0) "not working." Afterwards, a four-category variable showing the similarities or differences between the employment statuses of the couples was obtained by considering looking at each couple's employment status. These four categories are the following: (1) "Both are working," (2) "Only the husband is working," (3) "Only the wife is working," and (4) "None of them are working." The level of religiosity variable for each couple was produced separately by using several questions in RFST that measure how religiosity influences preferences in social relationships. These questions measure the importance of religion on personal preferences in: (1) Choosing spouse, (2) Choosing friends, (3) Choosing occupation, (4) Choosing area of residence, (5) children's education, (6) Dressing style, (7) Diet, (8) Relations with neighbors, and (9) Voting. Responses to these nine questions included: (1) "Not important at all," (2) "Not important," (3) "Moderately important," (4) "Important," (5) "Very important," and (6) "Refused." Respondents who refused to answer were coded as missing. The remaining answers were recoded from 0 (not important at all) to 4 (very important). These nine questions were computed into an index by adding up and taking the averages of the responses given to these nine questions. Thusly, an average religiosity scale was produced for each couple. Religiosity difference variable was produced by subtracting the wife's religiosity score from the husband's and husband's score from wife's score. Negative values in these scores indicate a higher level of religiosity for the wife, whereas positive values indicate higher religiosity for the husband. Scores are zero (0) show that the reported levels of religiosity are equal.

Eventually, religiosity difference scores were coded into three categories. If females had higher levels of religiosity there were recoded as, (1) “The wife is more religious,” and if males had higher religiosity levels they were recoded as (2) “The husband is more religious.” In cases where they had equal levels of religiosity they were recoded as (3) “Same religiosity level.”

In order to understand whether or not similarities or differences in the macro social environments in which spouses were raised affect levels of marital conflict, this research compared couples based on the type of residential area they were raised in. RFST included the question “Which one of the below best describes the place in which you lived the longest until you were 18 years old?” Response categories for this were: (1) “Provincial center,” (2) “District center,” (3) “Small town or village,” and (4) “Abroad.” Those who said they spent most of their lives until the age of 18 years old in a “provincial center,” “district center,” or “abroad” were included in urban origin group and those who were raised in a “township or village” were included in the rural origin category. After comparing couples in terms of the type of residential area they were raised in, a new variable with four categories was constructed. These four categories are: (1) “Both spouses are of urban origin,” (2) “Both spouses are of rural origin,” (3) “The male is of rural origin and the female of urban origin,” (4) “The male is of urban origin and the female of rural origin.”

As seen in Figure 19, 43.7% of both spouses are of urban origin whereas 31.3% of both spouses are of rural origin. Cases which the male and female are coming from different origins are relatively low. In case of 13.3 percent of RFST sample the female is of rural origin and the male is of urban origin and for 11.7% of the spouses the female is of urban origin and the male is of rural origin.

d. Control Variables

RFST asked respondents about the number of children they had. These answers provide the number of children for each individual. Children from previous marriages might be indirectly included into this. In such a case, the number of children reported by each of the couples might differ. Unfortunately, the number of children shared by both spouses cannot be determined from the RFST dataset. Therefore, number of children reported by men were used as a control variable for the regression analysis focusing on men, and the number of children reported by women were used for model focusing on women.

The other control variable used in the regression analyses is the length of marriage in years. Couples were asked how many years they have been married. Couples’ responses to this question were added to all regression models as numerical variables without any transformation.

III. Findings

Recoded levels of conflict for wives and husbands are reported in Figure 3 and Figure 4 respectively. According to Figure 3, 18.9 % of women reported that they do not have any conflict at all. As can be seen in Figure 4, this is slightly higher among men. Men who said that they do not have conflicts with their spouses is about one-fourth (23.8%) of the sample.

Figure 6.3. Level of average conflict formed by coding (Female)

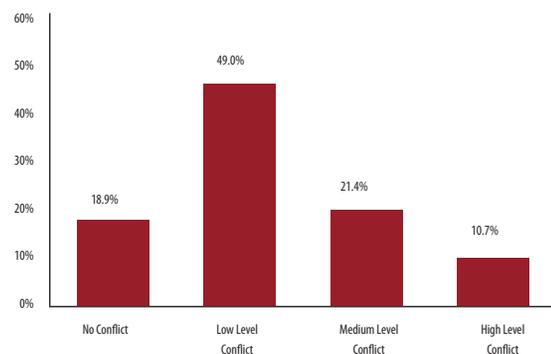


Table 6.2. Spouses' Age, Health Status, Income, and Level of Religiosity according to Religion

	Female				Male			
	Lowest	Highest	Average	Std. dev.	Lowest	Highest	Average	Std. dev.
Age	16	97	45.02	13.54	21	102	48.85	13.70
Health	1.00	5.00	3.70	0.75	1.0	5.00	3.74	0.75
Income	0	31300	442.20	1072.34	0	75000	1742.98	2216.77
Religiosity	0.00	4.00	2.59	0.84	0.00	4.00	2.47	0.88

These findings indicate that either men perceive conflict levels less than women do, or they express it less due to sociological reasons. Nearly half of women (49.0%) reported low level of conflict. The percentage is a lower for men (45.1%). Women are also more likely to report medium levels of conflict (21.4%) in comparison to men (20.5%). Women (10.7%) and men (10.6%) are almost equal in terms of reporting high levels of conflict (Figure 4).

Descriptive statistics for the couples' age, health status, income, and religiosity are presented in Table 2. According to this table, average age for women (45.02) is lower than men (48.85) in married couples. Average income and health status are also lower for women according to the same table. However, women (2.59) seem to be slightly more religious than men (2.47).

The distribution of age difference between couples is presented in Figure 5. In this figure, 0 indicates the cases in which ages are equal, negative values indicate cases where women are older and positive values report cases where men are older. As we see it in Figure 5, men mostly are older than their spouses and for most of the sample husbands are 1 to 7 years older than their spouses. By looking at the same figure, it can also be seen that females are older than their spouse at a much lower rate and that in such cases the age difference is usually lower than what it observed with men who are older than their spouses.

Figure 6.4. Level of average conflict formed by coding (Male)

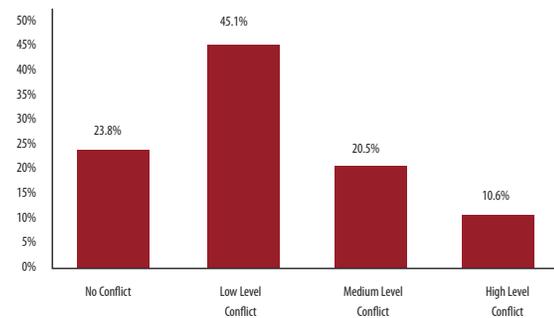


Figure 6.5. Distribution of the age difference between couples

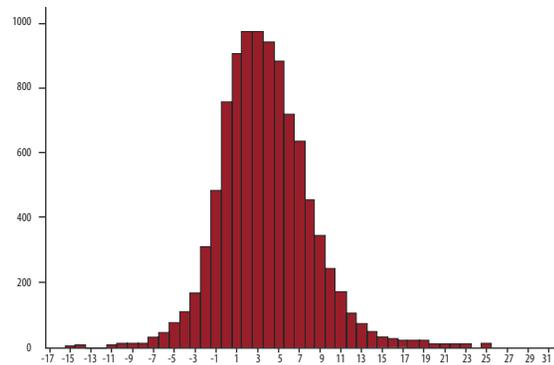
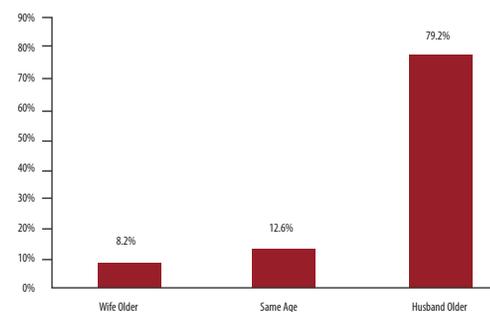


Figure 6.6. Categories of age differences



The three categories used in Regression analyzes of age difference are provided in Figure 6. According to this figure, men are older than women in 79.2% of the couples in Turkey. Women are older in only 8.2% of the cases. Couples of equal age constitute 12.6% of the sample.

Differences of health status are shown in Figure 7 and Figure 8. According to Figure 7 and Figure 8, a large majority of the couples (68.8%) are of equal health status. Figure 8 demonstrates that women are healthier than their spouses in 14.2% of the cases and men are healthier in 17% of the couples.

Figure 6.7. Distribution of the health status difference between couples

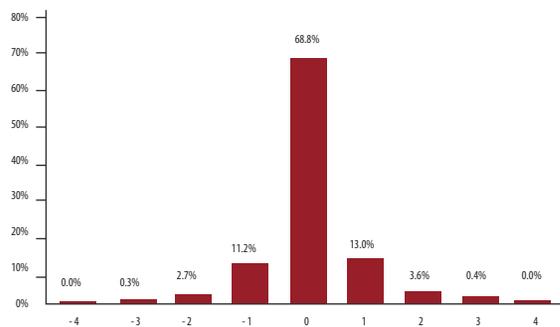


Figure 6.8. Categories of health status differences

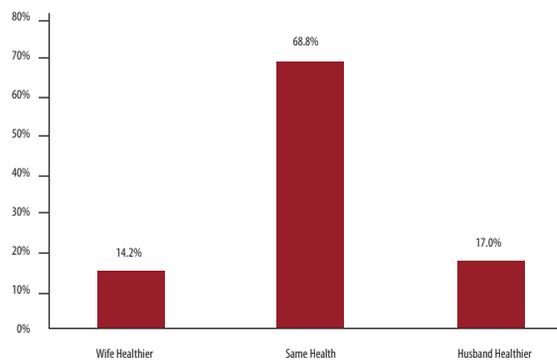


Figure 6.9. Distribution of the differences of religiosity between couples

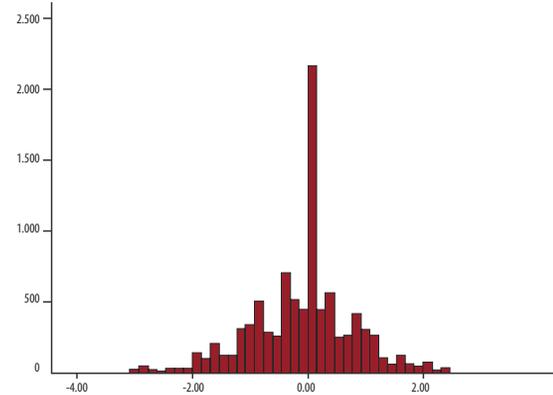
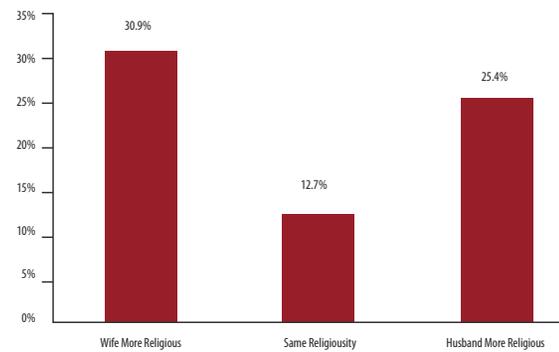


Figure 6.10. Categories of the differences of religiosity between couples



According to Figure 9, a considerable proportion of couples reported equal levels of religiosity. According to figure 10, 12.7% of the couples have the same level of religiosity. Women are more religious in 30.9% cases and men are more religious in 25.4% of the couples.

Even though there is an evident change in recent times, men are usually more educated than women in the Turkey's society which can also be seen in Figure 11. The proportion of women with lower levels of education is higher than that of men, while the percentage of men with higher levels of education is higher. These differences decrease in secondary education. Figure 12 provides the uncategorized distribution of educational differences between couples. In this chart, negative values show cases in which

females are more educated than their spouses. For example, the value of -2 indicates the case in which a female is two levels of diploma higher than her spouse. The value of 2 indicates the case in which a male is two levels of diploma more educated than his spouse in the same figure. According to this figure, almost half of

the couples (46%) come from the same level of education. However, when cases in which a spouse is more educated than the other is taken into consideration it is seen that males are usually more educated. Couples in which males are more educated constitute 42.6%, we see that couples in which females are more educated constitute 11.5% of the sample (Figure 13).

Figure 6.11. Level of education according to gender

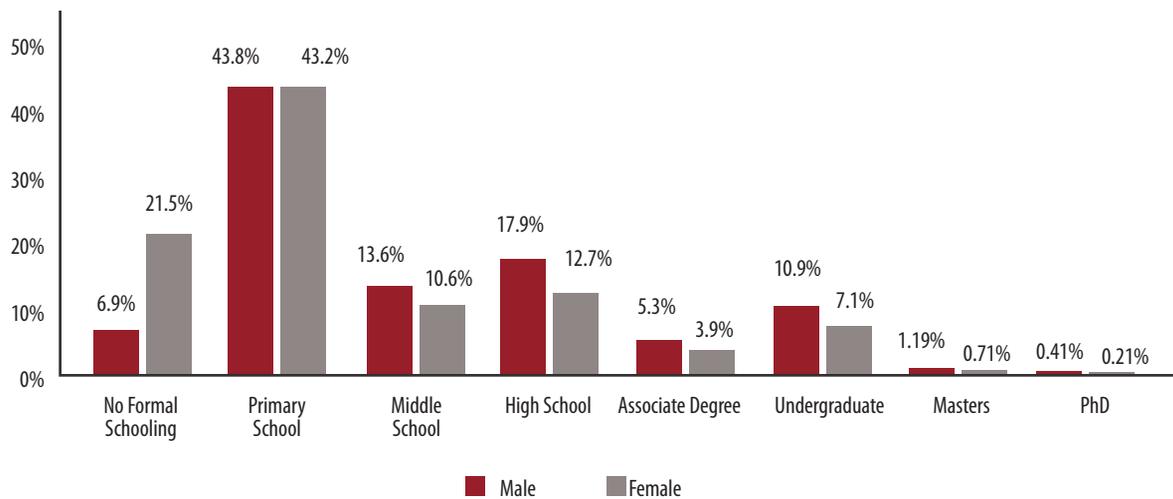


Figure 6.12. Differences of educational level between couples

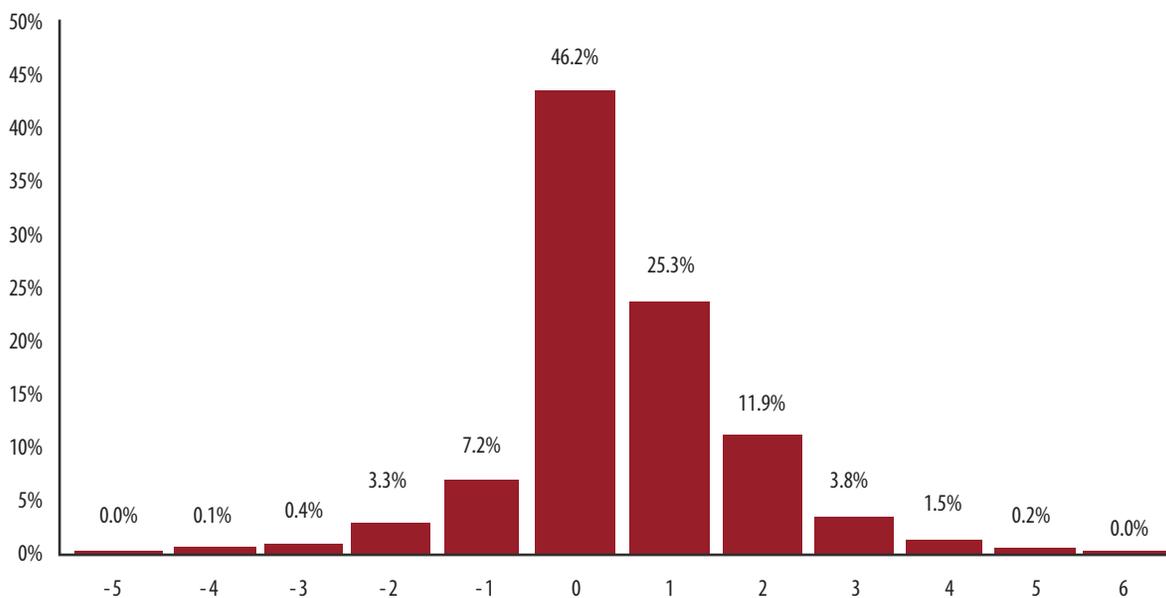
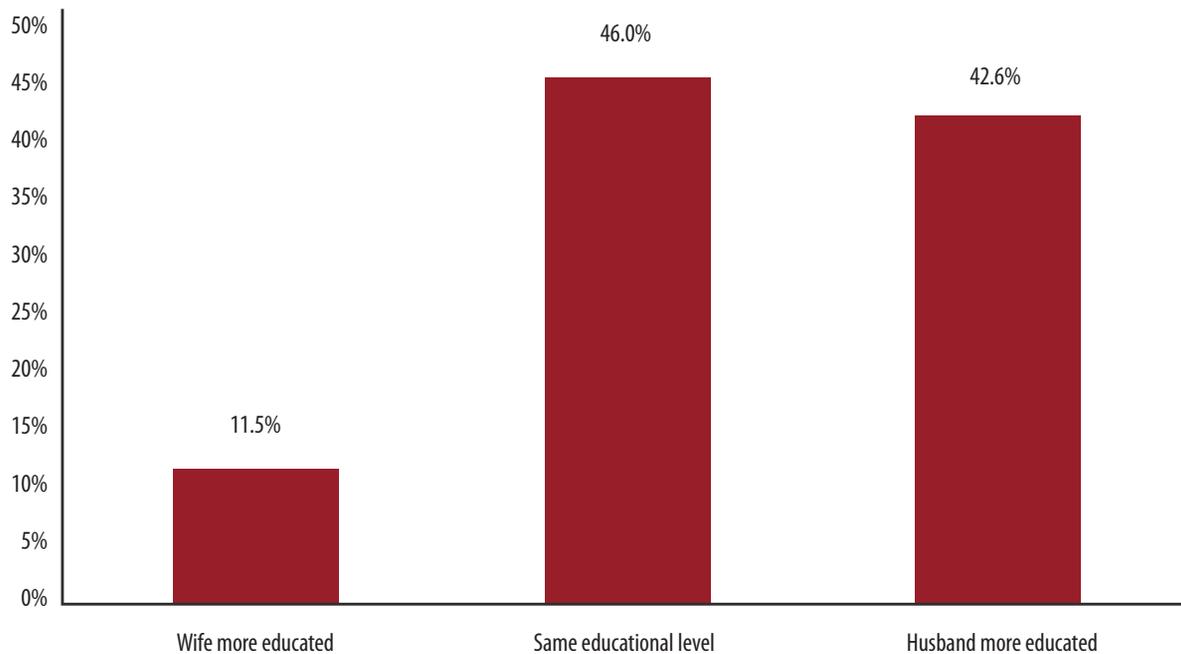


Figure 6.13. Categories of educational difference between couples

Even though it has been changing in recent times, men are generally the breadwinners and women are caretakers as housewives in the Turkish society. This is clearly visible in the RFST dataset as well (Figure 14). 68.4% of the males, as opposed to 24.4% of the females, among the couples included in the sample are working. A

similar picture can be seen when couples are compared as part of the same family (Figure 15). While couples in which only men are working are 46% and couples in which only women are working are just 3.3% of the couples. Couples in which both men and women are working constitute 22.3% of the sample and those in which neither are working constitute 28.4%.

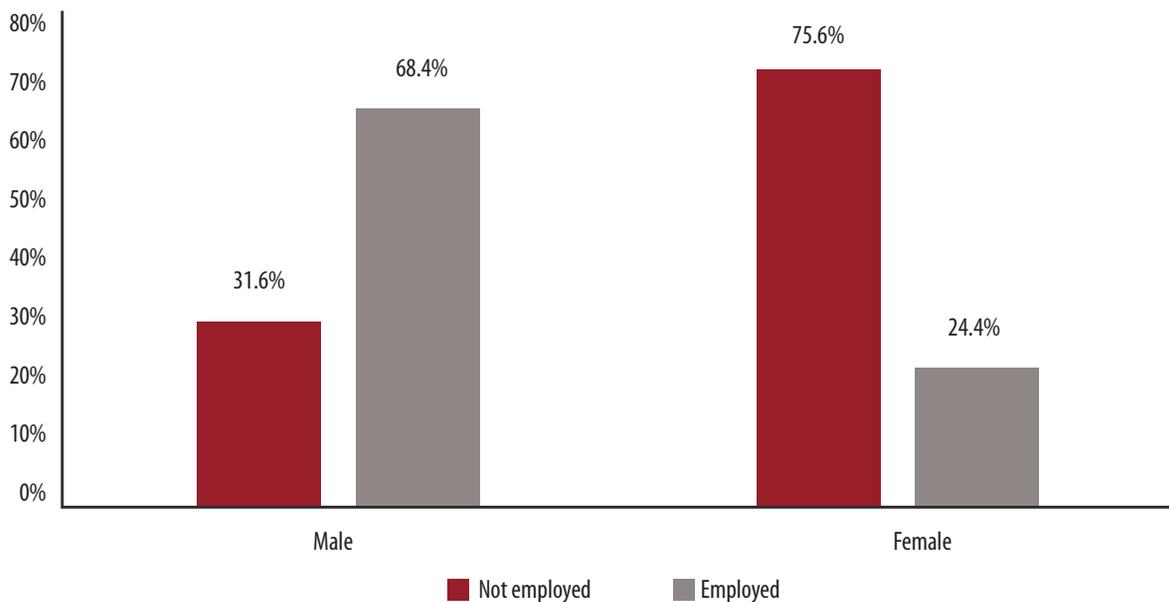
Figure 6.14. Employment status by gender

Figure 6.15. Comparison of couples' employment status

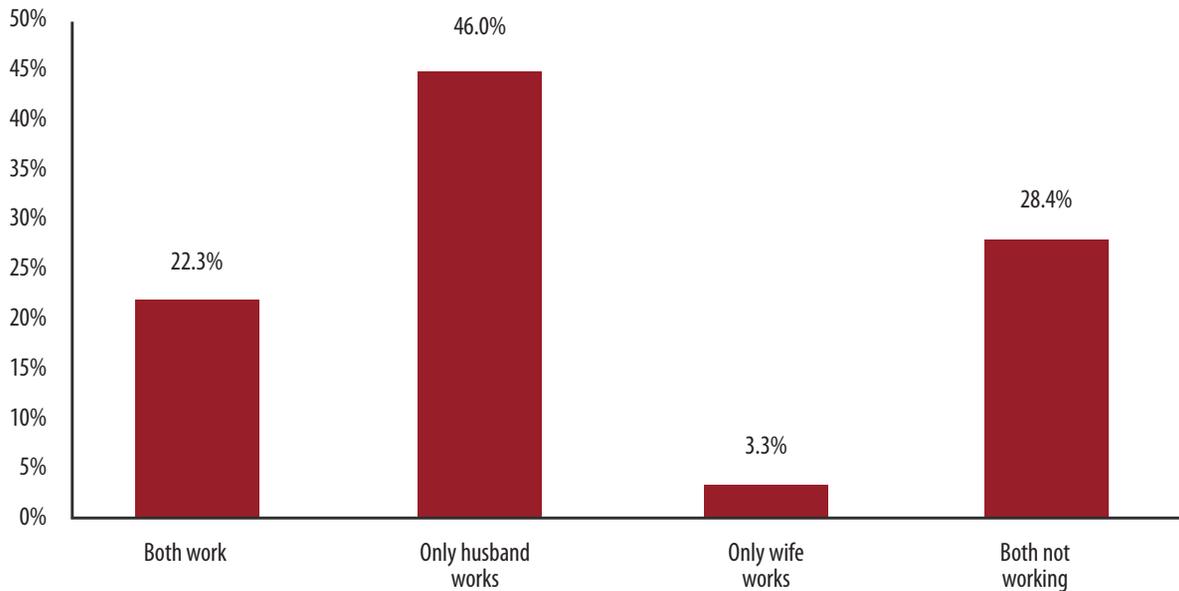


Figure 16 shows that gender difference has an effect on income as well. In this chart, negative values indicate cases in which females have a higher income. For example, the value of -3000 shows cases in which females earn 2001-3000 TL more than their spouses. Similarly, the value of 4000 shows cases in which males earn 3001-4000 TL more than their spouses. Such a concentration of the distribution in the positive

values shows that men have much higher income levels than women (Figure 16). According to Figure 17, men earn more than women in 70.5% of the cases. The ratio of couples in which women earn more is 9.2%. On the other hand, men's and women's earnings are at the same level in about one-fifth (20.3%) of the couples.

Figure 6.16. Distribution of income differences between couples

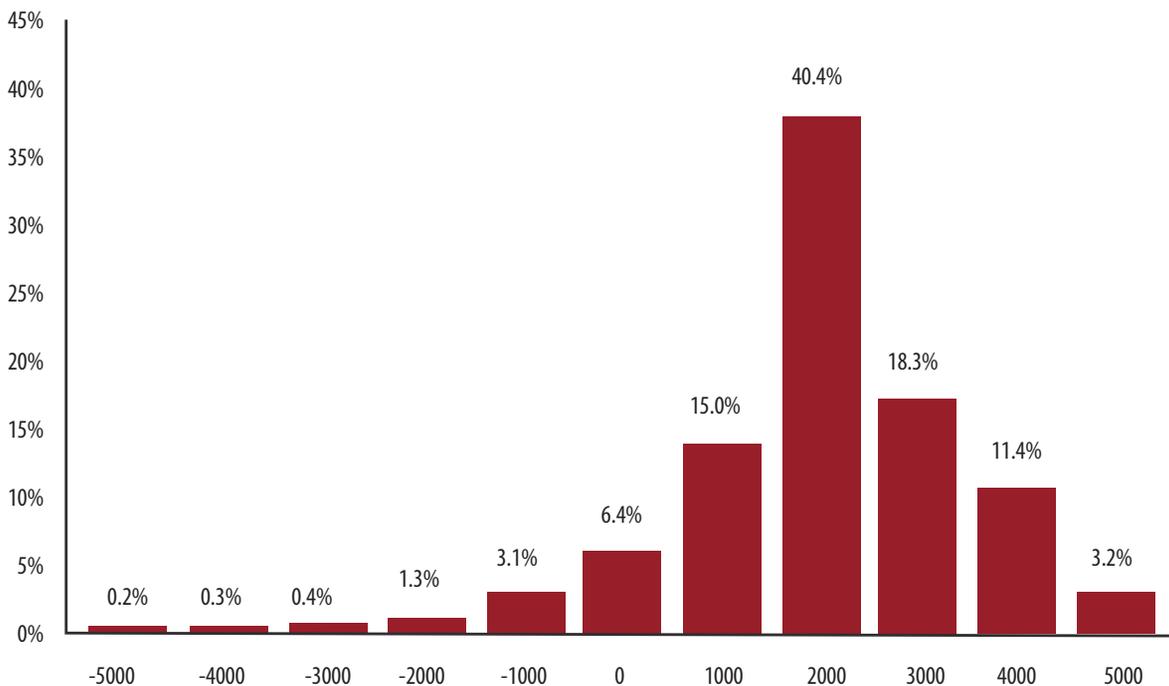
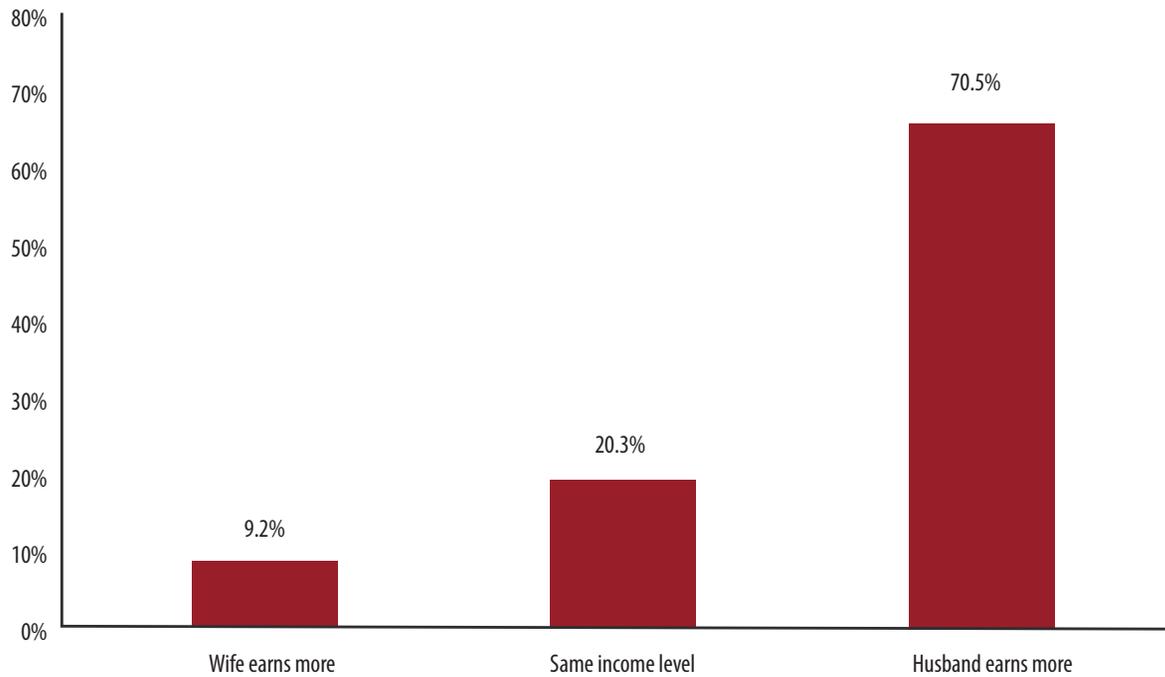


Figure 6.17. Income difference categories between couples

This study investigates whether the couples spent most of their time in a rural or an urban area until the age of 15. Findings indicate that 55.4% of men in this sample are of urban origin. This increases to 57.4% among women (Figure 18). When it is compared at the couples-level, we see that in 43.7% of the cases both of the spouses are of urban origin. Cases in which both of the spouses are of rural origin approximately correspond to one-third of the sample (31.3%). Couples in which the wife is of rural origin

and the husband is of urban origin constitute 13.3% of the sample. Conversely, for 11.7% of the couples, men were raised in rural areas and women were raised in urban areas. This shows that couples of mixed rural-urban origins correspond to about one-fourth (13.1% + 11.7% = 25%) of the sample (Figure 19).

When considered as a whole, these findings show that a considerably large proportion of adult individuals and hence couples are of rural origin,

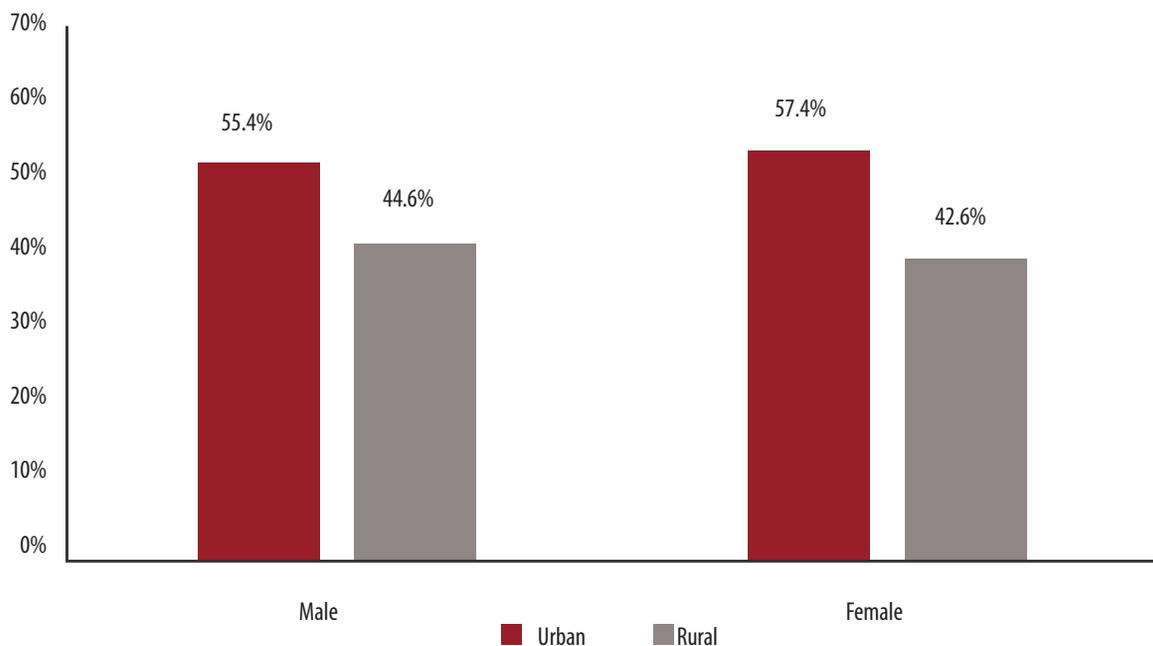
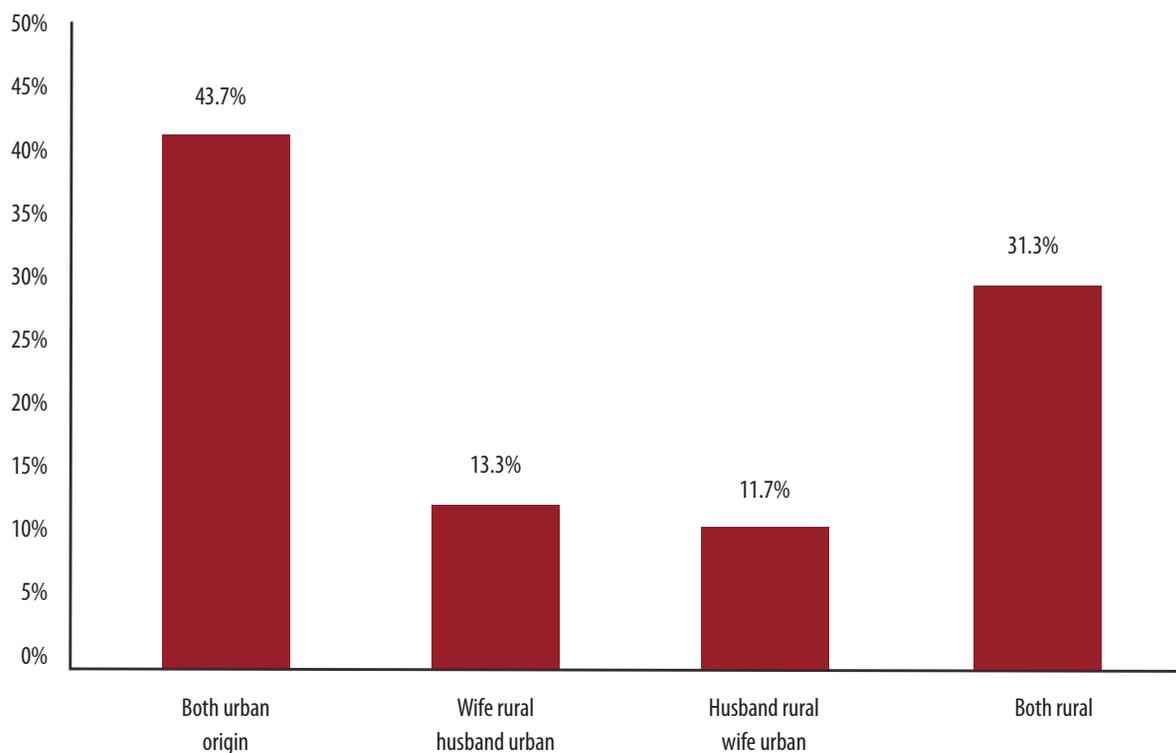
Figure 6.18. Rural-urban origin by gender

Figure 6.19. Comparison of couples according to rural-urban origin

even though Turkey has been going through a rapid process of urbanization. Even though they might be living in urban settings, some of the couples might be of rural origin.

Table 3 and Table 4 present results of ordinal logistic regression models that investigate how sociodemographic and sociocultural differences affect levels of marital conflict reported by women and men. According to Table 3, age differences between couples do not affect conflict levels reported by women. A similar finding is present in Table 4, which focuses on marital conflict levels reported by men. Age differences do not affect marital conflict levels reported by men, either. Differences in health status only affects conflict levels reported by women. As it is reported by women, when one of the couples, either the wife or the husband, is healthier than the other, conflict levels increase. When information provided by the men is taken into consideration, it seems that average conflict levels are unaffected by differences or similarities in couples' health conditions.

Conflict levels are affected by employment statuses of the couples in both tables. Conflict levels reported by both men and women increase when both of the couples, or only men are employed, in comparison to cases in which both of the couples are not employed (Table 3 and Table 4). According to the information provided by women, the highest conflict level becomes manifest when only the husband is working (0.234). This is followed by cases in which both couples are working (0.144) (Table 3). When information provided by men is taken into consideration, the highest level of conflict is observed when both couples are employed (0.205) and it is followed by cases in which only the men is working (0.158). According to information obtained both from women and men, cases in which only the wife is working does not yield any difference in conflict levels in comparison to cases in which none of the couples working. Therefore, we can conclude that conflict levels are lower in cases where none of the couples or only women are working.

As for the differences in income levels, conflict levels seem to decrease when men earn more according to both tables. It can also be seen in both tables that women earning more than men does not affect conflict levels, in comparison to cases in which couples have equal levels of income.

Differences in educational levels do not hold any significant effect on conflict levels according to the information provided by men. However, women report that when the wife is more educated there is a significant increase in conflict

levels in comparison to cases in which couples have equal levels of education. The husband being more educated, on the other hand, does not affect conflict levels (Table 3 and Table 4).

Regression results presented in Table 3 and Table 4 indicate that one of the most significant factors clearly affecting average conflict levels reported by women and men are about the composition of couples with regard to the question of whether they are from rural or urban origin. According to both tables, the highest conflict level of conflict is observed when both couples are of

Table 6.3. Results of Ordinal Logistic Regression (Conflict Level Reported by Women)

		Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	95% Confidence interval	
							Lower end	Upper end
Threshold	0	-1.303	0.129	101.316	1	0.000	-1.557	-1.050
	1	1.062	0.129	67.531	1	0.000	0.808	1.315
	2	2.495	0.132	357.152	1	0.000	2.236	2.754
	Number of children	0.048	0.013	12.682	1	0.000***	0.021	0.074
	Year of marriage	-0.026	0.002	194.558	1	0.000***	-0.030	-0.022
	Wife is older	0.087	0.090	0.932	1	0.334	-0.089	0.262
	Husband is older	0.042	0.074	0.320	1	0.572	-0.103	0.187
	Same age	0 ^a			0			
	Wife is healthier	0.207	0.059	12.314	1	0.000***	0.091	0.322
	Husband is healthier	0.159	0.054	8.548	1	0.003**	0.052	0.265
	Same health status	0 ^a			0			
	Both work	0.144	0.065	4.915	1	0.027*	0.017	0.271
	Only husband works	0.234	0.058	16.567	1	0.000***	0.121	0.347
	Only wife works	0.091	0.120	0.570	1	0.450	-0.145	0.327
	Neither works	0 ^a			0			
Location	Wife earns more	0.201	0.127	2.510	1	0.113	-0.048	0.450
	Husband earns more	-0.134	0.058	5.319	1	0.021*	-0.248	-0.020
	Both earn equally	0 ^a			0			
	Wife is more educated	0.179	0.068	7.039	1	0.008**	0.047	0.312
	Male is more educated	-0.032	0.042	0.556	1	0.456	-0.115	0.052
	Same education level	0 ^a			0			
	Both raised in an urban settlement	0.392	0.050	60.533	1	0.000**	0.293	0.490
	Wife rural, husband urban	0.344	0.066	27.067	1	0.000**	0.215	0.474
	Husband rural, wife urban	0.232	0.069	11.373	1	0.001**	0.097	0.367
	Both rural	0 ^a			0			
	Wife more religious	0.363	0.055	42.787	1	0.000***	0.254	0.471
	Husband more religious	0.370	0.057	42.168	1	0.000***	0.258	0.482
Same religiosity level	0 ^a			0				

Note: Coefficients are significant at the * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$ levels.

urban origin. Couples being of mixed origin also increases conflict in comparison to the cases in which both are of rural origin. However, according to the scores reported by women, conflict further increases among mixed origin couples if the wife was raised in rural areas. This is the opposite according to the information collected from men: They report that conflict levels increase among mixed origin couples if the husband was raised in rural areas and the wife was raised in urban areas. Therefore, we can conclude the individual that is of rural origin has the tendency of expressing a higher conflict level in mixed origin couples. We also observe

that lowest levels of conflict are reported by men and women when both of the couples were raised in rural areas.

Another sociocultural difference that this study investigates is the difference in religiosity levels between couples. When we look at Table 3 and Table 4, we see that marital conflict increases when there is a difference in the religiosity levels of the couples. If one of the couples, either the wife or the husband, is more religious than the other, average marital conflict levels reported both by men and women increase. However, women report that the wife being more religious

Table 6.4. Results of Ordinal Logistic Regression (Conflict Level Reported by Men)

		Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	95% Confidence interval	
							Lower end	Upper end
Threshold	0	-1.247	0.128	95.292	1	0.000***	-1.498	-0.997
	1	0.835	0.127	43.012	1	0.000***	0.586	1.085
	2	2.222	0.130	292.814	1	0.000***	1.968	2.477
	Number of children	0.033	0.013	6.916	1	0.009**	0.008	0.058
	Year of marriage	-0.024	0.002	175.283	1	0.000***	-0.028	-0.021
	Wife is older	0.141	0.088	2.552	1	0.110	-0.032	0.314
	Husband is older	-0.003	0.073	0.001	1	0.972	-0.146	0.141
	Same age	0 ^a			0			
	Wife is healthier	0.096	0.058	2.743	1	0.098	-0.018	0.210
	Husband is healthier	0.091	0.054	2.866	1	0.090	-0.014	0.196
	Same health status	0 ^a			0			
	Both work	0.205	0.064	10.246	1	0.001**	0.079	0.330
	Only husband works	0.158	0.057	7.836	1	0.005**	0.047	0.269
	Only wife works	0.136	0.118	1.318	1	0.251	-0.096	0.368
	Neither works	0 ^a			0			
Location	Wife earns more	0.093	0.125	0.545	1	0.461	-0.153	0.338
	Husband earns more	-0.188	0.057	10.795	1	0.001**	-0.300	-0.076
	Both earn equally	0 ^a			0			
	Wife is more educated	0.030	0.067	0.201	1	0.654	-0.101	0.161
	Male is more educated	0.061	0.042	2.155	1	0.142	-0.021	0.143
	Same education level	0 ^a			0			
	Both raised in an urban settlement	0.399	0.050	64.674	1	0.000***	0.302	0.497
	Wife rural, husband urban	0.232	0.065	12.641	1	0.000***	0.104	0.360
	Husband rural, wife urban	0.421	0.068	38.457	1	0.000***	0.288	0.554
	Both rural	0 ^a			0			
	Wife more religious	0.219	0.055	16.111	1	0.000***	0.112	0.326
	Husband more religious	0.233	0.056	17.343	1	0.000***	0.124	0.343
	Same religiosity level	0 ^a			0			

Note: Coefficients are significant at the * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ and *** $p < 0.001$ levels.

increases conflict more than the husband being more religious. It is the opposite for men. Information collected from them indicate that conflict increases more when the husband is more religious. On the other hand, conflict generally decreases when there is no difference of religiosity between couples.

Two control variables, in addition to the sociodemographic and sociocultural differences, were included in both models examining the conflict levels reported by women and men. These are the number of children couples had and the number of years they have been married. Both variables were added to the models as numerical variables. According to Table 3 and Table 4, levels of conflict increase as the number of children increases. This means that conflict levels are higher among couples with more children. However, conflict levels decrease as the length of time couples have been married increases.

IV. Results and Discussion

This study used RFST 2016 dataset in order to explore how sociodemographic and sociocultural differences between couples affect marital conflict levels by applying multivariate analysis models. According to descriptive statistics, men among married couples tend to have characteristics that could be perceived as indicators of socially higher statuses. Husbands are mostly older than their wives. They also have higher levels of education and income in comparison to their spouses. A similar pattern holds true for employment status. Couples in which only the husband is working are much more common than couples in which only the wife is working. This shows us that men in contemporary Turkish society still hold the traditional “breadwinners” status. According to the findings, men reported higher levels of health. However, women on average are more religious than men among the couples who are

included the sample. Whether the difference of religiosity between men and women is a direct result of gender or because of others factors (i.e., education and employment status) should be investigated in other studies.

About half of the individuals in the sample are of rural origin (Figure 18). This can also be seen in the couples’ composition. In considerably large proportion of the cases, both couples are of rural origin. Half of the individuals in mixed origin couples were also raised in rural areas. Cases where both of the couples were raised in urban areas constitute only one-third of the sample (Figure 19).

When all of the comparison criteria are taken into account, couples resemble each other the most in levels of education and religiosity. This demonstrates that individuals pay more attention to sociocultural similarity when they choose a partner. Couples are more likely to be from different age, income, and employment status categories, but they prefer individuals similar to themselves in terms of education and religiosity.

Descriptive statistics also indicate that both men and women reported low levels of conflict. Such low values may be a result of concern about privacy and social desirability bias. It is not surprising to observe these biases in a country like Turkey where there is a strong sense of privacy between couples. Married individuals may not feel comfortable when they report their conflicts to third parties. However, average marital conflict scores were recoded for practical reasons. Such recoding also yielded somewhat normally distributed variances for marital conflict scores. However, future research should develop methods (such as giving surveys from tablets or giving self-administered surveys) of filling out surveys by offering couples more comfortable options.

Multivariate analyses (ordinal logistic regression) revealed that all but one of measures of differences between couples, with the exception of age have significant effects on marital conflict levels reported by men and women. The most visible of these effects are the differences in religiosity and of rural-urban origin. Marital conflict evidently increases when there is difference between the religiosity levels of couples. In terms of the rural-urban origin, highest levels of conflict are observed when both of the couples are of urban origin. When both of the couples are of rural origin, conflict decreases to the lowest level. In such a case, it can be argued that marital conflict is strongly associated with urbanism. However, by only looking at the data analyzed in this study we cannot claim that this is directly caused by the dynamics of an urban lifestyle for the fact that the information as to whether the participant household is located in a rural or an urban settlement is not available the RFST 2016 dataset. This is largely because of uncertainties in legal definitions and regulations about the official status of residential areas. For example, many villages were incorporated into urban and metropolitan areas as neighborhoods. In such a case, adding the population size of the residential areas where participating households are located might yield more reliable results. But such information is not available in the data set, either. It is also possible that other variables' statistical significance levels and coefficients might change with the addition of such a variable to the models. However, since factors like education and employment status are investigated in this paper, we might be able to make inferences about some of the indirect effects of urbanization as well.

The fact that comparisons of couples' religiosity levels and their rural-urban origins have more visible effects on marital conflict than other categories of comparisons might indicate that sociocultural composition of couples is more

influential for the nature of the relationship between them. This might be because religiosity and rural-urban background more strongly influence value systems of individuals in Turkey. Even though marital conflict most of the time happens around more practical issues (childrearing, housework, etc.), couples' values and attitudes affect the strength of the conflict. Through the findings, it is also possible to state that employment status has a visible effect on marital conflict. As it was mentioned earlier, marital conflict decreases in cases where none of the couples are working. These couples are likely to be retired couples. Even if this assumption is true, we cannot assume that retired couples have lower levels of conflict because of the number of years they have been married. The effects of marital duration are controlled in both models which show that conflict decreases as marital duration increases. Accordingly, we can conclude that employment status affects marital conflict independent of marital duration.

One of the reasons why conflict is at its highest when the husband is only one who works might be due to differences in gendered expectations from couples. For example, in such cases men might expect more caregiving and domestic work from their wives. They might also find their wives' reciprocal demands unjustified. Expectations and claims of the wives, therefore might not be accepted by them. This might eventually increase conflict. Furthermore, it is possible that working individuals might have different experiences with socialization. They might be socializing in culturally different settings which might affect their attitudes and behaviors. If only one of the couples are working this might be an indication of differences in socialization. Even if this assumption is true, it can only explain the reasons of why conflict reaches its highest levels when only the husband is employed. However, conflict levels are not increasing when only the wife works. Therefore,

it seems that it is mostly about traditional gender roles among couples. Men traditionally expect more caregiving and obedience with a sense of entitlement and this might be leading to conflict when it is met with the demands and expectations of the women. However, if only the wife is working, the husband's expectations and the sense of superiority and entitlement might be decreasing, hence the lower levels of marital conflict. These observations imply that that marital conflict is primarily moderated by the traditional perception of gender roles. A study conducted in the United States found similar trends. According to the findings of this research, the majority of work-life balance problems arise due to the male gender ideology (Minnotte et al., 2013).

The fact that conflict increases when both couples are working as well may result from differing perceptions of gender roles and, additionally, from difficulties in work-life balance. If the wife is also working, her demands and expectations too might increase and, therefore, she might bring up her own rights and expectations in response to the male's demands. Even though on different grounds, previous research (Hochschild, 1989; Deutsch, 1999) shows how dual earner couples think that their relations are based on "equality" in their marriages. This idea of equality may also be reinforcing conflict. That being said, dual earner couples might be experiencing higher levels of conflict due to problems related to work-life balance which is a factor emphasized in the literature (Stevens et al., 2004; Saginak and Saginak, 2005).

Conflict decreases, independent of employment status, when men have higher levels of income. This might be because such a difference reinforces traditional gender roles and perhaps male domination. However, the lack of such an effect when the wife has higher income could be yet another reason to conclude that men limit their

expectations and lower their sense of entitlement in such conditions. Further quantitative research in these areas would offer more informative perspectives about these issues.

V. Social Policy Suggestions

The research's findings can guide social policy on protective, preventive, and therapeutic services for couples and families. Even though more extensive research is needed on couples' relations, as stated in the section for research suggestions, the findings provided here give important clues for social policy. Protective and preventive services are activities of education and rising public awareness. Rehabilitative services include counseling services for couples and families, and in general all services and programs aimed at increasing family welfare.

Findings indicate that marital conflict decreases as years of marriage increase. This shows that conflict tends to increase in the first years of marriage. Such findings also imply that couples may need more support in these years. Therefore, pre-marital counseling services and counseling programs for the recently married couples should be designed and implemented more extensively.

According to the findings, marital conflict increases when only the husband works and among dual earner couples. Social policy regulations and practices that improve working conditions and decrease work-related stress can have a positive effect on the relationship between couples. Mental health professionals employed in the workplace can provide counseling to employees about a healthier work-life balance. That is why employment of organizational psychologists or social services experts can be encouraged. In this new period where the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and the Ministry of Family and Social Policy were merged into the same organizational body, regulating and implementing work-related policies which

positively affect family welfare might be easier. Therefore, the new organizational body should take the necessary steps for the development of policies which could contribute to the attainment of work-life balance and thusly improve relationships between couples.

The findings also indicate that marital conflict increase along with an increase in the number of children. Therefore, we can conclude that couples with more children should be offered supported through various programs. Supporting families with children can only be achieved with an approach in which the family is construed as a system surrounded by different systems. The family system can be supported within itself by means of services such as counseling and education. Couples can be provided with education regarding childcare, parenting, and arranging relations between siblings. In addition to marriage counseling/therapy, family counseling/therapy should be provided to families with children as well in order to help organizing intra-family relations. Social policy regulations increasing family welfare would be supporting families with children as well. For example, it is important to strengthen nursery and daycare services for families with children and to make educational, social, and cultural activities towards children and the youth more accessible.

As it is explained in the results section, differences in the levels of conflict reported by men and women might indicate that men underestimate or underreport conflictual situations. Such lower levels of awareness or the tendency to conceal problems might produce other for them. For example, men's mental health might gradually decrease and their functionality outside the family system, such as their professional and social lives, might be negatively affected. It is known that men are more introverted about mental health issues and about getting help for

marital problems (Parnell and Hammer, 2018). The social construction of masculinity and of the 'strong' male figure might be part of this problem. In order to address these issues, social policies should be designed and implemented in such ways that they increase male awareness in marital relations and with the purpose of making it easier for men to seek professional help about their familial lives. Beginning from high school years, the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies) can collaboratively provide trainings about family life in schools. Mass training programs for university students who are approaching marriage. The significance and benefits of professional counseling and assistance in cases of marital conflict can also be emphasized in the media.

According to the findings, differences between levels of religiosity, education, and of rural or urban origins can affect marital conflict. These findings imply that couples and families that have such sociocultural differences might need counseling support. Social policy regulations should encourage the development of counseling programs which address the implications of cultural differences among family members.

The counseling services suggested for couples and families here can be provided to individuals and families in various ways. Since the provision of family counseling services is under the administration and supervision of the Ministry of Labor, Social Services and Family (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policy), the ministry should take a more proactive role in these fields. Within the scope of the Juvenile Protection Law, Social Service Centers provide counseling services to disadvantaged groups for individuals and families who have been issued with a temporary protection. Number of professionals trained in family counseling/

therapy can be increased in these centers in order to increase the accessibility of these services. Couple and family therapy services should be made more accessible to all individuals living in the country, including foreigners under temporary protection (e.g., refugees) and international protection. Family counseling services are also provided at private family counseling centers under the supervision of the ministry. However, the costs of counseling/therapy are quite high. Couples and family counseling services can be covered through the comprehensive social security system so that all individuals regardless of their economic level can have access to these services. Private insurance companies and the publicly funded SGK (Social Security Institution) should cover the expenses of a legally defined number of sessions or a significant proportion of the fees. Couple and family counseling services can be provided by city and district municipalities, too. Counseling and therapy services have already begun at centers under the metropolitan municipalities of Istanbul and Ankara. These services should be made available by other municipal organizations. Graduates with degrees from the departments of psychology, psychological counseling and guidance, social work, and sociology who acquired the Certificate of Family and Couples Counseling ratified by the Ministry of National Education can be employed as family counselors for such services.

One of the main findings of this study is that difference in religiosity levels effects conflict more evidently than most of the other factors. There are no publicly available statistics on the issue but it was widely known in Turkey in recent years that many individuals who were struggling in their marriages called of the previously active the Fatwa Line, which was operated by Presidency of Religious Affairs. The Fatwa Line was designed with the purpose of offering answers to questions individuals might have

regarding religious jurisprudence. However, the fatwa Line also received calls from people who were seeking advice about issues they face their marriages. This is yet another evidence for the strong impact of religion in people's lives including the ways in which they try to solve problems they face in their marriages. Many individuals and couples who did not seek professional counseling or therapy tried to get help from male and female preachers who served in the Fatwa Line. However, preachers did not have training in family counseling. It is also possible that couples might be personally seeking the advice of their local religious leaders such as imams and muftis in their neighborhoods. That is why it is imperative for the Presidency of Religious Affairs to employ professional family counselors. At least, they should collaborate with professional counselors and when they get counseling request from the community they should direct these requests to the professionals.

Another finding that stands out in the study is how the composition of rural-urban origins affects conflict. It was seen in the research's descriptive statistics that large proportions of the couples were of rural origin. This shows that many of married individuals in Turkey might be of rural origin even if they live in urban areas or if embrace an urban lifestyle. Yet many experts who do family counseling or therapy may not be sufficiently aware of their clients' background or the effects of differences in couples' rural-urban origins on conflict. In a society such as Turkey where rural to urban migration has been continuing, the effects of differences in rural-urban origins as well as differences in the geographical regions where couples hail from should be studied in more detail. Academically well-informed education programs and intervention methods should be developed in light of such research.

VI. Research Suggestions

The RFST dataset is quite unique with its sample size and nationwide representativeness. In order for the RFST to speak to the international literature and for a more comprehensive exploration of issues relating to families and households, questions included in the RFST should be revised and improved. For example, international literature focuses on marital satisfaction in interspousal relationships. Questions regarding marital conflict in RFST have practical value, but not including questions about marital satisfaction is a limitation. Furthermore, there are many questions in the RFST dataset about marital conflict. However, questions regarding problem-solving strategies should also be added to the survey questionnaire. Couples' marital conflict levels might not exactly reflect how they try to solve their problems. Problem-solving strategies commonly used by couples have been investigated and strategies that pose risks for divorce in the long-term have been discussed in longitudinal studies abroad (Gottman, 1998). Researchers in Turkey can also explore and investigate problem-solving strategies among married couples in their quantitative and qualitative studies and try to determine what types of conflict and problem solving skills were more common among divorced couples. Preventative and rehabilitative programs and services can be designed based on the findings of this kind of research. RFST covers a broad range of topics and it focuses on all members of the households it studies. However, it would be more informative to conduct researches which focuses on couples and their relationships in Turkey. There are such surveys abroad (ex: *National Couples Survey*).

Furthermore, the findings of studies based on quantitative data as exemplified above are not sufficient for understanding the nature of marital conflict. Qualitative research is also important for a more adequate understanding of marital conflict. That is why; future research should incorporate mixed methods approach in their investigation of marital conflict in Turkey.

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7.

**MAKING OF FAMILIES:
INNER FAMILY RELATIONS
BETWEEN INSIDE AND
OUTSIDE**

Prof. Ferhat Kentel

MAKING OF FAMILIES: INNER FAMILY RELATIONS BETWEEN INSIDE AND OUTSIDE

Prof. Ferhat Kentel¹

I. Abstract

The present article seeks to analyse the intensity of family relations in Turkey on the basis of the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST) conducted by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former Ministry of Family and Social Policies). For this purpose, advanced statistical analyses were conducted by using RFST 2016 data and relations between different variables were interpreted with the inclusion of 2006 and 2011 data as well. This work yielded overall information on the intensity, frequency and quality of intra-family relations, leisure time activities by family types and income status, and the relationship between these variables and education and income status. According to information obtained, “intra-family relations” do not solely depend on intra-family dynamics but are shaped by families’ outer connections. Emotional activity feeding the family is dependent upon a minimum level of joint activities by family members; it is observed, however, that families with weak social status and limited relations with outside cannot ensure this kind of feeding. Hence, while family is shaped as a unit of conservation, adaptation and continuity against an untrustworthy outer world, it is still not a ‘traditional’ or ‘modern’ fixed agent. It changes in response to changing social circumstances and new types of family emerge. The last part of the article is allocated to policy suggestions on the basis of analyses made in the article.

Key words: Daily life, intra-family relations, outdoor activities, consumerism, emotional density, multiplex families.

II. Introduction

The present article seeks to analyse the intensity of family relations in Turkey on the basis of the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST) conducted by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies in 2006, 2011 and 2016. The work yielded overall information on the intensity, frequency and quality of intra-family relations, leisure time activities by family types and income status, and the relationship between these variables and education and income status. Essentially, however, capitalizing on the hypothesis that “intra-family relations” do not solely depend on intra-family dynamics but are shaped by families’ outer connections, efforts were made to depict the influence of family’s outer relations and their intensity on family processes.

For this purpose, the present study compiled information from two channels. In the first one, advanced statistical analyses were conducted on the basis of data from the RFST 2016 survey², and quantitative data not included in the framework of advanced statistical analysis are interpreted from a qualitative perspective in the second. At the present stage, the work conducted involves exploring meanings in the general data set by addressing data contained in surveys conducted in three different periods through descriptive statistical and multi-pronged comparisons.

Though this two-directional study may receive methodological criticisms by “scientist” circles associated with interdisciplinary approach that sociology is gradually adopting, the mixed method we apply here is based on the assertion that sociological reading of life has

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to be multi-faceted. It is because social realities are complex; studies in the field of culture in particular have to strive for interpretations that will disclose extremely rich words of meaning instead of searching “scientific laws” like nature laws. Further, if it is intended to “build/suggest policy” in a specific area, it is clear that findings obtained from a single perspective will remain very limited and miss many facts. It is without doubt that it will never be possible to fully understand the complexity of social life. Each study and each method subscribes to a modest mission to shed light on only one facet of this complexity and, if done well, there should be no ground for any doubt about the value and legitimacy of such studies. The intention of these studies is as follows: A step closer to the reality will have been taken if studies on specific themes and in different areas enter into communication. On the other hand, if the intention is to derive information from a study directly for the purpose of formulating a policy, it is unthinkable for this study to remain within the boundaries of a narrow technical framework and still insist on detailed policies in spite of this narrowness. Looking at the complexity of life with only one instrument and focusing on only one facet of this complexity is like trying to describe an elephant in dark. Reality looked at from a single field of expertise is inevitably became trapped within the narrow and single-fronted rote of that field. Therefore understanding “family” in Turkey while it witnesses deep and painful changes and transformations and exposed to quite ideological moves of various political and cultural currents and movements requires multi-faceted approaches. It is certain that the present study in no way claims to fully respond to this requirement. Such a claim would be groundless with what is available as data sets that were produced in different periods and only of quantitative nature (of which some are also quite problematic). The present study is modest in the sense that it tries to inspire awareness in

complexities and interwoven meanings related to family by a variety of ways of thinking instead of self-proclaimed absoluteness of knowledge reached through a single method.

Firstly, few starting points may be underlined for this article in the light of some evaluations made on the basis of the survey mentioned above. According to these evaluations, “nuclearization” is the foremost change taking place in family structure in the country and it is followed by other changes including dissolution of “extended family” in general and “patriarchal extended family” in particular. The share of families without children in nuclear families is increasing. Besides, family structures such as “dispersed family”, “one-person family” and “one-parent family” become more common as rates of divorce increase. Also, a rapid increase is observed in “transient extended families” (Koç, 2013). In the context of this process of change observed with the 2000s, a striking example is the share of nuclear family without children rising from 14% in 1978 to 24% in 2011 (Koç, 2013: 50).

Looking at data presented by İsmet Koç we can say that this trend will go on. According to a projection the shares of nuclear, extended and dispersed families are envisaged, respectively, as 69%, 7% and 24% for the year 2023 (Koç, 2013: 52).

Meanwhile, these data point out to the need to improve public policies on family. Despite the specific importance attached to family in both Constitution and Development Plans, families get smaller and dispersed and cases of divorce increase. In fact, the basic assertion of the present article lies here: The paradox arising when family does not appear as a strong institution desired in spite of importance attached to it. In our opinion, this paradox derives from the assumption underlying public policies that society will be stronger when family is stronger.

İsmet Koç remarks the following about the 10th Development Plan: “In the 10th Development Plan covering the period 2014-2018, it is stated that the ‘institution of family constituting the nucleus of society, binding individuals and society together, and individuals raised in environments of tolerance, affection and mutual understanding is the *foundation of a strong society*’, and that family ‘*has its critical importance* in strengthening social structure and solidarity.” (Italics mine) (Koç, 2013: 52). The starting point or “basis” in the background of this idea is the family and it is regarded as a “critical institution” that must be strengthened for a strong and solidarist society

Support to family or its improvement will of course supply an important input to improvements in society. However, this is only one dimension of what needs to be done to improve the society. Yet, the reverse of this is more valid: Families are always open to effects of improvements achieved in other spheres of society and also to problems that are chronic or emerging in periods. It would be misleading to think that legislative arrangements will have their effects on families such as increasing or reducing the cases of divorce. For example, it is basically an ideological discourse that the Law No. 6284 on Protection of Family and Prevention of Violence against Women adopted in 2012 after civil society activities and efforts of women’s organizations has led to increase in cases of divorce as claimed by some parts of the press. This legislation that envisages measures to prevent violence against women and thus tries to protect women naturally includes the measure of keeping perpetrators of violence away from women as their victims. Yet, it is not a “home wrecking legislation” (cited by Women’s Human Rights New Solutions Society, <http://www.kadinininsanhaklari.org>) drafted without due regard to “Turkish family structure”, “granting too many rights to women” and “victimizing”

male perpetrators of violence as claimed by some. The legislation, as a way of protecting women, cracks the door open for terminating marriages in which relations of affection and respect are irreparably damaged, which generate unhappiness only and appear only formally as a “family” rather than encouraging divorce or driving couples who have no such idea to separation. As such, the legislation mentioned only makes “visible” a social status where violence is concealed. Despite being a quite advanced measure in preventing violence against women in Turkey, the Law No.6284 is still far from solving the problem of violence. It is clear that violence cannot be stopped by laws, decrees or regulations since factors fuelling violence are diverse and include patriarchal structures coming from traditions or from identity crises upon the dissolution of these structures, problems related to urbanization and cultural adaptation, political tensions and economic problems or indirect psychological problems catching individuals as a result of all these.

In short, families and individuals that form a family have their location at the intersection point of a range of sets including work, school, neighbours, close and distant relatives, social classes, cultural reference groups, politics, media, TV programmes, internet and social media, and there is no single and absolute intersection point in this complex. While each family and its individual members are fed by and socialized with family on the one side, they also have their channels of feeding and socialization out of it. Thus, understanding the intensity of relations within a family requires a two-way effort, from within and from without. Given that earlier evaluations made on the basis of RFST data (RFST, 2013) addressed tendencies emerging within families, this article will try to analyse the intensity of relations within family in the light of families’ outer relations in particular.

III. Theoretical Background and Literature

For a long time, the reflections of modernization paradigm reigned over theories on the definition of family in the field of family sociology. Family was often regarded as a social institution that functions as the backbone of social construction and formation. Associated with this function, family was accepted as the institution of social attachment that brings individuals together in a certain form, ensures their cooperation, raises children, takes consanguinity and marriage as its basis and produces kinship. When this definition is further refined according to the functionalist approach it is possible to make a long list of functions. Still, the overall consensus on basic functions covers socialization, regulation of sexual activity, social status, legitimacy, population registry and material and emotional security (Maconis, Plummer, 2008: 583).

It must be kept in mind that different definitions deriving from different sociological schools come in as well. According to the confrontational approach, for example, family is a superstructure institution preserving proprietorship and heritage, thus existing class-based power relations (Engels, 2010; Bukodi and Goldthorpe, 2012).

According to feminist approach, though having its nuances on a wide spectrum, family is basically regarded as an institution reproducing inequalities between women and men (Butler, 1999; Irigaray, 1997; Smith, 2001; Beauvoir, 1997, Walby, 1990), micro-sociological approach argues that family is the totality of practices that are in constant process of “evolving” that individuals “do”, “process, re-construe and “realize” (Berger, 1977; Certeau, 1984; Duben and Behar, 1991).

It is beyond doubt that family as an institution or family practices change and diversify along with changing and differing social structures. Hence,

it is necessary to stress the existence of different family structures instead of sticking to a single definition of family. The concept of family with ties that are not traditional becomes a part of social life replacing or accompanying what may be called “traditional” families. Besides or in place of traditional families, there are now families that can be qualified as “preferential” where families are composed of individuals who feel themselves as components of the same unit regardless of legal or blood ties. (Weston, 1991).

From the perspective of micro practices or daily life sociology, family can be described as an institution in constant process of “construction” by doing certain things rather than being a static unit. Accordingly, families are unions that are more or less successful in securing food, household works, sustenance of relations of kinship and relations of affection (Carrington, 1999: 5) with individuals who like each other much or less, look after and care for each other in a stronger or weaker way.

Definitions that consider family as “set of relations that are fluid but not random” rather than formal or legal marital ties can be included in the category of definitions that approach family with its practices instead of regarding it as a fixed structure that is entered in. According to this definition family comprises practices like housework or child care, sexual relations, etc. It goes on with practices, interlocks, regularities and fluidities (Morgan, 1999: 17-18). Even with its privacy dimension, the biography of family individuals are in relation with society. On the one side there are relations that are broken, consolidated or renewed between different familial positions (mothers, fathers, children...). On the other, these relations are accompanied by other relations that are also close but may not be present in physical terms (grandmother, grandfathers, mothers in law...) and others that are too distant in terms of kinship but may be even closer in physical terms (friends, regular visitors...)

There are also some noteworthy approaches defining today's differentiated family structures as "postmodern". According to this approach, just as the transformation of traditional extended families which were once ideal-types or dominant patterns into modern nuclear families, now these families as the ideal-type of the past century are transforming too. However, as different from earlier transformations, the present one is not a "new family model" or a "new stage." What we see is the loss of belief in logical steps of progress. The postmodern family embodies both an "experimental" and "nostalgic" dimension (Stacey, 1996: 8). In a sense it generates new procedures, practices and habit while, at the same time, represents the past desire for a "warm home". As such, new family (families) is a structure that provides a democratic environment in family relations and feeds the search for safety; in other words it is a structure that strives to keep both freedom and safety together. And, given this, it also generates violence along with freedom and equality since it breaks many long-established patterns.

One important theme of debate in sociological examination of the institution of family is the centrality of the phenomenon of divorce in the context of dispersed, broken or single-parent families that replace or exist along with traditional, extended or nuclear families. In this respect we can, without underlying excessively, keep in mind approaches that relate the incidence of divorce to life cycles rather than family failure. In fact, we cannot safely say marriages last shorter today relative to earlier centuries. Years in marriage were shorter in the past century too; people mostly had single marriages as well, but only lived shorter (Kain, 1990).

Hence we can consider the present high rates of divorce as one of the signs of overall transformation that societies are undergoing instead of reading it as the crisis of classic (traditional/modern) family structures. We

can go on and say that while women are now trying harder to stand on their own feet men look for more satisfactory relations socially and culturally in a much more fluid world. In this context we can consider the phenomenon of divorce not as a threat to the institution of family but as indicator of the change that family itself is undergoing and emergence of In this context we can consider the phenomenon of divorce not as a threat to the institution of family but as indicator of the change that family itself is undergoing and emergence of new (or many) family types. new (or many) family types. In other words, no matter how much it is desired a uniform family is not possible at least in lives that are not uniform.

Beck and Beck-Gernsheim pointing out that we are in a "transitory period with the possibility of a long and painful war between women and men" underline this "new state of affairs": "... it is no longer possible to pronounce in some binding way what family, marriage, parenthood, sexuality or love mean, what they should or could be; rather, these vary in substance, exceptions, norms and morality from individual to individual and from relationship to relationship." (1995: 5)

Besides differentiation existing on a wide spectrum, it must be kept in mind that family changes in time from both within and without, and hence it is an institution that is re-established again from both within and without. According to Koç who points out to three significant developments that are influential in the process of transformation of family, the first is external factors that are influential in the formation of family. It is "socioeconomic change that manifests itself in coming to the fore of the sectors of industry and services in economic life, women's participation to employment for wage, and increase in per capita income" (Koç, 2013: 48).

However, there is also a second process triggering change from inside. It is the demographic transformation emerging with higher age at first

marriage, stricter control of fertility, higher ages in having the first child, limitation of the level of fertility by 2 children, narrowing of the gap between ideal and actual number of children and longer life expectancy at birth.

Lastly there is a process of change that directly affects all layers of society and hence family as well. And it is “mentality change or change in the way of thinking which is thought as being as influential as these structural factors on changing family structure and playing an important role in the transformation of structural factors.” (Koç, 2013: 48)

Moreover, it may be useful here to touch upon the approach exposed in earlier RFSTs modelled by Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı and can be described as culturist. In her model conceptualized as “cultural relationality” Kağıtçıbaşı stands against views of western origin that relations of mutual dependency between families and relatives are replaced by relations that are based on principles of independence with urbanization and industrialization. According to Kağıtçıbaşı, opposite to the model in the west, while material independence of generations is realized, emotional dependency among family members persist strongly in Turkey even when families have much more means (Cited by Özbay, 2013: 59).

Even if there is a germ of truth in the observation that “relations of emotional dependence” persist in families in Turkey, the reasons of it are left to the structural nature of the field of culture. Yet, behind the cultural outcome of this nature there is of course the plethora of political, social, economic and religious relations of trust/mistrust existing in society. The reproduction in new forms of communitarian structures inherited from the Ottoman period as they tend to dissolve with policies of citizenship has its share in this outcome. Family phases in as a safe haven in the process of radical change that creates unrest

and high-tension political atmosphere that feeds fear (Kentel, Ahıska, Firat, 2007). Besides, even if processes of modernization in Turkey follow its unique courses as in all other countries, they overall erode cultural patterns and networks of cultural solidarity and community leave their place to new individualized forms of modern life and cities.

According to Ayşe İdil Aybars, the author of an article in the same RFST study, what we observe as social activities of families do not consist only of leisure time activities of individuals; these activities (or their absence) in fact provide us a very important idea concerning the cycle of inequality and exclusion in society. It appears that disadvantaged sections of population in Turkey face a serious problem of social participation besides income poverty stemming from inequalities in income distribution (Aybars, 2013). It can be said that families’ material and environmental circumstances directly influence their integrity and cultural reproduction.

In conclusion, in the light of this discussion and as stated by Peter Berger in his now classic article, there is need to mention families that are in constant process of “formation” or “being made” with individuals entering in and interpreting in different social conditions instead of a definitive and rigid family structure and definition (Berger, 1977). In addition to this and referring again to daily life sociology, it can also be stated that individuals in families constantly produce “family strategies” within existing social and family structures in order to survive and live a better life (Certeau, 1984).

Ultimately, along with these theoretical discussions that introduce a macro dimension to family structure and transformation we can formulate the major problematic of the present study as follows: Dynamics that affect the transformation of families and problems they

encounter do not derive solely from within the family. This change and associated problems depend basically upon the transformation that society is undergoing, in other words upon relations that family establishes with this changing society and therefore it is not possible to speak about a uniform family formation. Obviously, fully unfolding this type of problematicization requires very detailed quantitative and qualitative studies including on legal systems and judicial processes, positive economic indicators and crisis on a time scale; promising political conjunctures and tensions; spatial facilities and arrangements, etc. affecting families. Here, without omitting the presence and importance of the interaction mentioned, some questions will be raised along with data obtained from RFST surveys and efforts will be made to respond to these questions. Questions can be formulated as follows:

What is the place in family of collective activities like dining, visits, shopping and cultural consumption? Those who are engaged in specific activities do what else? Is there any information about the characteristics of the family deriving from doing or not doing/not being able to do these activities? Is there any relationship between these activities and such characteristics as the size of the family/household, whether it is nuclear, extended or dispersed, children enrolled to school, family members employed or economic power? How do families differ with these activities?

IV. Methodological Approach

Social, cultural, economic or political processes of the century and the world we are living in affect, in a reflexive way, quite different geographies and quite different “levels of development.” It is no longer possible to speak about a society that is traditional; societies are under the influence of global dynamics. In the same vein, neither is it possible today to speak about modern and post-industrial societies only;

these societies too experience new encounters with their own traditions.

It is these encounters experienced that change and often unpack institutions existing in every sphere of life; they convert them into ‘zombies’ in the words of Ulrich Beck, meaning institutions that remain only on paper or completely transformed in their content (Beck, 1995: 40). A reflection of this total change confronts us in the institution of family including in Turkey. For example institutions and practices that place men at work and women at home, institutions shaped on the basis of rigid division of labour between men and women change. Parallel to this change which emerges in a reflexive way through struggles waged by individuals and social groups in all walks of life, women participating more and more to social life constitute a part of this change. It is inevitable that this change occurring on a wide spectrum from home architecture to enlarged kitchens, urban planning concepts, from production to consumption patterns, from business environments to schools and education has its implications on family. Below is the advanced statistical analysis of intra-family relations associated with this change on the basis of 2016 data and analyses construing relations between different variables where we included 2006 and 2011 data as well.

A. Dependent Variables: Frequency of Types of Activities Families are Engaged in Together

The dependent variable of this study is the frequency of activities that families are involved together. The RFST 2016 data set contains information concerning 16 distinct types of activities that families are engaged in together. Below are these activities:

1. Having breakfast on weekdays
2. Having lunch on weekdays
3. Having dinner on weekdays
4. Having breakfast at weekends
5. Having lunch at weekends
6. Having dinner at weekends

7. Visiting relatives
8. Visiting neighbours
9. Visiting friends
10. Eating out
11. Going on a picnic
12. Going to cinema
13. Going to theatre
14. Going out for shopping
15. Watching TV together
16. Going away on holiday

In the RFST data set, it was asked how frequently families were engaged in 16 activity types listed above. Response categories are as follows: 1) Never, 2) Rarely, 3) Sometimes, 4) Frequently and 5) Always.

In order to avoid redundancy that would emerge if each of the 16 types of activities listed above is used separately as a dependent variable in multi-variable analyses, those with similarities were identified through factor analysis and as a result fewer dependent variables were used. As a result of factor analysis conducted in this context 4 factors with internal consistency were found.

For example, (1) having breakfast together on weekdays and (2) having lunch together on weekdays were similar and thus considered as a single factor. These activities that are considered as being realized together mostly family members who do not work are named as “unusual.” In other words, the relation here can be considered as “special and close.” In the second type of activity from the factor analysis we have (1) dinner on weekdays, (2) breakfast at weekends, (3) lunch at weekends and (4) dinner at weekends. This type of activity considered as belonging more to families with members having their jobs within the week is named as “usual”. As can be seen in Table 1, the third type of activity emerging as a result of factor analysis includes (1) Visiting relatives, (2) Visiting neighbours and (3) Visiting friends. This type of activity where families spend time together in their social relations is named as ‘visits’. Here it is possible to construe the implicit meaning of visits as “face-to-face group relations.” Within the framework of sociological conceptualization, these relations that socially touches a narrower circle and culturally of more “traditional” nature

Table 7.1. Factor analysis

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Breakfast on weekdays				
Lunch on weekdays				0.714
Dinner on weekdays				0.808
Breakfast at weekends	0.850			
Lunch at weekends	0.757			
Dinner at weekends	0.569			
Visiting relatives	0.916			
Visiting neighbours			-0.791	
Visiting friends			-0.932	
Eating out			-0.887	
Going on a picnic		0.688		
Going to cinema		0.581		
Going to theatre		0.931		
Going out for shopping		0.909		
Watching TV together				
Going away on holiday		0.644		

Extraction Method: Principal Components Analysis.
 Rotation Method: Kaiser Normalization and Oblimin.

can be thought, in a sense, as “*gemeinschaft*” (face-to-face community relations). The fourth and the last factor found in the study includes the activities of (1) Eating out, (2) Going on a picnic, (3) Going to cinema, (4) Going to theatre and (5) Going away on holiday. This can be qualified as ‘urban activities’ that are characterized with ‘outdoor activities’ of rather “*gesellschaft*” properties; in other words activities that are more individualized, modern in terms of consumption patterns with capitalistic tendencies.

Further, since activities “going out together for shopping” and “watching TV” existing in the RFST survey do not constitute a new and significant factor either alone or together with other factors, they are excluded from advanced statistical analyses to be reintegrated later to commentaries.

Responses to sub-components of four factors emerging in this study originally started from 1 (never) and ended with 5 (always). However, assuming that the response “never” denoted the absence of a specific activity, it was recoded as going from 0 (never) to 4 (always). The average score of each family in a specific factor was calculated by taking the total of scores from sub-components (from 0 to 4) and dividing this total by the number of sub-components in that factor. For example, if a family is having breakfast together on every weekday it is given 4 for that sub-component and 0 for that sub-component in case the family never comes together on weekday lunches. Since these two sub-components constitute the factor “unusual meal” the score that the family gets in this factor is 2 obtained by dividing the sum of two sub-components which is 4 ($4+0=4$) by 2 (number of components). Calculations for the remaining three factors followed the same path. Since the average of all four factors is taken, these four factors vary (as can be seen in Table 2) from 0, the lowest value to 4 as the highest.

B. Independent Variables

The advanced statistical dimension of the present study examines how socioeconomic characteristics of families affect types of activities that they are engaged in together as a family. The first variable related to the economic status of families is average annual income which is a more objective measure. Since the range of this variable is too large it was added to the model by taking its natural logarithm (Income (ln)). Since total monthly income does not reflect the total welfare status of a family due to such factors of number of family members and special needs of the family, the variable “difficulty in subsistence” as a more subjective measure is added to the model as an independent variable. In the RFST survey the question related to subsistence was put as follows following the question on average monthly income: “How do you think you can cover all basic needs of the household with this income?” Responses were from 1 (very difficult) to 5 (very easy). Put this way, the question in fact reflected easiness in subsistence. In other words the lowest value denoted the most difficult and the highest value the easiest. In order to convert this question into subsistence difficulty, responses were made subject to reverse coding and a new scale starting from 1 (very easy) and going to 5 was obtained and added to models as “difficulty in subsistence”. Also added to multiple analysis models as distinct categorical variables were whether households have borrowed within the last year, whether received any assistance, whether family could save and have a private car. Independent variables related to households used in models included household size (number of household members), family structure (nuclear, extended and dispersed) and type of residence (in an apartment block with less than 10 flats, more than 10 flats, double or terraced house or detached house). Also included in models was whether families have sick, elderly or handicapped members. Numerical variables

included in order to assess the outer relations of families were the number of children going to school and the number of family members working out in a job. In the same context, whether families have their paid internet connection was used in all models as a categorical variable.

V. Findings

Table 2 present descriptive statistics of four factors constructed on the basis of factor analysis. According to this table, on average, the most frequent collective activity of households in RFST 2016 data set is usual meals (2.99). From this we can infer that large majority of families always or frequently have their dinners together on weekdays and all their meals at weekends. This is followed by visits (1.93) and unusual meals (1.82). According to the same table, outdoor activities constitute the type that families are engaged together the least (0.81). Factors affecting these four types of activities are presented separately in tables that follow.

Table 7.2. Descriptive statistics for factors

	Number	Lowest	Highest	Average	Standard Deviation
Unusual dining	15275	0.00	4.00	1.82	1.41
Usual dining	15275	0.00	4.00	2.99	0.98
Visits	15275	0.00	4.00	1.93	1.07
Outdoor activities	15275	0.00	4.00	0.81	0.85

A. Special and Intimate Relationship: Unusual (Morning, Noon) Meals

Table 3 shows the outcomes of ordinal logistic regression model used in estimating the distribution of unusual meals. According to this table, the frequency of getting together on occasions of unusual meal is reduced as household size gets larger. The same table suggests that this frequency is also reduced as the number of working family members and income increase. Finally, the frequency of having meal together is also reduced as difficulty in subsistence increases.

In comparison to those without car, families with cars can have their weekday breakfasts and lunches together more frequently. The opportunities of getting together on these occasions are more in extended families that comprise more than two generations and relatives. Table 3 below shows that having family members in need of care also increases the chances of having such meals together.

Table 3 also shows that the state of benefitting from assistance and the number of children do not have any effect on the frequency of having unusual meals together.

According to RFST surveys conducted in three different periods, the most important events when family members are in union are those related to “meals”. Noteworthy among these are, although in different factors according to factor analysis, breakfasts, dinners and picnics. In a sense, “having meal together” is one of the

most important prerequisites of being a family. The following can be added: “Unusual meals”, that is breakfasts and lunches are events that families cannot spare much time in daily rush of family members. This holds true for both high income families and others facing difficulties in subsistence. It is possible to understand that such unions are hard to realize for families whose members have to start working early in the morning and numerous family members are engaged in activities to earn money and support the family. It can be said that those who can manage these events are families where other activities have decreased. For example one can speak of the presence of an established and

Table 7.3. Ordinal logistic regression model for estimating the distribution of unusual meals

	Estimation	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Limit	Upper Limit
Household size	-0.176	0.015	1370.053	1	0.000	-0.205	-0.147
Income (ln)	-0.481	0.031	2410.884	1	0.000	-0.541	-0.420
Difficulty in subsistence	-0.215	0.019	1320.930	1	0.000	-0.252	-0.179
Duration of residence at the same place	0.016	0.001	3520.230	1	0.000	0.014	0.018
Number of children enrolled to school	-0.019	0.019	10.001	1	0.317	-0.057	0.019
Number of members working	-0.339	0.019	3030.979	1	0.000	-0.377	-0.301
Have a car	0.145	0.032	200.426	1	0.000	0.082	0.207
No car	0 ^a			0			
Received assistance	-0.027	0.048	0.320	1	0.572	-0.122	0.067
No assistance	0 ^a			0			
Taken on debt	-0.101	0.031	100.486	1	0.001	-0.163	-0.040
No debt	0 ^a			0			
Member in need of care	0.520	0.054	930.494	1	0.000	0.415	0.626
No member in need of care	0 ^a			0			
Nuclear family	0.127	0.052	60.051	1	0.014	0.026	0.228
Extended family	0.447	0.073	370.125	1	0.000	0.303	0.591
Dispersed family	0 ^a			0			
Internet connection at home	-0.510	0.033	2340.523	1	0.000	-0.575	-0.444
No internet	0 ^a			0			
Have savings	0.186	0.050	140.069	1	0.000	0.089	0.284
No saving	0 ^a			0			
Apartment block (10 or more flats)	-0.642	0.041	2490.107	1	0.000	-0.721	-0.562
Apartment block (less than 10 flats)	-0.613	0.039	2410.828	1	0.000	-0.691	-0.536
Double or terraced house	-0.704	0.090	610.352	1	0.000	-0.880	-0.528
Detached house	0 ^a			0			

routinized habit of eating together in families with lower mobility, residing at the same place for a long time, the possibility that some families have elderly and retired members as well as families living in detached houses and those without internet connection. Though statistical information does not provide any clue in this regard, such households may be considered as more traditional and of rural character.

B. Standard Relationship: Usual (Weekday Evenings and Weekends) Meals

Table 4 presents the outcomes of ordinal logistic regression model estimating the distribution of “usual meals” (at evenings on weekdays,

at weekends) as the most common practice observed in families. According to this table, as the size and total income of the household increases together with increased difficulty in subsistence, the frequency of getting together on weekday dinners and weekend meals decreases. A similar situation also arises when the number of working family members is higher and there is internet connection at home and frequency of lunches is reduced in this case too.

On the other hand, the frequency of getting together for meals increases if the family has a car, some member in need of care and family can save. The probability of being together in usual

Table 7.4. Ordinal logistic regression model for estimating the distribution of usual meals

	Estimation	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Limit	Upper Limit
Household size	-0.233	0.015	247.947	1	0.000	-0.262	-0.204
Income (ln)	-0.145	0.030	22.669	1	0.000	-0.205	-0.085
Difficulty in subsistence	-0.133	0.019	51.526	1	0.000	-0.170	-0.097
Duration of residence at the same place	0.006	0.001	47.096	1	0.000	0.004	0.007
Number of children enrolled to school	0.097	0.019	25.657	1	0.000	0.060	0.135
Number of members working	-0.131	0.019	47.163	1	0.000	-0.169	-0.094
Have a car	0.205	0.032	41.271	1	0.000	0.143	0.268
No car	0 ^a			0			
Received assistance	0.034	0.048	.512	1	0.474	-0.060	0.128
No assistance	0 ^a			0			
Taken on debt	-0.072	0.031	5.335	1	0.021	-0.133	-0.011
No debt	0 ^a			0			
Member in need of care	0.304	0.053	32.263	1	0.000	0.199	0.409
No member in need of care	0 ^a			0			
Nuclear family	0.322	0.051	39.412	1	0.000	0.222	0.423
Extended family	0.404	0.073	30.777	1	0.000	0.261	0.546
Dispersed family	0 ^a			0			
Internet connection at home	-0.139	0.033	17.468	1	0.000	-0.204	-0.074
No internet	0 ^a			0			
Have savings	0.227	0.050	20.619	1	0.000	0.129	0.324
No saving	0 ^a			0			
Apartment block (10 or more flats)	-0.064	0.041	2.489	1	0.115	-0.143	0.016
Apartment block (less than 10 flats)	-0.084	0.039	4.511	1	0.034	-0.161	-0.006
Double or terraced house	-0.244	0.089	7.494	1	0.006	-0.419	-0.069
Detached house	0 ^a			0			

meals is also higher when there is increase in the number of children attending school and years spend at the same residence gets longer. Besides, the probability of having meals together is higher in extended families in particular and in nuclear families also relative to dispersed families.

It appears that dinner is the most indispensable one in these unions and probably also the area where “traditional ties” become manifest most clearly. Dinner can be picked as an important indicator of the intensity of intra-family relations. Further, weekends are time intervals in which common feelings in the family are fuelled. After weekday activities like work and

school, the time at weekends is most suited for family’s “emotional activity” (emotional labour). It is at these times that families can find better opportunities to union and have “special” breakfast and engage in activities as parents and children, which means family members’ opportunities to care for each other.

C. Face-to-face Group Relations: Visiting Relatives, Neighbours and Friends

Table 5 shows the outcomes of ordinal logistic regression model estimating the distribution of “visits” (to relatives, neighbours and friends) as a practice frequently observed in families though not as frequently as dinners and weekend

meals. Parallel to findings mentioned above, the frequency of getting together on the occasion of visiting relatives, neighbours and friends is reduced as household size gets larger. The frequency of such visits is also reduced as there is increase in household income accompanied by increased difficulty in subsistence and as higher the number of working family members. The availability of internet connection at home also seems to be a barrier to socialization of this kind; at least in houses with internet connection, the frequency of getting together for visits falls. Data which is more easily understandable is related to the type of dwelling. As apartment blocks get bigger (with more than 10 flats) the probability of visits is lower.

On the other hand, in case the “duration of residence at the same place” which paves the way of “building a tradition” is longer or family has a car (easiness in travel) or family can save, the frequency of visits increases. Data which we consider as important is related to the number of “children attending school”; since higher number of children attending school can be taken as more channels of socialization out of home, the potential for outer visits is increased. Similar to the number of children attending school, the frequency of visits increases in case there is a family member in need of care. Normally considered as a factor keeping people at home, it appears that the reverse is true when outside visits are concerned. In other words,

Table 7.5. Ordinal logistic regression model for estimating the distribution of frequency of visits

	Estimation	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Limit	Upper Limit
Household size	-0.128	0.015	76.351	1	0.000	-0.156	-0.099
Income (ln)	-0.226	0.030	56.712	1	0.000	-0.285	-0.167
Difficulty in subsistence	-0.252	0.018	189.545	1	0.000	-0.288	-0.216
Duration of residence at the same place	0.002	0.001	4.415	1	0.036	0.000	0.003
Number of children enrolled to school	0.057	0.019	9.128	1	0.003	0.020	0.095
Number of members working	-0.096	0.019	25.847	1	0.000	-0.133	-0.059
Have a car	0.319	0.031	103.252	1	0.000	0.258	0.381
No car	0 ^a			0			
Received assistance	-0.027	0.047	.337	1	0.562	-0.120	0.065
No assistance	0 ^a			0			
Taken on debt	-0.017	0.031	.312	1	0.577	-0.077	0.043
No debt	0 ^a			0			
Member in need of care	-0.472	0.052	82.059	1	0.000	-0.574	-0.370
No member in need of care	0 ^a			0			
Nuclear family	0.569	0.051	125.632	1	0.000	0.469	0.668
Extended family	0.637	0.072	78.433	1	0.000	0.496	0.778
Dispersed family	0 ^a			0			
Internet connection at home	-0.131	0.033	15.988	1	0.000	-0.195	-0.067
No internet	0 ^a			0			
Have savings	0.027	0.049	.303	1	0.582	-0.069	0.122
No saving	0 ^a			0			
Apartment block (10 or more flats)	-0.280	0.040	49.077	1	0.000	-0.358	-0.201
Apartment block (less than 10 flats)	-0.246	0.039	40.341	1	0.000	-0.322	-0.170
Double or terraced house	0.141	0.088	2.551	1	0.110	-0.032	0.314
Detached house	0 ^a			0			

the presence of family members in need of care becomes a means for socialization through visits instead of obstructing this activity.

Lastly, visits are much more frequent in families residing in detached houses and extended families.

For the general sample visiting relatives, neighbours and friends constitutes relations that feed the family and maintain its connection with outside without putting any pressure on family budget. The following comment may be added in relations to “visits to relatives” which can be qualified as the first close circle: Among lower social classes facing difficulty in subsistence, the first level of solidarity networks covering the family and relatives are relatively weaker since it puts a pressure on their budget how small may it be. However, relations of these families with their locations (neighbourhood, close environment, etc.) are stronger than those of higher income group families. It can be said for these families with limited mobility that they are fed by what may be called “outer circle” that are physically closer and in a sense they are compelled to rather than first degree relations. In this context, although living environment and neighbourhood present similar class wise characteristics, it may still be different in terms of origin, culture, etc. and therefore it may be added that process of family reproduction turn out to be more fragile as a result.

D. Urban Activities: Outdoor Activities

Table 6 presents the outcomes of ordinal logistic regression model used to estimate the distribution of “outdoor activities” (going out to dinner, picnic, cinema, theatre and holiday together) as the fourth factor of the study and as activities that families are engaged together the least relative to other factors. These activities that mainly engage individuals from relatively wealthy groups give us an important idea about

social, economic and cultural capacity and the level of outer relations. Accordingly, outdoor activities become less frequent as there is increase in household size, number of working family members and difficulties in subsistence. Similarly, these activities are less frequent in families with low mobility. It is so, for example, when the duration of residence at the same place is longer, when there is no car and where there is a family member in need of care. We can reach to an intermediate conclusion by thinking the outcomes mentioned above together. While the presence of a family member in need of care does not constitute a significant barrier to visits to relatives, neighbours and friends, its effect of reducing other outdoor activities like dining out, going to cinema, theatre or picnic suggest that the problem is related mainly to “material means” and associated cultural patterns of consumption. It is also observed that outdoor activities are reduced in homes where there is no internet connection. As is the case with other factors mentioned above, here too the frequency of dispersed families getting together out of home is lower than others.

Meanwhile, these activities that require some material means are more frequent, as may be expected, among higher income families. Having a car as a means of mobility and internet connection as a means for keeping in touch with outside brings along higher frequency of these activities. This is also true for the higher number of children attending school. The frequency of outdoor activities also increases in families with no member in need of care. Assuming that it is a sign of weaker traditional consumption patterns, these activities appear to be more frequent in families residing in big apartment blocks (with 10 or more flats) and in nuclear families. To conclude, the following emphasis seems possible: Taking a look at components that affect this factor positively and lead to increased frequency of outdoor activities, we observe that

those sections relatively modern, at higher level of welfare and closer to urban cultural patterns appear on the forefront.

Here we can spare some time on picnic which is an urban activity. Since food taken together is mostly prepared at home, picnic can be seen as a relatively economic leisure time activity compared to other components of the relevant factor. It is therefore one of the most frequently used way of socialization and having nice time together for large masses of people, and it also functions as a factor consolidating family ties. According to survey data, the proportion of picnic goers and frequency of going both

increase in higher income groups and nuclear families. It appears that although picnic is a relatively “cheap” type of activity, it still requires supporting elements (car, barbecue, charcoal, etc.), labour and organization and therefore there are many lower income group families with difficulty in subsistence that are not engaged in this activity. Besides, looking at factor components we observe a marked increase in 2016 in the proportion of families going out to eat in such places as restaurants and patisseries and the proportion of those going “time to time and frequently” increased from 50% to 62%. We can explain this recent increase by the nationwide spread of modern consumption patterns.

Table 7.6. Ordinal logistic regression model for estimating the distribution of outdoor family activities

	Estimation	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Limit	Upper Limit
Household size	-0.276	0.016	297.454	1	0.000	-0.308	-0.245
Income (ln)	0.660	0.031	441.470	1	0.000	0.599	0.722
Difficulty in subsistence	-0.283	0.019	229.904	1	0.000	-0.319	-0.246
Duration of residence at the same place	-0.012	0.001	208.792	1	0.000	-0.014	-0.011
Number of children enrolled to school	0.200	0.020	100.773	1	0.000	0.161	0.238
Number of members working	-0.054	0.019	7.701	1	0.006	-0.092	-0.016
Have a car	0.491	0.032	236.881	1	0.000	0.429	0.554
No car	0 ^a			0			
Received assistance	0.045	0.050	.805	1	0.370	-0.053	0.143
No assistance	0 ^a			0			
Taken on debt	0.039	0.031	1.542	1	0.214	-0.022	0.100
No debt	0 ^a			0			
Member in need of care	-0.670	0.057	140.285	1	0.000	-0.781	-0.559
No member in need of care	0 ^a			0			
Nuclear family	0.455	0.052	75.385	1	0.000	0.352	0.558
Extended family	0.257	0.075	11.720	1	0.001	0.110	0.404
Dispersed family	0 ^a			0			
Internet connection at home	0.462	0.033	193.678	1	0.000	0.397	0.528
No internet	0 ^a			0			
Have savings	0.236	0.049	23.218	1	0.000	0.140	0.331
No saving	0 ^a			0			
Apartment block (with 10 or more flats)	0.801	0.041	388.104	1	0.000	0.722	0.881
Apartment block (less than 10 flats)	0.547	0.039	192.535	1	0.000	0.470	0.625
Double or terraced house	0.251	0.091	7.569	1	0.006	0.072	0.429
Detached house	0 ^a			0			

VI. Description and Explication: Secondary Findings

A. Family's Intest in Outer World

For a family to have strong network of internal relations, family members may be expected to engage in joint activities at least at a minimum level to feed emotional relations within the family. However, it is understood in the light of findings mentioned above (difficulties in subsistence, lower mobility, having no car, and limited opportunities for going out to cinema, theatre, picnic or dinner in cases where there is a family member in need of care) weakly positioned families with limited relations with outer world cannot ensure this feeding.

Still, although “watching TV” and “going out for shopping” as activities that families are engaged in together are excluded from advanced statistical analyses for not constituting a new and significant factor either alone or together with other factors, these activities nevertheless give us a very important idea concerning the evolution of family in Turkey.

Given the quantitative data by RFST surveys it is not possible to obtain substantive information about this emotional depth. Nevertheless, watching TV together which is the most frequent but passive activity does not seem to be capable to ensure the intensity mentioned above. Additionally, since households in Turkey are cited as the most TV watchers in the world by one source (Yeni Şafak, 2017), and second most by another source (Cumhuriyet, 2017), it is necessary to take into account that interest in digital media besides TV may have increased in time.

Similar and in addition to the practice of watching TV, another data giving hints on families' relations with changing consumption patterns is the frequency of households members' going out

for shopping together. While the proportion of those doing this “time to time” and “frequently” was 72% in 2006 it increased to 78.5% in 2016. These figures with “normalcy” cross-cutting different groups again without demonstrating any factor character do not give any information related to the quality of shopping or the intensity of relations that the practice of shopping entail. Still, it can be said that shopping is a normalcy for family members shared by all. Shopping malls (SM) mushrooming in all regions, cities and even neighbourhoods in Turkey can be given as example. SMs are the first to come to mind among options for spending “easy” time for families. Many families spend their weekends in SMs cruising around, looking at showcases, shopping, tasting fast food and letting their children play in electronic game halls. After temples of traditional ages and schools and factories of classical modern times, the practice of visiting these spaces now turns out as if a ritual of our present time.

Leaving aside the practice of “dining together at home” which is essential in reproducing the family, “shopping” emerges as the most frequent activity after “watching TV together.” In other words, taking these most frequent activities (watching TV and shopping) together, it can be said that the basic characteristic of an average family in Turkey is the one that produces individuals of a consumer society accompanied by popular, mass culture. To emphasize briefly, a large majority “watching TV frequently” also “shop frequently” as a result of consumerist mentality spread by TV.

We cannot regard relations between household members as consisting only of physically standing side by side, talking about or solving some practical problems. To define relations as “intense” or talk about a “family intensifying in and protecting itself” how things are done is more important than what is done. Though it

may not correspond to a general truth about the intensity of family relations all over the world, a survey conducted in Australia may give an idea about in which dimensions the intensity of family relations is constructed. According to findings obtained from interviews with families, the components listed below provide significant qualitative information regarding the intensity of family relations:

- Family members listening to each other, “communicating” openly and honestly;
- “Togetherness” in the sense that family members share similar values and develop a sense of belonging and attachment;
- Spending time together; “sharing of activities” like sports, reading, camping, playing, etc. that family members like;
- Regular demonstration of affection and care by using words, hugs, kisses and being considerate;
- Family members offering and asking for help knowing that each will enjoy the “support”, encouragement and trust of others;
- “Recognition” in the sense that each family member has his or her unique characteristics, respected and appreciated in that context;
- “Attachment” in the sense that well-being of the family is assigned first priority and actions are guided by commitment and loyalty;
- “Resilience” in the sense that family members can stand against difficulties and adapt to changing circumstances (Geggie, J., 2000; cited by Kids Matter).

The quantitative aspect of intra-family relations is of course important. However, while watching TV together for long hours may seem to

denote strong relations in quantitative terms, it is difficult to assert that it is also strong in qualitative terms if no real contact or talk takes place during. Communication, affection, etc. in family relations we mentioned above are related to this “qualitative” aspect. These signify emotional intensity in a sense. In other words “emotion” is the element having its lead role in constructing a family.

Studies in the field of “sociology of emotions” which gained prominence in the last quarter of the past century show that emotion is a phenomenon in social relations that is processed, worked upon, gaining depth, getting stronger or weaker. According to studies conducted from the perspective of “symbolic interactivism” in particular, emotions and feelings are social in many respects and also open ended (Hochschild, 1983: 206) and not fixed. It varies from individual to individual and social factors phase in not simply before and after but in interaction during emotional experience." (Hochschild, 1983: 211).

To draw a brief conclusion here, it is quite difficult for a family which is not independent of environmental circumstances and, at the same time, not being fed emotionally (with reference to factor analysis, watching TV but no other activity together as a family) to reproduce itself and to have this reproduction become manifest as “cultural relationality” that Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı mentions as we have seen above.

A point that can be addressed in more detail is the relationship between computer, internet, digital world and social media on the one side and families in general and younger generations in particular on the other which give rise to quite complicated outcomes. According to a view, social media and digital world has immensely increased the opportunities of individuals in accessing information. However, this information is superficial albeit being diverse

and comes in as accompanied by “images”. The image itself seems to create dependency. In its extreme form, the psychological disorder called “hikikomori” expressing a deep dependence to digital world and observed in over 1 million young people in Japan, these young people can keep only “virtual” relations with their families.

B. Taking Decisions in Family and Changing Role of Woman

The family is reshaped over and over with new roles assumed by women working out and establishing connections with outer world and new dimensions that children add to family life through institutions like school or channels like internet.

With data from surveys conducted in three different periods we are confronted with practices that are not consistent and, at the same time, in contrast with each other over years. For example, leaving aside responses stating that family members decide together, while women had more of their say in decisions related to children in 2006 and 2011 data, we see that men come a step forward in this regard in 2016 data. This situation can be construed in two ways. The first is that modification of questions may have led to a picture that is not reflected in data related to earlier years. In the first two surveys, the decision-making authority of males became invisible within the response “family members decide together”. In other words, the decision-making authority of males already existed, but this became visible in 2016. The second comment, however, points out to a rather new situation. In both traditional and modern forms of socialization, the relationship of pre-adolescent children with their mothers in particular is more pronounced. Relative to the father who turns more to outside, the public sphere and the role of the mother in early child socialization comes to the fore. Although it is not independent of fathers, the mother is the person who takes

specific decisions in daily life. As a corollary, the prominence of the mother as the decision maker as suggested by data is an outcome that can be expected. The prominence of the father in 2016 data, on the other hand, points out to an important information on which we can say that males enter into the world of children more and develop more interest in them.

This is an important information with respect to intra-family relations, particularly in the sense that it gives a signal concerning the democratization of these relations. Yet, “males developing more interest in children” is not only democratization but also the outcome of a necessity. Now, with parents both working, crèches, infant schools and caregivers are relevant for many new families. As such, there are more contact points and lines in family relations. Referring to fundamental information in group sociology as inspired by Simmel (Macionis, Plummer, 2008: 193), while intra-family relations used to rest on “father-mother, mother-child” now a new link phases in or what was once weak becomes more palpable: “father-mother, mother-child, father-child”.

So, as family assumes a new qualification as a social group, an outcome which was not foreseen emerges; as intra-family relations increase, also increasing is the relations of the family with outer environments. Upon mothers' participation to working life, persons or institutions out of family start taking part in child care, child's socialization is diversified and, as stated by George Herbert Mead, the number of “significant others” increases in the early years of children (Macionis, Plummer, 2008: 147). In other words, as relations of family individuals with both inside and outside increase, no strong demarcation line is drawn between group identity and outside, group identity does not develop into a strong identity but, on the contrary, gets weaker. In other words, although with the inclusion of father intra-family relations increase in quantitative terms, in

terms of overall relations with the outside, the quality of the family's identity is weakened.

In general, we can say that patriarchal characteristics are more salient in extended families and lower SES groups. The authority of men in decision-making is stronger in these families. Parallel to earlier information, decisions of women come to the fore in dispersed families on the other hand. In upper SES groups a higher proportion says "family members decide together."

In the face of economic risks, families are now forced to work together for their financial security. Economy is one of the most important factors in change in society; changes in this field are directly felt by families and it also plays a dominant role in family crises. According to factor analysis under the section "Findings", this can be confirmed by the fact that practices of engaging together in some activities are less frequent in families where there are more members working.

To draw an intermediate conclusion at this stage, the fact that interlocking of contracting practices means that life is no more experienced in "traditional" and routine ways and under clear dual classifications. Hence, if life itself ceased to be traditional it is no longer possible for the family to keep traditional. In other words, we can assert that the family is bound to change just for producing inequalities under changing and new life circumstances.

As the family changes, gets nuclear, dispersed and becomes childless, it ceases to be an institution that embodies different generations, different information and experience and in which almost all aspects of life (education, health, religion, economy, culture and their continuity) are experienced within.

The transformation of family from being a "world" in itself into a set of limited relations means fewer channels of satisfaction within. This leads to increasing outer relations in families. The increase in cases of divorce is largely associated with the transformation of inward looking relations into outward looking relations. Beyond "working time of parents", given that schooling of children is the most important "capital building" particularly for middle-class families, traditional relations of care and compassion gradually leave its place to the construction of a success-focused and fragmented "outer world." While mothers including housewives go out for such activities as occupational formation, courses, certificate programmes, hobby groups, health, sports, social clubs, etc., "home" and "out of home" can be experienced together including social media habits of younger generations. In other words, the family is transforming into just a part in the much larger network of meanings.

This has its paradoxical outcomes. Family members now located in a much wider network start to attribute much more importance symbolically and ideologically to the family just because this wider world is not a place with its "guarantees". As shown by a qualitative survey we conducted nationwide on relations between individuals, communities and citizenship and also as stated at the beginning of this article, family stands as a unit of preservation, accord and continuity against an unreliable outer world (Kentel, Ahıska, Fırat, 2007).

C. Happiness

For family members, other individuals are mostly the most important source of reference. This is particularly salient during childhood. As people age, however, and as education and working life change and develop, the world of reference (reference groups) also change. Hence, relations experienced out of home/family start to

Table 7.7. Happiness³

Faith	I am not a believer	I have my faith but I cannot fulfil the requirements of my religion	I have my faith and I fulfil some requirements of my religion	I have my faith and I am trying to fulfil all requirements of my religion	Those who are very happy in general populace	
Very happy	19.8%	13.0%	14.9%	19.9%	17.4%	
Cinema	Never go to	Go occasionally	Go frequently		Those who are very happy in general populace	
Very happy	11.8%	14.8%	19.8%		12.5%	
Book	Never read	Read occasionally	Read frequently		Those who are very happy in general populace	
Very happy	10.9%	15.8%	19.8%		14.1%	
Internet	Never used	Use occasionally	Use frequently	Use everyday	Those who are very happy in general populace	
Very happy	14.9%	21.0%	20.9%	24.4%	17.4%	
SES	A	B	C1	C2	D	Those who are very happy in general populace
Very happy	22.4%	19.6%	16.8%	12.8%	8.9%	14.8%

affect family relations. Consequently sources of family happiness or unhappiness and related problems do not lie within the family alone.

Tables below obtained from 2016 data give us an idea about the level of happiness of family members on the basis of relations with outer world in quite different areas. In all tables it is observed that no matter what kind of relations exist with outer world (faith, TV, cinema, book, internet), as relations increase or socioeconomic status laying the ground for capacity to enter into such relations rises, the level of happiness of family members also rises with the reservation that increase in happiness cannot be shown to be deriving from these variables.

For example, it is an important finding that the share of those who feel “very happy” is larger in two extremes (those without any faith and others with full faith). It can be said that the attitude and position of these two extreme groups is not a situation by itself but requires being more assertive and hence to be fed ideologically and culturally from outside.

Further, going to cinema more frequently, reading and using internet more does not mean that these individuals have no relations with other family members and that their happiness is independent of others in the family. In other words, this state of happiness is not fully an individual outcome. To the contrary, it can be assumed happiness felt by individual family members will have its direct effects on the family.

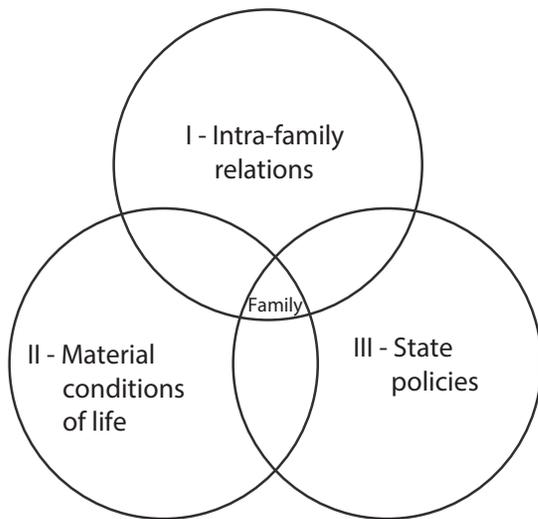
VII. Conclusion

After theoretical discussions made in the first part of this text, followed by advanced statistical analysis and exposition and commentaries based on data sets, it seems possible to draw some conclusions.

As a beginning, it may be useful to understand the family in the context of a set of relations shown below.

According to this model family is first of all in an institution of reproduction located on a trivet and at the intersection of its corners. Intra-

³The table includes only those responding “very happy”. Percentages are of columns (i.e. “19.8% of those having no faith are very happy.”) Since non-respondents differ in each activity, the percentage of “very happy” turns out to be different as well in total.



family relations constitute its first dimension. In this dimension family is a unit open to intensive emotional activities. It is either positively fed by mercifulness, a story extending from past to future, and mutual help and solidarity or to the contrary, becomes an area that is being eroded and where weaker members of family in particular face all possible disadvantages.

The second is the material reproduction of family. The family has to be a part of material life to subsist and it therefore remains in a multi-faceted sphere of influence constituted by ups and downs in economy, in markets, inflation, etc. and material interests. Lastly, state policies towards the family, social state or liberal policies, political developments and all other changes affect the family. However, in spite of all these effects that shape the family, the family is at the same time an institution that kneads these external effects and presents it back to the society. The family is not immune from what comes in from without, from social, political and economic problems; positive or negative dynamics reigning in society as a whole determine the future of the family as well. In the same vein, family is not a merely cultural issue; it is a safe haven for individuals confronted with risks and insecurity in social life. In a social environment where urbanism, fellowship, religious, ethnic or political groups

all feed communitarianism, family preserves its status as the basic “protective” institution where communitarianism is experienced first and continuously. However, in many cases this cannot protect the family adequately even when individuals shut themselves in their families. It is because it serves as a “shelter” rather than being a whole in itself or a “living space”. Even if this sheltering character makes family a valuable environment, it may still turn in many cases and particularly for women into a nightmare. In such cases, institutions in outer world or cultural circles of solidarity can make women even more desperate while in their shelter leaving aside any protective function.

On the other side, relations produced by families in response to different social structures (economic structure, relations between classes, modernizer institutions, traditional patterns, etc.) may lead to the emergence of different family types (with respect to common interests, pragmatic requirements, strong relations, compassion, necessity, etc.) This differentiation in family structures provides us another information: It is possible to say that “outdoors are experienced indoors in different forms” in the face of new family realities that differ from families that resemble each other and fed from within.

As our findings clearly demonstrate, there are at least families with differing capacities just as a result of this interlocking. On the one side there are families with higher mobility, benefiting from liberating opportunities outside, enriching family’s social relations and enhancing its potential for happiness by using this mobility. On the other side there are families whose relations with outer world can be described in the context of a “weak actor”; where emulated outside turns into a zone of risks that brings in no benefit. This, however, does not mean that there are only two types of families; there are others

that manifest themselves in many different forms in-between these two extremes. In other words, “home” and “out of home”/“family” and “out of family” can be experienced as interwoven/ at the same time. As such, family turns into a piece within a much bigger and larger network of meanings while boundaries between family and out of family become much more blurry. At a more abstract level we can say that “public sphere” and “private sphere” are much more interwoven now.

In this framework and on the basis of the findings of the present study and others, it can be asserted, though speculatively, that family practices produce potentials of both continuity and novelty as described below.

Customs, discourses and words survive. For example “transition rituals” (i.e. engagement, wedding) preceding the establishment of family survive. But their content changes or new elements are added: like “farewell to singleness parties” by women and men, henna nights that are totally “urbanized” albeit some reference to traditions and “divorce parties”... Rituals of this kind pervade into all spheres of life. Phases in life of families and individuals (starting and ending moments) are marked.

Along with rising average age, the generation comprising grandmothers and grandfathers support their grandchildren in terms of their schooling and care for example, and this support lasts longer. Besides this “continuity”, the older generation gets acquainted with the world of modern technology brought home by grandchildren, they start communication with their grandchildren through the social media.

Despite the fact that modernity is a way of life surrounding all family individuals whether conservative or secular, the family still keeps “protecting” against the diversity and risks of

this way of life; traditional ways of cooking and associated nuances are transferred from one generation to the other and functions as a source of prestige. Besides television, the digital world and its derivatives become channels, again within the framework of daily tactics, that convey religious or secular systems of belief to the family.

Along with these continuously renewed tactics a way is found out of the classification of “traditional” and “modern” that is reduced to a dilemma; there emerges new family strategies where both modern and traditional are experienced together, but reproducing this “hybridization” under infinite differences.

VIII. Suggestions

The most important assertion of the present article was based on the idea that family is not formed only from within; it is in constant process of “formation” or “making” together with surrounding social, economic and cultural practices. Looking from this angle, the development of family-related policies requires in taking due account of the fact that it has its “double morphology” as inside and outside. Policies geared to solving the problems of family may yield limited outcomes when they focus only on family; it is therefore necessary to consider overall or macro policies that would have their indirect but positive effects on family and its individual members. We can put this expressly as follows: Instead of assuming family as a cultural essence in itself and trying to introduce improvements within, envisaging social and cultural policies capable of making citizens happy; adopting economic measures to protect the family and introducing political improvements. It is clear, for example that, there is need to build discourses geared to mitigating tensions within society against increased concerns about subsistence or intense debates on political culture in cases such as armed conflict.

If relations of compassion is weak in a society it is also so in families. Family is also an institution of emotional satisfaction and compassion beyond being merely the fulfilment of duties mutually. Imparting in all state institutions the “language of compassion” that feeds families can be considered as a step to improve intra-family accord. Domestic violence targeting women in particular creates a vicious cycle of trauma that is transferred to future generations. Compassion is a style that must be supported not only for individuals in need of help but for family as an institution. It is not ideological-legal sanctions that would save the family whatever may happen; it is a must to protect women to prevent traumas pervading children in particular.

We can underline once more the assertion we made at the beginning: If life itself is no more traditional, it is impossible for the family to remain as traditional. Traditional family that cannot hold on before modern life and thus undergoes change is in deformation exactly for not being able to adapt to modernity, and because of producing inequality, it is being changed de facto in practice by its own individuals.

Today, traditional family is attributed a “cultural” essence under different policy suggestions. The effort to define family this way through an “essence” (“family that must be protected, that is supposed to care and raise children”) is in fact a cultural and political proposition. Hence, instead of this, it is much more important and necessary to envisage a democratic language within family and between individuals. The simplest example is that it is no more possible to have the man making decisions himself; there are indications pointing out to the need to take decisions together with women and even with children. It is necessary to have macro discourses responding positively to these indications.

Family-related problems like “divorce” we observe today are not merely “problems”; they

are reflections of social change taking place at a wider scale. As individuals desire to make their choice, individuality and concept of freedom grows, their zeal on exercising full control on their lives also grows and a tension emerges between old structures and these new desires.

Thus, improvements in relation to family have to embody improvements in all spheres of life. If the idea is to revitalize traditional family solidarity networks and to build a strong society, this will not be possible without repairing traditional human-environment and human-nature relations that modern capitalist life as well as industrialist and developmentalist ideologies have long suppressed. It will not be possible to reconstruct the power of family in its modesty without reinstating relations of protection, traditional modesty and respect in agriculture, in villages, in food, in residences and in local cultures.

In addition to these general suggestions which are rather outcomes of theoretical discussion, comparative information provided by the relevant literature and RFST survey data, we can continue with more specific suggestions on the basis of the findings of this study that may affect the family from inside and outside.

Bringing The Family Together

Having meal together is among the most important common practices that families in Turkey share. But this practice is not alike for all families.

One important variable in this respect is economical. As subsistence becomes more and more difficult the practice of having meal together declines.

Meanwhile it must be noted that large household size does not always mean “warm family relations”. Large household also means more household members working out to ensure subsistence. For many people with long daily

working hours as a result of difficulties in household subsistence, having meal together cannot find its place in common imagination.

On the other hand, having a car or capacity to save money increases the frequency of having meals together according to available data.

Time spent together at weekends is the most suitable time for the “emotional activity” (emotional labour) of the family. This is an important clue: Relative to weekdays when family members cannot see each other so frequently weekends provide an opportunity for a quality union.

- Of course, “economic improvements” lie at the basis of policies that can be developed from these facts. Not “assistance” to families, but macro level social policies geared to improving economic welfare of individuals will indirectly mitigate restrictions tensions in family life and yield positive outcomes.

- The protection and promotion of the rights of women in legal terms is important to enhance the economic power of families, to ensure (as can be seen in suggestions below) that they are fed through their “external relations”, and to guarantee their “equal” participation to all institutions. It will be a positive contribution if these rights are learned by both women and men and new generations. Moreover, programmes should be geared not to protecting women or men “materially” which will have a pacifying effect but to reducing unemployment.

- Although economic improvements are not enough by their own, it can be said they may indirectly contribute to spending quality time with family members. Additionally, alternative ways of spending quality time may be promoted by highly watched TV channels by public service announcements. These may include budget ways to engage in social activities, especially targeting woman and presenting them with practical

ways to convince other family members. These public service announcements may show “good examples”, such as women reading books together, women exchanging books and sharing this experience with their family, especially with their children.

Close Social Relations

Values that are becoming dominant in our present day society bring along individualization, seclusion and personal interests while more and more people are withdrawn into a life in huge apartment blocks where they are physically apart from each other. Besides this observation and according to the findings of the survey, visiting relatives, neighbours and friends is among the most important practices of socialization. Similar to the case in meals, the frequency of getting together with others in visits to relatives, neighbours or friends is reduced as household size, difficulties in subsistence and number of working family members increase. Besides, visits are also reduced as apartment blocks get bigger (with more than 10 flats).

On the other hand, visits become more frequent in case the “duration of residence at the same place” is longer or in case family has its means of transportation like car, family can save and “children are enrolled to school.”

- Mushrooming in many regions and urban centres in Turkey, tower blocks constructed by the TOKİ (Mass Housing Administration) in particular in the name of “social housing” erode neighbourhood culture. Instead of urban and architectural concept that leads to anonymity in human relations, urbanization and spatial policies that facilitate human relations will contribute to the socialization of families with their close environments. Further, provision of easily accessible facilities like parks, cafes and tea houses easily will help families to step out of seclusion and enter into closer contacts.

Outdoor Social Practices

Other than dining at home and visits, activities such as going out to eat, going to picnic or cinema are more dependent to income status and thus practiced least frequently by wide masses and particularly by families with low mobility and weak relations with outside.

According to survey findings, channels of socialization out of home (visits, children going to school, internet, etc.) contribute positively to family happiness. As external relations increase or socioeconomic status that builds capacity for (satisfactory) relations with outer world gets higher the level of happiness of family members also rises. Though these outer relations seem to loosen intra-family relations, they still enrich individuals which have its positive returns to family. Otherwise, secluded activities without any emotional dimension erode internal means of satisfaction even when done together.

- It may be suggested to develop policies to take families out of their seclusion which generates distress and violence and to provide common spaces of socialization in apartment life. Here it seems necessary to attach importance to neighbourhood which is physically a closer environment. This includes accessible parks, gardens, green areas, neighbourhood libraries for children and youth, sport facilities, collective activities and courses particularly for women, picnic areas for common use, etc. where families can engage in mutual emotional feeding.

Combating Consumerism

One important finding of the survey is related to practices of watching TV and shopping pervading into all families regardless of family types and all other variables. Family members who cannot afford social activities which would enrich urban life become dependent to television and subscribe to consumption culture as a result of TV ads and consumption references

embedded in all TV programmes. In other words, deprived of material means to try other courses, the leading source of entertainment and cultural feeding of individuals is restricted to consuming mass culture, watching and shopping.

- Upon the initiative of public organizations, abandoning policies that fuel shopping mania including, for example, innumerable ads placed in TV series and avoiding series that are too long and occupy the whole evening of families may bring solutions in short-term against shopping and TV dependency.

- Support programmes must be developed including those targeting children in particular. Programmes offered must place children in contact with nature instead of encouraging consumption patterns that direct children to urban blocks, digital technologies, tablets or shopping malls.

Emotional Education of Fathers

Besides diverse social problems and polarization and violence that pervaded in various fields of life and of course as derivative of these social problems, violence that men apply to women is one of the leading causes of fragmentation of families. As discussed in findings section, while economic relations of family members that are marked by necessities and dissatisfaction both increase, no strong boundary is formed between family's group identity and outer world and group identity is weakened rather than getting stronger. Consequently, for example, many women from lower income groups work only to have their earnings seized by non-working males in the family and these non-working males show no special effort for children. Meanwhile, according to survey findings, it is also observed that as women join labour force more and more, fathers come to spend more time with their children. This care, however, seems to be related more to "rational" necessities and decisions to be taken.

- The following can be said in relation to fathers' relations with their children on the basis of relevant findings: Reconsideration of roles attributed to sexes which are accepted as a part of constructed culture and assumed as "unchangeable" is important for protecting family in a changing society. This is the idea of a new family that must be supporter in regard to fathers in particular. Education in affection and sensitiveness supported for other family members including children can be expected to contribute significantly. Putting it differently, men can be given courses in "affection at home" and "emotional labour" through means of mass communication and education instead of identifying them with "public roles." In textbooks, for example, instead of reproducing traditional gender roles, there may be spaces for ideas and images on themes such as males too can take care of children and be emotional whereas women can work and be "rational" and thus responsibilities can be shared.

Lastly, as a corollary to the assertion that "family is in constant process of evolution in contact with outer world" frequently repeated in the present study, it is clear that policies by the public, world of politics and state will have their direct effects on individuals and hence on families. Implementation of these policies in peaceful forms and content will contribute directly to the reproduction of peace and composure in families.

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8.

**SOCIAL INTERACTION
AND SOLIDARITY AS
MANIFESTED IN KINSHIP
AND NEIGHBORHOOD
RELATIONSHIPS**

Assoc. Prof. Murat Őentürk

SOCIAL INTERACTION AND SOLIDARITY AS MANIFESTED IN KINSHIP AND NEIGHBORHOOD RELATIONSHIPS

Assoc. Prof. Murat Şentürk¹

I. Introduction

Kinship and neighborhood relations are one of the most important discussions concerning Turkey's modernization adventure. The changes in these relations resulting from the main paths followed in pursuit of modernization (i.e., urbanization and industrialization processes) have attracted the attention of social scientists (Kıray, 2006; Karpat, 2016; Kongar, 2017) and managers. Changes in demographic structure (e.g., longer life expectancies, lower mother and infant mortalities), transformations in economic life, new urbanization dynamics, and access to employment and education have brought together much discourse resulting in the current differentiation between kinship and neighborhood relations. Intergenerational relations, forms and networks of solidarity, dealing with poverty and social exclusion, social interactions, and coexistence, kinship and neighborhood relations constitute an indispensable area not only for academic pursuits but also for its potential ramifications in social policy. The fact that studies done on kinship and neighborhood relations remain limited despite their importance for the social sciences and policy makers and that current studies are confined to specific axes hampers the development of new ideas and policies.

Criticizing the common "myth"² related to rural populations in Turkey living in large family households while the urban population began increasingly to live in nuclear-family households, Duben (2012, p. 67) further opposed the notion that the importance of extended family ties has decreased as large families have adapted to cities where nuclear families are said to live in separate households. Duben, by identifying the need to look at both changes in household types and cultural issues while looking at the current state of family and ties of kinship, thus explained the two dimensions of cultural issues: the first being the culture-based preferences in various types of households and the second being the social interactions containing the behavioral codes (i.e., relations code/kinship idiom) that determine individuals' interactions within or among kinship groups. Changes in household types allow for a more general level of identifying kinship relations. However, being satisfied only with statistics hinders conceptualizing the importance of the network of intimate relations that are also pervasive in Turkey among non-relatives (Duben, 2012, pp. 67, 81).

Although researching the household and family types have not been fully informed about its process (Goody, 1972, as cited in Duben, 2012, p. 70), changes in household types reveal important notions about the course that kinship relations have followed. At the same time, differentiations in kinship relations show how families and their functions have changed.³ The current study therefore investigates the changes in household types and focuses on the areas of social interaction and solidarity.

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² (Giddens, 2008, p. 248) *For some time, pre-Modern Era sociologists thought the most common family structure in Western Europe to be the extended family. Further research, however, has shown this view to be wrong.*

³ *The family is a community whose members are directly interconnected through the ties of kinship and where adults take care of children. Family ties are defined as connections between individuals through marriage or blood. While parents and siblings form one aspect of kinship, people become interconnected to a wider array of kin through marriage (Giddens, 2008, pp. 246-247).*

Family is situated at the very foundation of social organization (e.g., production, distribution, consumption, reproduction, and socialization). Kinship groups include those relationships that, from a social organizational standpoint, bring together different resources and that regulate group members' responsibilities, participation, and division of labor. They achieve this as a whole within the framework of both individual and family relations. In addition, kinship relations allow individuals and families to establish unseen relations with larger communities (Thornton and Fricke, 1987, p. 748). Although meanings of warmth, intimacy, and closeness pervade both the words *kinship* and *neighborliness*, blood ties are appropriated primary importance in kinship whereas spatial proximity takes precedence in neighborliness. Yet, both concepts include notions of proximity that are established more broadly by different communities. Kinship and neighborhood relations form another aspect of individuals' and families' community/social relations and include friendship and being from the same town or general geographical area. The concept of community includes both relationships and solidarity. The family constitutes the historical and symbolic communal archetype (Nisbet, 2016, p. 66). The following questions, therefore, are pertinent: "How possible is it to maintain kinship and neighborhood relations under modern economic, political, social, cultural, and urban conditions?" and "Considering their centrality in communal and social relations, how kinship and neighborliness is changing and it is being shaped?" The studies of Bauman (2017) and Granovetter (1973) have been consulted to comprehend the different aspects of this change. Bauman asserts that relations in today's individualized world are a blessing. Relationships are full of clashing desires that pull people in different directions. While one may be attracted to individualism, freedom, and maintaining loose bonds, the same person certainly does not

neglect the security that keeping close bonds entails. Having argued that humans currently sway between these two poles, Bauman states that people often go to experts (e.g., therapists and columnists) to find ways to integrate them. This mentality smacks of "both eating and never finishing one's cake" or of "leaving out the bitter and tough morsels while skimming the cream of the relationship's sweet enjoyments." Using the expression of *top-pocket relationships*, Bauman refers to relationships that can be easily benefited from when needed but that can also be pushed deep into the pocket when not. Therefore people now talk about *connections* and *networks* rather than *relationships*. Relationships have come to mean being mutually enmeshed, while connections imply the moments that pass in a state of contact. Connections can be established and broken upon request. Connections are virtual, unreal relationships. In this context, modern society and social relations are 'fluid' (Giddens, 2008, pp. 285-286). Emphasizing that individualization is not a choice but a fate, Bauman (2017, pp. 67-69) describes occurrences devoid of the quality of 'assembly,' the most common problems that fate brings individuals these days, as an obstacle blocking one's path. Accordingly, troubles can be similar, but unlike the common interests of ancient times, they do not create a "whole that is greater than the sum of its parts," nor do they provide any new quality that makes them easier to deal with by being confronted or overcome.

One important change in modern societies is how social relations have become fluid and how relationships have switched to connections. In the process of this change, kinship and neighborhood relations have also received their share only to become increasingly weaker. Analyses are generally carried out related to the importance or the current state of strong bonds in network analyses. Analyses directed at strong bonds are usually performed among small, well-

defined groups. Granovetter (1973) emphasized the strength of weak connections by analyzing the elements of easily-identifiable social structures as main groups and the relationships among groups. He defined analyses between large-scale patterns and small-scale interactions as the most efficient method in establishing the micro-macro bridge in network research. Granovetter drew attention to the paradox that both micro- and macro-level connections make, namely that while weak connections, despite generally being seen as the manufacturer of alienation, emerged offering opportunities to individuals and facilitating compliance with the community, strong connections give birth to local connections and are the cause of fragmentations (1973, p. 1378).

In this context, social interaction is important in kinship and neighborhood in addition to other congregation/community relations. Looking at people's motions within time and space is necessary while analyzing the connections of social interactions in everyday life. The concept of regionalization shows how social life is sliced into time and space. Separating our everyday practices in modern society into slices actualizes *clock time*. New communication technologies like the Internet have differentiated the time-space relationship and have allowed the possibility for one to start interactions with geographically distant people who may never actually be met living (Giddens, 2008, pp. 186-187).

Reciprocity and connection are important in kinship and neighborhood relations outside of social interaction. Reciprocity includes such dimensions as financial and moral support, protection, and security. According to Duben (2012, p. 91), family relations exhibiting a form of reciprocity in cities with dense and differentiated populations remain limited, requiring individuals residing in cities to establish relations with

people who are neither relatives nor in-laws. This is true for both immigrants and well-established residents. Individuals in Turkey are found interacting according to the kinship code, which has historical background, instead of within the domain of civil society. Core partnerships, or the notion of kinship, are possible for both real and abstract consanguinity. Liabilities in such reciprocal relations are unclear. While the underlying morality of altruism lead to mutual obligations in the long run, "the long-term effect is due not to reciprocity but to leaning on morality" (Bloch, 1973, as cited in Duben, 2012, p. 93). A direct transition is experienced from reciprocity to morality. Over time, because of arriving at a state intrinsic to morality, actors will leave behind counting pennies between themselves. In distant or speculative kinships, the expectation of reciprocity will also be greater if both sides approach the issue for altruistic purposes. The claim of altruism continues even when close relatives are concerned. Yet, what guides the behaviors implied through the code of kinship is a set of informal rules, and these rules are valid in a wide range of relations that before being genuine altruism, merely assume the guise of altruism but in fact extend to relations based on self-interest, no matter how subtle that self-interest might be. Duben (2012, pp. 93-94) is of the opinion that social relations in densely populated and socially differentiated cities in Turkey correspond to a place somewhere between actual kinship ties and more impersonal, formal relations.

The aim of this study is to try to understand the elements exhibiting the changes and continuities in kinship and neighborhood relations in Turkey on the axis of this theoretical context. It attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. How do families form kinship and neighborhood relations?

2. What opportunities do kinship and neighborhood relationships have in terms of social interaction and solidarity?

3. How is change experienced in these relationships?

II. Method

This study uses data from The Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST) carried out in 2006, 2011, and 2016. The research represents Turkey at the urban-rural and the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS) Level 1, and the cities of Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir are measured separately. Before revealing how kinship and neighborhood relations have changed, the data from all three surveys will be descriptively analyzed. By including questions directed at the structure of kinship on the questionnaire, a few questions are found to be directed at kinship and neighborhood relations. As seen in Özbay's (2014) study, not only were the questions related to kinship, after being subject to advanced analyses, found to have limited explanatory power, the questions pertaining to neighborhoods were also found to be insufficient. Despite having been identified in the 2014 analysis, these issues were not taken into account in the 2016 research. Therefore, this study also follows Özbay's (2014) method and style of analysis. In this context, family types are analyzed in the forms of (1) living alone, (2) nuclear, (3) large, (4) other relatives, and (5) households composed of non-relatives. Single-parent families (Özbay, 2014, p. 57), sometimes referred to as either scattered or nuclear families, are considered nuclear families in this study. Because scattered families also include in one shape of kinship relations, this study defines them as families with other relatives. The number and types of participants' relatives were derived from the question on kinship relations. The first possible response to this question originally took the form of "no/deceased," but was later

restated as "mother present/mother absent."

We were able to ascertain what kin types each participant had by asking each one individually. It should be noted that what we calculated here is not the *total number* of relatives but the *number of kin types*. Dissimilar to the 2014 analysis, a rural-urban comparison could not be performed because the rural-urban question had been removed from the questionnaire in 2016. In order to fill this gap, analyses were made using the NUTS classification, and comparisons were made at the regional level. Together with this, both descriptive and advanced analyses were conducted revealing that kinship and neighborhood relations on the context of social interaction and solidarity.

A. Descriptive Analyses

Data from all three studies (i.e., 2006, 2011, and 2016) were used in the descriptive analyses. Within this scope, we performed analyses of participants' relationships using different variables after conducting both an individual- and household-based frequency analysis. The changes in kinship and neighborhood relations were evaluated in association with such variables as household types, gender, age groups, marital status, work status, education, socioeconomic status, region, housing type, home-ownership, length of time at their place of residence, and the presence or absence of Internet access.

B. Advanced Analyses

The data set from the 2016 RFST was used in the advanced analyses. However, we also selected one person from each household so as not to violate the independence of observations assumption for the regression models. These individuals were chosen at random from the RFST data set and defined as the reference person. The advanced analyses in this study were performed only with the reference persons with all other individuals being excluded from the analyses. Thus, only one person from each family was kept in the analyses.

C. Dependent Variables

This study addresses the personal and family-related qualities and factors that affect not only individuals' social relations but also their solidarities. Social relations and transpositions are also discussed under two main headings in this study. The first of these is individuals' gifting habits toward family members and their extended family whereas the second is the frequency that individuals visited their relatives and extended family.

Participants were asked a question concerning their gift-giving habits (i.e., Have you given a gift to family members/extended family in any of the situations that I am going to read to you?) and were subsequently presented with 14 situations. These 14 situations are: (1) Festivals, (2) Birthdays, (3) New Years, (4) Weddings, (5) Buying a home, (6) When leaving for military conscription, (7) When going to see a baby, (8) When visiting the sick, (9) For the 5 Islamic holy nights, (10) Wedding anniversaries, (11) Mothers' Day, (12) Fathers' Day, (13) Valentine's Day, and (14) When going on Hajj or Umrah. Individuals reported "Yes" if they had given a gift and "No" if they had not.

We performed a factor analysis as part of this study after observing that each of these 14 gift-giving situations unequal in terms of value and can therefore be categorized into groups exhibiting similar qualities. As shown in Table 1, the 14 gifting cases obtained in the factor analysis results have been clustered into 3 distinct dimensions (clusters). The three separate gifting cases clustered in one of these dimensions are: (1) Festivals, (2) Islamic holy nights, and (3) When going on Hajj or Umrah. This dimension, emerging in the factor analysis due to the religious nature of these three cases, has been called Religious Gifting. Ranging from 0 to 3, Religious Gifting was measured by gathering the variables belonging to gift giving

in these three cases. A "0" on this scale indicates that the individual has not given a gift in any of these three cases whereas a "3" signifies that the

Table 8.1. Factor Analysis Results for Gifting Cases by Dimension ⁴

Have you given gifts to family members/extended family in the cases I've read to you?	Dimension		
	1	2	3
Festivals			0.582
Birthdays		0.601	
New Year's		0.532	
When getting married	0.765		
When buying a home	0.814		
When leaving for conscription	0.724		
When seeing the baby	0.867		
When visiting the sick	0.818		
On Islamic Holy Nights			0.818
Wedding anniversaries		0.688	
Mothers' Day		0.850	
Fathers' Day		0.857	
Valentine's Day		0.774	
For Hajj or Umrah			0.618

individual has given a gift in all three of these cases. Likewise, a "1" on the same scale shows that the participant has given gifts to family members and to extended family in only one of the three cases whereas a "2" indicates the same in only two of these three cases.

The following six cases in the second cluster emerging in the factor analysis show common features: (1) Birthdays, (2) New Years, (3) Wedding anniversaries, (4) Mothers' Day, (5) Fathers' Day, and (6) Valentine's Day. Dubbed Modern Gifting for the purposes of this study, this dimension is predicted only to increase among modernized families and individuals. The same methodology used to measure Religious Gifting was used for Modern Gifting, albeit scored from 0 to 6 due to there being six cases instead of three, as was the case for Religious Gifting.

⁴Table only shows coefficients more than 0.5

Five different gifting form the third cluster: (1) When getting married, (2) When buying a home, (3) When leaving for military conscription, (4) When going to see a baby, and (5) When visiting the sick. Named Traditional Gifting, this dimension is assumed to reflect the general cultural characteristics of Turkish society and was scored from 0 to 5 due to this dimension's being composed of five cases.

Examining social relations and transpositions, the second main heading of the current study investigates participants' visiting practices in regard to relatives and extended family. Asked on the RFST data set as, "How often have you visited your family and close relatives in the cases I've read to you?", this question consists of the following nine items grouped under six headings: (1) On festivals and religious festivals, (2) On birthdays, engagement ceremonies, (3) When seeing an extended family member's new home, (4) Seeing an extended family member's new baby, (5) When sending off or running into someone leaving for military conscription, (6) When visiting the sick, (7) When going on Hajj or Umrah, (8) When consoling those grieving, and (9) When visiting a tomb/cemetery. Participants selected one of the following options for each of the nine cases above: (1) Never, (2) Rarely, (3) Sometimes, (4) Often, and (5) Always.

Similar to gifting cases, we performed a factor analysis for the different visiting cases to ascertain whether they were clustered in a smaller dimension. However, a single factor emerged in all of the different factor-analysis types testing each of the nine cases in question. Since all nine cases exhibited a common feature, we developed a single scale measuring the frequency participants visited family members and close relatives. Participants' answers concerning visit frequency were scored from 1 (Never) to 5 (Always) and were divided by 9 to obtain an average score. A value of "1" indicates that individuals never visit

family members or their extended family in any of the nine presented cases whereas a value of "5" signifies that individuals always visit family members and their extended family in all of the nine presented cases.

D. Independent Variables

Independent variables in this study consisted of those variables pertaining to the individual and the household. Independent variables pertaining to the individual are: Age, gender, marital status, health status (1 = very bad; 5 = very good), work status (employed/unemployed), vehicle ownership (yes/no), and health insurance (yes/no). Independent variables pertaining to the household are: household size (number of people living in the home), housing type, total household income (by the logarithm analysis), family type, and whether or not the individual is in need of care (sick, elderly, or disabled).

E. Data Analysis

This study examines three separate dimensions of participants' attitudes toward gifting. Although the quantities calculated by these three dimensions show numerical qualities, they do not possess completely normal distributions. For this reason, sequential logistic regression models were used to determine which factors affected these three dimensions. The frequency that participants visited family members and their extended family was obtained through ordinary least squares regression and was found to have a more normal distribution.

III. Analysis

A. Family Members and Types of Relatives

Although the current study does not focus on participants' total number of relatives, Özbay (2014, pp. 65-70) "the ties of kinship in societies where fertility and reproduction are encouraged and in countries where the state's social services are insufficient" that has contributed to

Table 8.2. Family and Kinship Possession, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016 (%)

	2006	2011	2016
Mother	71.2	69.1	68.2
Father	57.5	55.4	54.8
Child	73.3	73.9	70.7
Siblings	96.6	94.4	95.8
Other Relatives	99.1	99.2	85.7
Mother-in-Law	51.8	47.5	46.2
Father-in-Law	40.7	36.8	35.2
Maternal Grandmother	-	22.4	22.0
Paternal Grandmother	-	17.1	17.0
Maternal Grandfather	-	9.9	16.2
Other grandparents	26.0	27.2	31.0

describing the number of relatives and the current structure of kinship relations (Daw, Verdery, and Margolis, 2016). Specifically, while a decrease in almost all types of relatives is observed to

have occurred between 2006 and 2016, the total number of grandparents has increased (see Table 2) and is closely associated with an overall increase in Turkey's elderly population.

Comparing the 2006 and 2016 data, a great number of individuals in Turkey over the age of 18 have large numbers of relatives, the percentage of young individuals without parents is low, young individuals are able to see their grandparents due to longer lifespans, and in-laws are present because marriage is common (see Table 3). Although the number of siblings in a single family has decreased, no effect is found on individuals over the age of 18. Young individuals care for their aunts, uncles, and cousins from both sides of the family. Considering the current status quo, just as the number of relatives in a family may indeed reach a substantial figure

Table 8.3. Family and Kinship Possession by Age Group, RFST 2006⁵ (%)

	Turkey	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Mother	71.2	97.8	92.6	80.4	57.6	26.4	4.9
Father	57.5	91.2	80.9	59.9	36.0	11.9	2.4
Children	73.3	17.3	69.2	90.7	94.3	94.3	92.1
Siblings	96.6	96.9	98.5	98.7	98.0	94.8	84.4
Other Relatives	99.1	99.5	99.6	99.7	99.3	98.3	95.6
Mother-in-Law	51.8	25.4	72.0	74.4	54.0	29.2	7.8
Father-in-Law	40.7	22.8	62.0	57.4	36.9	16.1	3.9
Grandparents	26.0	64.3	38.4	14.5	6.1	2.9	1.7

Table 8.4. Family and Kinship Possession by Age Group, RFST 2011 (%)

	Turkey	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Mother	69.1	98.0	93.0	82.0	56.8	29.3	3.6
Father	55.4	91.8	82.0	61.4	34.2	12.6	1.5
Children	73.9	15.4	66.7	91.7	94.1	96.0	95.5
Siblings	94.4	95.1	97.5	97.9	96.5	93.0	77.4
Other Relatives	99.2	99.0	98.0	95.3	83.8	58.3	15.5
Mother-in-Law	47.5	22.6	69.0	72.2	52.7	26.5	4.7
Father-in-Law	36.8	20.1	60.2	56.0	33.2	14.8	1.7
Maternal Grandmother	22.4	58.9	36.2	13.9	3.4	1.2	0.1
Paternal Grandmother	17.1	49.3	26.4	9.0	2.1	1.2	0.1
Maternal Grandfather	9.9	31.1	13.7	4.5	1.4	1.0	0.1
Other Grandparents	27.2	70.7	44.5	17.2	3.9	1.4	0.1

⁵ Whether grandparents were from individuals' paternal or maternal sides was not asked in 2006.

Table 8.5. Family and Kinship Possession by Age Group, RFST 2016 (%)

	Turkey	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Mother	68.2	97.1	94.7	83.6	60.8	30.4	4.8
Father	54.8	95.2	85.8	63.3	36.0	13.3	1.5
Children	70.7	9.6	52.1	83.5	94.2	96.1	96.6
Siblings	95.8	95.9	97.4	98.1	98.2	97.4	82.9
Other Relatives	85.7	99.9	99.6	98.1	90.9	71.6	26.1
Mother-in-Law	46.2	16.1	62.2	72.8	56.2	30.0	6.8
Father-in-Law	35.2	15.0	54.8	56.5	36.3	15.8	2.3
Maternal Grandmother	22.0	62.3	39.7	16	2.8	0.5	0.3
Paternal Grandmother	17.0	53.5	30.2	9.6	1.4	0.4	0.3
Maternal Grandfather	16.2	53.3	28.3	8.7	1.1	0.2	0.2
Other Grandparents	31.0	82.3	57.7	24.4	4.1	0.7	0.4

in the near future, so too may the appropriate conditions allowing relatives to interact with each other materialize.

The number of grandparents decreases as age increases. Adults between the ages of 25-44 have the greatest abundance of family members and relatives. This entails important opportunities for the young generation (e.g., weddings and births) because solidarity is generally true among relatives, as younger children receive help from their older relatives and this assistance is critical for supporting women, who, according to Özbay, “cannot be measured in economic terms” (2014, p. 68).

The group for whose members the number of family and relative types constituted a problem was for the 45-64 age group who had both young (grandchildren) and elderly (their parents) relatives. Providing support for both groups’ care resulted in their being caught in the middle. This specific age group’s difficulties were further exasperated because they received no critical support from either the younger or older generation while also providing serious support to both of these groups. With prolonged life-spans foreseen in the future, those with parents and parental in-laws are predicted to

increase⁶ and will bring about both positive and negative outcomes. Defined in the literature as the sandwich generation, this generation is characterized by women who divide a substantial amount of their time caring for both small children and elderly parents. As a result of the rapid declines in the last few decades in fertility and mortality in Brazil, a developing country like Turkey, as well as little change in the average age of fertility, this generation is expected to bear major socioeconomic consequences on both women and families (de Lima, Emanuel, Tomas, and Queiroz, 2015).

Table 8.6. Number of Relatives by Year, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016 (%)

Number of Relatives	2006	2011	2016
0	0.0	0.1	0.1
1	0.4	3.2	2.2
2	2.8	10.5	9.5
3	16.1	10.3	11.4
4	16.9	15.9	16.2
5	22.4	22.9	25.4
6	15.5	14.1	13.3
7	17.9	15.7	14.7
8	8.1	7.5	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

⁶ RFST conducted a population sampling for those 65 and older, finding 9% in 2006, 10.5% in 2011, and 11.8% in 2016.

Table 8.7. Average Number of Family Members and the Number of Kin Types by Age, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016

	Turkey	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
2006	5.16	5.15	6.13	5.76	4.82	3.74	2.94
2011	4.87	5.14	6.11	5.74	4.56	3.33	2.02
2016	4.88	5.11	6.04	5.80	4.77	3.55	2.23

Table 8.8. Number of Average Family Members and Kin Types by Education, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016

	Turkey	Didn't finish any school	Primary School	Middle School	High School	University +
2006	5.16	4.12	5.36	5.44	5.38	5.38
2011	4.87	3.51	4.75	5.37	5.25	5.36
2016	4.88	3.65	4.70	5.36	5.30	5.40

Elderly individuals with the least number of relatives, especially in rural areas, may represent a significant problem in the coming years. A study conducted in Thailand found that although poor elderly individuals experienced material improvements after younger family members had migrated to urban areas, socially, they experienced negative results. These negative results are solved technological advances in communication and transportation and so, young individuals visited their elderly relatives more and to communicate by telephone often. Researchers have described this situation as the “modified extended family” (Knodel and Saengtienchai, 2007).

When looking at the number of kin types by year, those with six, seven, or eight different types of relatives are seen to have decreased over the years. A minimum of one and a maximum of eight variables regarding the types of relatives being cared for were analyzed. The independent group t-test conducted on the number of different relative types by gender revealed there to be a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.05$) in favor of men.

The one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) conducted between the years that the RFST was conducted and participants' age groups revealed

differences ($p < 0.001$) in the variables' means. ANOVA does not tell you which groups are different from the others, only that a difference exists. After finding a significant difference, we done post hoc tests on the factor to examine the differences between levels. Because of unequal variances ($p < 0.001$) the Games-Howell analysis was performed. A significant difference was found among the groups in favor of the 25-34 age group for all three years. Significant differences were found among all age groups except for the 65+ age group.

Differences were found in variables' means in the ANOVA test conducted between the years that the RFST was conducted and participants' education level ($p < 0.001$). We performed supplemental calculations to determine from among which groups the differences stemmed. The variance analysis revealed the variables to be non-homogenous ($p < 0.001$). In addition to the ANOVA, we conducted a Games-Howell analysis, itself a post-hoc technique. A significant difference in favor of the university+ group and against the group that had not received any education was found for all three years. Özbay (2014, p. 70), cites two possibilities for the lack of a specific type of relative in certain groups. One of these reasons is individuals' lack of formal education whereas the other reason stems from

the differences among groups in the prevalence of marriage, having married children, and deaths. Regardless of the reason, Özbay (2014, p. 70) considers this finding to be an indicator for the relationship between the abundance of one type of relative and the extent of their social status.

Average number of relatives in the West Marmara, Central Anatolia, West Black Sea, East Black Sea, Northeast Anatolian and Middle-East Anatolian regions are lower than Turkey’s average while the opposite is true for Istanbul, Aegean, East Marmara, West Anatolian, Mediterranean and Southeastern regions. More types of relatives are observed in regions with younger populations and more urban areas, like the Southeast and for those individuals located in the highest socioeconomic group. More types of relatives are generally associated with cities having a young, educated population and may be related to the greater dynamics of the current rural-to-urban migration (chain migration) being experienced in Turkey.

B. Household Structure

Social research focusing on marriage and the nuclear family has resulted in the neglect of different family experiences (Gerstel, 2011). Knowing this, examining the structures of households may allow researchers to see different family experiences realized in the home and to understand kinship relations. When examining

RFST do describe current household structure. In this context, the current status quo, and not household preferences, has been discussed. One noteworthy observation is that the percentage of one- and two-person households experienced an increase in 2016 compared to previous years.

The great majority of individuals in Turkey live in nuclear-family households (68.6%; see Table 10), followed by large-family households. While households with other relatives and households without relatives did not experience a great change over the last 10 years, those living alone have increased. A decreasing trend has been observed in the prevalence of nuclear households. The increasing prevalence of living alone and the decreasing prevalence of nuclear households give an idea about future changes in types of households. While percentage extended of families was decreased in 2011 (Özbay, 2014, p. 70), this study reveals an increase in 2016. Studies exist examining how poverty and migration increase the practice of living in large families (Gerstel, 2011). Inequity in income distribution and migration having become a global phenomenon has worked to increase the likelihood of encountering large families and households with other relatives. For this reason, analyzing large families through industrialization and modernization and then evaluating them in relation to transformations in the nuclear family appear to be incorrect (Duben, 2012).

Table 8.9. Percentages for Households Sizes in Turkey, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
2006	6.2	18.9	20.6	24.8	14.3	7.1	3.5	2.1	1.1	1.4
2011	9.2	21.5	20.6	24.7	12.7	5.9	2.6	1.1	0.7	1.1
2016	14.2	20.1	19.7	20.8	11.2	8.5	3.1	1.3	0.4	0.6

the composition of different household structures, researchers prefer to discuss either the statistical frequency of household types or the preference of frequency of these household types (Duben, 2012, p. 73). The questions included in the

Table 8.10. Percentage of Household Types by Individuals in Turkey, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016

	Living Alone	Nuclear	Large	Households with Other relatives	Households without Relatives
2006	2.7	74.3	20.7	2.0	0.3
2011	4.7	73.6	17.7	2.9	1.1
2016	5.7	68.6	22.1	3.0	0.6

"Considering the so-called cyclical household (Özbay, 2014), it is important to understanding when and under what conditions individuals find themselves within a large family. Thus it reveals that duties fulfilled by large families change depending on the which conditions. One example that may be cited is the child-related support given to mothers in larger family relations, especially in impoverished households (Kana'iaupuni, Donato, Thompson-Colon, and Stainback, 2005). Along with industrialization, while young individuals attain a position where they can start their own homes more quickly, the time between marriage and first child has increased. Regarding child care, research conducted in Turkey has determined that today's mothers have their own mothers in their own houses for a period instead of staying with their mother-in-law or stay in their mothers' homes after the birth of a child (Özbay, 2014, p. 72).

The prevalence of living alone in Turkey has witnessed a continued increase and represents a significant change in Turkish society. The percentage of men among those living alone has increased rapidly over the last 10 years with men forming a little more than half of those living alone in 2016. In addition, the percentage of men living in non-relative households is high and has increased over the years. A small increase in women living in large families was also observed (see Table 11). In 2006, 25.5% of those living alone had completed high-school or some form of higher education. In 2016, 59.8% of those living alone lived in cities, 22.4% in one of Turkey's three major metropolitan areas (i.e., Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir), and 37.7% had finished high-school or some form of higher education. While the percentage of university graduates has increased for almost every type of household between 2006 and 2016, the prevalence of being a university graduate has increased more in non-relative and other-relative households and even more so particularly in those living alone.

In terms of socioeconomic status, living alone is an increasing trend in the highest socioeconomic group. A significant portion of the lowest group consists of single-person households. Members of the upper and middle socioeconomic classes also tend to be concentrated in households with other relatives and in households without relatives. While the nuclear household is identified with the middle class, a lower prevalence of large family households is observed in the middle class compared to in both the lower and upper classes.

In a similar vein, further conclusions may be made concerning specific aspects of household makeup if housing types are completely incomparable. Whereas 40.8% of nuclear families lived in detached homes in 2011, this percentage decreased to 34.1% in 2016. Although the same is valid for large families, the percentage of large families living in detached homes in 2016 was 51.8%, down from 56.4% in 2011. While 86.8% of non-relative households lived in apartments in 2011, this percentage increased to 97.8% in 2016.

Table 8.11. Percentage of Household Types in Turkey by Gender, RFST 2006 and 2016

		Gender		
		2006	2011	2016
Living Alone	Male	30.0	43.4	50.6
	Female	70.0	56.6	49.4
Nuclear	Male	51.0	50.9	50.6
	Female	49.0	49.1	49.4
Large	Male	45.3	47.2	44.4
	Female	54.7	52.8	55.6
Households with other relatives	Male	45.8	40.2	44.6
	Female	54.2	59.8	55.4
Households without relatives	Male	74.9	62.9	79.7
	Female	25.1	37.1	20.3

All family types are currently transitioning from detached homes to apartments, and this trend is foreseen to continue. In 2016, being a

homeowner is most prevalent in large families (75.7%), followed by nuclear families (62.4%) and households with other relatives (56.6%). Home ownership is less in households without relatives (2.6%) and among those living alone (52.6%). The high level of home ownership in large families might suggest that some of these

family members reside together because of their need for housing. A study in the Netherlands (Smits and Mulder, 2008) found that it was more difficult for those living alone or together to become a home owner for the first time compared to those who are married without children.

Table 8.12. Percentages of Household Types by Marital Status, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016

	2006	2011	2016	
Living alone	Single	21.3	32.3	30.9
	Married	4.8	0.9	3.9
	Separated	0.0	2.7	3.9
	Divorced	12.4	10.5	18.5
	Widowed	61.5	53.6	42.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nuclear	Single	19.0	17.3	21.5
	Married	78.9	80.0	76.3
	Separated	0.0	0.3	0.1
	Cohabiting	0.0	0.0	0.1
	Divorced	0.7	0.9	0.7
	Widowed	1.4	1.5	1.3
Total	100	100	100	
Large	Single	16.5	16.0	16.5
	Married	72.4	71.9	71.2
	Separated	0.0	1.0	0.7
	Cohabiting	0.0	0.0	0.2
	Divorced	2.4	3.0	3.3
	Widowed	8.7	8.0	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Households with other relatives	Single	54.1	45.6	49.7
	Married	12.6	0.7	2.3
	Separated	0.0	4.6	2.3
	Divorced	7.5	18.5	20.1
	Widowed	25.8	30.5	25.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Households without relatives	Single	91.8	94.6	93.7
	Married	5.0	2.0	1.4
	Separated	0.0	1.0	0.0
	Divorced	3.3	1.6	3.6
	Widowed	0.0	0.8	1.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 8.13. Percentage of Housing Types by Age Group, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016

	2006	2011	2016	
Living alone	18-24	3.9	8.1	4.2
	25-34	11.9	19.6	18.2
	35-44	7.0	5.6	14.4
	45-54	9.6	8.9	9.2
	55-64	17.5	13.5	15.1
	65+	50.2	44.3	39.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Nuclear	18-24	16.1	15.5	14.7
	25-34	28.2	25.5	23.0
	35-44	23.7	22.8	23.9
	45-54	16.6	17.6	18.1
	55-64	8.9	10.9	12.4
	65+	6.5	7.9	7.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Large Family	18-24	21.4	20.5	16.2
	25-34	26.8	24.2	21.6
	35-44	14.8	14.3	17
	45-54	14.0	15.7	16.3
	55-64	11.1	13.6	12.9
	65+	11.9	11.6	15.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Households with other relatives	18-24	22.6	22.9	13.1
	25-34	28.1	19.4	20.6
	35-44	10.3	13.7	19.9
	45-54	14.4	12.1	13.3
	55-64	8.2	12.8	11.8
	65+	16.4	19.0	21.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Households without relatives	18-24	67	77.9	36.8
	25-34	29.8	17.6	53.5
	35-44	0.0	1.9	6.4
	45-54	1.6	0.2	2.3
		0.9	0.6	0.5
	65+	0.7	1.8	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Regarding the time spent in a single place of residence, 82.8% of households without relatives lived in the same home for one to five years whereas only 23.9% of those living alone and 24.6% of households with other relatives maintained the same place of residence the same time period. Excluding households without relatives, more than half of all other household types lived in the same place of residence for 20 years or more. In residences with large families, the percentage of those with a room appropriated to the household's children was 33.1% in 2016 and 36.8% in 2011. A separate room allotted to elderly individuals is seen in almost all family types in the 2016 data.

The two age groups whose members are most likely to live alone are the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups. Yet, while a gradual decrease is observed in 18-24 and 25-34-year olds living in large households, the percentage of unmarried individuals living alone has increased, indicating that Turkey's young population is shifting toward living alone rather than in a large family household. This same trend toward living alone is also seen in the 35-44 age group. Meanwhile, the divorce rate in this age group has also increased each year that the RFST was conducted (1.9%, 3.1%, and 4.3%, respectively). In a similar vein, the prevalence of living alone after divorce has increased in the 35-44-year-old group, meaning that the prevalence of young, educated, and unmarried urban men living alone will increase. Similarly, both men and women who have divorced during their younger years are often observed to live alone. On the other hand, widows and widowers living alone have decreased. Divorced individuals and widows/widowers living in large families have increased, especially in households with other relatives. Widows, widowers, divorced individuals, and those who are separated are thought to be more frail than married individuals and those who have never married.

Living alone tends to decrease and living in a large family tends to increase the greater one's age. While the percentage of 65+ year olds living in large family households and in households with other relatives has increased (see Table 13), the percentage of widows/widowers living alone has decreased from 2006 to 2016 (see Table 12). Yet, although the percentage of women over 65 living alone has decreased over the years, it is still at a significant level. Considering that the occurrence of losing a spouse and the need for care increases with age, the tendency of elderly individuals living in large families is understandable. The percentage of females in the 65+ age group has increased since 2006 (9.7%, 11.8%, and 13.1%, respectively). Furthermore, a significant portion of those living in large families are widows. Özbay (2014, p. 72) states that the prevalence of elderly individuals living in a large family household is a new phenomenon. This is because while young individuals would, in previous times, live in large households to receive support from their grandparents, elderly individuals now find this support in the large household. Considering that the elderly population is predicted to increase in the coming years, it is only reasonable to envision an increase in the prevalence of large families.⁷ Additionally, prolonged life spans may result in large families residing together longer. However, the high percentage of elderly women could either hinder the increase in large family households and/or cause it to change form. Just as the amount of large families increase and when people are more likely to live alone when there isn't enough supply to meet housing demand, the possibilities for young men and women choosing to live alone may also increase.

It is important to understanding the kinship relations of those living alone (loneliness, lack of solidarity, etc.), to monitor changes in large and nuclear families and in living alone as a lifestyle, and to analyze the relationship between market

⁷ Both demographers and social scientists accept that proportional changes in various groups of a population have the potential to influence the ratio of large family households to nuclear households in any period (Duben, 2012, pp. 74-75).

conditions and living alone (Özbay, 2014, p. 75). Individuals between the ages 18 and 24 living in large families have been decreasing. The presence of children, mothers-in-law, and fathers-in-law in households without relatives and households with other relatives has decreased by household classification. The decrease of young individuals and increase of elderly individuals living in large family households is noteworthy.

C. Distance from Relatives

Studies are found on how distance from relatives plays a role in support received from parents, sibling, and children living outside of the household (Mulder and van der Meer, 2009). Because the distance from relatives was not asked in RFST 2011, this has been drawn from the 2006 and 2016 data. Due to the questions’ being asked differently, a direct comparison could not be made and the data have been re-encoded. For example, question “How far are your relatives living with you” the mother and father were interrogated separately in 2006, the mother and father were interrogated together in 2011 and 2016. In this study, the parent and mother responses in the 2006 data were combined into a single response comparable to 2011 and 2016. The analyses revealed that individuals generally lived in the same building, neighborhood, or town as close relatives.

Table 8.14. Percentages for Individuals’ Distances to Relatives in Turkey, RFST 2006 and 2016

	Same Building	Same Neighborhood	Same Town	Other Town	RFST
Mother/Father	34.9	13.3	31.1	20.7	2006
	35.8	10.8	30.2	23.2	2016
Children	78.8	4.1	10.8	6.2	2006
	76.9	4.8	12.2	6.1	2016
Sibling(s)	20.2	16.8	41.5	21.4	2006
	21.3	14.4	43.5	20.8	2016
Aunts/Uncles	1.2	15.9	52.2	30.7	2006
	3.0	16.9	54.4	25.6	2016
Parents-in-Law	14.7	16.9	41.9	26.6	2006
	14.4	13.5	43.2	28.9	2016
Grandparents	9.8	15.5	43.7	31.0	2006
	10.0	12.4	41.5	36.1	2016

Regarding relatives living in the same building (see Table 14), most individuals stated living in the same building as their parents or parents-in-law in 2006 and 2016. The least frequently encountered living arrangement was where one would live in the same building as his aunts or uncles. When comparing by gender, males were slightly more likely to live in the same building as their relatives in 2016 than were females. Although the distance that one lived away from all types of relatives increased over the years, the distance lived away from more distant relatives, such as grandparents, aunts, and uncles, increased even more. Yet, the distance lived away from parents-in-law was the greatest of all types of relatives.

Table 8.15. Percentages for Kin Types Living in the Same Building by Housing Type, RFST 2006 and 2016

	Living Alone	Nuclear	Large Family	Other Relatives	Without Relatives	RFST
Mother/Father	8.7	30.1	52.4	64.9	0.0	2006
	5.1	31.9	51.7	66.8	0.0	2016
Children	14.1	78.9	86.7	71.7	0.0	2006
	13.7	78.3	90.1	70.2	0.0	2016
Sibling(s)	3.2	19.0	25.4	38.9	0.0	2006
	4.5	20.2	25.5	48.6	3.8	2016
Aunts/Uncles	0.9	1.1	1.7	2.1	0.0	2006
	0.8	2.6	4.8	6.0	0.6	2016
Parents-in-Law	1.6	7.2	42.4	30.6	0.0	2006
	1.3	5.8	43.4	6.5	0.0	2016
Grandparents	4.5	4.9	27.5	34	0.0	2006
	0.9	4.6	29.2	28.3	0.0	2016

Table 8.16. Percentages of Kin Types Living in the Same Neighborhood by Household Type, RFST 2006 and 2016

	Living Alone	Nuclear	Large	Other Relatives	Without Relatives	RFST
Mother/Father	9.5	14.1	11.6	5.0	0.0	2006
	5.1	11.5	10.0	1.6	0.0	2016
Children	18.3	4.0	3.0	4.1	0.0	2006
	19.1	4.3	2.6	4.0	0.0	2016
Sibling(s)	15.8	16.3	19.4	11.0	0.0	2006
	16.3	14.1	16.3	7.8	0.0	2016
Aunts/Uncles	8.4	14.4	22.6	15.3	0.0	2006
	12.2	15.9	22.3	14.5	0.0	2016
Parents-in-Law	22.2	17.6	42.4	9.5	0.0	2006
	6.4	14.5	43.4	8.5	0.0	2016
Grandparents	11.9	15.8	15.8	5.5	0.0	2006
	6.8	13.0	13.1	4.9	0.0	2016

Table 8.17. Percentages of Kin Types Living in the Same Town by Household Type, RFST 2006 and 2016

	Living Alone	Nuclear	Large	Other Relatives	Without Relatives	RFST
Mother/Father	35.4	33.8	22.8	12.8	10.9	2006
	33.2	33.4	22.4	8.4	12.0	2016
Children	47.0	10.7	6.8	15.5	73.1	2006
	47.8	11.5	4.5	17.9	51.2	2016
Sibling(s)	50.8	42.8	37.3	31.0	14.8	2006
	48.1	44.9	40.7	28.7	3.8	2016
Aunts/Uncles	51.0	53.1	49.6	55.2	7.6	2006
	47.8	56.2	51.2	50.4	22.8	2016
Parents-in-Law	46.0	45.4	29.0	34.6	0.0	2006
	50.7	47.8	27.6	52.6	0.0	2016
Grandparents	31.7	46.8	34.8	29.6	4.8	2006
	22.8	46.3	31.9	21.3	17.0	2016

Table 8.18. Percentages of Kin Types Living in Other Towns by Household Type, RFST 2006 and 2016

	Living Alone	Nuclear	Large	Other Relatives	Without Relatives	RFST
Mother/Father	46.3	22.0	13.2	17.4	89.1	2006
	51.4	23.2	15.9	23.2	88.0	2016
Children	20.6	6.4	3.6	8.7	26.9	2006
	19.3	5.9	2.9	7.9	48.8	2016
Sibling(s)	30.1	21.9	17.9	19.1	85.2	2006
	31.2	20.7	17.5	14.9	79.7	2016
Aunts/Uncles	39.7	31.4	26.1	27.4	92.4	2006
	39.2	25.3	21.7	29.1	75.8	2016
Parents-in-Law	30.1	29.8	14.7	25.3	100.0	2006
	41.6	32.0	18.1	32.4	100.0	2016
Grandparents	51.8	32.5	21.9	30.9	95.2	2006
	69.5	36.0	25.9	45.5	83.0	2016

Just as the percentage of those living in the same building increased for nuclear and large families, so too can a comparative increase be mentioned for certain types of relatives. Compared to nuclear families without children, nuclear families with children are more likely to live in the same building as their relatives, regardless of type. Although families with children tend to live closer to their relatives, individuals living in the same neighborhood as their relatives have seen a decrease. When looked at in terms of gender, males tend to live closer to all of their relatives. In fact, women only exceed men in living in the same building as either of their parents-in-law. In terms of education status, the group residing the greatest distance from relatives is university graduates, and this group is followed by those who did not finish primary or grade school.

Individuals in the upper socioeconomic class in 2016 were seen to live closer to their parents, children, siblings, aunts, and uncles whereas individuals originating from the low socioeconomic class were seen to live closer to their parents-in-law and grandparents, compared to the other groups. In 2016, the distance that the middle socioeconomic class lived from their all types of relatives decreased compared to previous years. The distance that individuals from the lower socioeconomic class lived from their parents-in-law is seen to have gradually decreased over the years. For both the lower and middle income groups, the decreasing distance from grandparents illustrates that their importance in terms of solidarist relations has increased.

According to the 2016 data, the distance that respondents lived from their relatives was seen to decrease as their time spent living in a single place increased. In addition, homeowners live closer to their relatives than do renters, and those living in detached homes live closer to relatives than do those living in duplexes, row homes, or

apartments. Considering that changing locations and being a renter are some of the reasons that render it difficult for neighborhood relations to develop (Özbay, 2014, p. 57), the importance of the spatial dimension can be seen in the quality of kinship and neighborhood relations.

Single-parent households are also seen where living in the same building with different family types is common. When comparing the 2006 and 2016 data, single-parent households were seen living in the same building as one's mother/father (68.7%-67.8%), siblings (38.4%-36.3%), aunts/uncles (0.9%-3%), and parents-in-law (4.4%-6.8%). Yet, the most common living arrangement among single-parent households was to live in the same building as one's children (82%-96.6%). This shows that children are at the center of single-parent households. Meanwhile, the prevalence of living in a different town from one's parents (7.7%-11.1%), from either parent-in-law (33.1%-36.8%), and from one's grandparents (24.2%-36.6%) is also seen to have increased from 2006 to 2016. Single-parent households are also observed to be moving away from the large family environment.

The percentage of children, siblings, and aunts/uncles found in other towns has decreased for all household types except for households without relatives. For other kin types (i.e., mother/father, parent-in-law, grandparents), the percentage of those living in another town has increased. However, data related to residence patterns do not provide information related to what functions are undertaken by different members of large families (Benedict, 1976, as cited in Duben, 2012, p. 84). What is important here are the functions fulfilled by a large family and how economic and social cooperation among family members are practically realized.

D. Frequency of Face-to-Face Interviews

Intimate family and kinship relations have continued, regardless of the type of kinship relation in question. According to the 2016 data, the percentage of individuals who do not meet with family or relatives does not exceed 4%. The analysis made after re-encoding the 2011 and 2016 data show that the frequency of visiting one's parents and children have increased (see Table 19). While the percentage of those stating not to have met their grandparents has decreased, the rate of sparse meetings has increased. Individuals meet most often with their (1) children, followed by (2) parents, (3) siblings, (4) parent-in-law, (5) grandparents, and (6) aunts/uncles.

The findings show a relationship network whose core consists of the mother, father, child, and siblings. Also, a study on the middle class in Tehran (Bastani, 2007) concluded that male and female networks generally contain a large percentage of relatives, differing within itself according to gender and also include children, parents, and siblings. The relationship between siblings is stronger than that between all other relatives and is unable to be completely severed (Davidoff, 2011, as cited in Özbay, 2014, p. 62).

The frequency of meeting face-to-face with one's mother/father, children, and siblings has increased over the years. The percentage of those stating never to have met in person with these groups has also decreased. Nuclear family

Table 8.19. Frequency (%) of Meeting Extended Family Members in Person by Year, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016

		2006	2011	2016	Male (average)	Female (average)	RFST
Mother/Father	Never	2.0	1.0	1.2	3.60	3.28	2006
	Rarely	48.3	36.4	35.0	4.01	3.64	2011
	Often	49.8	62.6	63.8	4.08	3.63	2016
Children	Never	1.1	0.3	0.3	3.93	3.91	2006
	Rarely	32.1	10	7.8	4.65	4.66	2011
	Often	66.9	89.7	91.9	4.71	4.74	2016
Sibling(s)	Never	1.9	1.3	1.8	3.52	3.20	2006
	Rarely	51.9	47.4	46.7	3.64	3.44	2011
	Often	46.1	51.2	51.5	3.67	3.38	2016
Aunts/Uncles	Never	3.6	3.1	3.4	2.91	2.75	2006
	Rarely	72.7	67.2	71.4	3.05	2.91	2011
	Often	23.7	29.8	25.2	2.95	2.73	2016
Parents-in-Law	Never	3.6	2.5	4.0	3.16	3.44	2006
	Rarely	51.8	55.5	51.7	3.08	3.51	2011
	Often	44.6	42.1	44.4	3.00	3.56	2016
Grandparents	Never	6.9	3.8	3.7	2.99	2.92	2006
	Rarely	61.4	66.9	66.1	3.00	2.89	2011
	Often	31.8	29.4	30.2	3.02	2.89	2016
Other Relatives	Never	0.0	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0	2006
	Rarely	0.0	0.0	85.4	0.0	0.0	2011
	Often	0.0	0.0	10.9	2.54	2.42	2016
Neighbors	Never	5.4	0.0	0.0	4.20	4.49	2006
	Rarely	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2011
	Often	84.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2016

members take an increasingly central position in relative relations, and the reasons for families to adopt more intimate relations include (i) increases in urbanization and inner-city distances, (ii) less free time in daily life, (iii) increases in daily time allotted for education and work related endeavors, and (iv) economic difficulties. It is difficult to delineate the important variables in meeting face-to-face with one's aunts/uncles, parents-in-law, and grandparents. In any case, women meet face-to-face with their parents-in-law and neighbors, and children, meaning that they meet more with the older and younger generations. This shows that women have, in general, more intimate relations with their elderly family members.

The ANOVA conducted between age groups revealed variances to be non-homogenous ($p < 0.001$) so one of the post hoc techniques, Games-Howell analyzes, was conducted. The 25-34 and 35-44 age groups had the highest frequency of meeting with their children for all three years, and the 18-24 age group had the highest frequency of meeting with their parents, siblings, aunt/uncles, and parents-in-law. Significant differences were observed in groups' frequencies of meeting face to face with others. The 55-64 and 65+ age groups, for instance, are distinct from the other groups in meeting face to face with their neighbors.

Middle and high school graduates stand out in their frequency of meeting their parents, children, siblings, aunts/uncles, and grandparents in person for all three years. Middle school graduates and those who had not finished primary school differed from the other groups in meeting face to face with their parents-in-law and neighbors. In 2006, 2011 and 2016, it was observed that the frequency of interview with parents and siblings was significant in favor of the divorced persons. In the frequency of interviewing with neighbors, there is a significant difference with all other

groups in favor of the deceased wife/husband. Considering that widowed women tend to be comparatively older, it can be said that elderly individuals communicate more frequently with their neighbors than with their own relatives (due to having less types of relatives).

Among the different socioeconomic groups, the low and middle income groups were found to meet with their parents, siblings and children more than the upper income group in 2006 whereas the middle and upper income groups met the same relatives more than the low income group in 2011 and 2016. A significant difference was found to exist among these three income groups for all years surveyed on the question of meeting with one's parents-in-law. For whatever years asked, the low income group significantly differed from the other income groups in terms of meeting with their neighbors and other relatives. Here it may be concluded that those belonging to the educated middle or high income groups had developed the practice of meeting in person with different social groups.

When comparing the differences between rural urban settings, individuals living in rural areas were found, as expected, to meet with their relatives more often for all three years. The only exception to this is that relations with children are more common in urban areas. The clearest differences between rural and urban areas are seen in relations with one's parents-in-law and neighbors. Individuals in urban settings were found not only to have more intense parent-child relationships for all three years but also to set aside less time for other relations. While the frequency of meeting with one's children is very high until 45 years of age for 2011 and 2016, a rapid decline is observed after this age.

Although the opportunity for a complete comparison and efficient analysis is not allowed, relations with one's parents, siblings, aunts/

uncles, parents-in-law, and grandparents is greater in those living in detached houses for 2011 and 2016. Public housing is the most disadvantaged housing type in terms of all relations. Individuals living in apartments, public housing, and gated communities had most frequently met with their children in person. This can be read as a reflection of safety when it comes to children.

For 2011 and 2016, homeowners and non-homeowners who do not pay rent have more intimate relations with their parents, siblings, aunts/uncles, parents-in-law, and grandparents. Non-homeowners who do not pay rent constitute a unique group in terms of meeting with their parents-in-law and siblings. In 2016, non-homeowners who do not pay rent are seen to meet with their relatives more often. This phenomenon may be explained by such individuals living in so-called family apartment buildings.

The frequency of meeting in person with one's parents, siblings, aunts/uncles, parents-in-law, and grandparents increases as the amount the uninterrupted time spent in one's place of residence increases. The only exception in this context occurs in meeting with one's children, whose frequency decreases once one has lived in the same home for 16 years or more. Regardless of the type household, the frequency of relatives meeting in person with each other increased when there were children living at home. This phenomenon may indicate that children take priority in familial relationships and that other relatives gain importance in children's absence. Respondents were found to meet with their siblings, aunts/uncles, and grandparents more frequently when they lived in the same home as their grandparents.

E. Social Interaction

Respondents were only asked if they met with neighbors in 2006. Individuals stated that they

met with their neighbors more often than they met with their relatives. Moreover, unlike meeting with their relatives, these relations did not systematically decline with age. In fact, meeting with one's neighbors was the most important form of relationship among the oldest groups surveyed.

Table 8.20. Frequency (%) of Visiting Relatives, Neighbors, or Friends Together with Household Members, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016

	Never	Sometimes	Often
2006	4.8	59.8	35.4
2011	8.4	65.8	25.8
2016	5.7	51.0	43.3

Visiting relatives, neighbors, or friends together as an entire household was another aspect investigated. In RFST 2016, 5.7% stated that they had never partaken in such type of visit. Over the years, respondents' stating that they 'often' partook in such visits increased, almost nearing 'sometimes' visits. Considering that the question of frequency is highly subjective, the data that does not allow for too many interpretations and needs to be further scrutinized. The rates for dining out, picnicking, going to the cinema or the theater, shopping, and traveling for vacation occur less frequently than visiting one's relatives, neighbors, and friends for each year surveyed. The only exception is for watching television together as a family. Visiting relatives, neighbors, and friends together as a household indicate that kinship and neighborhood relations are maintained at the family level. When looked at in terms of gender, a significant difference is observed in visits made together as a household in favor of men. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that women visit as a household independent of men or alone. Women employed outside the home performed household visits more often than did unemployed women both in 2011 (2.19% - 2.38%) and in 2016 (2.36% - 2.38%).

Table 8.21. Frequency (%) of Visiting Family Members/Extended Family in Various Situations, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016

	2006				2011				2016			
	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
Celebrating Religious Holidays	1.8	5.3	21.1	71.8	3.1	13.3	45.4	38.3	3.4	31.4	40.5	24.7
Wedding, engagement ceremonies	3.0	12.1	31.7	53.2	4.4	19.8	47.1	28.6	3.0	37.4	42.7	16.9
Seeing extended family's new home	9.9	19.6	29.4	41.1	10.8	26.6	41.9	20.7	6.3	46.8	34.7	12.1
Seeing extended family's new baby	9.2	16.2	30.7	43.8	7.5	22.6	45	24.8	5.7	43.8	37.5	13.1
Welcoming/ seeing off soldiers	9.1	17.6	31.0	42.3	10.0	24.7	42	23.3	6.6	45.7	35.2	12.4
Visiting the ill	2.3	11.4	31.6	54.8	3.1	17.3	47.9	31.7	2.8	39.3	43.0	14.9
Visiting those who did Hajj/ Umrah	9.8	15.3	28.9	46	10.8	22.3	41.6	25.4	8.6	43.5	35.2	12.7
Offering condolences	3.1	9.5	30.0	57.4	2.8	13.3	45.0	38.9	2.8	34.4	44.1	18.7
Visiting tombs/ graves	7.2	20.6	29.1	43.1	4.8	20.6	43.0	31.5	4.4	47.4	35.3	12.9

Table 8.22. Multiple Regression Analysis for Visiting Relatives and Extended Family

	Non-Standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	β	SD	β		
(constant)	2.062	0.101		20.446	0.000
Age	-0.002	0.001	-0.033	-2.927	0.003
Female	0.029	0.017	0.016	1.751	0.080
Education	-0.012	0.006	-0.022	-2.138	0.032
Married	0.263	0.032	0.125	8.213	0.000
Separated	0.142	0.078	0.014	1.816	0.069
Divorced	0.136	0.041	0.031	3.282	0.001
Widowed	0.153	0.039	0.050	3.944	0.000
Cohabiting	-0.205	0.216	-0.007	-0.950	0.342
Health status	0.096	0.010	0.085	9.895	0.000
Employed	-0.003	0.008	-0.003	-0.374	0.709
Has a vehicle	0.139	0.018	0.066	7.878	0.000
Has insurance	0.169	0.022	0.065	7.720	0.000
Income	0.076	0.012	0.063	6.193	0.000
Household size	-0.007	0.005	-0.013	-1.232	0.218
Detached housing	0.066	0.018	0.036	3.635	0.000
Duplex or row home	0.158	0.042	0.028	3.727	0.000
Apartments (10+)	0.012	0.017	0.006	0.676	0.499
Individuals in need of care	-0.237	0.024	-0.076	-9.765	0.000
Nuclear family	0.226	0.034	0.117	6.640	0.000
Large Family	0.339	0.040	0.118	8.477	0.000

According to the 2006 data on visiting together as a household, 35-44-year olds were more likely to perform such visits than 25-34, 55-64, and 65+ year olds, with the 65+ age group being the least likely to perform such visits. The situation changes in 2016, where 25-34 year olds were found to be most likely to perform visits as an entire household, statistically differentiating from 35-44, 45-54 and 55-64 year olds. In terms of education level, middle-school graduates had the highest rate of visiting others as an entire household in 2006 whereas high-school graduates were most likely to do so in 2011 and 2016, though middle-school graduates were still not far behind during these two years. In 2016, there were significant differences between people who didn't finish any school and primary school graduates in favor of university graduates. As such, high-school and increasingly university graduates may be said to be most likely to visit others as an entire household. Regarding socioeconomic status, the middle and upper income groups were found to be more likely than the lower income group to visit as an entire household in all three years surveyed.

Social ceremonies increased in performance between 2006 and 2016. The rate for asking for a girl's hand in marriage increased from 84.1% to 91.1%, from 77.4% to 80.3% for engagement ceremonies, from 83.1% to 85.7% for henna nights, and from 88.3% to 89.2% for marriage ceremonies.⁸ Considering that more relatives and neighbors participate in these types of ceremonies, it may be concluded that family and neighbor gatherings have increased over the years. On this note, friends from school and work should also be included in these percentages.

Table 21 illustrates that respondents' percentages both for never visiting and for always visiting family/extended family have significantly decreased between 2006 and 2016. The rates for those stating that they either sometimes or often

visited family/extended family increased. In fact, almost all individuals were grouped under these two options (see Table 21). This indicates that the frequency of visiting one's relatives has gradually decreased over time. Of all the different types of households and socioeconomic groups, nuclear and large families and the upper income class were the most likely to visit relatives in all the three years surveyed. Regarding age groups, while 18-25 to 45-54 age groups increased in their visits to relatives, older age groups witnessed a decrease.

Visiting relatives, friends, and neighbors witnessed a significant increase over the years surveyed. While 24.9% of respondents often visited their relatives in 2006, and 39.1% did so in 2016. Likewise respondents stating that they often visited their friends increased from 20.8% in 2006 to 28.2% in 2016 and that they often visited their neighbors increased from 20.8% in 2006 to 28.2% in 2016.

A multiple regression analysis was conducted using ordinary least squares regression to ascertain the frequency that respondents visited their relatives and extended family. According to the results of the multiple regression analysis presented in Table 22, visiting frequency decreases with age. One explanation for this is that the number of elderly individuals' relatives over time, which therefore decreases the total frequency of visits to their relatives and extended family made by elderly individuals. Moreover, just as visiting frequency decreases in individuals in need of care, the presence of someone needing care in one's household decreases relationships outside the home.

Visiting relatives and extended family increases in individuals with higher education levels. Additionally, having a vehicle, insurance, and a high income increases visiting frequency. The relationship between increased visits to one's

⁸ Official engagement ceremonies have not been included because these ceremonies can be done among families or simply between the spouses and observed by witnesses.

relatives and having reached higher education and socioeconomic levels may be associated with the economic and other opportunities afforded to these classes.

Those living in detached houses, duplexes, or row homes visit their relatives more frequently than those living in apartments of 10 or more units. Differentiating between detached houses and apartments needs to be considered in terms of the politics of space. Just as nuclear and large families visit relatives more often than scattered families, individuals who are married, divorced, or widowed visit relatives more often than those who have never been married. Household size, gender, health status, and employment status do not affect the frequency of visits according to the results of the multiple regression analysis.

F. Solidarity

In their study on kinship relations in social support networks, Wellman and Wortley (1989) talked about the social support offered by kinship relations, citing the four following aspects: (1) emotional support, (2) services, (3) material support, and (4) friendship. The current study therefore examines different variables in an attempt to create a schema for kinship and neighborliness. Issues other than gifting that allow for an in-depth analysis of the data set to be have been descriptively analyzed. Studies addressing gifting practices as an element of both intergenerational relations/interdependence and solidarity in kinship relations exist in the literature (Komter, 1996; Komter, 2001; Leopold and Schneider, 2010). As in studies that accept gifting as a positive indicator of solidarity (Leopold and Schneider, 2010), research showing the potential negative effect of gifting are is also found (Komter, 1996). This dual distinction is in fact related to the two theoretical positions on the topic of gifting. On one hand is the view that acknowledges gifting to create not only strong bonds of solidarity between people

but also venues for people to interact socially whereas on the other is the view holding that gifting entails an asymmetric relationship where reciprocity is at the center and that only breeds a more sophisticated type of hierarchy. Komter (1996), for example, mentioned that reciprocity in gifting can transform into exclusion. Malinowski and Sahlin's study (as cited in Komter and Vollebergh, 1997) suggested there to be a relationship between the closeness of social relations and the purity of the gift (stated as an expression of love and good intention without any concrete expectation). The current study acknowledges gifting to be an indicator of interdependence and emphasizes the types and determinants of solidarity without opening a debate on these two approaches. Gifting can be assessed as a source of motivation in groups' interdependence with each other. The analysis examines gifting forms by relating them with various cultural elements, with an emphasis on the symbolic benefit. This is because Komter (2007), by focusing on the diversity and universality of forms of gifting, also claimed gifting to be the reflection of a multi-purposed symbolic benefit that exceeds both utilitarianism as well as anti-utilitarianism.

Including issues acknowledged as being other indicators of solidarity, we will present an outline on the analysis's background before moving on to the relationship between gifting and interdependence. Firstly, looking at individuals' types of marriage, the study found that 29.7%, 42.3%, and 47.8% had consented to an arranged marriage in 2006, 2011, and 2016, respectively whereas 31.2%, 8.4%, and 12.1% had entered into arranged marriage based solely on parental consent for the same respective years. Whether through one's own consent or the consent of one's family, the high prevalence of arranged marriage illustrates the importance of kinship and the neighborhood environment. In terms of age groups, the highest and lowest proportions

of arranged marriages are seen in the 65+ and 18-25 age group, respectively. Additionally, regarding where respondents met their spouse, the 18-25 and 25-34 age groups cited relatives and the surrounding neighborhood less than the other age groups. Moreover, during the three respective years surveyed, 31.2%, 41.6%, and 30.2% stated having sought their own family's consent before marrying. In terms of age groups, younger individuals are increasingly seen to marry on their own accord while also seeking their family's consent. This phenomenon indicates that kinship and neighborhood relations are becoming increasingly less decisive on marriage. Looking at socioeconomic status, a ranking can be done by lower, middle, and upper groups. Considering the findings on education level and work experience, marriages can be said through to happen the mediation of more distant relations.

Of the individuals who participated in the research, 22.4%, 21.4%, and 23.2% stated being related to their spouse in the three years surveyed, respectively. What is noteworthy here is that the highest percentage of individuals having married a relative in 2016 were from the 18-25 age group. In 2006, 56.2% of these marriages were done with one's first cousin and 43.8% with other relatives whereas these were 49.5% and 50.5%, respectively, in 2016. While individuals from the lower income group were more likely to marry a first cousin individual from the upper income group were more likely to marry other types of relatives. Consanguineous marriage is seen to continue and not to have

shown any significant changes over the years. Although not significant, while 12.5% of respondents responded that they had married a first cousin in 2006, this percentage increased to 15.5% in 2016. Interestingly, both the lower socioeconomic group and the 65+ age group found such marriages to be less appropriate than did the other groups.

An examination of the reasons for which people find consanguineous marriage appropriate reveals that the notion of protecting family roots has become increasingly important over the years (36.8%, 37.3%, and 49.1%, respectively). Following this reason, respondents cited that relatives' children understood each other better and that such marriages preserved traditions and customs. The importance of preserving family and kinship relations was cited by those who considered consanguineous marriages appropriate. Although consanguineous marriages are seen more in rural areas, they have increased both in cities and in rural areas in recent years. Consanguineous marriages in cities were found to be at 20.4% by the 1993 Turkey Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS) and at 21.1% in 2008. In rural areas, the percentage increased from 26.5% to 30.5% during the same time period. However, because this study did not take into account the date that marriages occurred, it does not offer clear evidence on how the situation has changed over time. Analyses examining the relationship between marriage and generation reveal that although 36% of women who were married in 1978, only 19% of women did so between 2004 and 2008. Consanguineous marriages as

Table 8.23. Settings in Which Household Members Met Their Spouses, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016

	Family, Relatives Setting	Neighbors, Neighborhood Setting	Academic Setting	Work Setting	Friendly Setting	Internet	Other
2006	84.4	0.0	2.5	4.8	7.4	0.0	0.8
2011	39.1	38.8	4.3	6.4	8.3	0.1	2.9
2016	49.8	28.2	3.7	7.3	10.3	0.4	0.3

a whole did not experience a significant change between 1968 and 2013. However, while the ratio of consanguineous marriages between first-cousins decreased, the ratio of consanguineous marriages with more distant relations increased (Koç and Eryurt, 2013, pp. 18, 30).

Respondents were asked how they had met their spouses. While respondents cited that they had met their spouse through family and relatives in 2006, they cited neighbors and their neighborhood in addition to family and relatives in 2011 and 2016. Since opportunity to perform a full comparison of the three studies exists, the final two studies were examined. The percentage of those stating that they had met their spouse through their family and relatives was 39.1% for 2011 and 49.28% for 2016. The percentage of those saying they had met their spouse through neighbors and their neighborhood was 39.8% in 2011 and 28.8% in 2016. Kinship seems to be centrally grounded in one's neighborhood. One possible reason for this phenomenon is the importance that individuals give to their own family's structure resembling that of the person they will marry. Having a family structure similar to that of the person they would marry was important for 78.4% of individuals in 2011 and 85.6% of individuals in 2016. Having a similar family structure was observed to be more important for women than men. Being from the same country/town became increasingly important over the years surveyed. Having a similar family structure is important for all socioeconomic groups.⁹ As socioeconomic levels rise, being from the same country/town loses importance. Respondents gave importance to kinship, neighborhood, and township relations in marriage. Researchers observed in a study examining records kept on an online marriage site in Japan that single Japanese individuals were searching for universally-valued family qualities rather than

qualities resembling their own (Wei-hsin and Hertog, 2018). Symbolic interactionists have stated that personality traits in spouse selection and the expectation of emotional satisfaction have increasingly risen since the beginning of the 20th century (Kasapoğlu, 2012, p. 5). Preserving family characteristics can already be said to be important in the marriage process in Turkey.

However, role of work and friendly settings on marriage has significantly increased over the years. As education levels the ratio of women in the workforce continue to increase, it is only logical to expect a similar increase in the ratio of work and friendly settings' being where spouses meet. In addition, increases are found in the role of academic settings and the Internet on marriage and should be observed as a new trend. While 73% disagreed with the statement that "people who meet on the Internet can marry each other" in 2011, it was 79.3% in 2016. Considering this, social approval on internet marriages is still quite limited.

When experiencing problems with one's spouse, 45.1% of respondents stated that they sought support primarily from relatives (i.e., family elders, siblings, children), 0.1% from neighbors, and 1.8% from friends in 2016.¹⁰ Considering that 50.9% of the respondents stated that they sought support from no one, the fact that they did so from relatives is significant. A relative increase was witnessed in the frequency of problems occurring between spouses. One of the main reasons behind the increased rates of divorce seen in recent years is spouses' families interfering in family relations. It is noteworthy that in the three respective years surveyed, 7.7%, 7.9%, and 24.3% of respondents stated that their spouse was disrespectful toward their family and that 0.5%, 6.5%, and 22.7% of respondents stated that their families interfered in internal

⁹The notion that family structure is important increased in all socioeconomic groups from 2011 to 2016. Specifically, 78%-80% and 85% of all groups considered family structure to be important in 2011 and 2016, respectively.

¹⁰Respondents did not seek support from their relatives or neighbors when they experienced a problem with their children.

family relations during the same years. More than members of the other groups, members of the upper socioeconomic group stated that their spouses were disrespectful toward their family and that their spouse's family in particular interfered in internal family relations. In household type, there is a ranking in the form of large, nuclear, single-person, and other-relatives households.¹¹

The percentage of respondents saying that they would live with one of their children once they have reached old age increased over the years. While the percentage of those expressing that they would live with their son in his house upon reaching old age was 22.7% in 2011 and 28.9% in 2016. While in 2011, 8.7% of respondents said that they would stay with their daughter in 2011, 9.1% stated this in 2016. This increase, although associated with the increase of elderly individuals included in the sample in 2016 and this age group's socioeconomic and cultural background, means that people consider living with relatives as being either feasible or a necessity. In 2011 there was no difference by gender, men stated that they would rather stay with one of their sons and women with one of their daughters in 2016. The percentage of respondents saying that they would live with their children during old age decreases as socioeconomic levels rise and as age increases.¹² In a study done in China (Liu, 2014), impoverished women with male children living in rural areas were shown to benefit more from symbolic status and in providing the support that is traditionally expected from the son and his wife in caring for his elderly parents. In research done in Korea (Suh, 1994), the responsibility of caring for sons shows the brides to have taken over. Despite many elderly individuals in Turkey wanting to live with their sons, a great many daughters and brides are also involved in providing care.

Meanwhile, the percentage of those saying that they would move in to a nursing home increased from 9.3% in 2006 to 11.1% in 2016. The percentage of those asserting that children should provide for their parents materially after reaching maturity decreased from 76.6% in 2006 to 74.2% in 2011 and then to 69.7% in 2016. The percentage of those holding the view that children should look after their parents when they reach old age was 88.3% in 2006, 79.7% in 2011, and 83.4% in 2016. This phenomenon illustrates that more than financial support is expected from children. The percentage of elderly people living in the household needing care was 5.3% in 2006 and 14.3% in 2016. Generally, relatives would care for their elderly family members in need of care in the relative's own house. Neighbors and paid caregivers were only cited infrequently by respondents with little difference between 2011 and 2016.

Looking at households that had received help in the previous year in order to remain functioning,¹³ 9.3% and 37.4% of respondents stated in 2011 and 2016, respectively, to have had received financial help from relatives. The percentage of those who had received help from other relatives, neighbors, and fellow citizens was 3.1% in 2011 and 8.7% in 2016. The vast majority of those who had received help in these two years had benefitted from the government (e.g., governorship, district governorship, social assistance and solidarity foundation, muftiate) and from the municipality. However, the percentage of receiving help from both the state and the municipality decreased between these two years.

Looking at households that had received loans or borrowed money during the previous year, the percentage of those borrowing money from relatives has significantly reduced over the years. The decline is even more dramatic between

¹¹In 2016, for example, these were 26.3%, 22.4%, 21%, and 18.9% respectively.

¹²According to the 2016 data, of those who responded that they would live with their son, 41.2% were in the lower, 31% in the middle, and 15.6% in the upper socioeconomic group.

¹³Those receiving help account for 9.6% and 11.5% of existing households in 2011 and 2016, respectively.

Table 8.24. Percentages of Households in Debt, Receiving Loans, or Borrowing Money in the Previous Year, RFST 2006, 2011, and 2016

	2006		2011		2016	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Mother/Father	90.4	9.6	94.4	5.6	97.1	2.9
Siblings	88.8	11.2	93.7	6.3	96.4	3.6
Other Relatives	90.0	10.0	90.0	10.0	96.1	3.9
Friends	87.4	12.6	91.5	8.5	95.3	4.7
Neighbors	92.5	7.5	95.2	4.8	99.2	0.8
Bank ¹⁴	80.7	19.3	22.0	78.0	11.4	88.6

neighbors and nearly respondents reported having borrowed money from their neighbors during the years surveyed. Those borrowing or taking loans out from banks, however, have increased.

Households are seen to have planned choosing relatives, friends and neighbors at higher rates than the current situation in their loaning preferences. However, it is possible to say that the preferences are directed towards the bank rather than the relatives, friends and neighbors.

Table 8.25. Percentages for Preferred Lender in Situations Where Households Must Borrow, RFST 2011 and 2016 (%)

	2011		2016	
	No	Yes	No	Yes
Mother/Father	68.0	32.0	71.7	28.3
Siblings	66.6	33.4	72.3	27.7
Adult children	80.9	19.1	88.7	11.3
Other relatives	78.9	21.1	80.5	19.5
Friends	79.5	20.5	84.1	15.9
Neighbors	85.8	14.2	94.0	6.0
Bank ¹⁵	47.4	52.6	33.4	66.6

Household members' behavior of giving gifts to family members and relatives is considered an important indicator in terms of kinship relations. This study examines three dimensions of individuals' respondents' gifting attitudes. However, these three dimensions did not have

an absolutely normal distribution despite the scales' showing numerical features. Therefore sequential logistic regression models were used to understand how the factors affected the three dimensions.

The sequential regression results addressing the religious gifting attitudes from these models are presented in Table 27. According to this table, religious gifting increases as age increases and as households grow. Gender also influences religious gifting. Women reported having more religious gifting behaviors than men. Just as those with vehicles and insurance reported more religious gifting than those without either, so too did those with higher incomes compared to those with low incomes. Statistically significant decreases were also observed in religious gifting as education increased. Furthermore, gifting was seen decrease in households where individuals in need of care were present.

No statistically countable significant difference

Table 8.26. Household Members' Gifting Scale: Sub-Dimension, RFST 2016

	N	Low	High	Ave.	SD
Religious Gifting	17235	0.0	3.0	1.4772	1.08392
Traditional Gifting	17235	0.0	5.0	4.1644	1.50721
Modern Gifting	17235	0.0	6.0	2.2487	2.08325
Visiting Frequency	17235	1.0	5.0	3.4795	0.8928

¹⁴Includes withdrawing money from credit cards and taking out home, auto, or agricultural loans

¹⁵Includes withdrawing money from credit cards and home, auto, or agricultural loans.

Table 8.27. Sequential Logistic Regression Indicating the Factors Affecting Religious Gifting

	Estimate	SE	Wald	Df	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval		
						Lower Limit	Upper Limit	
Threshold	0	2.385	0.208	131.565	1	0.000	1.978	2.793
	1	3.724	0.209	317.242	1	0.000	3.314	4.134
	2	4.900	0.210	542.645	1	0.000	4.487	5.312
Location	Age	0.004	0.001	10.622	1	0.001	0.002	0.007
	Women	0.213	0.035	36.792	1	0.000	0.144	0.282
	Men	0 ^a			0			
	Education	-0.030	0.012	6.101	1	0.014	-0.054	-0.006
	Married	0.619	0.068	82.497	1	0.000	0.485	0.752
	Separated	0.612	0.165	13.781	1	0.000	0.289	0.935
	Divorced	0.419	0.088	22.764	1	0.000	0.247	0.591
	Widowed	0.413	0.082	25.244	1	0.000	0.252	0.574
	Living together	0.010	0.458	0.000	1	0.983	-0.888	0.908
	Single	0 ^a			0			
	Health Status	0.104	0.021	25.623	1	0.000	0.064	0.144
	Employed	0.037	0.034	1.182	1	0.277	-0.030	0.105
	Unemployed	0 ^a			0			
	Vehicle	0.156	0.037	17.577	1	0.000	0.083	0.229
	No vehicle	0 ^a			0			
	Insured	0.525	0.047	125.999	1	0.000	0.434	0.617
	Uninsured	0 ^a			0			
	Income (ln)	0.272	0.026	110.159	1	0.000	0.221	0.323
	Household size	-0.046	0.011	15.975	1	0.000	-0.068	-0.023
	Detached home	-0.215	0.038	31.751	1	0.000	-0.290	-0.140
	Duplex/Row home	-0.208	0.089	5.472	1	0.019	-0.383	-0.034
	Building with 10+ apartments	0.044	0.037	1.455	1	0.228	-0.028	0.116
	Building with less than 10 apartments	0 ^a			0			
	Has a person in need of care	-0.206	0.052	16.033	1	0.000	-0.307	-0.105
	Has no person in need of care	0 ^a			0			
	Nuclear family	0.110	0.072	2.328	1	0.127	-0.031	0.252
	Large family	0.161	0.085	3.611	1	0.057	-0.005	0.327
Scattered family	0 ^a			0				

was found in the frequency of religious gifting between employed and unemployed individuals. A similar situation also occurs in terms of household types.

A differentiating effect exists for the type of housing in which one lives. Compared to individuals living in buildings with 10 or more

apartments, those living in detached homes and those in duplexes/adjacent residences are less likely to participate in religious gifting. However, no difference in religious gifting is observed in people living in buildings with less than 10 apartments compared to those living in buildings with 10 or more apartments.

Table 8.28. Sequential Logistic Regression Showing the Factors Affecting Traditional Gifting

	Estimate	SE	Wald	Df	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval Lower Limit	Upper Limit	
Threshold	0	2.432	0.243	99.843	1	0.000	1.955	2.909
	1	2.740	0.243	126.827	1	0.000	2.263	3.217
	2	3.113	0.243	163.583	1	0.000	2.636	3.590
	3	3.604	0.244	218.674	1	0.000	3.126	4.082
	4	4.400	0.245	323.754	1	0.000	3.921	4.879
Location	Age	0.003	0.002	3.255	1	0.071	0.000	0.006
	Women	0.435	0.041	111.775	1	0.000	0.354	0.515
	Men	0 ^a			0			
	Education	0.023	0.015	2.238	1	0.135	-0.007	0.052
	Married	1.221	0.073	276.028	1	0.000	1.077	1.365
	Separated	0.412	0.173	5.685	1	0.017	0.073	0.751
	Divorced	0.529	0.095	31.112	1	0.000	0.343	0.715
	Widowed	0.546	0.089	37.205	1	0.000	0.370	0.721
	Cohabiting	0.536	0.505	1.126	1	0.289	-0.454	1.525
	Single	0 ^a			0			
	Health Status	0.161	0.024	46.829	1	0.000	0.115	0.207
	Employed	0.154	0.041	14.170	1	0.000	0.074	0.234
	Unemployed	0 ^a			0			
	Has a vehicle	0.347	0.047	55.546	1	0.000	0.256	0.438
	Has no vehicle	0 ^a			0			
	Insured	0.474	0.050	90.135	1	0.000	0.376	0.572
	Uninsured	0 ^a			0			
	Income (ln)	0.361	0.031	139.594	1	0.000	0.301	0.421
	Household size	-0.013	0.013	1.023	1	0.312	-0.039	0.012
	Detached home	-0.247	0.046	29.425	1	0.000	-0.336	-0.158
	Duplex/Row home	-0.354	0.100	12.414	1	0.000	-0.551	-0.157
	Building (10+ apartments)	0.027	0.046	0.357	1	0.550	-0.063	0.118
	Building (less than 10 apartments)	0 ^a			0			
	Has an individual in need of care	-0.328	0.056	34.757	1	0.000	-0.437	-0.219
	Has no individual in need of care	0 ^a			0			
	Nuclear family	-0.031	0.079	0.151	1	0.698	-0.186	0.125
	Large family	0.007	0.095	0.006	1	0.940	-0.179	0.193
Scattered family	0 ^a			0				

The sequential regression results obtained for attitudes on traditional gifting are presented in Table 28. According to the table, increases in age, higher levels of education, household size, and household type do not affect the percentages of traditional gifting.

Women reported participating in traditional gifting more than men. Respondents with cars and insurance stated that they partook in traditional gifting more than those without either. Those with higher incomes compared to those less were also more likely to participate in traditional gifting practices.

Table 8.29. Sequential Logistic Regression Showing Factors Affecting Modern Gifting

	Estimate	SE	Wald	Df	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval Lower Limit	Upper Limit	
Threshold	0	2.805	0.215	170.172	1	0.000	2.383	3.226
	1	3.571	0.216	274.556	1	0.000	3.149	3.994
	2	4.187	0.216	375.563	1	0.000	3.764	4.611
	3	4.858	0.217	502.436	1	0.000	4.434	5.283
	4	5.621	0.218	666.633	1	0.000	5.194	6.047
	5	6.656	0.219	920.397	1	0.000	6.226	7.086
Location	Age	-0.039	0.001	753.318	1	0.000	-0.042	-0.036
	Female	0.353	0.036	96.245	1	0.000	0.282	0.423
	Male	0a			0			
	Education	0.221	0.012	322.909	1	0.000	0.197	0.246
	Married	0.722	0.068	113.736	1	0.000	0.589	0.855
	Separated	0.576	0.171	11.407	1	0.001	0.242	0.910
	Divorced	0.494	0.088	31.296	1	0.000	0.321	0.667
	Widowed	0.583	0.086	45.798	1	0.000	0.414	0.752
	Cohabiting	1.172	0.453	6.690	1	0.010	0.284	20.060
	Single	0a			0			
	Health status	0.103	0.021	23.419	1	0.000	0.061	0.145
	Employed	-0.025	0.035	0.506	1	0.477	-0.093	0.043
	Unemployed	0a			0			
	Has vehicle	0.040	0.037	1.128	1	0.288	-0.034	0.113
	Has no vehicle	0a			0			
	Insured	0.254	0.049	26.745	1	0.000	0.158	0.351
	Uninsured	0a			0			
	Income (ln)	0.577	0.027	453.005	1	0.000	0.524	0.630
	Household size	-0.139	0.012	137.658	1	0.000	-0.163	-0.116
	Detached housing	-0.678	0.038	310.946	1	0.000	-0.753	-0.603
	Duplex/Row home	-0.613	0.091	45.215	1	0.000	-0.791	-0.434
	Building with less than 10 apartments	-0.110	0.036	9.210	1	0.002	-0.181	-0.039
	Building with 10+ apartments	0a			0			
	Has individual needing care	-0.260	0.056	21.949	1	0.000	-0.369	-0.151
	Has no individual needing care	0a			0			
	Nuclear family	0.150	0.073	4.249	1	0.039	0.007	0.292
	Large family	0.108	0.086	1.565	1	0.211	-0.061	0.276
Scattered family	0a			0				

The type of housing in which respondents lived had a differentiating effect on traditional gifting. Compared to individuals living in buildings with 10 or more apartments, those living in detached homes or in duplexes/row homes participated in traditional gifting practices. However, traditional gifting did not differ between individuals living

in buildings of 10 or more apartments and those in buildings having less than 10. In addition, having an individual in need of care in the home was observed to decrease traditional gifting.

The sequential regression results addressing attitudes on modern gifting are presented in Table

29. According to the table, as age and household size increase, modern gifting decreases. Those living in detached housing exhibit less modern gifting practices compared to those living in other dwellings. Modern gifting decreases if there is an individual in need of care living in one's house.

Compared with men, women stated having more modern gifting behaviors. Those with higher incomes expressed participating in modern gifting more than those with lower incomes as well as nuclear and scattered families. Modern gifting was also observed to increase concurrently with one's level of education.

IV. Results

Although kinship relations have experienced changes in certain respects, kinship relations and the social interactions and solidarity these relations entail can be said to have been generally maintained, especially in terms of long-held cultural values and considering Turkish history. Analyses directed at neighborhood relations have found that neighborhoods have maintained, although perhaps in limited and in novel forms, various social and solidarity related functions. Yet, these functions are seen to remain limited to urban areas. This reality shows, as described by Bauman, the oscillations among *relations*, which include individualism and loose bonds on the one hand and the tight ties that security provides on the other. Instead of relationships, *connections* are now mentioned, and thus social relations have become fluid (Giddens, 2008, pp. 285-286). For example, while participation in social ceremonies and marriage preferences continue within kinship and neighborhood relations, relations of solidarity, like assistance and loaning/borrowing money, have lost their importance.

While a change of this type has been experienced in kinship and neighborhood relations, social

interactions have increased in modern society. Encountering people from different social classes and origins in everyday life, at school, at work, and in public areas is important in terms of interactions. The relationship between time and space has changed dramatically with the development of new communication technologies, allowing people to interact with others whom they could have never met before (Giddens, 2008, pp. 186-187). These encounters have a shorter duration, contain no commitments, and yet offer opportunities to individuals. These opportunities can open more doors to individuals than can strong bonds. Granovetter (1973) described this situation as the power of weak bonds. If kinship and neighborly relations weaken in this vein, it becomes possible for individuals to be drawn to new types of interactions and for these interactions themselves to be evaluated within the codes of kinship and neighborhood. In particular, one of the current study's findings is that the marriage choices of young generations are being influenced by the work and school environments outside of kinship and neighborhood relations.

The change in family structures does not eliminate kinship relations, it only diversifies them. What makes kinship and neighborhood relations different from other community relations is that they are closely related to home life, and therefore women find themselves more in the foreground (Erden, 2002, as cited in Özbay, 2014, p. 57). Looking at men and women's personal networks, women are seen to have many relationships with relatives and friends, while men have them with their colleagues. If they also come from similar social structures, women are seen to be included in kinship relations more than men (Moore, 1990). Women's increasing career resources cause them to postpone having children or to have no children at all (Blossfeld and Huinink, 1991).

With women having become increasingly more involved in work life, the model of men being the breadwinner has changed. When women start to work outside the home, they continue to assume primary responsibility for household chores and therefore have less free time than men (Hochschild, 1989; Gershuny, 1994; Sullivan, 1997, as cited in Giddens, 2008, p. 281). Through women's increasing inclusion into work life, diversity in regard to having children, not to mention in kinship and neighborhood relations, has become commonplace. According to time-use research done by the Turkish Statistical Institute in 2015, women employed outside the home are seen to spend five times as much time as men on family care. Furthermore, women also allocate more time out of their day than men to care for elderly people living in their home. This situation means women assume more home-related tasks even if they work outside the house. Women who care for a family member are required to constantly position themselves according to the psychological well-being of the other person. Women exert emotional effort to maintain personal relations in addition to physical tasks like cleaning and child care (Giddens, 2008, p. 281). Therefore, the time women, being one of the main actors in kinship and neighborhood relations in cities, have to develop these relationships decreases in cases where they work. Women, after having begun to spend less time on developing these relations, have new types of social relations in addition to bearing both these and kinship and neighborhood relations to public venues outside of home and the neighborhood.

Nuclear families are a hallmark of the middle socioeconomic class. A considerable number of nuclear families live in apartment-type dwellings. Widespread opinion would hold that large family households transformed into nuclear households following the urbanization

and industrialization of Turkey. Duben (2012, pp. 76-77) arrived at the conclusion that a change of this type has not been experienced in the household structure and should therefore be evaluated independent of urban development by revealing historical data on rural and urban areas. Similarly, this study also reveals that no transition from large to nuclear families was observed, nor have large families experienced an unraveling. One type kinship relation centering on parents, children, and a few siblings has become increasingly widespread. The frequency of meeting with and visiting other relatives has tended to decrease over the years. On the other hand, while kinship and neighborly relations in rural areas are seen to be closer than they are in cities, the kinship relations of elderly women in particular seem to have weakened. The most important relations of both those living in cities and those in rural areas are generally the relations established with neighbors, especially if there are children or grandchildren.

Kinship and communal relations based on one's hometown are important for people in Turkey when they migrate to urban areas and have direct ramifications on neighborhood relations (Dedeoğlu, 2000, p. 156). The current study, found that most common relative living in the same building as respondents were parents or parents-in-law and that women were more likely to live in the same building as their relatives than were men. Even after one's children leave home, proximity is maintained by living in the same building or neighborhood. The distance from other relatives, however, has increased. The physical changes that accelerated after 2000, the transition from squatter homes to apartment buildings, the commonplaceness of gated communities/housing projects, and the process of urban transformation have changed settlement practices, are the reason for the increase in urban mobility, and ultimately

caused differences in kinship and neighborhood relations to appear.

The current study revealed the importance of residing in a single place for an extended period of time was revealed. Although analyses of home ownership and type have not provided a clear result, the kinship relations of those owning homes and those living in detached houses remain relatively tight. A study done in Australia (Abass and Tucker, 2018) has found features that bear opportunities for interacting, such as street layout, tree cover, and sidewalks, to be the most important determinants of neighborhood satisfaction. This case shows that the rapidly-changing urban physical environment should not be considered independent of social relations. The impacts and new dynamics of urbanization that the changes in family apartments and process of urban transformation have created need to be addressed.

The new dynamics of urbanization (e.g., urban transformation, mobility, and economic-sector changes) can be said to have a bidirectional effect. While on one hand the distance between large families or relatives has decreased, not only has the number of people living alone, in households with other relatives, and in households without relatives increased, so too has the distance they live from their relatives increased. Kağıtçıbaşı (1977, as cited in Duben, 2012, p. 84) stated that by executing similar logic, the support provided by broad kinship relations and the importance of people in daily life will lessen alongside economic and social development. However, Kağıtçıbaşı emphasized that this support would reappear in periods of rapid socio-economic change and mobility to eliminate the possible effects of personal and social crises. In particular, young newlyweds with small children and the 65+ age group turn to large-family relations in terms of material,

moral, and spiritual support. Even if they do not live in the same home, residing in the same building, neighborhood, or district is important for these groups. Impoverished women stand out in this group. On the other hand, young single men, the divorced, and widows are seen to gravitate toward living alone or to households with other relatives. Compared to women, the tendency of young, educated men in particular to increasingly live alone is an important change in terms of the family cycle of nuclear and large families. Additionally, the role of changes in the labor market (e.g., professional occupations, creative industries, and flexible employment) and the new dynamics of urbanization should be considered in the differentiation of these groups' family structures, perceptions, and kinship relations.

The changes experienced in work life and longer life spans have the potential to create a change in the household structure. While young families living in cities receive both social and child care support from grandparents, elderly individuals may also receive care and social support. As such, changes in work conditions, the new dynamics of urbanization, and changes in age groups can be said to have bred the differences in household structure in metropolises and in cities near metropolises, as well as in family and kinship relations. Just as this situation may impact the structure of large families, it may also lead to a relative shortening of the distance between relatives.

Although there has been a decrease in having family and relatives, the population in Turkey still has an abundance of relatives. Turkey, despite being in a process of demographic transition, has both a horizontal and vertical abundance of relatives. By looking at factors like birth and marriage rates and the age of marriage, it may be concluded that this trend will undergo changes in the near future. As a

result of decreasing deaths and lower fertility, horizontal kinships have lost their importance. As a result, parents develop networks of intense solidarity around children, resulting in other relatives remaining in the background (Özbay, 2014, p. 62). In one study performed in the United States (Leigh, 1982), adults were found to have more interactions with close relatives like parents, children, and siblings, and less interactions with distant relatives like cousins. This situation relates to change cyclical household.

The 25-34 and 35-44 age groups have the greatest abundance of relatives. As age progresses, the number of kin types decreases. The 65+ age group, for instance, has a low number for kin types. However, it needs to be remembered that the elderly population in Turkey is predicted to increase. The group with the least number of relatives is consistently the 65+ age group. This group's having fewer kin types particularly in rural areas will become an important issue in the coming years. While the number of kin types has tended to decrease, favorable conditions already exist for strengthening kinship relations. Both the number of kin types being at good levels and the religious and moral motivations having maintained their importance in kinship relations are seen in this period where friendship *connections* have been strengthened and become widespread. In research done in Holland (Komter and Vollebergh, 2002), intra-family solidarity still has an important place compared to solidarity between friends. While love and closeness draw forth in the solidarity between friends, the norms from Durkheim's moral obligation have been identified as the underlying feelings that individuals possess when helping their parents.

While a decrease in all types of relatives was experienced between 2006 and 2016, the number of grandparents increased. This

change, experienced through the increase in the elderly population, means many individuals and households will have increased numbers of elderly relatives. This constitutes a novel situation in family and kinship relations. Although the various generations in a family have gained financial independence, the emotional solidarity has continued. This case is seen as a decrease in the economic worth attributed to children in 2005 (Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2005). These authors stated in their 2015 research (Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2015) that the value attributed to children is a guarantee for grandparents and that families' provision of care for the elderly has become a norm. However, they also stated that this norm is changing. However, the proportion of families caring for their elderly members has remained high over the years. A study conducted in the United States concluded that when grandchildren who provide care for their elderly grandparents are poor, they tend to live in poor conditions and less secure neighborhoods. In addition, the physical inadequacies inherent in the houses that may be afforded by such people constitute another important challenge for elderly individuals. Additionally, the US study revealed that children experience difficulties in terms of in transitioning from a child-centered residence to elderly due to changes in family composition and that these households lack real knowledge on how to provide necessary care (Polvere, Barnes, and Lee, 2018). This shows that housing conditions and needs are important in caring for the elderly. On the other hand, the attachment of the elderly to the homes and societies where they have lived is important in terms of their sense of security, familiarity, and well-being (Wiles, Leibing, Guberman, Reeve, and Allen, 2012). This shows that aging in a specific place requires the appropriate conditions be ensured.

With the increase of elderly family members

and the number of relatives, the 45-64 age group has become increasingly important as they have both young people (grandchildren) and elderly (parents) for whom they provide support and care and who live with them because of this. The roles that this age group has undertaken in supporting both children and parents in Turkey have significantly affected both this group's current and future living conditions. In a study done in the United Kingdom and the United States, middle-aged women who provide care to one or more children were determined to also provide support to their own elderly parents or parents-in-law (Grundy and Henretta, 2006, p. 718). The roles women undertake to provide the necessary care, which play a significant role in intergenerational solidarity, force them to make changes in their daily lives, health conditions, and life satisfaction.

The abundance of relatives for educated individuals is greater than that of uneducated individuals. Yet, this study has also found the distance that one lives from relatives to increase as education level increases. A study (Kalmijn, 2006, p. 13) analyzing kinship research in the Netherlands found that the relations and distance of educated individuals with their relatives are more remote. This case is associated with the different values espoused by the more educated population and the geographical boundaries imposed by the job market. Additionally, while less-educated people were identified more frequently to have broken kinship ties, the proposed explanation for this was that those with less education were more likely to have experienced family conflict.

Both the number of kin types differs and abundance of relatives increases in regions with younger populations or more urban areas. When looked at in terms of socioeconomic levels, those included in the upper income group appear to have greater numbers of kin types.

The abundance of relatives of those living in cities and of those with higher education and socioeconomic levels is another point worth mention. This reality is associated with living in urban areas, as families that have migrated to urban areas have access to education, health, and job opportunities. Moreover, it is considered important that second generations maintain their kinship relations with the first generation by raising their education and socioeconomic levels. Research done in the United States (Hofferth, 1984) has revealed that, compared with African American families, white families receive more money from their relatives and are more likely to live as large families whereas African American families in which the woman is head of the household benefit less from kinship networks.

Elderly family members' relationship with their grandchildren is important. Grandchildren are especially important when it comes to visits, communication, and support. These findings reveal the need to investigate grandparent-grandchild ties within the greater kinship network. Grandparents' attitudes are important in understanding intergenerational relations. Mothers' intergenerational ties, which seek retaining ties of kinship, appear more effective on grandparent-grandchild relations than do those of fathers (Monserud, 2008). Considering age-related differences, the role of the parents' home in facilitating the relationship between grandmother and grandchild when a young adult does not leave his parents' home cannot be overlooked (Geurts, Poortman, van Tilburg, and Dykstra, 2009). Elderly individuals with grandchildren have a higher probability of living closer to their children compared to those without grandchildren (van Diepen and Mulder, 2009).

The increase in people to live alone has significant ramifications on kinship relations.

In England, while 6% of people lived alone in 1971, 12% did in 2001 (Giddens, 2008, p. 266). Although Turkey is experiencing an even quicker transition than England, this does not mean that all kinship ties have weakened. Interestingly a significant portion of those living alone live in the same building as their relatives. Yet, the distance from relatives is gradually widening. This phenomenon can be understood as an attempt by individuals to escape the burden of maintaining close relations without actually severing kinship relations. Citing the 2003 TDHS data, men in Turkey were observed to leave home after joining the work force, after marrying, and after their first child is born (Koç, 2008). Nauck, Groepler, and Yi (2017) concluded in their comparative analysis that the practice of leaving home is shaped according to kinship structures, welfare regimes, and differences in urbanization. Leaving home is experienced later in collectivist and patriarchal societies (e.g., China and Taiwan) and earlier in individualistic societies. Leaving home in collectivist culture is an important step for adulthood, and having generations live in the same residence is normatively supported. Meanwhile, despite the increase in divorce, those who have divorced maintain family and kinship relations. In fact, significant differences exist with other groups (i.e., those living alone or widowed) in favor of the divorced.

The number of one- and two-person households increased in 2016. Men are seen in recent years to be most likely to live alone. In fact, the men's transition to living alone can be said to have accelerated from 2011 to 2016. More focused research needs to be done on the transition of young (25-34 and 35-44 age groups) university-graduate males from the upper socioeconomic group to living alone. Few of those living alone own their own home and a considerable portion of them live in apartments. Özbay (2014, p.

75) evaluated men's choice of living alone as 'resistance' against the control that their family and society exerts over them and against the responsibilities expected of them as fathers and husbands if they are married. In addition, this situation causes young males to marry and have children later, rendering it difficult for them to adapt to being a father. Alongside this, the elderly and poor women in particular are also included among those living alone.

While the distance that one lives away from his relatives is less in rural areas, it increases in urban areas. However, relatives are still considerably nearby. Men are more likely to live in the same building that their own relatives do than are women. One is most likely to live in the same building as his children, parents, and parents-in-law, in descending order. When children leave home and do not remain not in the same building, they still prefer to live in a place in the same district or town. The distance decreases further when children are added to the equation. The distance one lives from other relatives, like aunts and uncles, is much farther. In other words, the distance one lives from his more distant relatives has increased. In a similar and related vein, the frequency of people meeting face to face has decreased as increased distance narrows one's opportunities to interact with others.

When looking at individuals' gifting patterns, those with high education and income levels, those with good health, and women are at the forefront for all dimensions. Individuals living in detached houses are less likely to give gifts when someone living in the household requires care. *Religious gifting* increases while *modern gifting* decreases as age and household size increase.

It is noteworthy that women are positioned

so pronouncedly in all types of gifting. In another study conducted on the responsibility of exchanging gifts (Sinardet and Mortelmans, 2009), women reported that they were responsible for choosing and giving gifts. Women additionally spend more time selecting gifts for relatives and take more pleasure in the gifting process. This situation shows that women have maintained their traditional role in relationships based on interaction and solidarity. That being said, women have difficulty maintaining this position upon entering the workforce.

The relative decrease in neighborhood relations, especially in regions where urbanization is heavier, and the transformation from *relationship* to civilized indifference, using Goffman's (2017) conceptualization, limits social interaction in urban life. Being deprived of neighborhood relations also adversely affects social harmony as these relations constitute people's most organic encounters with each other. The socialization process of leaving individuals in school or nursing homes decreases their street and neighborhood interactions, thereby minimizing their social interactions that make neighborhood relations possible. For example, children of play age spend nearly all their days in school until they are adults. Developing neighborly relations seems highly implausible in neighborhoods where both men and women are involved in the work place and children in educational institutions. In this context, greater numbers of elderly people become active in neighborhood relations. Yet, quality public venues certainly do have the potential to strengthen social ties. In a study conducted in Manchester, England, local parks were identified to be able to support the development of social ties in inner city areas. The research concluded that in order to realized inner city parks' full potential with regard to supporting social interactions and developing

social ties, they need to be well cared for and provide good recreational opportunities. Another conclusion was that not only the physical but also the social characteristics of individual neighborhoods need to be taken into consideration (Kazmierczak, 2013).

The meanings loaded onto family, marriage, kinship, and neighborliness have changed, and this can determine the quantity and quality of kinship and neighborhood relations. For example, while individuals may consider acknowledging kinship relations and performing the culturally ordained actions on special days and at social ceremonies to entail maintaining close relations with relatives, those who perceive maintaining close relations of kinship to be a must might understand this relationship level to be insufficient. It is therefore important to comprehend how meanings are loaded onto issues of kinship and neighborliness without adopting a utilitarian perspective. This way differences and new developments can be seen more clearly.

The development of new communication technologies also forms and strengthens not only current kinship and neighborhood *connections* but also the connections of new communities. For example, relatives not been seen for extended periods of time can communicate through social media accounts like Facebook and Instagram and can reconnect by following family developments. On the other hand, a retired individual can use social media to reestablish communication with repealed friends and fellow students. This specific case includes showing the transformation of faded relationships into *connections* and the establishment of new connections.

In this context, the new connections that develop on the axis of work, school, civil area, and free-time activities, especially in metropolises,

major cities, and urban centers, most of the time include kinship and neighborhood codes and in one sense even take the place of these relations. The fact that women have begun working more outside the home and are participating in education, which is predicted only to increase considering their achievements in higher education, has expanded their social networks and experiences (Castells, 2008, p. 296). Even though the bonds that both women and men establish outside of kinship and neighborhood relations are weak, they have a congregational/societal pattern (e.g., face-to-face interactions, solidarity, and identity). These can be short-term connections just as they can also be long-term. These weak connections can be touched upon (Granovetter, 1973). The fact that the kinship and neighborhood relations of families in Turkey have been examined in greater detail from this perspective will allow for changes to be monitored and for more realistic policies to be developed.

V. Policy Recommendations

The analyses and conclusions reached in this study show the need to consider changes in kinship and neighborhood relations through different social, economic, and cultural transformations. After understanding these changes, policies should be developed to allow for social dynamics to reproduce themselves under different conditions. Policy recommendations are included under two main headings in this section: (1) Research and (2) Application.

A. Research Suggestions

Improvement: Firstly, several aspects of the RFST need to be redeveloped. What estimates may be obtained after shrinking the sample of the existing research should be determined through qualitative research. This will allow for more in-depth discussion aimed at kinship and neighborhood relations. The second issue relates to questions. Questions

on grandchildren, neighbors, and opinions about ideal/preferred household structure should be included. The meaning of kinship and neighborliness is important in the research, as well as developing questions that will obtain data aimed at the ideals related to these concepts. In addition, further investigation should be done on the practices and reasons surrounding why individuals leave the large family and their parents' home. Different questions (e.g., finding work) need to be asked in order to more conveniently analyze solidarity relations. Alongside this, adding questions directed at individuals' and households' various social relations (e.g., friends, fellow citizens, occupational, and religious) and kinship (e.g., grandparents' relations with grandchildren) is important.

New Research: Specialized research should be designed to investigate neighborhood relations, other social relations, those living alone, those in family apartments, and the changes resulting from so-called Turkey's urban transformation to the distance away from and relations with one's relatives and neighbors. These issues have not been sufficiently addressed in the RFST. Topics such as new communication technologies, housing preferences, and both locale usages and relations should be researched in terms of kinship and the neighborhood.

B. Application Recommendations

A significant cultural change has in regard to people's decisions to live alone. Health, care, and social content services aimed at elderly individuals living alone need to be developed with the combined support of NGOs and neighbors under the coordination of local governments and neighborhood headmen (*muhtar*) in particular. Examples exist in Turkey in this regard. The ministry needs to display a proactive attitude on the issue of coordination and developing capacity. Increasing programs such as the Elderly Support Program (*Yaşlı Destek Programı - YADES*) is important

(Aile, Çalışma ve Sosyal Hizmetler, 2018). Importance should be given to producing housing at a distance close to relatives due to closeness being a relative concept definable as a walkable distance or giving rent support by considering the elderly's increasing preference to live in large families and households with relatives. Financial support mechanisms should be developed allowing individuals over 65 to live within walking distance of their children/relatives by documenting and checking records. The control mechanisms in policies directed at the elderly must be clearly and openly established because in cases of abuse, the elderly may be dealing with the detriment rather than the benefit of social policy.

Housing and areas should not be created independent of the physical and social environment where those elderly individuals living alone had lived. Housing environment and neighborhood relations, in the form of memories, belonging, and identity, are important to the elderly. Spaces should therefore be allotted by local governments for the elderly where they will be able interact with each other, their neighbors/neighborhood, and nature on the same street and/or neighborhood so that elderly individuals make age in a single, specific place. This can be achieved through renting or the expropriation of specific areas. A neighborhood appropriate for walking allows the elderly to be active should be developing as using locations where people can enjoy nature and meet others contributes to the health of the elderly (Sugiyama and Thompson, 2007).

Considering that elderly living in rural areas generally live far from their relatives and live alone, special policies clearly need to be developed. Establishing channels of communication with children and relatives, eliminating technological needs, and providing technological training are important. In addition, strengthening their economic

conditions, increasing access to health care, improving housing, and increasing transport are musts. Developing social inclusion policies for the elderly in rural areas who have poor relatives is also important.

Women sandwiched between two generations who simultaneously support their elderly relatives and their own children are one of the most at-risk groups. Struggling in both nuclear and large families, this generation has too many responsibilities and too much work, especially in the case of single-parent households. This generation may encounter physical and mental problems during its own aging process due to the roles they have undertaken. Grandparents who take care of children also face parental stress (Gleeson, Hsieh, and Cryer-Coupet, 2016). Impoverished women and those in difficult economic conditions especially need to be supported. In general, social policies reducing the roles of this generation are needed. Educational content directed especially at increasing this generation's awareness on the issue of aging and what is required of them should also be prepared and promulgated. More importantly however, daycare centers should be built for both children and the elderly on a neighborhood scale to facilitate accessibility. Thus women who have undertaken the burden of care will have the ability to allot time for themselves and their social relations because, as seen in the research data, if there is someone in need of care in the household, household family members visit others outside of the house less frequently. In addition, men should be trained regarding the support being received, and awareness studies must be planned and implemented. Opening day care centers for children and the elderly is also important for single-parent households. These households, made up mostly of women, receive limited support from parents, siblings, and other relatives. Easing the burden of care in these households can be provided

through daycare centers, as members of these households generally work out of financial need. Explanations about studies on opening Elderly Solidarity Centers (*Yaşlı Dayanışma Merkezleri-YDM*) seeking to meet the social and psychological needs of the elderly living in a home environment and to prevent them from being isolated have been included in Turkey's Status of the Elderly and National Action Plan on Aging (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 2007, p. 27). A more holistic approach is recommended by revising this plan.

Alongside this, specific education and training should be offered to those individuals who will not send their children to daycare centers and who will choose to care for older relatives for economic and/or cultural reasons. Providing early childhood training is of particular importance. Many adults and elderly individuals educate the children in their custody according to traditional methods. The development of curriculum and materials on early childhood education and old age training is particularly recommended for this specific group. In addition, supporting those who receive this training through social service workers at specific times is also important.

Child-related matters, children's interests, and the care that parents need to undertake are defined by law. The creation of a legal framework for matters that need to be undertaken directed at parents in their old age should also be discussed. The duties of children, relatives, and especially adults on the matter of care and social support for the elderly can be defined through laws. Even though legal regulations are not deemed appropriate in the context of human rights, it still needs to be studied on how the economic conditions of the elderly and those living alone in particular can be improved. Studies on improving volunteer

work and employment conditions during old age are needed for this.

A decreasing prevalence of nuclear households has also been observed. The increasing prevalence of living alone and the decreasing prevalence of the nuclear household give ideas about potential future changes in store for households. Policies should also be developed for different household types, such as those with other relatives and large families, alongside policies for marriage and nuclear families despite their being centrally located in social policies. This is because excluding large families actually reduces the power of social policies (Gerstel, 2011). Family apartments where the practice of large families is seen should be given support to avoid being affected by urban transformation. Options in public housing projects (e.g., small detached apartments with access to other households for grandparents) should be offered and incentive opportunities, such as concessions at certain rates drawn up in lots, should be created for households that wish to live as a large family. The importance of the discussion made as part of the "Family Friendly Cities Survey Research" (Şentürk, 2016) should be taken into account. This situation should not result in elderly care being solely left to the family. A proposal of this type should be developed for the purpose of presenting options for large families choosing to live this way.

Children and grandchildren wanting to care for their elderly relatives who are poor generally live in poor conditions and less secure neighborhoods. In addition, the physical inadequacies inherent in the houses that may be afforded by such people constitute another important challenge for elderly individuals. Changes in family composition, for example, need to be appropriate for the elderly, as child-centered housing has, until now, been the norm. Regardless, information on this

topic is lacking. Informative services directed at improving existing housing should be provided and public housing projects should be supported. Additionally, standard applications can be offered to families by preparing model proposals, local governments should be the facilitators in regulating housing conditions, and support-production capacity should be improved. This recommendation will also contribute to realizing the target of “developing models that support care on the side of the family” as cited in the Development Plan #10 (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2010, p. 44). By additionally considering the emphasis on “systematically examining the conditions that the elderly are subject to and the changes appearing over time for the benefit of creating more suitable housing and living areas for the elderly” as cited in the Status of the Elderly and National Action Plan on Aging (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 2007, p. 82), it is deemed necessary to research how the elderly make use of available space and to develop different policies.

Women’s employment and participation in the work force are important aspects of democratic and just communities. Yet, encouraging female employment without making regulations in work life, in cities, in and around housing areas, in neighborhoods, in public spaces, and in inner-city transportation systems, will not strengthen kinship and neighborly relations. The need to also make these regulations is emphasized together with women’s employment outside the home as doing so equates to increasing women’s employment. Interestingly however, is that although female employment has increased, women’s contact with the public space is decreasing and even disappearing entirely. For this reason, ample consideration should be given to how economic, social, and spatial policies will influence kinship and neighborhood relations. According to symbolic

interactionists, the ever increasing number of women beginning to work outside the home is the first major step leading women discuss the “perceptions of their options” (Kasapoğlu, 2012, p. 7). Women’s participation in education institutions and the work force brings them together in the public sphere while the same time allowing new social relations to be built. Women who take advantage of their options have the opportunity to establish new social ties beyond those of kinship and outside of their neighborhood. These are not analyses on distancing women from employment. Here, attention is drawn to the occurrence of a new public and social venue resulting from education and employment. New types of social relations develop and new connections are established in addition to kinship and neighborhood relations. The continuation and strengthening of relationships and connections should also be investigated. Apart from this, spatial policies need to be developed for strengthening kinship and neighborhood relations, such as women working shorter hours and decreasing the time to reach the inner city.

Housing size is important in publically-developed housing projects in regard to improving kinship and neighborhood relations. while taking into consideration cultural and social norms, houses’ architecture should be conducive to entertaining guests comfortably and rooms should be spatially sufficient for those living in the house. In addition, attention should be given to the fact that elderly women who have lost their husband prefer to live in large-family households or households with other relatives. Solutions appropriate to each society’s existing culture need to be produced by considering the influence of the spatial framework on relations. Joint studies and a spatial policy need to be developed with the relevant public-related institutions (including the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization)

on this issue. In Development Plan #10, room has been allotted to bringing to life “spatial planning and urban design practices that aim to increase the liveableness for different segments of society, with particular emphasis on the elderly, the disabled, and children” (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2010, p. 127).

Beginning in the 1980s and continuing into the 2000s, the type of housing produced in Turkey’s urbanization experience consists of housing projects and gated communities. Although the buildings themselves are self-contained, the type of houses produced has progressed into large-scale building complexes, especially for planned projects. When considered in terms of kinship and especially neighborhood relations, the locations of large-scale building complexes have their own limitations. However, common places where neighbors can meet and come together within these communities may be sufficient to overcome these limitations and even to facilitate closer neighborhood relations. Legal regulations should be made seeking to increase the quantity and quality of common spaces and not just parking and green areas in both publicly- and privately-produced housing communities. These legal regulations should be realized together with the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization and should be strictly applied through inspections ensuring that minimum safety measures, like fire escapes, are followed.

Venues to be used by families living in these types of communities and in detached buildings need to be constructed. The research findings show that these ceremonies are conducted even if such venues are not readily provided. These ceremonies, where relatives and neighbors come together, should be done in cooperation with the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization as relates to designing them in a way that has

buyable costs and are within walking distance, as is in accordance with the tradition of such ceremonies. The most important issues that need to be resolved in all spatial policies are, first and foremost, the preparation of functions and their quality and content and then their implementation. Consequently, procedures and protocols should seek to develop processes leading to the construction of social spaces while implementing social policies.

Studies on society need to be conducted in addition to developing spatial policies. Social activities that institute a culture of coexistence in particular need to be organized or, in the event that they are ongoing, be given support. In this context, one can say local governments and NGOs will play especially important roles. Training and consultancy services can be provided on increasing the capacities of local governments and NGOs. The production of studies on society can be promoted by making legal and administrative regulations.

Urban governance needs to be implemented to improving neighborhood relations. Urban governance has the potential to boost individuals’ feelings of belonging, identity, and responsibility. In addition, social interaction can be facilitated both through urban governance and through individuals’ formation of venues

appropriate to their own culture's expectations and perceptions of life. In particular, to improve neighborhood's physical conditions and facilities for neighbors/inhabitants, will allow people to participate in administrative duties and contribute to be active citizens in their communities. Urban governance tools and mechanisms need to be developed on the neighborhood scale by rescaling neighborhoods in metropolises and large cities.

Creating awareness on kinship and neighborhood relations should be one of the most important policies. These policies should be developed understanding and responding to today's circumstance, not a nostalgic, prior understanding of kinship and neighborliness. One of the greatest dangers in self-reproducing these types of social institutions in Turkey is that they risk turning or being turned into institutions of nostalgia. Interaction, solidarity, gifting, and social support should be emphasized in the context of today's kinship and neighborhood forms/relations, and awareness of these should be provided. As such, awareness-building projects need to be administered and shared with the public using various means of communication and new forms of media to keep them from turning into institutions of nostalgia.

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9.
CHANGES IN INTER-
GENERATIONAL TRANSFER
AND ITS EFFECT ON
HAPPINESS

Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Fatih Aysan

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I. Abstract

Inter-generational transfers give us critical suggestion to examine the strengths and weaknesses of swift change of family and to yield policies for their basic needs. In this article, changes in inter-generational transfers between 2006 and 2016 in Turkey and their effect on family happiness were examined. The Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies) conducted the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST) in 2006, 2011, and 2016. Changes in three basic inter-generational transfer types were analyzed on economic, social and accommodation by using RFST 2006, 2011, 2016 data. Furthermore, multiple regression analysis using the RFST 2016 data set were used to discuss the effects of these transfers on family happiness. The findings of this research summarized as follows. Overall individual and family happiness decreased in Turkey between 2006 and 2016. Inter-generational transfers during the same years are weakened. There is a rapid decrease especially on inter-generational economic transfers and inter-generational accommodation support. On the other hand, family happiness increased as the total household income increased as shown in the multiple regression analysis. As the income covers the expenses, the family happiness increases. Nuclear and large families are happier than dissolved families. Happiness increases as inter-generational economic transfers increase. Parents who plan to live with their children in their elder ages are happier than those who plan

to live in a seniors center or alone. Families that receive support from their relatives on problems with their children are happier than those who do not get any support. Those who try to solve marital problems by talking to their parents, children or other family members are less happy than others. Social policy recommendations will be proposed at the end of the article, both in micro and macro structure.

II. Introduction

One of the most crucial discussion of modernization is the transformation of the family. Issues that is related to family such as change in household type, fertility rate, relations between spouses are frequently discussed by many social scientists from different disciplines (Murdoc, 1949; Parsons and Bales, 1955; Levi-Strauss, 1969; Becker, 1993; Lesthaeghe, 1995; Thorntorn, 2001). When discussing families, inter-generational transfers are also raised in discussion about family and became popular subject as the population aging. There are no adequate studies in Turkey, although, there are important studies on family relations and solidarity in European countries (Künemund and Rein, 1999; Albertini et al., 2007; Albertini and Kohli, 2009). The goal of this research is to determine the current situation of inter-generational transfers in Turkey, analyze the change in time and to determine the effect of family solidarity on happiness.

Even though this is the first study that examines inter-generational transfers by using a national data set, it is possible to find theoretical and qualitative researches on family solidarity in Turkish society. Vergin (1985) contends that inter-generational dependence is crucial for both low-income and high-income families. Duben (2016) asserts that inter-generational relations are strong in Turkey, due to changing family structures, solidarity decreases in his qualitative study in Istanbul. Inter-generational solidarity

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was analyzed in different aspects and the life satisfaction of the elderly was discussed in an academic work conducted across Turkey.

In this analysis, the effect of generational transfers and its effect on family happiness examined between 2006 and 2016. In order to achieve this objective, the article consists of five basic parts. In the second chapter after introduction, the inter-generational transfers and the type of welfare regimes that influences will be discussed. Furthermore, both the impact of inter-generational transfers on happiness and the ways of different disciplines to the subject will be discussed. In the third chapter, data sets, variables and approaches used in the analysis is covered. The fourth chapter discusses happiness and the change of inter-generational transfers between 2006 and 2016. Furthermore, multiple regression analysis findings will be shared within the framework of the 2016 data set of RFST (Research on Family Structure in Türkiye). Finally, the findings on the micro-scale of family and macro-scale of welfare regime proposals related to Turkey's social policy recommendations will be discussed.

III. Conceptual Framework and Literature

a. General Approaches to Inter-Generational Transfers

The studies that examine the inter-generational relations in connection with family solidarity dates back to Durkheim (Durkheim, 1960). In his important work, *The Division of Labor in Society*, Durkheim categorized social integration as mechanical and organic solidarity and he examined at which stages different societies become integrated with social division of labor and the place of family in regard to organic solidarity. After Durkheim, social scientists stressed the significance of family on organic solidarity (Beaujot and Ravenera, 2008: 76). In the 1990s, inter-generational relations

were discussed in the framework of social solidarity and inter-family relations (Walker, 1996; Aquilino, 1999). However, much earlier, there have been many theoretical studies on generations (Parsons, 1942; Mannheim, 1952).

Mannheim was the first theoretician who established a sociological approach on generations with his work "The Problems of Generations", and he aimed to provide an alternative explanation of classical ideas about social change. Mannheim (1952) observed generations as peer communities that witnessed important events such as social, political and economic developments in a certain period of history. In other words, our generation is shaped by the influence of historical events and developments and this change determines our approach to the world. Mannheim's approach effected many researchers and his successors developed the definition of generation and adapted it to different areas of social sciences. Among these researchers, Elder (1975; 1998) comes to the forefront with his work on generations within the scope of "life course".

Inter-generational relations were further than just solidarity concept; social mobility (Solon, 1999), imparity (Björklund and Jäntti, 1997), happiness (Newsom and Schulz, 1996; Kim and Kim, 2003; Lowenstein et al., 2007), disagreement, inequality (Walker, 1990; Aysan, 2011), and justice (Barry, 1997) was used in different disciplines with many concepts since the 1990s.

Particularly after the 1990s, the risks of demographic aging have caused social scientists and politicians to focus more on inter-generational relations debate. Aging society needs economic resources, hence, these resources, groups and institutions that fund these resources and their potential problems were examined from different perspectives. There

are increasing number of studies conducted and comparable data sets and reports have started to be developed. The SHARE (Survey of Health, Aging and Retirement in Europe) survey formed in 2004 with 11 European countries. It is the first comparable data set on aging. The economic status of individuals over 50 years of age in different countries' data were collected on accommodation, care, socialization and family relations. There were analysis started on pension system of the same countries at the same period. *The Pensions at a Glance* reports examined pension systems and reforms in the members of the OECD countries every two years since 2005. The reports are a source on understanding pension reforms of different nations.

As mentioned above, in many aging countries, especially in EU members, inter-generational transfers and the direction of it remains relevant. Researches on France and Germany showed that the net flow of financial transfer is from parents to children, in other words, downwards. When the data from 15 members of European Union are analyzed, similar results are observed. (Kunemund et al., 2003; Daatland and Herlofson, 2003; Kohli, 2004). As these studies show, when all types of support are taken into consideration (especially those of grandparents), the frequency of parent's support increases as age progresses.

There are three different transfer kinds observed when inter-generational transfers are examined. The first kind is the economic transfer which is called financial or tangible transfer. In this kind of transfer, generations can provide non-cash or cash support to other generations in form of debts, grants or gifts. Borrowing from parents, giving substantial gifts to grandchildren consistently or for once are some examples. The second kind of transfer is time transfer, which is working unpaid for a family member. Many different supports evaluated under this category, such as providing support for elderly and child

care, payment of bills, food, cleaning, repair and spiritual or emotional support. This type of transfer is also called emotional or social transfer in literature. Lastly, accommodation is another type of transfer which may also be associated with the transfers mentioned above. Some examples of this type of transfer are children who stay with their parents until they get married, individuals and elderly people who move in with their relatives when they face economic problems or health problems. The fact that in our country, Transient Extended Family type is much higher than in European countries and, as in some nations in Southern Europe, many adult children remain with their parents until they get married, shows how important "accommodation" is as a transfer type in Turkey (Miranda, 2011).

The factors affecting these transfer types are both in micro and macro scale. The micro factors influencing inter-generational economic or social transfers on accommodation are summarized as follows depending on the characteristics of the individual and the family:

1. Demographic characteristics of families. The total number of children, age and gender of family members which are micro factors that affect transfers
2. Income or wealth. Wealthy people make financial assistance better and for those in need are more likely receive help.
3. Participants' health. According to the SHARE data, minors often provide part-time care support to their parents.
4. Gender. Gender is the only factor that determines the support the individual offers. Grandmothers have major role in child care. The responsibility for elderly care is also on women in the family. Grandfathers generally help their children and grandchildren via financial transfer.

5. Frequency of communication and quality of ties. Many researches show that inter-generational transfers are closely related to social relations like the quality of family ties and frequency of communication.

6. Marital status. Divorced or widowed mothers need more social and emotional support than other women.

7. Family members' geographical closeness. The distance also determines the frequency and volume of the transfer. Individuals that live far away from each other expected to make financial transfers to one another rather than emotional or social transfers.

8. Selflessness and ethics features. The type and frequency of inter-generational transfers may originate from the individual's personality traits (selflessness or mutuality). Individuals who give to charities are more concerned with their surrounding and their families and family's problems.

Macro Factors can be Listed as Follows:

1. Norm and culture. Family norms, culture and religious values are very important. Their structure produces different inter-generational transfer customs in different societies.

2. Social policy and welfare regime of the country. Pension, health and income support are examples of social policies which closely relates to the type and volume of inter-generational transfers. For instance, the inter-generational transfers from the parents to their offspring are shaped by public pension systems.

3. Economic fluctuations. The economic structure of a country has a significant impact on family transfers. Economic fluctuations may lead to more family support in difficult times.

Although macro factors are related to the society's cultural structure, economic development and social policies, on the other hand, the characteristics of the individual and family are important in micro factors. Because micro factors will be analyzed in more detail in advanced statistical analysis, next part focuses on the effect of the welfare state on inter-generational transfers.

b. Inter-Generational Transfers in The Welfare State

We need to analyze the development of social rights, distribution of wealth and the standardization of the welfare state in order to understand the inter-generational transfer's impact on happiness in Turkey. The welfare state emerged in industrialized societies respectively with human rights in the 18th century, political rights in the 19th century and the standardization of social rights in the early 20th century as stated in Marshall (1950). The problems such as unemployment, disability and aging were recognized as "social risk" with the expansion of social rights in the mid-20th century (Esping-Andersen, 1999).

The notion of welfare government is frequently used in Anglo-Saxon countries to explain industrialized countries or to identify developed countries primarily in the United States of America (Özdemir 2004: 29-30). Although Rosanvallon (2004) explains the basis of welfare state through the nation-state building process, according to Pierson (2007), the capitalist economic structure must be well established jointly for the emergence of the welfare state (p.106). Briggs (1961) underlines three basic roles of nation in describing the welfare state; i) providing a minimum income for individuals and families independent of employment and property, ii) protecting individuals and families from unexpected loss of income and reducing their insecurity, iii) ensuring all citizens benefit from the highest quality of social services disregarding class and status.

The standardization of the welfare government and widening of social policies situated on the agreement between the bourgeois, state and the workers after WWII period. The government took an effective part in solving the social and economic problems in the European societies trying to get out of the Great Depression and the great destruction of World War II. By using social policies the state sought to fix the devastation that the market, families and local actors wouldn't be able to cope with on their own. Keynes claimed that the government should play an active role in solving economic problems, especially unemployment, and should regulate the market. His arguments were put into practice in many postwar countries including the US (Maurice and Spicker, 1998:22). After World War II, history was made on governments interfering directly in the economy, tries to capture full employment and national capital gains power referred as the "Golden Age of the Welfare State".

The welfare government considered as a monolithic model with similar characteristics in all industrialized nations. In his book, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Esping-Andersen (1990) confirms that the welfare states in Western societies vary significantly based on the work of Marshall (1950) and Titmus (1974). The author classified a triple "welfare government regime" by looking at the 1980s data in the same book.

In the Anglo-Saxon Welfare Regime, known as a liberal group, the market plays a major role in managing social risks such as aging, unemployment, disease and to somewhat government organizations than the government and the family. Social inequality in the group of countries such as USA, Canada, England and Australia is much more usual than other groups. In the Corporatist Welfare Regime such as the European countries Germany, France, and Belgium, social status sustained on occupation. The government plays a major role in first

distributing welfare of the elderly and sharing the prosperity than the liberal group. The Social Democratic Welfare Regime based on common social rights that the government has much more active role than the other welfare regimes in the Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, Denmark, and Norway (Esping-Andersen, 1990; 1999).

The care transfers are the first things that comes to mind when it comes to inter-generational transfers. Caring of small children, the need of the elderly, or disabled people at home are the types of care that is obtained by family or private care. Child and elderly care is the responsibility of the families in many cultures according to Jensen (2008). Until the 1950s, aging, disability and unemployment that is assumed by the modern social welfare state today, Esping-Andersen (1999) asserts that until 1950s aging, unemployment and disability considered as social risk that the individual or family should resolve, that is undertaken by the modern welfare governments today. The governments still underlines family in the children and elderly care, although, the government has played a major role in control of social risks in the last century (Daatland and Lowenstein 2005; Brandt and Deindl 2013).

The three different welfare systems vary in inter-generational transfers when analyzed. There is a transfer from top to bottom (from elders to younger generation) which is common in all welfare systems (Albertini et al., 2007; Litwin et al., 2008). Inter-generational financial transfers are more widespread in the Scandinavian countries where state-centered social policies are implemented, however, in Southern Europe the economic transfers are less frequent but more intense (Albertini et al., 2007; Brantd et al., 2009; Albertini and Kohli, 2013). It is considered that countries in Southern Europe are stronger than other groups when considering social transfers. The inter-generational living is widespread

in family-oriented countries such as Spain, Turkey and Mexico as noted above (Takagi and Silverstein, 2006). The ethnicity, dynamics, migration, and gender are important factors that influence type, density and intensity of inter-generational transfers ((Lowenstein et al., 2011).

Turkish Statistical Institute's Time Use Survey results provide an insight into Turkey's gender-centered care. The survey conducted on 2006 and between 2014 and 2015, average sleep time of 8 hours 35 minutes per day has increased to 8 hours 41 minutes in Turkey. However, household and family care decreased from 3 hours 5 minutes to 2 hours 45 minutes in the same interval. Women devoted more time to household and family care than men in both era. Men spent merely 51 minutes in family care compared to women who spent 5 hours 17 minutes in 2006. In 2014-2015, men spared 53 minutes while women gave 4 hours 35 minutes to household and family care. Even though the difference between the two genders has decreased between these two periods, women still spend about four times more than men on households and family care in Turkey (TÜİK, 2015). This is also associated with Turkey's gender-based care system and welfare regime in a similar manner to Southern Europe Welfare Regime (see related discussion on this topic Aysan and Aysan, 2016).

c. Inter-Generational Transfers and Happiness

There are many unique and comparative studies executed on the effects of family solidarity and inter-generational support on happiness in psychology. There are opposite findings in the literature on the relationship between inter-generations transfers and happiness.

There are researches propose that inter-generational supports does not affect life satisfaction of elderly (Dwyer et al., 1994), on the other hand, there are studies suggesting the

opposite where there is a significant relationship between these two (Öztop et al., 2009). Nevertheless, many researches stress the positive effect of social support on the individual's life satisfaction, particularly regarding elderly people (Newsom and Schulz, 1996; Kim and Kim, 2003; Lowenstein et al., 2007). Xu and Chi (2011) established that the elderly Chinese who received monetary and functional support were happier than others in their studies.

Silverstein and Bengston (1994) established the effect of social support on psychological well-being varies depending on the uncertainty of the elderly in the US. The most important way to increase life satisfaction of the elderly is to put forth social policies to strengthen family ties according to Lee (1985).

There are studies performed on regional and country-based and comparative international studies. Social policies in different countries have positive effects on life satisfaction according to European Quality of Life Surveys. In this case, the life satisfaction in the Nordic countries is much higher than many other countries due to egalitarian and inclusive policies. While the countries in Southern Europe's life satisfaction is much lower due to social policies are not developed and more temporary policies are carried out. It is underlined that country and cultural disparity influence inter-generational transfers and the well-being of the elderly (Katz, 2009; Schwarz et al., 2010).

IV. Data and Method

The main sources used in this study are RFST 2006, 2011 and 2016 micro datasets. In addition to these sources, "life satisfaction surveys" and "time use surveys" conducted by Turkish Statistical Institute were used to comprehend the inter-generational relations and happiness.

In the first stage, the general change of selected economic and social transfers is analyzed in the tables. The main dynamics that affect inter-generational transfers investigated using the 2016 data set with multiple regression analysis in the second stage.

Research on Family Structure in Türkiye survey was conducted for the first time in 2006 by TurkStat with individuals at the age of 18 or above through face to face interviews. 12,208 households were visited and 24,647 interviews were held individually that resulted in collection of 48,235 household members' demographic information. In 2011 the Research on Family Structure Survey was designed by the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services (former the Ministry of Family and Social Policies) and implementation was carried out by ANAR. The final sampling unit of the survey is household and all the individuals at the age of 18 or above that live in selected households. The sample of the study was designed to represent urban and rural settlements, Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir provinces separately and 12 regions defined by NUTS-1. A total of 12,056 households were interviewed. For 2016 Research on Family Structure in Türkiye survey NUTS (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics Level 1) (12 regions) was used. The sample of the study allows us to make analysis throughout Turkey. Information about a total of 35,475 individuals at the age of 15 or above and 57,398 household members was collected from 17,239 households in Turkey.

In order to examine the effect of inter-generational transfer on happiness, multiple linear regression analysis were applied. In this article, the effects of inter-generational transfers on happiness are examined and the factor of family happiness is added to the model as a dependent variable. Family happiness is measured by the question "How do you perceive your family in terms of the general state of happiness? (B51)" in RFST 2016. The scale of the question consists of five

categories: "very happy", "happy", "average", "unhappy" and "very unhappy".

The average level of education of family, the average health status of family, whether there is a family member who needs care or not, the size of household, the household income, whether income covers the expenses of the family, whether family received economic support, family type and total number of children are all independent variables. These variables were added to the model respectively as control variables. The health and education questions asked off each individual within the control variables were calculated for each form number to measure average education and health status of the family. The health and education variables not only affect individuals but also other variables such as income, class and life satisfaction. The happiness of individuals who have a health problem or a chronic health problem is decreasing. Because the education variable was complex and too detailed, it was recoded. A new variable was generated on a scale of 0 to 7, 0 being the lowest level of education (did not finish school) and 7 being the highest level of education (PhD).

The "yes" or "no" answers of the questions "in your house, is there any elderly person requiring care? (H22), is there any disabled person requiring care? (H24), or is there any ill person who is not disabled, yet requiring care?" (H26), have been combined to determine whether there are any individuals in need of home care or not, and added to the model as a new control variable.

Naturally, a household member who needs health care affects the family's economic burden so it is important to include this variable as a control variable in the statistical model. Furthermore, the "number of people in the household" variable (F4) added to the model as a control variable since inter-generational transfers in large households are more common.

The second group of control variables are related to the economic status of the family. Since the standard deviation of the household total income variable (H7) is high, its logarithm has been added to the model. “How do you manage your budget to meet the basic needs of the household?” (H8) is an important question because it shows the real income that the household needs and how easy the family lives with this income. This variable was re-coded with (1) Very difficult, (5) Very easy and added to the analysis. “Have you received any cash or in-kind subsidies to support household maintenance in the last one year?” (H9) is an important variable on family’s economic status that consists of two categories: yes and no. This variable Yes = 1, No = 0 re-coded dummy variable was added to the analysis.

The family structure and the total number of children are added to the regression model as control variables since they naturally affect inter-generational transfers. Nuclear, large and dissolved family categories were used to examine family structure. A new variable was generated by adding together two existing variables: number of girls (B30.1) and number of boys (B30.2). This new variable, the total number of children, was then added to the model.

The inter-generational transfers were analyzed by using four variables (inter-generational economic support, planned place at aging, emotional support regarding children and emotional support regarding marriage) that explained three dimensions: economic support, accommodation support and emotional support. These variables are the most relevant variables in RFST data set in understanding inter-generational transfers and were added to the regression model in the final stage.

“If you needed some money and if they were able to lend it to you, from whom you would prefer to borrow it?” (H12) was used to understand the

effect of inter-generational economic transfers on happiness. This question, which consists of nine categories, was divided into two categories: “I would prefer to borrow from my parents and children over the age of 18” and “I would prefer to borrow from other institutions and individuals”.

Accommodation is another aspect of inter-generational transfers. This is measured by the question “What would you do once you are too old to take care of yourself?” (B62), which shows where the participants would like to live when they get older and whether they would like to live with their children or not. One of the answers of this question (to live with my son/daughter) is coded as one category, other options (I would move to a seniors center, I would get care service at my own house, No idea, Other) are coded as a second category and used as a dummy variable.

The effect of emotional support was measured by two variables. The first one is “When you have a serious problem with your spouse, whom would you think to get help/support from?” (B22). The answers, “I would get support from elderly family members and my children” were coded as one group and “from my relatives, siblings, expert persons and institutions, clergymen and other people and institutions” were coded as a separate group and then used as a dummy variable. The second variable is “When you have a serious problem with your kid/s, whom would you think to get help/support from?” (B38). The answers “from my wife and elderly family members” were coded as one group and all of the other answers (brothers, relatives, expert persons and institutions, Clergymen) were coded as another group and used as a dummy variable. Remaining categorical variables were used as dummy variables in the regression analysis after the correlations between them were checked to avoid multicollinearity.

V. Analysis: Changes in Inter-Generational Transfers and The Effects of Inter-Generational Transfers on Happiness

a. The Change of Inter-Generational Transfers in Turkey

It is useful to look at the change in happiness before showing the change in the inter-generational transfers from 2006 to 2016 in Turkey. There was no major change in family happiness in the same period, however, there was a slight increase in unhappy category according to the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye survey. As seen in Table 1, in 2006 1.8% of the participants stated that they were unhappy, this rose to 4.6% in 2016. In the same period,

Table 9.1. Family Happiness, 2006-2016 (%)

	2006	2011	2016
Very unhappy	0.4	0.4	1.2
Unhappy	1.8	2.3	4.6
Neutral	20.1	19.9	20.3
Happy	65.1	59.4	61.4
Very Happy	12.6	18	12.6
Total	100	100	100

Source: RFST 2006, 2011, 2016

amount of happy people fell from 65% to 61%.

In the Life Satisfaction Survey, a similar result was reached. In 2003 12% of the participants were very happy, this rate fell to 7.2% in 2017. Very unhappy rate jumped from 1.7% to 2.1% and unhappy rate increased from 5.6% to 8.9% in the same period. On gender basis, there is a decline in both sexes, particularly more seriously in males. While 12.4% of the participating males expressed themselves as very happy in 2003, this rate decreased to 6.1% in 2017, while rate of very unhappy men increased to 2.4% from 1.5% (Table 2).

When the happiness of the individual and sources of happiness are analyzed it is seen that there has not been a big change between 2006 and 2017.

According to "Family Happiness Survey" data, in regard to personal relations, family is the main source of happiness. 67% of respondents in 2006, 71% in 2017 showed the family as the main source of happiness without exception. The second source of happiness after the family is the children. Then comes the spouse and parent of the individual, respectively.

Table 9.2. Happiness Levels, 2003-2017 (%)

	2003	2006	2011	2017
Total				
Very Happy	12.0	8.8	8.5	7.2
Happy	47.6	49.1	53.6	50.8
Neutral	33.2	30.3	28.0	30.9
Unhappy	5.6	9.1	8.0	8.9
Very Unhappy	1.7	2.8	1.9	2.1
Male				
Very Happy	12.4	7.6	7.8	6.1
Happy	45.7	47.6	51.7	47.5
Neutral	34.1	32.1	30.0	33.8
Unhappy	6.2	10.2	8.8	10.1
Very Unhappy	1.5	2.5	1.7	2.4
Female				
Very Happy	11.6	9.9	9.2	8.4
Happy	49.4	50.5	55.4	54.0
Neutral	32.2	28.5	26.2	28.1
Unhappy	5.0	7.9	7.3	7.8
Very Unhappy	1.8	3.1	2.0	1.8

Source: TÜİK, Yaşam Memnuniyeti Araştırması, 2003-2017

In regards to values that bring happiness, health is the main source. Even though it has decreased from 72% to 68% in 2006 to 2017 period it still remains the most important factor that increases happiness. In the same period love, success, money and business were expressed by the participants as a source of happiness ranked respectively, (Table 3).

The changes between economic and social transfers and the factors related to accommodation between 2006 and 2016 are prominent in the relations between generations after examining the changes in happiness over time and the people and values that affect happiness.

Table 9.3. Source of Happiness, 2004-2017 (%)

	2006	2011	2017
Source of happiness - People			
Whole family	67.3	73.8	70.6
Children	14.0	12.2	14.3
Spouse	9.4	6.2	5.4
Mom/Dad	3.8	2.9	3.2
Oneself	1.5	1.8	3.4
Grandchildren	1.5	1.4	1.9
Other	2.6	1.7	1.2
Source of happiness - Values			
Health	72.1	72.8	68.0
Love	11.2	13.1	16.6
Success	6.3	6.9	9.0
Money	4.7	4.3	3.9
Business	3.9	2.4	1.9
Other	1.8	0.5	0.6

Source: TÜİK, Yaşam Memnuniyeti Araştırması, 2003-2017

Borrowing is the most important component of inter-generational economic transfers. When people suffer economic difficulties or need money, they turn to their close friends or get support from financial institutions like banks. As seen in Table 4 in 2006 participants expressed their willingness of borrowing money from their parents at a rate of 9.6%, from their siblings at a rate of 11.2% and from their children living outside the household at a rate of 3.4%. In the same period, the percentage of those who thought about borrowing from their friends, relatives and neighbors was almost 30%. Family members and close relatives/friends are the most significant point of contact when economic hardship is experienced. Those borrowing from banks remained at 19.3% in this period. By 2011 and 2016, this trend was completely reversed. In 2016, those who expressed their willingness to receive loans from parents fell sharply to 2.9, from their siblings to 3.6%, and from their children living separately to 0.3%. Those who stated that they applies to banks for loans/credit sharply increased to 78% in 2011 and to 88.6% in 2016. The increase of low-interest credit

opportunities, increase in the number of credit cards, increase in interpersonal insecurity and rapid change in family relations are the main reasons for borrowing from banks instead of close circle (this phenomena itself should be a subject of another article). Considering the inter-generational economic transfers, in 2006 13% of the respondents expressed willingness in receiving support from their children living separately, this rate declined to 7.5% in 2011 and to 3.2% in 2016.

Table 9.4. Debt or credit received from a person or an institution, 2006-2016 (%)

	2006	2011	2016
Parent	9.6	5.6	2.9
Siblings	11.2	6.3	3.6
18+/ Children living separately	3.4	1.9	0.3
Other Relatives	10.0	10.0	3.9
Friends	12.6	8.5	4.7
Neighbors	7.5	4.8	0.8
Bank	19.3	78.0	88.6

Source: RFST 2006, 2011, 2016

The most significant factor in social transfers are child and elderly care. Table 5 shows who or which institution was responsible for daytime childcare in 2006 and 2016. As noted before, duty of care in Turkey usually sits on the shoulders of women. In 2006, 93.1% of the children were cared for by their mother, 0.6% by father, 2.9% by grandmother and 0.9% by a caregiver. On the other hand, the 0.5% of the children were cared for in a kindergarten or a nursery school. In 2016, 88.1% of the children were cared for by their mother, 0.6% by their father, 5.9% by their grandmother and 1.5% by caregivers. Only 2.8% of the children received care at a nursery or a kindergarten. In terms of inter-generational relationships, the role of grandparents has increased twofold, and there has been a fivefold increase in nursery and kindergarten percentages.

Table 9.5. Child day caregivers in 2006-2016 (%)

	2006	2016
Mother	93.1	88.1
Father	0.6	0.6
Her sister	0.4	0.2
Grandmother	2.9	5.9
Other close relative	0.5	0.5
Caretaker	0.9	1.5
Nursery or kindergarten	0.5	2.8
Other	1.1	0.4
Total	100	100

Source: RFST 2006, 2016

The rapid increase in the number of working women played significant role in contributing childcare by grandmothers or nurseries. On the other hand, increase in the number of nurseries and kindergartens and government incentives may have increased the popularity of these institutions.

When elderly care is analyzed in the years 2011 to 2016, 25.9% of the elderly in the household is cared for by their spouses, 23.6% by daughters-in-law, 16.3% by daughters, 13.2% by sons, 1.5% by siblings and 1.3% were cared for by grandchildren. In 2016, 17.9% of the elderly were cared for by their spouses, 13.7% by their daughters-in-law, 5.7% by their daughters and 2% by their sons which fell sharply. The percentage of the elderly people who received cared from their siblings increased to 23.1% and the rate of those who received cared from their grandchildren in the household rose to 27.8%. These results show the significance of inter-generational transfers in elderly and childcare from bottom-to-top direction. It is clear that women are responsible for elderly care. "TurkStat 2014-2015 Time Use Survey" supports these results. According to the survey, 41% of women and 34% of men care for the elderly on a daily basis (TÜİK, 2015). There has been a decline in inter-generational social transfers when these two periods are compared.

Table 9.6. Caregivers of elderly people in need of care, 2011-2016 (%)

	2011	2016
Spouse	25.9	17.9
Daughter	16.3	5.7
Son	13.2	2.0
Brother	1.5	23.1
Bride	23.6	13.7
Groom	0.5	1.2
Grandchildren	1.3	27.8
Other female relative	2.8	0.2
Paid nurse	1.9	1.2
Children of the house	9.7	1.7
Together with family members	1.7	2.1
Other	1.6	3.3
Total	100	100

Source: RFST 2011, 2016

Table 9.7. Care preference when ageing, 2006-2016 (%)

	2006	2011	2016
I would move to a seniors center	9.3	10.3	11.3
I would live with my children (son / daughter)	55	22.7/8.7	28.9/9.1
I would get care service at my own house	17.8	19.6	29.8

Source: RFST 2006, 2011, 2016

Furthermore, there is a decline in inter-generational transfers on accommodation. To understand the need for accommodation in old age participants were asked where they would go when they were too old to care for their selves. In 2006, 9.3% of respondents said they would go to seniors center, while in 2011, this rate increased to 10.3% and in 2016 to 11.3%. The rate of those who said "I would get care service at my own house" increased from 17.8% in 2006 to 19.6% in 2011 and to 29.8% in 2016. The ratio of those who said "I would live with my children" has decreased sharply from 55% in 2006 to 41.4% in 2011 and to 38% in 2016. The rate of children who always visit their parents decreased from 58% in 2006 to 30% in 2016 (RFST, 2016).

b. The Effect of Inter-Generational Transfers on Family Happiness in The Light of RFST 2016

Four different models were used to measure the effect of inter-generational transfers on family happiness. As shown in Table 3, the major factor of happiness is health; thus, the average health status of the family was calculated and added to the model as the first variable. The second variable added to this model is the family's average education. As generally known, education level is the main determinant factor of income, health and life satisfaction. Two variables, household size and whether there is someone in the household in need of care or not, were added to the model respectively. The first model that consists of these four control variables explains 3% of the change in family happiness. Education and health are statistically significant and family's happiness increases as the average education and health levels of the family increase (Table 8).

Another factor influencing happiness is the economic conditions. Household income and economic class have a positive effect on happiness as shown in many studies. Three control variables related to the economic situation of the family, (1) household total income indicates the economic situation of the family, (2) whether the income meets basic needs easily and (3) whether there is any contribution from any institution or person to the family cash or non-cash, are added to the second model. As seen in Table 8, the happiness of the family increases as the total income of the household and the level of meeting the needs by this income increases. However, support from an institution or person does not have a substantial statistical effect on family happiness. When the variables related to income are added to the model, the education variable has lost its significance. Three news variables of the second model contributed about 2% in explaining happiness, resulting in the second model explaining 5% of the change in family happiness.

In the third model, the variables related to the main characteristics of the family structure are added. The factors such as nuclear, large or dissolved families as well as the total number of children factors can affect happiness and inter-generational transfers. With respect to this model, nuclear and large families are happier than the reference group which is dissolved families. The number of children did not make a significant contribution to family happiness. Household size has turned out to be statistically significant in this model. As household size increases, family happiness decreases. These variables gave a 1% explanatory power to the model and 5.8% of the change in family happiness is explained by the third model.

Inter-generational economic transfers, accommodation support in aging, child relationship support and marital relationship support were added as four new explanatory variables in the last model. It was found that inter-generational economic transfers, accommodation support in aging, and support from family elders on child relations problems have positive and statistically significant effect on family happiness.

Those who say, "I would receive economic support from my children or my parents" have higher family happiness than those who say, "I would get economic support from the bank, moneylender or friends". The same is true for those who are thinking of living with their children when they get older. Regression analysis showed that those who plan to live with their children when they get older have higher family happiness than those who do not plan to live with their children. This result is important in terms of showing the effect of accommodation (which is the third phase of the theoretical model of inter-generational transfers after economic and social transfer) on family happiness.

Table 9.8. Inter-generational transfers and happiness in a multiple regression model

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
(Concurrence)	3.143	2.450	2.535	2.433
Average family education	0.053	0.010	0.013	0.018
Average family health	0.152	0.129	0.114	0.109
Need of care of individual	0.003	-0.004	-0.003	-0.005
Household size	-0.005	-0.001	-0.021	-0.030
Income		0.082	0.058	0.061
Income for expenses		0.081	0.084	0.080
Economic support		-0.027	-0.009	-0.012
Nuclear Family			0.240	.252
Extended family			0.235	.267
Total Child			-0.001	.001
Inter-generational economic transfer			-0.004	.016
Ageing accommodation support			0.096	.054
Child relationship support			-0.004	.036
Marital Relationship Support				-.028
R ²	0.031	0.048	0.058	0.062
R ² Variation	0.031***	0.018***	0.009***	0.005***

Note: Coefficients * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$ and *** $p < .001$ levels are meaningful.

In the inter-generational transfers, the effect of social or emotional support (which forms another phase of the theoretical model) on happiness is more complex. People who get support from family elders and relatives on problems with children are happier than those who get support from other people, experts or institutions. People who get support from experts or institutions on marital problems are happier than those who get support from family elders and relative. Although this may seem unintuitive at first, sharing marriage problems and intimate subjects with other family members tend to amplify these problems.

The education variable has become statistically significant again in this last model. The last added variables increased explanatory power of to the model by 0.4% and in total the model explained 6.2% of the change in family happiness. All variables, other than the need for care in the household, whether receiving support from a person or institution and the number of children, have a statistically significant effect on family happiness in the model. The most significant factors affecting family happiness are whether the family is a nuclear family or a large family, household type, health, and how easy the income meets the needs.

VI. Policy Recommendations

The academic studies on welfare government and social policies continue to increase in many countries, especially in European countries, and in Turkey. Three topics in these studies are differentiated from the others within the framework of socioeconomic and demographic transformations. One of them is about austerity policies which results in consequently losing gains in social policies due to the reforms in social security systems. The second one is the treat coming from new forms of employment imposed by neo-liberal policies, the increasing pressure of migration on international labor

markets and on the principle of social equality which forms the basis of welfare government. And finally, there is a growing research regarding the pressure on the welfare governments caused by the rapid change in the family structure. Even though these three important developments seem separate issues, they directly or indirectly affect inter-generational relations. The new economic risks brought by the aging population, the changing employment structure and the transformation in the family structure remind the politicians and researchers that the inter-generational relations are more complex and important.

The welfare government and social policy debates have been increasing since the 1990s. The rapid change in family structure and demographic aging require more detailed discussion of inter-generational relations and transfers, especially in different welfare regimes. Nevertheless, when literature on social policy and welfare regime is carefully analyzed, it is seen that the studies generally remain state-centered and the effects of family and local actors, which plays an important role in the distribution of welfare throughout history, have been ignored. The recommendations on Turkey's welfare regime and social policies by the findings of this article are stated below.

1. The family is the most important actor even though it is not discussed in the welfare government and social policy literature (Aysan, 2018). This is not surprising when Turkey's historical and social features are taken into account. The family penetrates every aspect of social life, and is the first authority to be referred before the government and other welfare institutions in the distribution of welfare, as similar to the Southern Europe welfare regimes. Although the government did not completely abandon its role in the distribution of social welfare in many countries, it started

to share some of its responsibilities with other institutions, so the role of the family has become more important. Turkey, like many other countries, is no longer able to distribute social welfare beyond its power. The fact that the rate of social spending to gross domestic product has not changed for many years in the OECD countries is the best proof of this. Individuals with financial difficulties, who need to borrow money, who need care and spiritual support first turn to their family members and engage in inter-generational economic and social transfers. Inter-generational transfers have begun to decline as shown in this study. Inter-generational economic transfers, accommodation and, at one point, social or emotional transfers have positive effects on family happiness. Due to traditional roles in Turkish family and strong family ties compared to other countries, the families in Turkey will maintain their role in the distribution of welfare in coming years. Measures should be taken to protect and strengthen family relations. The strengths of the traditional family structure needs to be preserved, while the weaknesses needs to be strengthened under changing conditions.

2. Family and the market are the most important actors in this period where many governments are trying to reduce their social policy spending. Many social assistances are carried out with the participation of family members. Care support at home, conditional income transfer are just to name a few. It is necessary to strengthen inter-generational relations in the family, reinforcing them with kin and neighbor relations. Inter-generational transfers are declining, as shown in RFST so it is essential to identify the factors triggering this negative development and eliminate the problem. In particular certain mechanisms should be developed to ease inter-generational transfers. For example, cities and apartments can be renewed in order to give elderly parents an opportunity to live closely with their children.

3. One of the findings of the article is that families with strong inter-generational relations are generally happier. It is necessary to look at inter-generational transfers not only in terms of taking some burden from of the government's shoulder, but also as a factor that increases the life satisfaction of the society. Developing policies to increase social awareness regarding the material and spiritual positive contribution of inter-generational transfers should be prioritized. Educational activities such as public spots and seminars should be carried out.

4. Since large and nuclear families are happier than dissolved families, institutional supports are needed to prevent family disintegration. When parents divorce, children are the ones who are affected the most. Therefore, marital conflicts should be addressed, if this cannot be achieved, the divorce process should be resolved quickly for the sake of children and spouses. Therefore, legal and administrative solutions should be introduced by the Ministry.

5. Another result of the study is that extended families are happier than dissolved families. Considering high transient extended family type in our country, it should be easier for families to live in larger houses or for grandparents to live in houses close to their children. The arrangements for housing could ease child and elderly care on the family and reduce the burden of institutional care on the state.

6. The findings of the study show that rather than speaking to close family circle on marital problems, providing expert institutional support to the spouses gives more positive results on solving the problems. Institutional support mechanisms should be in place and this issue should not be left to the family. Regular activities should be planned for all families to improve their life satisfaction. These kinds of regulations will increase the life satisfaction of family members and prevent further increase in divorce rates.

7. According to the results of the analysis, people who solve their problems related to their children by consulting spouses and family elders are happier than those who get support from other people and institutions. It shows the importance of getting assistance from their immediate family and taking advantage of the elders' experience. At this point, more ways to benefit from the child-rearing experiences of older people can be sought after.

8. Social policy has two main outputs. The first one is the improvements of society's means. Reducing the number of poor people and increasing the level of education is an outcome of social policies. Another output that is as important as this is the improvement of life satisfaction. Social policies are valuable only as long as they increase the life satisfaction or happiness of residents. There has been a rapid rise in social policy spending and significant developments in the last 20 years, unfortunately as seen in this analysis, these gains do not seem to contribute to the average happiness in the country; there has been even a slight decline in life satisfaction. Despite the increase in social spending, people are still unhappy, and this is an important problem that needs to be investigated. Qualitative and quantitative research can be helpful in solving this problem.

9. The government should focus on long-term strategies on sustainable social policies as the new social risks and population aging rapidly.

VII. Conclusion

Family solidarity in Turkey has an important place in social life. In order to understand the Turkish society, analyzing the transformations in family structure and relations should be examined more closely to produce social policies. To understand the big picture you need to examine its components. It is important to understand the changes that occur in the family

structure in order to understand social changes, and to place it in the focus of research on inter-generational relations. Understanding the new dynamics of family solidarity is better analyzed by inter-generational time and money transfers particularly with the aging of the population.

The results of the article can be summarized as: Between 2006 and 2016, the individual and family happiness declined. There is also a weakening of inter-generational transfers during the same period. Both accommodation support and inter-generational economic transfers are on the decline. As the total income of the household increases, the family happiness increase. As the income becomes easier to cover expenses, the happiness of the also family increases. Nuclear and large families are happier than dissolved families. Families with one or two child are happier than childless families or families with many children. Happiness increases as the economic transfers between generations increase. Those who plan to live with their children when they get old are happier than those who plan to live in another place or institution. People who consult their relatives about their problems with their children are happier than spouses who try to solve marital problems by talking to their parents, children or other family members.

There is a rapid change in the family structure in the inter-generational relations in our society, which often emphasizes the strong family structure. Our society is thought to have strong ties between family members and a large family that protects and looks after each other. The rapid decline in inter-generational transfers is an indicator of how our society is changing. If the family structure and its positive functions are to be protected, the family should be given the opportunity to structure itself according to changing economic and social conditions. This is achieved by generating different policies to the changing needs of different family types.

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10.

**GENERATIONAL CARE AND
SUPPORT MECHANISMS IN
TURKEY:
IDENTIFYING AT RISK
POPULATIONS**

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GENERATIONAL CARE AND SUPPORT MECHANISMS IN TURKEY: IDENTIFYING AT RISK POPULATIONS

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I. Introduction/Background

Over the course of just a few decades, the reach of population aging has extended beyond only developed countries to encompass “nearly all the countries of the world” (UN, 2013). In an earlier UN report (2007), describing population aging as “profound”, “enduring”, and “without parallel in the history of humanity” (pp. xxvi, xxvii), developing countries were urged to actively address the challenges and to make the best of opportunities afforded by population aging as the aging process is projected to accelerate among developing countries in the near future (Holdsworth, 2015). With regard to demographic transition, Turkey represents no exception, as population aging is well under way, and increases in the proportions of older adults per population is not projected to wane in the foreseeable future.

Arun (2013) notes that while Turkey’s population increased almost threefold between 1960 to 2013, its older cohort aged 65 and older increased almost sevenfold during the same period. As population aging continues to alter Turkey’s demographic landscape, present and future care needs of its older cohorts, in particular, need be addressed in a way that takes into consideration the present and future resources and impending challenges facing the family, the main care agent in Turkish society. In this paper, answers to the following questions are sought, a) “In Turkey, which actors in households are supporting the care needs of older adults?”, b) “What is the

socioeconomic profile of household family members offering support to older adults?”, and c) “What are the health and daily activity restrictions of care dependent older adults in Turkey?”. While previous research in Turkey does not analyze care needs with respect to a human rights perspective, this study employs the convoy of social support model (Kahn and Antonucci, 1980) to frame the care of older adults in the family, according to household type, and attempts to develop a social policy agenda from a human rights perspective where care is offered to all persons without barriers.

II. Theoretical Framework

In the field of older adult care, four conceptual care models in particular provide a “conventional” (Ward-Griffin and Marshall, 2003, p. 191) theoretical perspective for this study, namely Cantor’s *hierarchical compensatory model* (1979) and *social care model*³ (1991), Greene’s (1983) *substitutional model*, Chappell and Blandford’s (1991) *complementary model*, and Litwak’s (1985) *task specificity model*.

A. Conventional Conceptual Care Support Models

The hierarchical compensatory model (Cantor, 1979) posits that preference for care is according to a hierarchical ordering. This model suggests that older adults requiring care use formal social and health care agencies as a “last resort”, in the situation that support from informal caregivers such as family and friends is unavailable or exhausted. According to the hierarchical compensatory model, an individual’s choice of care support is determined in accordance with cultural values embedded within society. A typical ordering of support preference would be kin, such as spouses, followed by children, other family members and friends, and lastly, formal care workers (Ward-Griffin and Marshall, 2003, p. 191). A little more than a decade later in 1991, Cantor reformulated the hierarchical

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³Cantor’s social care model is a reformulated version of the hierarchical compensatory model, very much related and not counted here as an altogether independent or separate model.

compensatory model as a “social care system”. This extended model, while giving more attention to the intersection of informal and formal care, and the economic and social trends affecting these care systems, continues to assume the preference of family for support as the go-to choice. It should be noted that very little empirical studies are found to support the hierarchical compensatory model (Ward-Griffin and Marshall, 2003).

The substitutional model (Greene, 1983) hypothesizes that informal care is replaced by formal care once introduced, leaving little interface between the two sources of care. Among other researchers, Ward-Griffin and Marshall (2003) point out that the substitutional approach is used primarily as a means of documenting concern for probable rising costs associated with formal care should formal care services be made increasingly available. The same authors argue that empirical evidence for the substitutional model is very limited, and that most researchers have found that “informal care does not usually decline with the introduction of formal services” (p. 191).

The task specificity model (Litwak, 1985), on the other hand, suggests that formal and informal care complement one another as care tasks dictate caregiver type. This model posits that caregivers are not selected by older adults on a normative hierarchy of preferences, but according to the ability of caregivers to carry out specific tasks. The task specificity model views formal caregivers as better equipped to provide more technically demanding care and informal caregivers as better suited to provide more non-technical and social types of care (Sao Jose, 2012). Messeri, Silverstein, and Litwak (1993) argue that based on the literature, the task specificity model provides “broader explanatory reach” than the hierarchical compensatory model (p. 134). The same authors suggest that

the task specificity model “offers a conceptual bridge between informal and formal sources of social support” not frequently found in previous research (Messeri, Silverstein and Litwak, 1993, p. 135). However, there is reportedly little empirical evidence to support the task specificity model (Fischer and Eustis, 1994; Penning and Chappell, 1990; as cited in Ward-Griffin and Marshall, 2003).

The complimentary model (Chappell and Blandford, 1991) posits that formal care can compensate for, as well as, supplement informal care. For example, as older adults care needs increase, formal care may supplement informal care (Kemp, Ball and Perkins, 2013). Researchers (Sao Jose, 2012; Ward-Griffin and Marshall, 2003) have suggested that there is greater empirical evidence supporting the complimentary models thesis that informal and formal caregivers generally share tasks (as opposed to task specificity), whereby formal caregivers efforts tend to complement those of informal caregivers.

These conventional models of care have been criticized by researchers on several fronts including, that they: a) describe formal and informal care in a compartmentalized fashion, failing to see how they might overlap (Ward-Griffin and Marshall, 2003), b) assume family care as normative and preferred, and c) fail to recognize agency among care recipients, insofar as their potential in being “active participants in their own care (i.e., self-care)” (Kemp, Ball, and Perkins, 2013).

B. Convoy Model of Social Care Support

In contrast to the conventional models discussed, Kahn and Antonucci’s (1980) convoy of social support model conceptualizes the longitudinal nature of social relationships. Embracing a life course perspective of social relationships, this model suggests that individuals are part

of a dynamic network or convoy (Dahlberg, Andersson, and Lennartsson, 2018). Convoys are elucidated as “dynamic networks of close personal relationships that serve as ‘vehicles through which social support is distributed or exchanged’” (Antonucci, 1985, p. 96; as cited in Kemp, Ball, and Perkins, 2013). The convoy of social support model posits people in the convoy positioned in varying degrees of importance in relation to their potential to give or receive support. Spouses or close relatives might typically be perceived as a persons most important care providers and therefore difficult to replace. Neighbors or work colleagues might hypothetically follow non-immediate kin, and friends as close and less close groupings of social relationships comprising ones convoy. As individuals age, there may be persons added to or subtracted from their convoy based on internal and external events or circumstances such as death or a change in location or residency. Therefore, an older persons convoy is influenced by conditions and changes, such as health status and SES, over the life course.

The convoy of social support (Kahn and Antonucci, 1980) and social care models (Cantor, 1991) both help us better understand the intersection of formal-informal care by providing a model of social support and care connected to individuals embedded in convoys of care, from a life course perspective (Kemp, Ball and Perkins, 2013). Kahn and Antonucci (1980) recognized early on that the accumulation of convoy information would make it possible to describe both “normal” and “at risk” individuals based on their circumstances or convoy composition. The latter, “at risk” populations, are of particular interest for researchers and the formulation of intervention by policy makers. Intervention programs could specifically target the development of more supportive convoy patterns (p. 281-282).

In addition to the aforementioned care and social support models, one theory in particular has particular relevance to this discussion. The socioemotional selectivity theory elucidated by Carstensen, Isaacowitz and Charles (1999) posits that by older adulthood, social networks become smaller and more family-centered due to a more limited time perspective that accompanies later life (Fuller-Iglesias and Antonucci, 2016). This theory has clear implications for policy makers in the development and implementation of effective social and health care initiatives.

Recent research has pointed out that, in addition to the personal characteristic, age, culture also represents an important situational element affecting social convoys (Ajrouch, Abdulrahim and Antonucci, 2013; as cited in Fuller-Iglesias and Antonnuci, 2016). While much research has been carried out on social relations in developed nations, considerably less is known about social relations in developing nations (Fuller-Iglesias and Antonnuci, 2016), such as Turkey.

Due, in large part, to it’s being embedded in a life course perspective and free from assumptions regarding sources of care and support, this paper will frame the discussion of informal care and support mechanisms for older adults using Kahn and Antonucci’s convoy of social support (1980) perspective. To date, the reach and application of convoy research has been particularly useful in the field of gerontology, because convoy as a concept is easily translated to a multitude of culturally diverse societies. This has been demonstrated in many different countries, cultures and contexts including Japan, France, Germany, Lebanon, England (among Bangladeshis), the United States (Antonucci, Ajrouch, and Birditt, 2013), and Mexico (Fuller-Iglesias and Antonucci, 2016). Research in diverse contexts is important in that the composition of social networks may be directly affected by cultural worldviews (Fuller-Iglesias

and Antonucci, 2016). It should be noted that while social relations have been studied in a number of cross-cultural contexts, research on convoys of social support have yet to be carried out in Turkey.

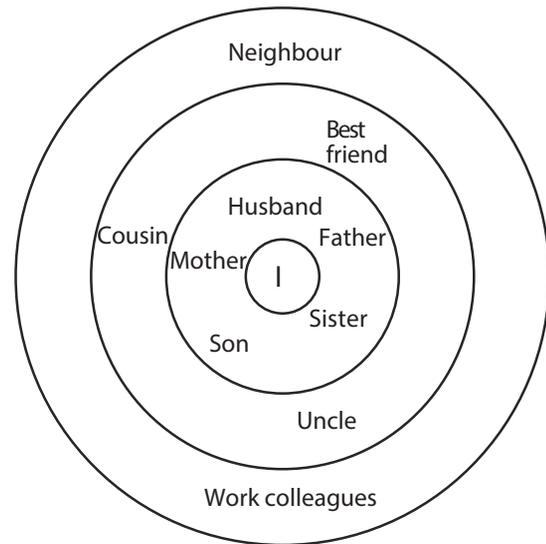
In their review of the literature, Antonucci, Ajrouch and Birditt (2013) note that the convoy model has provided a very useful perspective for “understanding predictors and consequences of social relations across the life course” (p. 82). In their recent study, Fuller-Iglesias and Antonucci (2016) examined variations in social network structures based on age, gender, and education level. Among results, they found variations in the Mexican context for all three variables, where a) older adults had larger more geographically proximate networks of especially kin, but with less frequent contact, b) younger women had more diverse networks while less educated older women had weaker social ties, and c) women had larger yet less proximate networks with less frequent contact.

In their research on loneliness in old age in Sweden, Dahlberg, Andersson, and Lennartsson (2018) conclude that the convoy model offers a moderating affect in levels of loneliness experienced in old age. This is important because loneliness has been identified as a risk factor for health problems and mortality (Dahlberg et al., 2018).

Shen and Perry (2016), in their recent article, discuss links between volunteering, widowhood, and housing transitions based on the intersection of social and material convoys in widowhood. Among their findings, they note the positive effect of volunteering on physical and mental well-being. This is important, in part, due to the widowhood effect that identifies increased risk of mortality immediately following the death of ones spouse. Thus, volunteering can be seen as a mediating factor helping widows stay and age-

in-place (Shen and Perry, 2016), and perhaps in countering the widowhood effect through meaningful social engagement.

Figure 10.1. Hypothetical Example of a Convoy



Source: Pereira, M. and Canavarro, M.C. (2009).

The diagram above provides a specific hypothetical example of a convoy model. Social convoys are understood as dynamic and changing with time. Relations listed in the inner circle (here listed as husband, mother, father, son and sister) refer to those persons closest to the reference person, within their “convoy” of relationships. They are the persons offering the greatest potential to give or receive support. The second ring lists persons comparatively less close, but nonetheless, offering support potential, while the outer ring contains persons within the individuals’ convoy that may offer a degree of supportive interactions.

III. Methodology

Micro data analyzed in this paper is from the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (RFST-2016) that was conducted by Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (former the Ministry

of Family and Social Policies) in 2016. FSST is based on a three-phase, multi-layer random sample representing NUTS Level 1, 12 statistical regions, in Turkey (TurkStat, 2016). FSST was conducted between June and September of 2016. The information was collected from 17,239 households and 35,475 household members age 15 and above.

A. Operational Definitions of The Variables

a. Socio-Economic Status

Household socioeconomic status (SES) was calculated by household monthly income. In the data set, monthly income measured in Turkish Lira was converted to the mean USD equivalence based on figures obtained from the Central Bank of Turkey from the year 2016. Monthly household income is categorized under the five status levels, lower, lower-middle, middle, middle-upper, and upper, according to the classification scheme developed by Sunar (2016) for SES in Turkey.

b. Education

In the FSST micro data there are two education variables. The two questions are “Highest level of education completed by household members” and, “Are household members literate?”. Using these two variables, eight levels of education are computed as follows:

- Illiterate
- Literate without diploma
- Primary
- Secondary
- High school
- Junior college
- University
- Master/PhD

In this analysis, these categories were used to identify the highest level of education obtained by household members.

c. Household Typology

Directorate General of Family and Community Services (Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2014), has constructed a typology based on eight different household types. These are, 1) nuclear family without child(ren), 2) nuclear family with child(ren), 3) patriarchal extended family, 4) transient extended family, and broken families under four sub-categories, 5) one-person household, 6) single parent household, 7) other broken family, and 8) non-relative household. Definitions of the household types are listed in the table below.

Table 10.1. Definitions of household types

Household Type	Definition
Nuclear family without child(ren)	Consisting of a husband and wife without children
Nuclear family with child(ren)	Consisting of a father, mother, and one, two, or three or more unmarried children
Patriarchal extended family	A household head and spouse, their married children, and/or the married siblings of the household head and/or spouse living in the same household. In these households, authority belongs to the oldest generation
Transient extended family	A type of extended family where an adult married child is the household head. In this household, it is assumed that the father or mother of the household head or the other relatives are subtracted from the household over the course of time, and the household transitions into a nuclear family.
One-person household	Composed of a single person.
Single parent household	Consisting of a single parent and unmarried child(ren). The result of a divorce, separation or death of a parent.
Other broken family	A household where no parent-child relation exists, but is composed of other relatives such as a grandmother and grandchild(ren); two siblings, an aunt, and nephew(s), etc.
Non-relative household	A household where people with no relative status co-reside.

d. General Health Condition

General health is a measure of the subjective health of participants composed of five categories, “very bad”, “bad”, “average”, “good”, and “very good”.

e. Restrictions in performing Activities of Daily Living (ADL)

The restrictions in performing ADL measure is based on participant answers to the question, “Was the household member restricted to perform his/her daily activities for 6 months or more due to any health problem?” Answers are under three categories, “severely restricted”, “restricted - but not severely”, and “not restricted”.

f. Older Persons Requiring Care Support

To identify this sub-sample, ‘yes’ answers were selected from the specific question, “In your household, is there an older person requiring constant care?” The number of households corresponding in the affirmative (“yes”) category is 1,031,450.

B. Method of Analysis

In this paper, a correspondence analysis is used to identify at risk populations in generational care and social support mechanisms in Turkey. Correspondence analyses provide an instrument for displaying relational positions of categories in a visual manner in a specific social space (Clausen, 1998). Correspondence analysis is particularly effective in highlighting underlying structures of complex data for multivariate contingency tables with numerous variables containing multiple categories (Clausen, 1998).

IV. Limitation and Suggestions for Further Studies

A limitation of this study has been identified in relation to answers to question H23 in the FSST 2016 research instrument, namely, “Who or which institution is taking care of the older person who needs constant care?” Some irregularities have been observed in frequency distributions connected to this question. Through detailed analysis, it has been ascertained that a statistically small percentage of reference persons appear to have inadvertently answered question H23 from their own perspective as

opposed to from the relational perspective of the older adult receiving constant or ongoing care. That is to say, if a daughter-in-law was the reference person or respondent, an answer recorded as “mother” may not have reflected the mother of the older care recipient, but of the reference person – in this case the mother not of the care recipient, but of the daughter-in-law.

Three important suggestions are offered for the development of future research instruments related to FSST or similar studies. Firstly, in relation to question H23 (“Who or which institution is taking care of the older person who needs constant care?”), the question need be asked with specific reference to relation to the older person receiving ongoing care. Additionally, the identities of both the caregiver and care-recipient should also be selected in separate questions from the household roster. Secondly, the type(s) of care provided older persons receiving ongoing care should be identified by asking, “What kinds of care are provided the older person receiving care?” Examples of possible answers might be “social care”, “financial care”, “assistance in household chores”, “assistance in activities of daily living (such as getting dressed, going to the bathroom, eating), or “medical care”. Also, the term “constant” used in question H23 might be changed to “ongoing”, to denote a person who receives care on an ongoing basis, but who is not necessarily receiving care around the clock, such as an individual who is bedridden or fully incapacitated. Lastly, answers to the (additional) question, “What kind of care do older adults in your household need?” might prove useful to policy makers focused on identifying types of care resources needed among older care-recipients.

The next section is focused on the main characteristics of households in Turkey. Comparisons of the basic characteristics of all households with both households with

older adults, and households with older adults requiring care support are made in order to more clearly see the bigger picture. In this way an answer is sought to the question, “What is the socioeconomic profile of households at three levels, namely all households, households with older adults, and households with older adults needing care support?”.

V. Main Characteristics of Households and Care Dependency Situations

A. Descriptive statistics of reference person

In this section, firstly, a description of the basic characteristics of reference persons in households in Turkey is given. Secondly, characteristics of socioeconomic profiles are discussed. The main characteristics of reference persons are provided because they provide all of the information obtained in the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye – 2016. Knowing the basic characteristics of the reference person may provide evidence of the validity and reliability of collected data and help identify potential biases. In the following table, gender, age, education levels, marital status, and relationship of the reference person to the household head are listed.

A little over half of the reference persons are male (54.6%). One quarter of the reference persons are between the ages of 35-44, while a little over one quarter are 18-34 years of age. Of the remaining age groups comprised of 45 years of age and above, some 14.6% of reference persons are 65 years of age and over. The mean age of reference persons is 45.95 (Std. dev. = 15.6) and the median age is 43. Nearly 1 in 12 (7.8%) of reference persons are illiterate while just over half obtained at most a primary education (51.7%). Of the remaining reference persons, 13.3% have completed a minimum of four years university. Regarding marital status, more than 1 in 10 (11.6%) have never been married. Three in four reference persons are married, nearly 1 in

20 (4.5%) are divorced, and fewer than 1 in 10 (8.8%) are widowed. Just over 2 in 3 (67.2%) reference persons are heads of household, 1 in 4 are spouses while the remaining reference persons are sons, daughters, or of some other relation.

Table 10.2. Basic Characteristics of Reference Person in Households

Characteristics of Reference Person	Percent
Gender	
Male	54.7
Female	45.3
Age Groups	
18-24	5.1
25-34	22.3
35-44	25.3
45-54	18.3
55-64	14.3
65+	14.6
Education	
Illiterate	7.8
Literate without diploma	5.2
Primary	38.7
Secondary	12.5
High School	16.9
Junior college	5.5
University	11.5
Graduated (Master/PhD)	1.8
Marital Status	
Never married	11.6
Divorced	4.5
Spouse has died	8.8
Married	74.1
Married, live apart	0.9
Live together	0.1
Relationship to household head	
Head	67.2
Spouse	25.0
Son/Daughter	5.8
Other	1.9
<i>Mean age of reference person = 45.95 (Std.dev. = 15.6)</i>	
<i>Median age of reference person = 43</i>	
<i>Mode age of reference person = 38</i>	
<i>Min. age of reference person = 15</i>	
<i>Max. age of reference person = 98</i>	

B. Characteristics of Households in Turkey

In this section, the main characteristics of households in Turkey are provided with respect to aging and care support, analyzing households under three broad sections. Firstly, analysis of all households according to household typology, income, expenditure, making ends meet, and socioeconomic status of households is given. In this way, the larger picture is presented, followed by increasingly more specific aspects of households in Turkey. Thereafter, the focus is on households with older adults. As you can see in the table below, some 1 in 3 households in Turkey consist of at least one older adult aged 60 and above. At this level, analyses are carried out of the same six indicators (household size, typology, income, expenditure, making ends meet, and socioeconomic status). In the last

level, the focus is on households with older adults needing care support. Comparisons may thus be made between all households, households with older adults and households with older adults needing care.

In Turkey, of the 7,232,750 households with older adults, 1,031,450 households have an older adult(s) requiring care. In Turkey, the average household size is 3.47 (Std.dev. 1.8). The average household size with older adults is 3.24 (Std.dev. 2.1), while the average size of households with older adults requiring care is 4.1 (Std.dev. 2.4).

The aforementioned broad family typology belongs to TurkStat, whereby major differences between households may be readily defined

Table 10.3. Characteristics of households in Turkey

Characteristics		All households	Households with older adults	Households with older adults needing care support
Frequencies	Number	22.237.633	7.232.750	1.031.450
	Percent	100	32.5	14.3
Household size	Mean	3.47	3.24	4.1
	Median	3	2	4
	Mode	4	2	2
	Std.dev.	1.8	2.1	2.4
Household broad typology (%)	Nuclear	64.7	39.0	17.7
	Extended	14.0	30.2	55.2
	Broken	21.3	30.8	27.1
Household detailed typology (%)	Nuclear family w/o child (age<45)	5.7	0.1	-
	Nuclear family w/o child (age >45)	10.5	23.2	13.1
	Nuclear family (one child)	16.4	23.2	2.8
	Nuclear family (two children)	17.8	4.1	0.8
	Nuclear family (three or more children)	14.3	2.8	1.0
	Patriarchal extended family	7.8	15.4	18.2
	Transient extended family	6.2	14.8	36.9
	One-person household-Male	7.2	5.3	3.9
	One-person household-Female	7.0	15.2	11.0
	Single parent household-Male	0.5	0.8	0.4
	Single parent household-Female	3.1	3.5	2.6
	Other broken family	2.9	6.0	9.0
	Non-relative household	0.6	0.1	0.1

according to the classifications *nuclear*, *extended* and *broken*. With respect to household characteristics (all households, households with older adults, and households with older adults needing care support), the percentage of households identified as nuclear decreases from 64.7% for all families to 17.7% for households with older adults needing care support, respectively. On the other hand, percentages for extended family typology increase from 14.0% to 55.2%, respectively. Broken family typology percentages present no clear differentiation between all households and specific household types.

Table 10.3. Characteristics of households in Turkey (continued)

Characteristics		All households	Households with older adults	Households with older adults need care support
Income, monthly (\$US)	Mean	1.027	903	815
	Median	831	665	665
	Mode	432	665	498
	Std.dev.	1009	923	633
Expenditure, monthly (\$US)	Mean	861	752	705
	Median	665	598	598
	Mode	665	665	332
	Std.dev.	695	608	494
Make ends meet (%)	With great difficulty	42.1	41.7	47.2
	Make ends meet	37.2	37.6	37.9
	Without difficulty	20.7	20.7	14.9
Socioeconomic Status (%)	Lower	21.7	30.3	33.2
	Lower Middle	25.5	25.1	23.5
	Middle	27.0	23.9	23.8
	Upper Middle	18.2	15.3	15.9
	Upper	7.6	5.4	3.5

Under the detailed typology is found an extended categorization of household data found under the broad typology. Under the detailed household

typology, it can be seen that the term nuclear family means that households inclusive of an older adult requiring care are mostly composed of couples (husband and wife) without children (13.1%). Detailed data under one-person households totaling 21.3% (of all households) brings to light that two-thirds of broken households are composed of just one person (14.2%). More recently, such households are identified in the literature as *solo agers* (Arun, 2018). In Turkey, one-person households when differentiated according to gender, reveal that of households inclusive of older adult(s), 15.2% are female. For males, this figure is 5.3%. Among households with older adults requiring care support, one-person households consisting of females comprise 11.0%, while those with males comprise 3.9%.

According to FSST 2016 data, monthly mean household income in Turkey is \$1027 US. Households with older adults have a monthly mean household income of \$903 US, while households with older adults needing care support trail with a monthly mean household income of \$815 US. This differentiation in household income is further accented when recognizing that average size of households with older adult(s) requiring care is larger at 4.1 than either all households or households with older adults, 3.47 and 3.24 respectively. With regards to expenditures, the mean monthly household expenditures for all households, households with older adults and households with older adults requiring care support are \$861, \$752, and \$705 US, respectively. Regarding sufficiency of income in meeting household needs, nearly half of respondents from each of the three household groups reported great difficulty in making ends meet (42.1, 41.7, and 47.2%, respectively). In analyzing the socioeconomic status of households in Turkey, Sunar's (2016) income categorization schematic is used to identify socioeconomic status represented in FSST data. While the

percentage of lower classes in households in Turkey progressively increase for all households, households with older adults, and households with older adults requiring care support, upper classes show an opposite tendency, such that upper class percentages progressively decrease for households comprising older adults, and especially older adults requiring care.

A broad view of all household types is highlighted in order to provide perspective and offer a reference point to the main focus of this paper – households with older adults requiring care support.

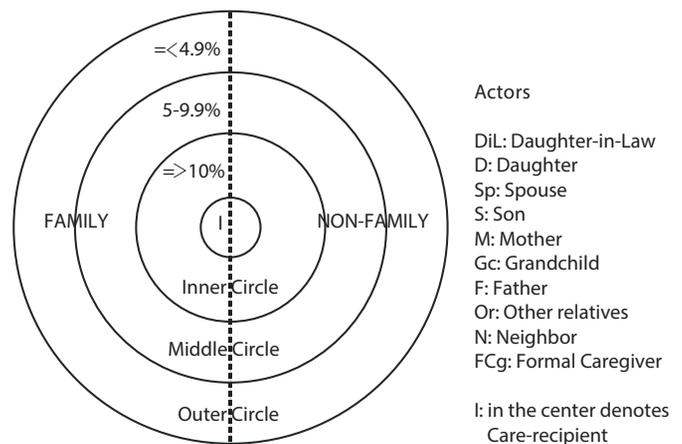
C. Care Dependency Situations in The Household in Turkey

This section comprises analysis and discussion of care-dependency situations in households in Turkey. In this section, an answer is sought to the question, “In Turkey, which actors in households are supporting the care needs of older adults?” The convoy model is employed to conceptualize care relationships for the purpose of enabling comparisons of the dependency situation in Turkey with the international literature.

The diagram above provides a specific hypothetical example of a convoy model. Social convoys are understood as dynamic and changing with time. Relations listed in the inner circle (here listed as husband, mother, father, son and sister) refer to those persons closest to the reference person, within their “convoy” of relationships. They are the persons offering the greatest potential to give or receive support. The second ring lists persons comparatively less close, but nonetheless, offering support potential, while the outer ring contains persons within the individuals’ convoy that may offer a degree of supportive interactions. In this way, the diagram consisting of interwoven concentric circles is situated to identify the care-recipients perception of those individuals offering the

most care support potential (the closest ring) to individuals offering less care support potential (outer rings).

Figure 10.2. Empirical Model of Convoy of Social Care Support



In theory, the convoy model identifies support mechanisms according to the question “Which persons offer the greatest potential to give or receive support?” This theoretical model is organized around the answer to this question. On the other hand, in the empirical model that is discussed here, the data reflects actual care support situations according to the question, “Who or which institution is taking care of you?” Therefore, in this study, two dimensions are added to this theoretical convoy model. The first is that the prevalence of actors in caregiving are arranged in the diagrams according to prevalence in providing care for the reference person, located in the center as well as magnitude, highest magnitude listed at the top and lowest relative prevalence listed in the lower portion, within a given circle. The limits of the inner circle encompass a percentage of 10 and above. For example, if the daughter-in-law (DiL) is the most prevalent care provider for this household type, the abbreviation “DiL” is located at the top of the inner circle. The limits of the middle circle fall between 5% and 9.9%. The outer circles limits are equal to or lower than 4.9%. In this study, frequencies were arranged arbitrarily according to the distribution

of the data on hand. To the knowledge of the authors, there is no previous example in the literature of transparency in the distribution of inner, middle and outer circle constituencies in a convoy of social care support model. The second dimension is whether caregiving actors belong to the family (daughter, spouse, daughter-in-law, son, mother, father, or other family members), here positioned in the left hemisphere, or are non-family (neighbor or formal caregiver), located in the right hemisphere of the diagram. The care dependency situations in Turkey are discussed below in accordance with this perspective.

Generally, in the Turkish care literature, the majority of caregivers are composed of women. These informal caregivers may be living in the households with older relatives requiring care or living in separate households and providing care. However, the relation of individuals providing care to the care recipients in Turkey is unknown. In the FSST 2016 data set, there is a question, “Who or which institution is taking care of the older person who needs constant care?” In analyzing the data associated with this question, the relationship of caregivers to recipients is known. This data set does not provide the gender or a profile of caregivers. However, based on gender-specific categories, identification of the

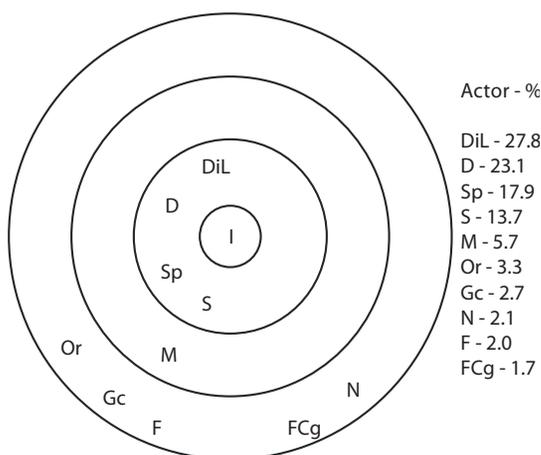
gender of a majority of caregivers is possible. For example, categories such as daughters-in-law, daughter, son, mother and father provide the gender of fewer than three-quarters of caregivers. Other categories such as spouse, grandchild, neighbor, formal caregiver, and other relatives do not provide indications of gender.

Based on FSST 2016 findings, 56.6% of caregivers are female. The relationships of these caregivers to care-recipients are daughter-in-law, daughter, and mother (respectively 27.8, 23.1, and 5.7%). On the other hand, 15.7% of caregivers are male. The relationships of male caregivers to care-recipients are son, and father (respectively 13.7 and 2.0%). The actors for which there is no gender-specific data are spouse, other relatives, grandchild, neighbor, and formal caregiver. The percentages are 17.9, 3.3, 2.7, 2.1, and 1.7% respectively. Because the FSST 2016 dataset is not focused on identifying caregiver profiles, the gender of more than one in four (27.7%) caregivers is not known.

Unlike many developed nations where the majority of informal care supporters are spouses or daughters, FSST 2016 data reveals that daughters-in-law comprise the largest percentage of primary care supporters in Turkey at 27.8%. Daughters and spouses trail daughters-in-law as the second and third most prolific primary care providers at 23.1 and 17.9%, respectively. Sons are the only other double-digit representatives at 13.1%, followed by mothers (5.7%), other relatives (3.3%), grandchildren (2.7%), neighbors (2.1%), fathers (2.0%), and formal caregivers (1.7%).

The above diagram, based on FSST 2016 data, represents the broader care dependency situation in Turkey. Caregivers within this model are positioned according to the percentages of the table represented above. In Turkey, the first line of support is derived firstly from children

Figure 10.3. Care Dependency Situation in Turkey



(daughters-in-law, daughters, and sons) and spouses. The second line of support is derived solely from mothers. The last line of support consists of other relatives, grandchildren, neighbors, fathers, and formal caregivers. Recognizing that the structure of a family has an effect on the care support situation, care dependency is assessed according to household type in the sections below.

The hierarchical compensatory model posits that provision of care is arranged according to a hierarchical ordering where preference is given first to kin such as a spouse, adult children, or other family members and formal care is chosen as a last resort. At a first glance, it may appear that care dependency findings in Turkey support the hierarchical compensatory model. However, family care in Turkey is not always normative and the nature of relationships and preferences for care can change at any point along the life course. While the longitudinal nature of social relationships may not be measured in the FSST 2016 findings, diverse household types and subsequent variations in evolving social relationships provide evidence that individuals are part of a dynamic network or convoy. Through the vehicle of care dependency household typologies, it can be seen how support mechanisms evolve in Turkey. There is strong evidence that as individuals age, persons may be added to or subtracted from their social network. Looking at the household types below, the findings provide a glimpse, albeit segmented, of the dynamic nature of social support. Therefore, the convoy of the care recipient is influenced by the distribution or exchange of social support mechanisms within the family household type. In the next section, household types are organized and compared under three main headings, namely, nuclear families, extended families, and broken households.

a. Care Dependency Situations in Nuclear Families

Looking at the care dependency situation of nuclear families with child(ren) in Turkey, the two main actors in care are spouses and daughters. Secondary circle actors are sons, mothers and fathers, while other relatives and formal care givers round up the outer circle of actual care support. In the care dependency situation for nuclear families without child(ren), spouses fill the first order of care, followed by daughters and sons in the second, and daughters-in-law, neighbors, mothers, and formal care givers in the outer circle.

Figure 10.4. Care Dependency Situation in Nuclear Family With Child(ren)

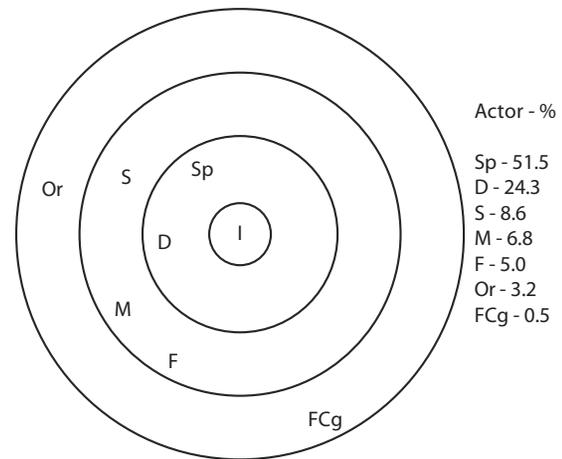
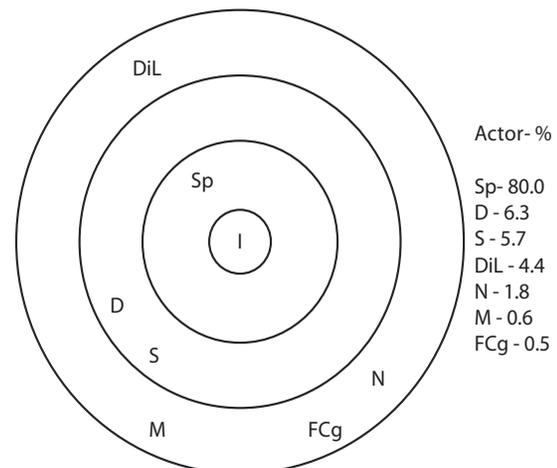


Figure 10.5. Care Dependency Situation in Nuclear Family Without Child(ren)



In comparing nuclear families with and without children, it may be observed that when children are subtracted from the household, the distribution and nature of social support changes. In moving from households with children to those without children, the prevalence of spousal care increases from 51.5% to 80.0%. On the other hand, the prevalence of daughters and sons providing care support decreases from 24.3% and 8.6% to 6.3% and 5.7%, respectively. Likewise, the role of mothers lessens from 6.8% representation to 0.6% while daughters-in-law and neighbors enter the care scene at 4.4% and 1.8%. When children are subtracted from the nuclear family, daughters move from the inner circle of the convoy to the middle circle, mothers move from the middle to the outer circle, and fathers and other relatives depart from the convoy. Thereby, the care supports potential of mothers and daughters decreases while fathers and other relatives no longer provide care support. Daughters-in-law and neighbors, on the other hand, enter the convoys of nuclear families without children. There is an important factor not to be missed in explaining the changes in care support. The nature of the care dependency situation is not only changing as a result of the subtraction of children from the household, but also as a result of changes in age structure of the household. In Turkey, nuclear families without children are older than nuclear families with children for households with older adults needing care support (see Table 3).

b. Care Dependency Situations in Extended Families

The three main actors in patriarchal extended families are daughters-in-law, spouses, and daughters. Secondary circle actors include sons, mothers, and fathers, followed by other relatives and grandchildren as third circle actors. It's worth noting that in Turkey, no non-family actors, such as neighbors and formal caregivers, play a role in care support for care recipients in patriarchal extended families.

Figure 10.6. Care Dependency Situation in Patriarchal Extended Family

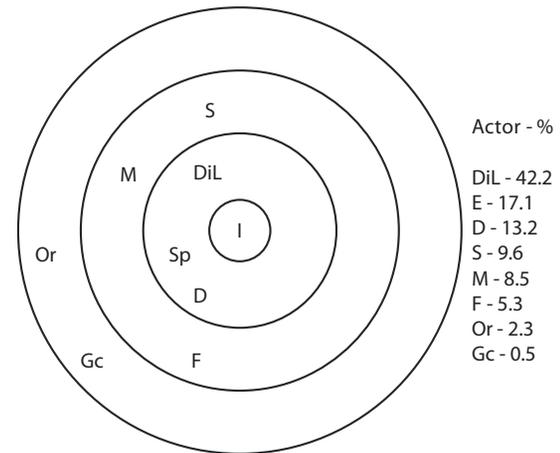
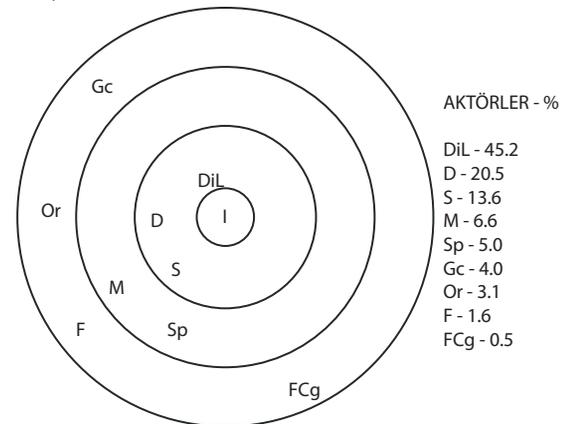


Figure 10.7. Care Dependency Situation in Transient Extended Family



The primary actors are daughters-in-law, daughters, and sons in transient extended families. Secondary circle actors include mothers and spouses, while grandchildren, other relatives, and fathers constitute third circle actors. In addition, formal caregivers are included among third circle actors in transient extended families.

In Turkey, the extended family, both patriarchal and transient extended families, comprise 14.0% of all households. Among all households with older adults requiring care support, some 55.2% are extended families, making it the most prevalent household type in care dependency situations. Within extended families, there is more than twice the number of transient extended

families (36.9%) compared to patriarchal extended families (18.2%). In extended families, both patriarchal and transient, daughters-in-law are clearly the most prevalent actors in care support. An important question to address is what kind of transition do patriarchal extended families experience in Turkey? There appear to be three possible transitional directions to which patriarchal extended families can evolve, namely, transient extended families, nuclear families, or broken families. If the transition is from patriarchal extended to transient extended families, then spouses are subtracted from the inner circle, taking a place in the middle circle, fathers move from the second to the third circle, and sons move from the middle to the inner circle of care actors. In transient extended families, adult children such as daughters-in-law, daughters and sons take on greater responsibility compared with patriarchal extended families. Additionally, formal caregivers take up a minor presence in the convoy of care support among transient extended families. If, on the other hand, the transition is from patriarchal or transient extended families to a nuclear family household, daughters-in-law are all but subtracted from care, being replaced by spouses as the primary care support actor. If the transition is from patriarchal or transient extended families to a broken family household, then daughters-in-law are replaced by adult children, especially by daughters as the primary care support actors in all broken families. While the number of non-relative households is relatively small, all actors are replaced in the convoy of care support by formal caregivers. There may be transitional directions other than those provided above. It is important that policy makers give attention to changes in the structure of society in order to construct effective interventions for formal and informal care support mechanisms.

c. Care Dependency Situations in Broken Families

The three primary actors in single parent households are adult children – daughters, daughters-in-law, and sons. These three actors make up nearly 85% of primary caregivers in single parent households with care dependent older adults. The middle circle actors consist of mothers and fathers, and the third circle actors are grandchildren. As such, the single parent household consists of the least number of primary caregivers, with regards to variety, in the care support network.

Figure 10.8. Care Dependency Situation in Single Parent Household

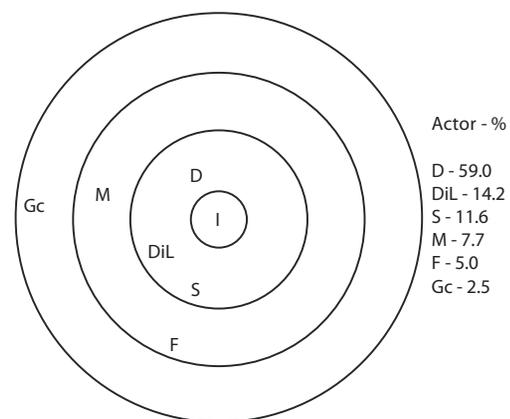


Figure 10.9. Care Dependency Situation in One-Person Household

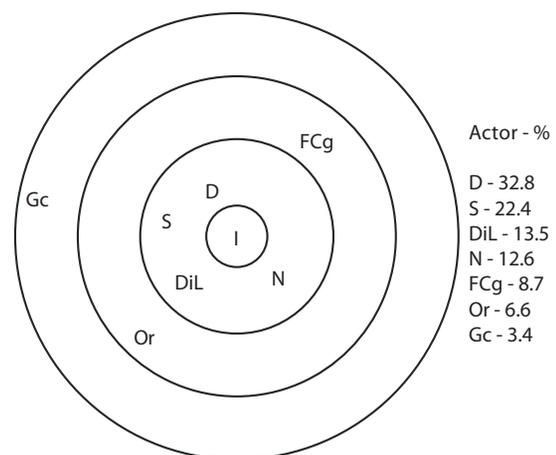
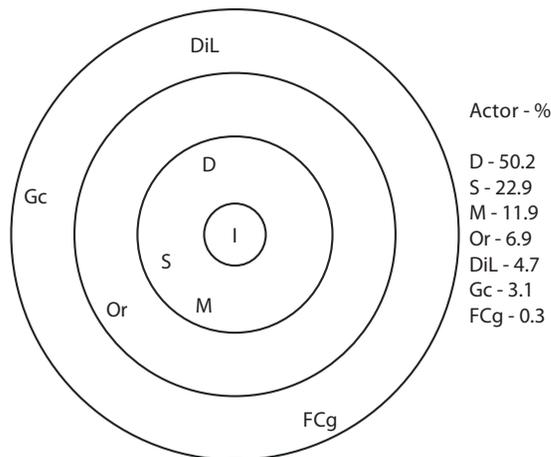
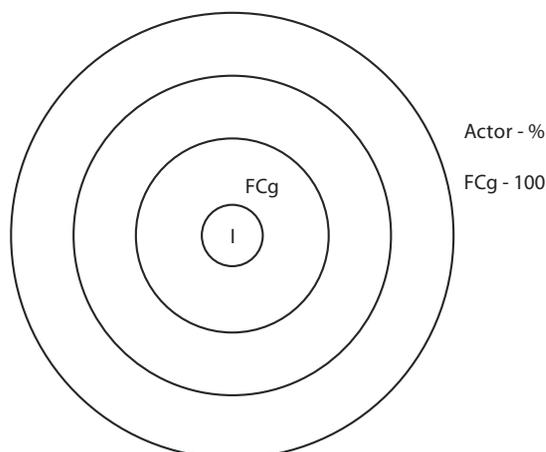


Figure 10.10. Care Dependency Situation in Other Broken Family

Inner circle caregivers for one-person households are daughters, sons, daughters-in-law, and neighbors. Secondary circle actors consist of other relatives and formal caregivers. Third circle actors, similar to single parent households, consist solely of grandchildren.

Figure 10.11. Care Dependency Situation in Non-Relative Household

Inner circle caregivers for other broken families include daughters, sons, and mothers. Other relatives represent secondary circle actors, while daughters-in-law, grandchildren, and formal caregivers round-up third circle care support actors.

The only care support actor in non-relative households is the formal caregiver. Therefore, the social support network for non-relative households is based only on institutional care support.

In comparing broken households, which consist of single parent households, one-parent households, other broken family households, and non-relative households, the main characteristic is that there are no married couples, with regards to recognized marital status, among broken households. Compared to the other household types, single parent households have both the fewest number of caregiver actors in the convoy composition and the highest prevalence of primary care support provided by adult children at nearly 85%. This household type has the smallest convoy composition and is more family-member-centered than the other household types. Relatively speaking, compared to households under the broken household category, daughters provide the lowest percentage of care support in one-person households. Additionally, the inner circle actors in one-person household convoy composition make up the largest number of individuals, namely, daughters, sons, daughters-in-law, and neighbors. Inclusion of neighbors in this household type represents the only non-family members having a place in the inner circle of care support. When compared to the convoy composition of other household types, formal caregivers emerge as far as the middle circle for the first time in one-person households. In total, non-family caregivers, composed of formal caregivers and neighbors, comprise more than 20% of primary care supporters in one-person households.

The literature purports that in order to identify the convoy of social support, the longitudinal nature of relationships need be conceptualized. In this study, in order to clarify the longitudinal nature of relationships, analysis of social relations were carried out according to household types. In lieu of carrying out a longitudinal study to understand the nature of change in social relationships from a life course perspective, household typology is used here as a vehicle to understand the dynamic and evolving networks of social care mechanisms

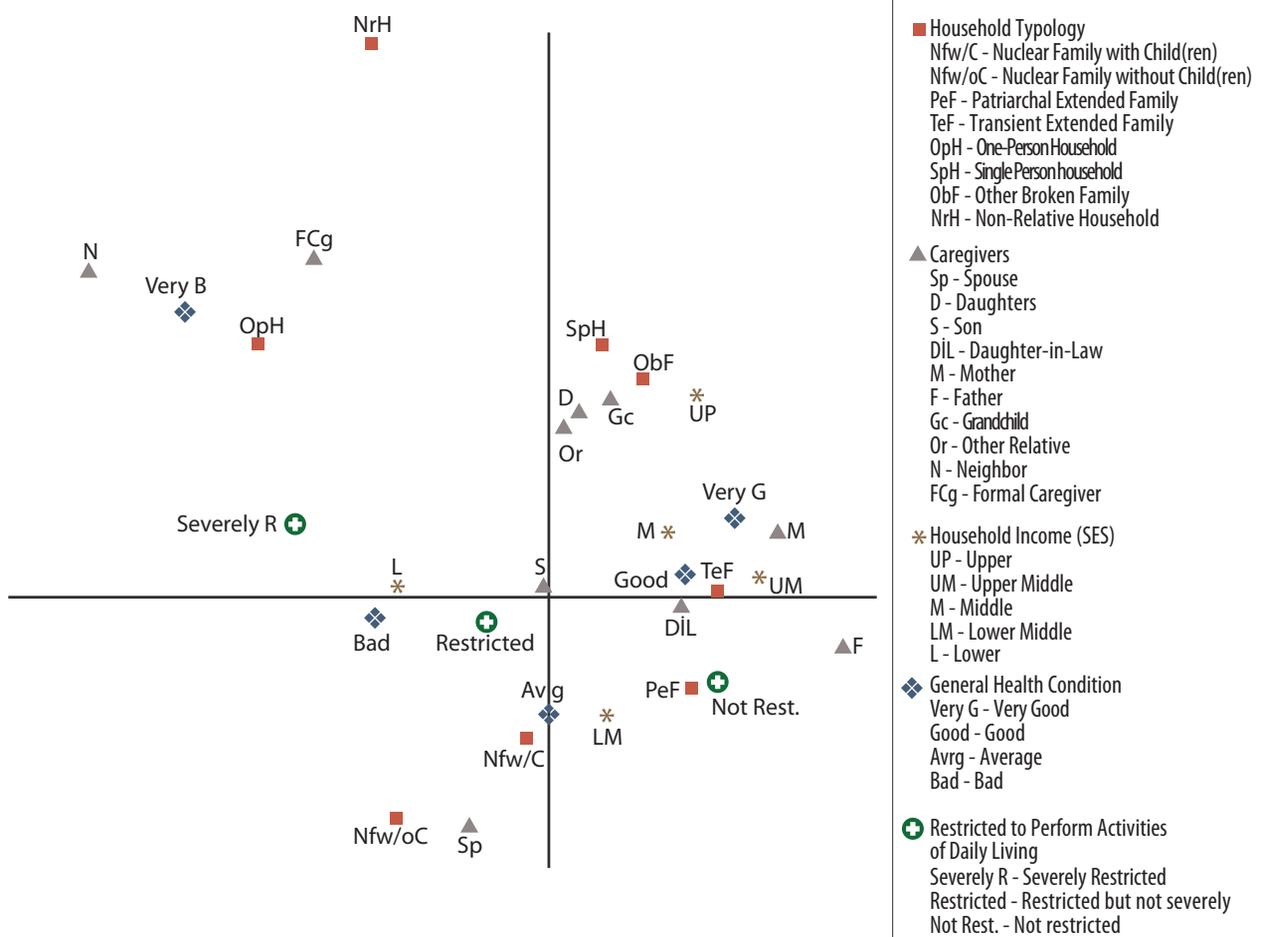
in Turkey. These findings provide clear evidence that as life circumstances change, social networks also change. As a result, with the ebb and flow of life circumstances, the convoy compositions of potential care recipients' change. In this respect, in nuclear families, the weight of care for older family members in Turkey rests squarely on the shoulders of the family – be it adult children, especially daughters-in-law, daughters, and sons, as well as spouses. In extended families, both adult children and especially daughters-in-law carry the weight of older adult care. Lastly, in broken families, it is recognized that non-family caregivers enter the older adult care scene, especially in one-person and non-relative households.

VI. Care and Support Mechanism in Turkey: Identifying at Risk Populations

There is strong evidence of the need for the formulation of interventions by policy makers. How will Turkish policy makers support family members in the important task of sustaining older family members? An additional area of needed focus that arises from these findings is whether or not care recipients represented in the FSST 2016 data are composed of at risk populations? Populations may be at risk with respect to deficiencies in health, education, income, or well-being. Such populations are of particular interest to policy makers for the formulation of interventions.

Previous research connected to the convoy model of social support have identified at risk populations. In the literature, older populations have been associated with increased risk due to lower financial and fewer social support

Figure 10.12. At risk populations in Turkey



resources, poorer health (Fuller-Iglesias and Antonucci, 2016), and risk of loneliness (Dahlberg, Andersson, and Lennartsson, 2018), exacerbating increased risk of health problems and or mortality due to loneliness (e.g. – widowhood effect) (Moon, Kondo, Glymour, and Subramanian, 2011; as cited in Shen and Perry, 2016; Dahlberg, Andersson, and Lennartsson, 2018), institutionalization or co-residency (Strohschein, 2011; as cited in Shen and Perry, 2016) following widowhood. Other risk factors include depression for those in: a) restricted networks (Fiori, Antonucci, and Cortina, 2006), having poor social support, or being divorced or single (Habtewold, Islam, Radie, and Tegegne, 2016; as cited in Salakari, Pylkkanen, Sillanmaki, Nurminen, Rautava, Koskenvuo, and Suominen, 2017). In contrast, there is some evidence suggesting older adults embedded in larger networks with proportionally larger numbers of family members are at lower risk of depression (Antonucci, Fuhrer, and Dartigues, 1997; as cited in Perkins, Ball, Kemp, and Hollingsworth, 2012). Additionally, lower SES has been found to be associated with weaker social support networks in the US and Mexico (Rook, 2009; as cited in Fuller-Iglesias and Antonucci, 2016).

In order to identify at risk populations in Turkey, a correspondence analysis was carried out which includes the following variables: health condition, restriction levels regarding activities of daily living (ADL), and social economic status of households. In analyzing the social economic status of households, health conditions and levels of restrictions across household types, these variables serve as indicators of autonomy, independence, and quality of life.

In households with older adults requiring care, extended families comprise the largest segment in Turkey. It is recognized that extended,

and especially patriarchal extended families, transform into both nuclear and broken families in the demographic transition processes in Turkey (Koç, 2014). In this analysis, the health conditions of older adults in patriarchal extended families are associated with average, and social economic status is positioned nearest to lower middle SES. Such transformation leading to a trajectory towards becoming a nuclear or broken, and especially a one-person family type household, would naturally lend to more severe restrictions with respect to ability to perform daily activities, poorer health and lower SES. While the patriarchal extended family convoy composition is the largest among household types, the impending trajectory towards becoming a nuclear or broken family household would suggest loss of both the main actors of care support and diversity of social support network members. Transient extended families, with respect to health, ADL and SES, are associated with relatively more advantageous conditions. In this household type, adult children have taken up responsibility as head of household. Since, compared to older generations, younger generations have a volumed cultural and economic capital (Arun, 2012), these households are associated with middle and upper middle SES, and good health status. However, a hidden risk, as a result of a future transition (e.g. – loss of a spouse), may be the widowhood effect.

A third risk population is found among nuclear families without child(ren). Because this family type is closely associated with spousal care, loss of a spouse could also lead to the widowhood effect. When thinking about the convoy composition of nuclear families without children, widowhood effect combined with loneliness may be identified as risk factors for both health problems and mortality. Hence, in a recent study, Dahlberg et al. (2018) emphasize the need for support in the wake of the loss

of a spouse or partner. It may be recognized from the correspondence analysis that nuclear families, both with and without children, are positioned between average and bad health and lower and lower middle household SES. Therefore, in general, the quality of life of this segment of society would be considered low. As a result, below average life quality combined with the loss of a spouse would naturally lead to a transition into a broken family household. One additional observation is that nearly 75% of all nuclear household family types in Turkey are composed of older nuclear families without children. As such, one might expect that the transition would more often be into one-person, and not other broken family types.

It may be observed that broken families dominate the upper side of the correspondence analysis axis. Based on household income status and general health conditions, broken family types are divided into two quadrants. One may clearly dissociate advantages and disadvantages where one-person households are associated with very bad health and severely restricted activities of daily living while single parent and especially other broken family households are associated with upper SES and very good health status. In terms of convoy composition, the network of single parent and other broken families are broader. Additionally the composition of convoys for these two household types consists almost entirely of family members. One-person households, on the other hand, are the only household type that incorporates non-family care support into the inner circle of the convoy.

VII. Conclusion

In looking at the literature, it is clear that Turkey is not alone in recognizing the necessity of interventions for at risk populations in care support issues. In numerous countries around the globe, cultures that traditionally value

family care, such as Japan (Muramatsu and Akiyama, 2011), Korea (Yoon, 2013), Hong Kong (Cheng et al., 2013), and Thailand (Sasat and Bowers, 2013), currently face ethical and practical difficulties in providing care support (Pruchno, 2017). In addition to these countries, China, since invoking the one child policy in 1979, faces a dim reality regarding current family care support. The only child of one family will marry the only child of another family, and this couple will be responsible for the care of four parents and eight grandparents without any support from siblings (Zhang, Guo, and Zheng, 2012). In Lebanon and Taiwan, care support is provided by immigrant women from the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, and Southeast Asia (Abdulrahim, Ajrouch, and Antonucci, 2015). A similar situation exists in Italy (Mazzola et al., 2016), where immigrant caregivers coming from Eastern Europe constitute the backbone of care support (Pruchno, 2017). These current examples show that Turkey is not alone in facing challenges of family care support of at risk populations, and should pay particular attention to the intervention practices of other countries.

Some examples of intervention practices for caregivers implemented by other countries, as reported by Rose, Noelker, and Kagan (2015), are as follows: a) in Germany, caregivers may be eligible to receive coverage of social security premiums, and respite care up to four weeks a year, b) in Japan, provision of services under long-term care insurance includes respite care, adult day care, visiting nurses, and home help, c) in the United Kingdom, caregivers may request assessment of caregiver needs, and some government funding is available and may be obtained in place of direct payments, d) in Sweden, all caregivers are entitled to receive four hours of respite a week, additional caregiver supports, and a Carer's Allowance – payment equal to that which a private provider

would receive. Additionally, in the United States, the National Family Caregiver Support Program (NFCSP) provides services for caregivers including attainment of respite care, an information hotline, assistance in access to services, caregiver training, legal assistance for caregivers, and supplemental services for housing improvement, chores, and provision of medical supplies and services (Area Agency on Aging, 2013). These are among noteworthy intervention practices implemented in other countries from which Turkey might consider adopting in order to address the needs of its caregivers, in particular, informal or family caregivers.

Regarding recipients of care, a concrete agenda need be established according to care needs wherein professional assessments are made on a daily, weekly or monthly basis, and needs assessments in areas such as nutrition, exercise, physical therapy, psycho-social support are carried out and support appropriated. Additionally, the aforementioned support mechanisms promoted for caregivers should also be implemented in such a way as to benefit care recipients as well.

When general health conditions, social economic status and levels of restriction in performing activities of daily living are examined across Turkey, the characteristics of at risk populations may be differentiated. One of the common salient characteristics of care recipients in at risk populations is availability of care support from family or non-family members. For at risk populations, care recipients are dependent upon family or non-family caregivers for care support. Lack of autonomy is a key risk factor of at risk populations. Lack of autonomy for at risk populations may lead to their inability to control, cope with, or be able to make personal decisions according to their own preferences

in day-to-day life (WHO, 2002). Variations in restriction levels of daily activities of older care recipients also constitute a salient risk factor. Independence, which may be understood as “the ability to perform functions related to daily living” (WHO, 2002), is another key factor for at risk populations. Restrictions in activities of daily living and lower SES lead to a decrease in a persons ability to live independently in their community without requiring support from others. Autonomy and independence, in turn, are prominent components of quality of life. During the life course of a person, quality of life is determined in large part by ones ability to exercise autonomy and independence (WHO, 2002).

These three key concepts, namely autonomy, independence, and quality of life encompass in a dynamic manner ones physical health, psychological state, social relationships, and personal beliefs (WHO, 2002) as they intersect with their environment. All of these factors are important areas of interest to policy makers as they develop social policy agendas in supporting older adults requiring care and their caregivers in terms of autonomy, independence, and quality of life. To date social policies in Turkey have assumed that the burden of responsibility for the care of older adults should rest upon the family. Within this framework, care support has been defined solely upon the dependency relationship between the care recipient and caregiver. This perspective creates an asymmetric power relationship in the exchange of care support. A shift in this perspective is needed for Turkey during the present demographic transition.

In the world today, the concept of *citizenship rights* or *civil rights* is frequently promoted as an ideal in societies around the globe. It is the view of the authors, however, that all

the more as Turkey and many other nations are facing prolific intra-national transiency and displacement of populations, namely immigration, civil rights need take a “back seat” to *human rights*. Declared by the United Nations General Assembly nearly 70 years ago on December 10, 1948, in resolution 217A, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), in Article 25.1 states that,

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

With respect to older adults, it should not be assumed that care and support should rest solely or primarily on the shoulders of family members. Furthermore, governments have been charged in the UDHR document, albeit without laws of enforcement, to provide for basic standards of support and care for everyone (e.g. all people), regardless of citizenship. Accordingly, this paper presents a call for

governments, including Turkey’s government, to make a move toward a fundamental change in the way it looks at the provision of basic care and support, based not only on civil rights, but also on human rights - inclusive of marginal groups such as refugees and immigrants. The provision of care and support on the basis of civil rights alone does not address the real and often more serious needs of displaced refugees and immigrants. Failure to take up the human rights mandate to procure care and support for all peoples falls short of the UDHR declaration issued seventy years ago, leaving marginal people groups, susceptible to lack of needed care and support resources and increased risk of poverty, isolation, and ill health.

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11.

**WELL-BEING AND QUALITY OF
LIFE OF OLDER PERSONS IN
TURKEY**

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I. Introduction

Demographic ageing is taking place all around the world and Turkey is no exception. Within the last 5 years, the number of older people (65+) has increased to 17% (TÜİK, 2018). By the time Turkish Republic leaves a hundred century behind (by 2023), the share of older population (65+) within the whole population is estimated to be 10.25%. This share is expected to increase to 16.3% by 2040 and 22.6% by 2060 (TÜİK, 2018). Increasing longevity is contributing to this demographic ageing process. According to the recent statistics, life expectancy at birth is estimated to be 80.7 for women and 75.3 for men. When life expectancy at age 65 is considered, there is even more years are added to the lifespan. Life expectancy at 65 is estimated to be 19.3 years for women and 16.1 years for men (TÜİK, 2018).

Assuredly, increased life expectancy is a medical, technological, and a social success, which every country has experienced. However, the ongoing debate between quality and quantity also applies to this case. With more focus on active and healthy ageing, the quality of life among older people has started to be a concern for both researchers and policy makers (Parry et al. 2018). In response to demographic and structural changes, United Nations issued The Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (MIPAA) in 2002. 159 governments, along with Turkey, adopted “Advancing health and well-being into old age” as one of its three

priority directions (see Bennett and Zaidi, 2018). Hence, it is vital to look at well-being of growing ageing population and perceive older persons as a resource. To emphasize the quality of life in old age, demographic indicators like Healthy Life Expectancy (HALE), and Healthy Life Years (HLY) are developed. Moreover, multidimensional indexes such as the Global AgeWatch Index, Active Ageing Index and Well-being in Later Life Index are developed for cross-national analysis (Zaidi, 2017). Turkey, on the other hand, lacks both a theoretical framework and evidence to tackle the issue of well-being and quality of life in later life.

The literature review in the Turkish context shows that “Quality of Life” is the main theoretical approach that researchers use compared to “Well-being” approach. Research taking on the concept of well-being is very limited, and most studies focus on the well-being of younger generations (e.g. Koca-Atabey et. al., 2011; Sivis-Cetinkaya, 2013). A qualitative study conducted with older people showed that the participating older individuals were unhappy with their economic situation due to their low salaries, but they could make ends meet and those who owned property were better off financially (Özmete, 2008). The same study showed that older men were healthier and more energetic compared to women. Moreover, older people whose spouses were alive and who were receiving social support from their children were happier and more satisfied by their lives (Özmete, 2008).

Many studies conducted in Turkey use Quality of Life Scale Older Adults Module (WHOQOL-OLD), a Turkish version validated by Eser and his colleagues (2010). Developed by the World Health Organisation, WHOQOL-OLD consists of 24 Likert type questions in 6 different areas including sensory capacities,

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independence, history, current and planned activities, social participation, death and dying and intimacy. There are also studies conducted with WHOQOL-BREF for measuring quality of life among older people (Arslantas et al., 2009). As far as the studies that focus on the quality of life of older adults are concerned, most of them focus on a single factor and the studies are mostly limited to certain provinces. A study conducted in the province of Eskişehir investigated the quality of life of older people living in rural areas (Arslantas, Ünsal, Metintaş, Koç and Arslantaş, 2009). A study in the province of İzmir revealed significant relationship was found between the current pain severity and the quality of life scale's sensory capacity, current activities and future activities, and relationship sub-fields and the total points (Güngör Tavşanlı et al., 2013). Another study conducted in the province of Antalya demonstrated a negative relationship between quality of life and disability (Dönmez, Gökkoça, Dedeoğlu, 2004). Similarly, a study conducted in Ankara also revealed a positive correlation between physical activity levels and quality of life among older people (Ünver Koçak and Özkan, 2010). A study conducted in the province of Bolu showed the relationship between number of chronic diseases, types of chronic disease, mobility level, functional status and QoL (Öztürk et al., 2011). A study conducted in the province of Şanlıurfa found that gender, literacy, social security, age, and marital status affect some dimensions of QOL and some subscales of attitudes toward aging (Top, Eriş and Kabalcıoğlu, 2013). Another study that took place in the province of Samsun found a positive correlation between perception of health status and quality of life (Altay, Çavuşoğlu, Çal, 2016). In addition to the relationship between physical limitations and quality of life, there are also studies that focus on the relationship between psychological well-being and quality of life. A study conducted in the province of Samsun found that the presence of a chronic disease

and low educational level reduce the quality of life and increase the level of depression among older people. The findings also show that quality of life is negatively associated with the level of depression and pain intensity (Akyol et al., 2010). A study conducted in Western Turkey reveals that loneliness negatively affects quality of life for older people and all the subscales of WHOQOL-OLD (Arslantaş et al. 2015).

There are also studies conducted in particular settings such as nursing homes. A study conducted in the province of Ankara reveals that women have higher total QoL scores compared to men and being in the social security system lead to higher scores for quality of life among older nursing home residents. Moreover, gender, marital status and educational level emerge as other significant socio-demographic variables for the sub-scales of WHOQOL-OLD (Arpacı, Tokyürek and Bilgili, 2015). Another study conducted in the nursing homes in Ankara also revealed that socioeconomic status, leisure time activities, participating in the activities of nursing home, relationship with family, residents and employee were significant factors affecting subscales of WHOQOL-OLD for older people in nursing homes (Ercan Şahin and Emiroğlu, 2018).

A nationally representative study found positive correlation between QoL of older people and government support, living environment, health status and educational level and negatively correlated with ageing process, chronic diseases, increased depression symptoms, decreased mobility (Altuğ et al. 2009). Another nationally representative study found out that gender, age, education, marital status, childbearing, social insurance, health status, living arrangement and income variables are the main determinants to improve the quality of life of older people (Bilgili and Arpacı, 2014).

⁴ Even though both studies are nationally representative, the sample size for both studies do not exceed 300 subjects.

II. Research Objectives

The studies regarding quality of life and well-being of older people in Turkey are very limited. Many studies focus on the effects of old age characteristic on quality of life rather than coming up with a holistic model. Moreover, most of the studies are limited to a certain geographical area in Turkey and nationally representative studies are limited. Furthermore, most of the studies are descriptive and correlational. Moreover, the existing studies are all cross-sectional and no longitudinal analysis is available. Given this gap in the literature, the objective of this study is to identify the overall well-being of older people (60+) and factors associated with it by using multidimensional measures of Well-Being and Quality of Life. This study also aims to look at sub-group differences and longitudinal changes. Research questions are as follows:

- What is the level of well-being of older people (60 years and over) in Turkey?
- What are the differences between sub-groups of older people (e.g. men – women, urban – rural, 60-69 – 70+ years old) in the level of well-being?
- How the level of well-being of older people is changing over time (2006 – 2016)?

III. Data and Methods

The study will make use of the 3 waves of the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye survey (2006-2011-2016). The survey was carried out by Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK) with the cooperation of Ministry of Family and Social Policy with the objective to collect information on lifestyle of individuals in family environment and opinion regarding family values. The sample is representative for all private household in the Republic of Turkey and the sampling frame is based on Address Based Population Register System (ABPRS) and National Address

Database (NAD). The sample is representative of all the geographical areas of Turkey and the analysis unit was individuals aged 15 and over.

For this article, we restrict the sample to persons aged 60 years and over. The sample size for all the waves, for population 60 years and over, is presented in Table 1.

Table 11.1. Sample size of Research on Family Structure in Türkiye

Year	2006	2011	2016
Sample size – total	48.235	44.117	57.398
Sample size – 60 years and over	4.215	4.983	7.527

The analytical framework used to define well-being was based on the Madrid International Plan of Ageing (United Nations, 2002), but taking into account availability of data. MIPAA defines three priority as recommendation for action to improve the quality of lives of older persons. In this article we defined well-being in relation to two MIPAA priorities:

- Older persons and development – represented by social participation and income
- Advancing health and well-being into old age represented by self-rated health and happiness

Therefore, the list of well-being measures used in our research include the following variables:

1. Equivalised income quartiles – this variable was constructed by dividing household's income by square root of number of persons in the household, and then constructing four groups amounted to approx. 25% each.
2. Equivalised expenditure quartiles - constructed by dividing household's expenditure by square root of number of persons in the household, and then constructing four groups amounted to approx. 25% each.

3. Assets – composite indicator as sum of number of assets possessed by household's members (1 – respondent have the item, 0 – does not have), and constructing 4 evenly distributed categories.

4. Subjective evaluation of material situation: does the budget is meeting household's needs (from 1 – very hardly to 5 – very easily).

5. Social participation – composite indicator as a sum of frequency of participating in 12 different social activities (1 – participating often or very often, 0 – other), and then categorized into 4 categories (1 – does not participate in any activity, 4 – participating in 3 and more / 5 and more activities – different for different waves).

6. Self-rated health: was is the person's general health condition (from 1 – very bad to 5 – very good)

7. Limitation in daily activities: is there any restriction in performing activities of daily living in the last 6 months (severely restricted; restricted, but not severely; not restricted).

8. Happiness

Analytical methods included initial descriptive analysis, independence test and logistic regression. Descriptive analysis includes the distribution of the well-being variables in total and by the demographic and social characteristic of respondents. Chi² independence test was used to assess whether we observe the relationship between two variables: well-being measure and characteristic of the respondent. Statistically significant value of Ch² statistics (compared to reference values for specific degrees of freedom) tells us that two variables are not independent, hence there is a relationship between them (although these statistics do assess the level or direction of this relationship). Finally, we applied the logistic regression to examine was is the probability of specific event depending on the specific predictors.

Logit Function

Logistic regression enables to assess the probability of success (coded as “1”) in the relation to failure (coded as “0”), therefore the outcome (dependent) variable could be only binary variable. The probability is assessed by a parameter “odds ratio”, defined as probability of the success divided by its inverse.

$$\text{odds ratio} = p/(1-p) \quad [\text{Eq. 1}]$$

Such definition of the parameter is easy to interpret, as value 1 means that the probability of success and failure are equal (50% each), whereas OR > 1 means that the probability of success is greater than 50%, and OR < 1, that the probability of success is lower than 50%. Odds ratios are analysed for each predictor separately and in comparison to the reference predictor. The predictors used in our research were: sex, age, education (literacy), marital status, household size, employment status and place of living.

IV. Results

A. Health

Health state was assessed in two waves: 2006 and 2016, however, the question in 2006 was asked about the health state compared to peers and in 2016 – about the general health condition. When analysing the changes, we should note the difference in wording, yet the questions are similar and have the same answers' categories.

In 2016 close to 36% of older persons declared having good health (out of them only 1.9% - very good), and 27% - bad health. The remaining part declared they have average health. The independence test showed that there is a relationship between self-rated health and all socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. Better health is more often declared by: men, younger age groups (60-64 years old), married persons, not living alone, people who are literate and those who are employed. (Appendix Table 53-58).

Table 11.2. Probability of having good self-rated health (good + very good), 2016

		Number of obs		1456		
		LR chi2(9)		76.16		
		Prob > chi2		0.00		
Log likelihood = -701.18848		Pseudo R2		0.0515		
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Gender (ref. male)						
Female	0.657	0.113	-2.44	0.015	0.469	0.921
Age groups (ref. 60-69 years old)						
70-79 years	0.532	0.081	-4.13	0.000	0.394	0.718
80 years and over	0.325	0.075	-4.90	0.000	0.207	0.509
Marital status (ref. married)						
Widowed	0.957	0.206	-0.20	0.839	0.628	1.459
never married / divorced	1.390	0.493	0.93	0.352	0.694	2.785
Household size (ref. single household)						
2 persons	1.172	0.266	0.70	0.484	0.751	1.829
3 persons and more	1.151	0.266	0.61	0.542	0.732	1.810
Literacy (ref. literate)						
not literate	0.643	0.092	-3.10	0.002	0.486	0.850
Employment status (ref. employed)						
retired / other not employed	0.806	0.181	-0.96	0.336	0.519	1.251
constant	0.769	0.245	-0.82	0.410	0.411	1.437

Table 11.3. Probability of having good (good + very good) self-rated health comparing to peers 2006

		Number of obs		4209		
		LR chi2(9)		188.79		
		Prob > chi2		0.000		
Log likelihood = -2667.5625		Pseudo R2		0.0342		
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Gender (ref. male)						
female	0.594	0.046	-6.73	0.000	0.511	0.691
Age groups (ref. 60-69 years old)						
70-79 years	0.778	0.055	-3.53	0.000	0.676	0.894
80 years and over	0.637	0.084	-3.44	0.001	0.492	0.824
Marital status (ref. married)						
widowed	1.013	0.102	0.12	0.901	0.831	1.234
never married / divorced	0.957	0.218	-0.19	0.848	0.613	1.495
Household size (ref. single household)						
2 persons	1.183	0.154	1.29	0.198	0.916	1.527
3 persons and more	1.140	0.138	1.08	0.278	0.900	1.444
Literacy (ref. illiterate)						
literate	1.491	0.111	5.37	0.000	1.289	1.726
Place of living (ref. urban)						
rural	0.804	0.055	-3.20	0.001	0.704	0.919
constant	2.048	0.320	4.59	0.000	1.508	2.781

Information on self-rated health might be supplemented by the indicator of limitation in daily activities. Slightly more than 85% of older persons in Turkey reported having limitations in performing everyday activities, out of which 31% declared they are severely restricted. (Appendix Table 60). It means, that even persons who have average or good self-rated health can have some limitation in daily activities. All socio-demographic characteristics have a statistically significant relationship with limitations in daily activities. Not restriction in activities is more often reported by: men, younger aged group, married persons, people living in 2 or 3-person households, literate and employed (Appendix Table 59-64). These are the same groups who report good self-rated health. The correlation coefficient between those two variables equals 0.54. Therefore we decided to use one variable – self-rated health as most commonly used in the research on well-being – as a dependent variable in logistic regression.

The model with 6 socio and demographic predictors achieved low fit to the data ($R^2 = 0.05$), which suggests that there are other factors determining the health state of the person. Out of the predictors we used, three of them proved statistical significance: gender, age and literacy. Women have 34% lower probability of being in good health than men (Table 2). People aged 70-79 have 47% lower probability and people aged 80 years and over – 67% lower probability of being in good health than persons aged 60-69 years old (Table 2). Older people who are not literate have 36% lower probability of being healthy (Table 2). Other predictors are not significant, even we can observe that never married or divorced persons might have a better chance of being healthy than married persons, but this result is not significant (mainly due to low sample size) (Table 2).

In 2006 good health was declared by more than

64% of people, and bad health by 17% (Appendix Table 1) The results showed much better health in 2006 than in 2016, but this might be the result of different wording of the question, therefore direct comparison should not be undertaken.

The model based on 2006 data showed similar results - low fit to the data and the same groups of older people having poor health. The probability of having good health for women was 41% lower than for men. (Table 3). Persons from older cohorts had 22% (70-79) and 36% (80+ years) lower probability of good health than persons aged 60-69 years old. (Table 3). Persons who are literate have higher chances to be in good health (Table 3). Additionally, we noted in 2006, that older persons living in rural areas have 20% lower probability being in good health than their peers living in cities. (Table 3).

During the 10 years (2006-2016) the same predictors are responsible for self-rated health of older persons. It means that disadvantaged situation of women, older cohorts and illiterate persons has not changed

B. Income

Material situation was assessed in all three waves of the survey and with the use of several variables. The list of appropriate variables included: household income (continuous variable in 2011 and 2016, categories in 2006), household expenditure (2011, 2016), possession of assets (all three waves) as well as subjective evaluation of material situation: satisfaction with personal income in 2006 and perception whether household's income is meeting the needs. Correlation analysis showed that income, expenditure and assets are positively and strongly correlated (income and expenditure, $r=0.75$; income and assets, $r=0.52$), therefore we used only one variable – income – as most often used variable to assess material situation. We supplement this measure by subjective evaluation of income.

The analysis of income distribution showed stable situation of particular groups of older people. Women, widowed persons, people living in single household, illiterate and not employed were more often in the 1st quartile of the distribution (i.e. the poorest 25% of all analysed population) (Appendix Table 7-12). Men, younger persons (60-69 years old), never married, people living with at least 2 other persons, literate and employed were more often in 4th quartile of the distribution (i.e. the richest 25% of all analysed population) (Appendix Table 7-12). There was also clear negative age gradient, with growing share of poor persons while age is increasing and growing share of rich persons while age is decreasing. The distribution by characteristics of older persons was similar in 2011 and 2016. Chi² test showed that income depends on all socio and demographic characteristics of older persons.

In 2006 income question was pre-coded into 5 categories: from less than 400 TRY to more

than 1200 LRY monthly per household. Despite different coding than in 2011 and 2016, we can still compare the results and assess which groups are advantaged / disadvantaged. Slightly more than 24% of the analysed population declared their income is not greater than 400 TRY per month. The next 31% earned between 401 and 600 TRY monthly. The richest group, earning more than 1200 TRY per month, constituted 11% of total sample (Appendix Table 7-12). Men, people from the youngest age groups, never married or divorced, literate persons, and those living in cities more often than other groups have the highest income. In the poorest group we could more often find women, the oldest persons, widowed, illiterate and rural inhabitants (Appendix Table 7-12). In Turkey, minimum wage for the year 2006 was 350.15 TRY (€220), 658.95 TRY (€330) for the year 2011 and 1300,99 TRY (€406). This finding shows that majority of older people had income less than minimum wage at a given time of analysis.

Table 11.4. Probability of being rich (4th quartile of equivalised income), 2016

		Number of obs	1456			
		LR chi2(9)	40.49			
		Prob > chi2	0.00			
Log likelihood = -396.58648		Pseudo R2	0.0486			
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf Interval]	
Gender (ref. male)						
	Female	1.770	0.472	2.14	0.032	1.049 2.986
Age groups (ref. 60-69 years old)						
	70-79 years	0.846	0.191	-0.74	0.460	0.543 1.318
	80 years and over	0.891	0.281	-0.37	0.715	0.481 1.653
Marital status (ref. married)						
	Widowed	0.816	0.233	-0.71	0.477	0.466 1.429
	never married / divorced	1.092	0.569	0.17	0.867	0.393 3.032
Household size (ref. single household)						
	2 persons	1.242	0.409	0.66	0.511	0.651 2.370
	3 persons and more	3.276	1.010	3.85	0.000	1.790 5.994
Literacy (ref. literate)						
	not literate	0.591	0.122	-2.54	0.011	0.394 0.886
Employment status (ref. employed)						
	retired / other not employed	1.218	0.462	0.52	0.603	0.579 2.563
	Constant	0.054	0.027	-5.83	0.000	0.020 0.144

In the regression model we assessed the probability of being rich – i.e. the richest 25% of the population. The model with 6 socio- and demographic predictors achieved low fit to the data ($R^2 = 0.05$ in 2016 and 0.10 in 2011).

In 2016 three of the predictors we used proved statistical significance: gender, household size, and literacy. Women have 77% higher probability than men of being in the richest group (Table 4). People living with at least 2 persons in the household have 230% higher probability of being rich. (Table 4). Illiterate persons have 41% lower probability of being rich. (Table 4).

In 2011 five predictors were significant. People from older age groups have 27% (70-79) and 25% lower probability of being rich (Table 5). Illiterate and people living in rural areas have both circa 70% lower probability of being rich (Table 5). On the other hand, widowed persons (by 45%) and never married/ divorced (by 115%) have higher probability of being rich than married persons (Table 5). Similar situation was observed for persons living in bigger households (3 persons and more), with 46% higher probability of being rich (Table 5).

The results are significantly different between 2011 and 2016. Being a woman did not predict high income in 2011, but it does in 2016. Old age was related to low chance of being rich in 2011, but this became not significant in 2016, which may suggest improvement of the situation of the oldest persons. These changes should be studied further though. On the other hand, stable results were noted for literacy (lower probability) and bigger households (higher probability).

The data for 2006 included categorized income, therefore the results cannot be directly compared. However, the model assessing the probability of having high income (above 800) showed great similarities: women and people living with others (2 and at least 3-persons households) as

well as literate persons have higher probability of high income. Rural inhabitants have lower probability of being (personally) rich (Table 6).

Supplementary to objective measure of material well-being (income level in currency), the survey gave the possibility of assessing subjective evaluation of financial situation. The variable used in 2006 was satisfaction with personal income evaluated on a 5-point scale, and variable used in 2016 was subjective opinion whether available budget meets the household's needs (also using 5-point scale)

In 2016, 24% of older persons assessed that their household income easily meets the needs of the family, and 39% - that hardly meet the needs (out of them 7% very hardly), with the rest stating medium opinion. Men, older age groups, widowed, living alone and employed more often evaluate that they can easily meet the needs (Appendix Table 77-28).

In 2006, satisfaction with their income declared 22% of older persons, and 44% were not satisfied, with the remaining group being not decided. In the group of satisfied with income more often can be found persons from older age groups (75 years and older), women, persons living alone or with one other household member. Women, persons aged 60-69 years old, and illiterate persons were more often dissatisfied with income. Marital status and place of living did not clearly differentiate satisfaction with income (Appendix Table 13-18).

The model assessing the probability, that the budget is meeting household's needs in 2016 had also two significant predictors: household size and literacy. People living in the biggest households (at least 3 members) had 61% lower probability that budget is meeting the needs, and illiterate persons had 34% lower probability of the same event. Other predictors, including age and gender, were insignificant (Table 7).

Table 11.5. Probability of being rich (4th quartile of equivalised income), 2011

		Number of obs		4983		
		LR chi2(10)		547.68		
		Prob > chi2		0.00		
Log likelihood = -2513.067		Pseudo R2		0.0983		
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf Interval]	
Gender (ref. male)						
Female	0.965	0.077	-0.45	0.654	0.826	1.128
Age groups (ref. 60-69 years old)						
70-79 years	0.728	0.059	-3.89	0.000	0.621	0.855
80 years and over	0.775	0.089	-2.21	0.027	0.618	0.971
Marital status (ref. married)						
Widowed	1.445	0.154	3.46	0.001	1.173	1.781
never married / divorced	2.148	0.404	4.07	0.000	1.486	3.104
Household size (ref. single household)						
2 persons	1.302	0.183	1.89	0.059	0.990	1.714
3 persons and more	1.456	0.190	2.88	0.004	1.127	1.881
Literacy (ref. literate)						
not literate	0.313	0.031	-11.88	0.000	0.258	0.379
Employment status (ref. employed)						
retired / other not employed	1.050	0.141	0.36	0.718	0.807	1.365
Place of living (ref. urban)						
rural	0.301	0.025	-14.64	0.000	0.256	0.354
constant	0.464	0.085	-4.18	0.000	0.324	0.665

Table 11.6. Probability of being rich (personal income > 800), 2006

		Number of obs		4215		
		LR chi2(9)		498.74		
		Prob > chi2		0.000		
Log likelihood = -2228.6725		Pseudo R2		0.1006		
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Gender (ref. male)						
female	1.253	0.108	2.61	0.009	1.058	1.484
Age groups (ref. 60-69 years old)						
70-79 years	0.880	0.072	-1.58	0.115	0.750	1.032
80 years and over	0.740	0.121	-1.83	0.067	0.536	1.021
Marital status (ref. married)						
widowed	1.046	0.116	0.40	0.686	0.841	1.300
never married / divorced	1.575	0.408	1.76	0.079	0.949	2.616
Household size (ref. single household)						
2 persons	3.220	0.635	5.93	0.000	2.188	4.739
3 persons and more	10.180	1.920	12.31	0.000	7.035	14.732
Literacy (ref. illiterate)						
literate	2.046	0.182	8.05	0.000	1.718	2.435
Place of living (ref. urban)						
rural	0.639	0.048	-6.02	0.000	0.552	0.739
constant	0.053	0.012	-13.27	0.000	0.035	0.082

Table 11.7. Probability that budget easily meet household's needs, 2016

		Number of obs		1456		
		LR chi2(9)		37.83		
		Prob > chi2		0.00		
Log likelihood = -677.81867		Pseudo R2		0.0271		
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf Interval]	
Gender (ref. male)						
female	1.006	0.189	0.03	0.976	0.695	1.455
Age groups (ref. 60-69 years old)						
70-79 years	1.115	0.182	0.66	0.507	0.809	1.536
80 years and over	1.266	0.253	1.18	0.238	0.856	1.874
Marital status (ref. married)						
widowed	1.065	0.261	0.26	0.797	0.659	1.720
never married / divorced	0.635	0.291	-0.99	0.322	0.259	1.559
Household size (ref. single household)						
2 persons	0.746	0.179	-1.22	0.223	0.466	1.196
3 persons and more	0.393	0.107	-3.44	0.001	0.231	0.669
Literacy (ref. literate)						
not literate	0.659	0.099	-2.78	0.005	0.491	0.884
Employment status (ref. employed)						
retired / other not employed	1.366	0.409	1.04	0.298	0.759	2.456
constant	0.258	0.100	-3.50	0.000	0.121	0.550

Table 11.8. Probability of being satisfied with personal income, 2006

		Number of obs		2807		
		LR chi2(9)		25.27		
		Prob > chi2		0.003		
Log likelihood = -1466.978		Pseudo R2		0.0085		
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Gender (ref. male)						
female	1.406	0.189	2.54	0.011	1.081	1.829
Age groups (ref. 60-69 years old)						
70-79 years	1.294	0.128	2.59	0.010	1.065	1.572
80 years and over	1.581	0.275	2.63	0.009	1.124	2.224
Marital status (ref. married)						
widowed	0.778	0.127	-1.54	0.123	0.565	1.071
never married / divorced	0.803	0.248	-0.71	0.478	0.438	1.472
Household size (ref. single household)						
2 persons	0.835	0.143	-1.06	0.290	0.597	1.167
3 persons and more	0.707	0.113	-2.18	0.030	0.517	0.966
Literacy (ref. illiterate)						
literate	1.246	0.145	1.90	0.058	0.993	1.565
Place of living (ref. urban)						
rural	0.993	0.094	-0.08	0.938	0.824	1.196
constant	0.253	0.054	-6.43	0.000	0.166	0.384

In 2006 only two variables are significant to predict the probability of satisfaction with income: gender and age. Women had 41% higher probability of being satisfied with income than men. People aged 70-79 years have 29% and people aged 80 years and over – 58% higher probability of satisfaction with income than the youngest cohort. Other variables were insignificant. (Table 8).

C. Social Participation

The indicator of social participation was based on variables measuring frequency of participating in various social activities, such as visiting relatives, going out for dinner or to cinema. Each activity was evaluated on a scale from never too often or very often (depending on the wave). For composite indicator of social engagement, two top codes (sometimes and often or often and very often) were coded as 1, with other coded as

0. Composite indicator was a sum of all “1” for all activities and it ranged from 0 (person did not participate in any activity) to maximum number of activities. The maximum was different for each wave as the number of activities varied. In 2006 it was 4 and more activities, in 2011 – 5 and more activities, and in 2016 – 3 and more activities. For the assessment of most and least engaged groups of older people, different maximum value of social engagement indicator is not a barrier.

In 2016 close to 47% of older people did not participate in any social activity and the next 29% participated only in 1 activity. Only close to 11% participated in 3 and more activities. Women, older age groups, widowed, people living alone and illiterate more often did not participate in any activities – these groups are most exposed to the possibility of loneliness. On the other hand,

Table 11.9. Probability of being socially engaged (participated in 3 or more activities), 2016

		Number of obs	1456			
		LR chi2(9)	88.32			
		Prob > chi2	0.00			
Log likelihood = -304.31381		Pseudo R2	0.1267			
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf Interval]	
Gender (ref. male)						
female	0.329	0.090	-4.05	0.000	0.193	0.564
Age groups (ref. 60-69 years old)						
70-79 years	0.684	0.167	-1.56	0.119	0.424	1.103
80 years and over	0.155	0.078	-3.71	0.000	0.058	0.415
Marital status (ref. married)						
widowed	1.339	0.505	0.77	0.439	0.639	2.805
never married / divorced	2.104	1.145	1.37	0.172	0.724	6.112
Household size (ref. single household)						
2 persons	1.357	0.527	0.79	0.432	0.633	2.907
3 persons and more	1.050	0.427	0.12	0.905	0.473	2.329
Literacy (ref. literate)						
illiterate	0.286	0.068	-5.24	0.000	0.179	0.457
Employment status (ref. employed)						
retired / other not employed	1.018	0.344	0.05	0.959	0.524	1.975
constant	0.271	0.134	-2.64	0.008	0.103	0.714

Table 11.10. Probability of being socially engaged (participated in 5 or more activities), 2011

		Number of obs		3935		
		LR chi2(9)		605.67		
		Prob > chi2		0.00		
Log likelihood = -1657.9002		Pseudo R2		0.1545		
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Gender (ref. male)						
female	0.253	0.025	-13.64	0.000	0.207	0.308
Age groups (ref. 60-69 years old)						
70-79 years	0.450	0.046	-7.82	0.000	0.368	0.549
80 years and over	0.179	0.037	-8.31	0.000	0.119	0.268
Marital status (ref. married)						
widowed	0.907	0.148	-0.60	0.551	0.659	1.249
never married / divorced	1.290	0.330	1.00	0.319	0.781	2.131
Household size (ref. single household)						
2 persons	0.918	0.176	-0.45	0.656	0.630	1.338
3 persons and more	0.517	0.098	-3.48	0.000	0.357	0.749
Employment status (ref. employed)						
retired / other not employed	0.696	0.103	-2.46	0.014	0.521	0.929
Place of living (ref. urban)						
rural	0.266	0.027	-12.99	0.000	0.218	0.325
constant	1.904	0.451	2.72	0.007	1.197	3.028

Table 11.11. Probability of being socially engaged (participated in 4 or more activities), 2006

		Number of obs		3935		
		LR chi2(9)		605.67		
		Prob > chi2		0.00		
Log likelihood = -1657.9002		Pseudo R2		0.1545		
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Gender (ref. male)						
female	0.374	0.038	-9.81	0.000	0.307	0.455
Age groups (ref. 60-69 years old)						
70-79 years	0.480	0.045	-7.76	0.000	0.399	0.578
80 years and over	0.270	0.062	-5.67	0.000	0.172	0.424
Marital status (ref. married)						
widowed	0.881	0.146	-0.77	0.443	0.636	1.219
never married / divorced	1.473	0.407	1.40	0.161	0.857	2.531
Household size (ref. single household)						
2 persons	0.777	0.150	-1.30	0.193	0.532	1.136
3 persons and more	0.516	0.097	-3.52	0.000	0.356	0.746
Employment status (ref. employed)						
retired / other not employed	25.569	5.673	14.61	0.000	16.553	39.497
Place of living (ref. urban)						
rural	0.676	0.057	-4.63	0.000	0.572	0.798
constant	0.075	0.022	-8.69	0.000	0.042	0.135

men, people aged 60-64 years, never married/divorced, people living in 2-persons households, and those who are literate most socially engaged (Appendix Table 53-88).

Due to different types of activities included in all waves, the frequency of participation in activities cannot be directly compared. For example, the share of persons participating in any activity in 2011 was 10%, and in 2006 – 37%. We can, though, analyse which groups are most and least engaged. Not surprisingly, the same were inactive throughout the years 2006-2016: women, oldest age groups, widowed, living alone and illiterate. Chi² test showed that composite indicator of social participation is dependent on all analysed socio- and demographic characteristics of respondents.

The models predicting probability of being highly socially engaged showed stable (valid for all three waves) significant influence of gender and age. In 2016 women had 67% lower probability of being engaged than men, oldest persons – 84% lower probability (than persons aged 60-69 years), and illiterate persons – 71% lower probability of frequent social participation (Table 9). In 2011 on top of gender and age, household size, employment and place of living were also predicting social participation: people living in at least 3-persons households, retired persons and those living in rural areas had lower probability of being highly engaged (Table 10). The same predictors were observed for 2006: gender, age, household size, literacy and place of living. Regression analysis confirmed that marital status has no influence on social participation⁵ (Table 11). The important change between 2006 and 2016 is that persons living in bigger households and those retired improved their social participation (from lower probability in 2006 and 2011, similar to other groups in 2016). Women and the oldest old, though, are still excluded from social participation.

D. Subjective Well-Being

Subjective well-being measure used in the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye survey is perception of happiness (“what is your state of mood”). Happiness, alongside life satisfaction, is one of the most commonly used indicators of subjective well-being. It is related to affective part of subjective well-being (such as emotions, moods, feelings), whereas life satisfaction is a measure of cognitive dimensions of subjective well-being.

In this study the question on happiness was asked in 2011 and 2016, therefore the analysed period is shorter than in case of other dimensions of well-being used in this study. The questions were measured on a 5-point scale from 1 – very unhappy, to 5 – very happy.

In 2016, 74% of older persons stated they are happy, out of which 10% were very happy. Only 5% declared they are unhappy. Men, married persons, those not living alone, literate and employed persons more often are happy than other groups. Women, never married or divorced, living alone and retired persons are more often unhappy (Appendix Table 89-94). In 2011 the share of happy and unhappy persons was almost identical as in 2016. We observed also the same groups as happy or unhappy (Appendix Table 46-52).

Not all finding from descriptive analysis was confirmed in logistic regression models. We assess the probability of being happy depending on socio-demographic characteristics of older persons.

In 2016 age, marital status and literacy proved their significance for predicting happiness. On the other hand, gender, household size and employment status did not confirmed significance despite previous analysis of descriptive statistics. Hence, the oldest persons

⁵ In *RFST 2006 and 2011* participants were asked where they lived until the age of 18 and in *RFTS 2016* they were asked where they lived until the age of 15.

Table 11.12. Probability of being happy (very happy + happy), 2016

		Number of obs		1456		
		LR chi2(9)		61.64		
		Prob > chi2		0.00		
Log likelihood = -885.69242		Pseudo R2		0.0336		
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf Inter.]	
Gender (ref. male)						
female	0.806	0.129	-1.34	0.180	0.589	1.104
Age groups (ref. 60-69 years old)						
70-79 years	0.866	0.118	-1.06	0.290	0.662	1.131
80 years and over	0.571	0.097	-3.31	0.001	0.409	0.795
Marital status (ref. married)						
widowed	0.702	0.131	-1.89	0.058	0.486	1.012
never married / divorced	0.250	0.080	-4.34	0.000	0.134	0.468
Household size (ref. single household)						
2 persons	1.057	0.201	0.29	0.769	0.729	1.533
3 persons and more	0.927	0.180	-0.39	0.696	0.634	1.355
Literacy (ref. literate)						
illiterate	0.767	0.101	-2.01	0.045	0.593	0.994
Employment status (ref. employed)						
retired / other not employed	0.873	0.208	-0.57	0.568	0.548	1.392
constant	5.035	1.573	5.18	0.000	2.730	9.287

Table 11.13. Probability of being happy (very happy + happy), 2011

		Number of obs		4032		
		LR chi2(10)		211.37		
		Prob > chi2		0.00		
Log likelihood = -2206.6373		Pseudo R2		0.0457		
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Gender (ref. male)						
female	0.982	0.086	-0.21	0.832	0.826	1.166
Age groups (ref. 60-69 years old)						
70-79 years	0.961	0.082	-0.47	0.635	0.813	1.134
80 years and over	0.864	0.105	-1.21	0.227	0.681	1.096
Marital status (ref. married)						
widowed	0.570	0.064	-5.03	0.000	0.458	0.710
never married / divorced	0.192	0.039	-8.06	0.000	0.128	0.287
Household size (ref. single household)						
2 persons	1.361	0.179	2.35	0.019	1.052	1.761
3 persons and more	1.164	0.140	1.26	0.207	0.919	1.473
Literacy (ref. literate)						
not literate	0.692	0.060	-4.22	0.000	0.584	0.821
Employment status (ref. employed)						
retired / other not employed	0.950	0.146	-0.33	0.738	0.702	1.284
Place of living (ref. urban)						
rural	1.126	0.087	1.54	0.124	0.968	1.311
constant	3.497	0.679	6.45	0.000	2.390	5.116

had 43% lower probability of being happy than those aged 60-69 years, never married / divorced had 75% lower probability than married persons and illiterate – 23% lower chances of being happy (than literate) (Table 12).

In 2011 similar situation was observed for literacy and marital status, however age was not a significant predictor. Living in 2-persons household was a positive predictor of being happy (36% higher than living alone) (Table 13). The analysis of two waves proved that the most stable and negative predictors of happiness are not being married and illiteracy. Women and men, despite initial results, do not differ in happiness level.

V. Discussion

In this study, we analysed well-being of older persons in Turkey between 2006 and 2016 using three waves of the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye survey data. Due to multidimensionality of the phenomenon, four dimensions were used to assess the level and differentiation of older persons' well-being: health, income, social participation and subjective well-being. Due to changes in the survey methodology, e.g. different wording of the questions (e.g. self-rated health) or using open or pre-categorized answers (income), a direct comparison of changes in time was not possible. We could however manage to examine groups of older people, who are advantaged (high level of well-being) or disadvantaged (low level of well-being).

The most stable (across years and dimensions) predictor of well-being is literacy. Literate older persons have a higher chance for being healthy, rich, socially engaged and happy. Significant and positive influence of literacy was observed for all indicators analysed (including subjective evaluation of the financial situation) and this has not changed during 10 analysed years. This finding is unique as most of the previous studies

neglected literacy as a variable that affects well-being in old age. Only one cross-sectional study found a positive correlation between quality of life in old age and literacy (Top, Eriş and Kabalcıoğlu, 2013), which is in line with our findings. Similarly, other studies showed that low educational level reduces the quality of life among older people (Akyol, et al. 2010). Given the fact that cohorts moving into old age are more literate than oldest living cohorts, this finding can be considered as a positive outcome for older population in Turkey. This finding also point to the great policy relevance of measures promoting lifelong learning among older persons.

Important predictors are also age and gender, yet not working in all dimensions. Oldest persons are less engaged in social activities and have poor health comparing to people aged 60-69 years, which overlaps with the previous literature (Bilgili and Arpacı, 2014; Top, Eriş and Kabalcıoğlu, 2013). They have also less chances of being rich and happy, however these results are not stable across time (e.g. less happy in 2016, but not in 2011), therefore need further studies. Given the fact that the share of oldest population is on the rise, social and health policies aiming at the well-being of the oldest old is highly recommended.

Gender is another important dimension since older women outnumber older men in terms of their share within the whole older population (9.6 % versus 7.5 % according to the 2018 TurkStat data). Our findings suggest that women are less engaged than men and less often in good health and the situation for these two dimensions has not changed over 10 analysed years. This finding is also in line with the previous studies even though these studies are mainly cross-sectional (Arpacı, Tokyürek and Bilgili, 2015; Bilgili and Arpacı, 2014; Özmete, 2008; Top, Eriş and Kabalcıoğlu, 2013). On the contrary to the aforementioned dimensions, women are in favourable position

(versus men) in case of income situation, however it was not observed in 2011, therefore this finding needs further investigation. Gender has no influence on happiness. These results highlight the importance of keeping a gender-sensitive lens on all issues of the quality of life and well-being of older Turkish population.

Other important predictors, working for selected dimensions, are marital status and household size. Older persons without partners (divorced, widowed) are less happy than married persons. Previous studies also show that marital status is associated with the well-being of older people and single/divorced/widowed older people score less on the well-being scales and subscales (Arpacı, Tokyürek and Bilgili, 2015; Top, Eriş and Kabcıoğlu, 2013). People living in most populous households (3 persons and more) are less socially active than persons living alone, which might be the result of stronger involvement in family activities. On the other hand, persons living with other household members have better chances of being in the top of income distribution. This finding is significant since no other previous studies have employed household size variable as a factor for the well-being of older people. This finding also calls for social inclusion policies that aim to reduce social isolation of single person older households.

Place of living (urban/rural) and employment status might also have an influence on well-being, but the effect of these predictors was limited to specific dimension and point in time, therefore cannot be assessed as a significant determinant for policy actions. Even though place of living has been a significant socio-demographic factor in the Turkish context, with increased urbanisation, the gap between urban and rural settings might be negligible. According to the latest statistics of Turkish Statistical Institute, 92.5% of the whole population lives in urban areas as opposed to 7.5% living in rural areas (TÜİK, 2018). However, given the fact that share of older population (65+) in rural areas is

relatively higher compared to urban settings (15.7% in rural areas as opposed to 8% in the urban setting according to TurkStat 2018 data), further studies should be carried out to evaluate the effect of rural context on the well-being of older people since current studies are very limited (Arslantaş, Ünsal, Metintaş, Koç and Arslantaş, 2009).

VI. Conclusions

Our results do not only present the differences in the level of well-being between various groups of older people, but they also point to specific policy actions. Most important policy recommendation would be to invest in lifelong learning (literacy) as literacy helps to achieve better quality of life in old age across several dimensions. It is quite obvious that education may improve the situation in the labour market, hence material well-being, but it also supports social participation and therefore – health and happiness in old age.

The other policy recommendations include improvement of social engagement of women and direct health policies to support older women. Special attention should also be paid to the oldest old cohorts – health is clearly related to age, which is more of the natural process, but improvement of social participation of persons aged 80 years and over might also help to overcome natural health decline. Our results point also to development of policies aiming at social inclusion older people living alone to overcome loneliness. Further studies should closely observe how rural context affects older persons.

This study serves as an overview of well-being of older persons and support to assess the situation of particular groups of this population. The limitation of this study includes the changes of the methodology of the survey across years, the selection of variables used to create the picture of older persons and transformation of these variables.

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VIII. Appendix

Cross-tabs with Chi² independence test

2006 Self-rated health

Appendix Table 11.1 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Very bad	1.4	2.5	2.0
Bad	10.5	20.1	15.5
Same	16.6	21.3	19.0
Good	57.8	49.4	53.4
Very good	13.8	6.7	10.1
Total(n)	2020	2189	4209

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 147.6970$

Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.2 (%)

Conditio	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
Very bad	1.6	1.3	1.9	3.0	4.4	2.0
Bad	14.2	14.0	16.8	17.0	20.2	15.5
Same	16.5	19.4	20.4	20.9	21.6	19.0
Good	55.5	55.6	51.7	52.2	44.1	53.4
Very good	12.2	9.8	9.3	6.9	9.8	10.1
Total	1348	1075	995	494	297	4209

Pearson $\chi^2(16) = 50.5460$

Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.3 (%)

Conditio	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
Very bad	1.8	2.6	2.1	2.0
Bad	14.2	19.6	12.8	15.5
Same	18.0	21.6	23.4	19.0
Good	55.1	48.5	53.2	53.4
Very good	10.9	7.8	8.5	10.1
Total	3077	1038	94	4209

Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 37.7479$

Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.4 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
Very bad	3.1	2.0	1.7	2.0
Bad	18.6	15.1	15.0	15.5
Same	21.8	17.7	19.6	19.0
Good	48.1	54.3	54.1	53.4
Very good	8.4	10.9	9.7	10.1
Total	522	1810	1877	4209

Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 18.2035$

Pr = 0.020

Appendix Table 11.5 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
Very bad	2.8	1.4	2.0
Bad	22.3	11.2	15.5
Same	21.2	17.7	19.0
Good	48.4	56.6	53.4
Very good	5.3	13.1	10.1
Total	1626	2583	4209

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 168.8138$

Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.6 (%)

	Place of living		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Very bad	1.8	2.1	2.0
Bad	13.4	17.1	15.5
Same	18.0	19.8	19.0
Good	53.6	53.3	53.4
Very good	13.2	7.7	10.1
Total	1820	2389	4209

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 43.5544$

Pr = 0.000

Average Monthly Household Income

Appendix Table 11.7 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Less than 400	20.0	28.4	24.4
401-600	32.1	29.8	30.9
601-800	18.8	15.8	17.2
801-1200	16.9	15.6	16.2
More than 1200	12.2	10.4	11.3
Total	2022	2193	4215
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 41.6529$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.8 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
Less than 400	18.3	22.0	28.8	29.8	36.6	24.4
401-600	27.4	35.3	34.0	27.2	26.9	30.9
601-800	20.4	16.0	15.6	15.3	16.1	17.2
801-1200	20.3	14.6	13.7	16.1	11.7	16.2
More than 1200	13.6	12.2	7.9	11.5	8.7	11.3
Total	1349	1077	995	496	298	4215
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(16) = 127.6183$</i>						
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>						

Appendix Table 11.9 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
Less than 400	19.8	37.4	30.5	24.4
401-600	32.3	27.1	26.3	30.9
601-800	18.7	13.2	12.6	17.2
801-1200	17.2	13.4	12.6	16.2
More than 1200	11.9	8.9	17.9	11.3
Total	3081	1039	95	4215
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 141.1916$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.10 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
Less than 400	53.3	24.9	15.8	24.4
401-600	31.6	37.8	24.1	30.9
601-800	7.5	18.1	19.1	17.2
801-1200	5.2	11.4	23.8	16.2
More than 1200	2.5	7.7	17.2	11.3
Total	522	1812	1881	4215

Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 570.6600$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.11 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
Less than 400	37.0	16.5	24.4
401-600	29.1	32.0	30.9
601-800	13.1	19.8	17.2
801-1200	13.1	18.1	16.2
More than 1200	7.6	13.6	11.3
Total	1628	2587	4215

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 247.6043$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.12 (%)

	Place of living		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Less than 400	15.4	31.2	24.4
401-600	31.3	30.6	30.9
601-800	20.4	14.8	17.2
801-1200	17.3	15.3	16.2
More than 1200	15.6	8.0	11.3
Total	1824	2391	4215

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 180.0129$
Pr = 0.000

Satisfaction with Annual Income

Appendix Table 11.13 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Not satisfied at all	10.7	12.5	11.3
Not satisfied	33.2	32.6	33.0
So-so	35.1	30.7	33.6
Satisfied	19.2	23.1	20.6
Very satisfied	1.7	1.0	1.5
Total	1847	960	2807

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 11.9342$
Pr = 0.018

Appendix Table 11.14 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
Not satisfied at all	12.9	9.7	10.5	13.7	9.1	11.3
Not satisfied	33.6	36.3	32.4	26.3	33.2	33.0
So-so	33.6	34.1	35.4	31.4	30.3	33.6
Satisfied	19.2	18.2	20.9	26.6	23.1	20.6
Very satisfied	0.8	1.7	0.9	2.0	4.3	1.5
Total	861	709	679	350	208	2807

Pearson $\chi^2(16) = 41.8554$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.15 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
Not satisfied at all	11.4	10.9	15.5	11.3
Not satisfied	32.3	35.0	29.6	33.0
So-so	34.8	30.9	32.4	33.6
Satisfied	19.9	22.1	22.5	20.6
Very satisfied	1.7	1.1	0.0	1.5
Total	1939	797	71	2807

Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 8.9528$
Pr = 0.346

Appendix Table 11.16 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
Not satisfied at all	11.8	10.2	12.2	11.3
Not satisfied	29.6	30.0	37.2	33.0
So-so	32.7	36.6	31.1	33.6
Satisfied	24.7	21.2	18.4	20.6
Very satisfied	1.1	2.0	1.1	1.5
Total	449	1155	1203	2807

Appendix Table 11.17 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
Not satisfied at all	14.1	10.2	11.3
Not satisfied	34.8	32.3	33.0
So-so	30.1	35.1	33.6
Satisfied	19.5	21.0	20.6
Very satisfied	1.6	1.4	1.5
Total	822	1985	2807

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 14.2715$

Pr = 0.006

Appendix Table 11.18 (%)

	Place of living		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Not satisfied at all	12.1	10.7	11.3
Not satisfied	33.5	32.7	33.0
So-so	32.0	35.0	33.6
Satisfied	21.2	20.0	20.6
Very satisfied	1.3	1.6	1.5
Total	1285	1522	2807

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 3.9107$

Pr = 0.418

Social Engagement

Appendix Table 11.19 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Do not participate in any activity	20.9	51.2	36.7
Participate in 1 activity	20.6	28.0	24.4
Participate in 2 activities	23.0	9.6	16.0
Participate in 3 activities	18.5	6.1	12.1
Participate in 4 and more activities	17.0	5.2	10.8
Total	2022	2193	4215

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 675.3192$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.20 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
Do not participate in any activity	29.2	32.6	39.8	46.4	58.7	36.7
Participate in 1 activity	21.7	26.2	26.1	25.6	22.5	24.4
Participate in 2 activities	18.7	15.6	15.0	15.3	10.1	16.0
Participate in 3 activities	15.7	13.0	11.5	6.3	3.7	12.1
Participate in 4 and more activities	14.7	12.6	7.6	6.5	5.0	10.8
Total	1349	1077	995	496	298	4215

Pearson $\chi^2(16) = 197.3505$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.21 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
Do not participate in any activity	31.9	51.5	29.5	36.7
Participate in 1 activity	24.5	24.3	23.2	24.4
Participate in 2 activities	17.6	11.5	14.7	16.0
Participate in 3 activities	13.4	7.7	15.8	12.1
Participate in 4 and more activities	12.6	5.1	16.8	10.8
Total	3081	1039	95	4215

Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 166.6688$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.22 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
Do not participate in any activity	44.8	31.5	39.4	36.7
Participate in 1 activity	21.8	25.4	24.1	24.4
Participate in 2 activities	13.0	16.2	16.7	16.0
Participate in 3 activities	12.1	13.9	10.3	12.1
Participate in 4 and more activities	8.2	13.0	9.5	10.8
Total	522	1812	1881	4215

Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 56.2184$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.23 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
Do not participate in any activity	65.2	18.8	36.7
Participate in 1 activity	30.1	20.8	24.4
Participate in 2 activities	3.4	24.0	16.0
Participate in 3 activities	0.6	19.3	12.1
Participate in 4 and more activities	0.7	17.2	10.8
Total	1628	2587	4215

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 1.4e+03$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.24 (%)

	Place of living		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Do not participate in any activity	30.2	41.6	36.7
Participate in 1 activity	22.6	25.8	24.4
Participate in 2 activities	18.9	13.8	16.0
Participate in 3 activities	14.7	10.0	12.1
Participate in 4 and more activities	13.7	8.7	10.8
Total	1824	2391	4215

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 99.3514$
Pr = 0.000

Equivalised Income Quartiles

Appendix Table 11.25 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
1 quartile	23.6	28.1	26.1
2 quartile	23.5	24.4	24.0
3 quartile	25.9	24.6	25.2
4 quartile	26.9	22.9	24.7
Total	2283	2700	4983
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 19.2138$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.26 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
1 quartile	18.9	23.8	28.7	33.7	33.5	26.1
2 quartile	23.0	23.7	24.9	25.0	24.4	24.0
3 quartile	27.3	26.7	24.9	23.0	21.2	25.2
4 quartile	30.8	25.8	21.6	18.4	20.9	24.7
Total	1470	1148	960	697	708	4983
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(12) = 117.1290$</i>						
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>						

Appendix Table 11.27 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
1 quartile	22.5	33.5	32.1	26.1
2 quartile	26.0	20.7	12.4	24.0
3 quartile	26.7	22.6	17.9	25.2
4 quartile	24.7	23.3	37.7	24.7
Total	3351	147	162	4983

Appendix Table 11.28 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
1 quartile	31.5	17.9	32.6	26.1
2 quartile	17.2	24.9	25.1	24.0
3 quartile	30.3	33.3	15.7	25.2
4 quartile	21.1	23.9	26.6	24.7
Total	641	2177	2165	4983

Pearson $\chi^2(6) = 260.5971$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.29 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
1 quartile	43.2	18.5	26.1
2 quartile	26.6	22.9	24.0
3 quartile	19.0	28.0	25.2
4 quartile	11.3	30.6	24.7
Total	1525	3458	4983

Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 446.0546$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.30 (%)

	Employment status		Total
	employed	not employed	
1 quartile	36.0	25.2	26.1
2 quartile	20.4	24.3	24.0
3 quartile	19.1	25.7	25.2
4 quartile	24.5	24.7	24.7
Total	383	4600	4983

Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 24.4160$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.31 (%)

	Place of living		Total
	Urban	Rural	
1 quartile	15.9	41.4	26.1
2 quartile	22.5	26.3	24.0
3 quartile	28.3	20.6	25.2
4 quartile	33.4	11.7	24.7
Total	2998	1985	4983
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 560.8654$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Equivalised Expenditure Quartiles

Appendix Table 11.32 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
1 quartile	22.3	27.8	25.3
2 quartile	26.9	25.8	26.3
3 quartile	22.0	22.9	22.5
4 quartile	28.8	23.5	25.9
Total	2283	2700	4983
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 29.3538$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.33 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
1 quartile	18.4	22.0	27.4	33.3	33.9	25.3
2 quartile	25.9	26.7	28.3	26.0	24.2	26.3
3 quartile	24.4	22.7	21.7	21.1	20.8	22.5
4 quartile	31.4	28.5	22.6	19.7	21.2	25.9
Total	1470	1148	960	697	708	4983
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(12) = 119.7690$</i>						
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>						

Appendix Table 11.34 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
1 quartile	21.7	33.3	27.2	25.3
2 quartile	29.1	20.8	18.5	26.3
3 quartile	21.4	25.0	22.2	22.5
4 quartile	27.8	21.0	32.1	25.9
Total	3351	1470	162	4983
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(6) = 111.9507$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.35 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
1 quartile	36.2	16.9	30.5	25.3
2 quartile	10.5	30.0	27.3	26.3
3 quartile	34.5	21.8	19.7	22.5
4 quartile	18.9	31.3	22.6	25.9
Total	641	2177	2165	4983
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(6) = 283.2146$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.36 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
1 quartile	40.9	18.4	25.3
2 quartile	26.6	26.2	26.3
3 quartile	19.1	24.0	22.5
4 quartile	13.4	31.5	25.9
Total	1525	3458	4983
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 358.0678$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.37 (%)

	Employment status		Total
	employed	not employed	
1 quartile	32.1	24.7	25.3
2 quartile	29.5	26.0	26.3
3 quartile	14.4	23.2	22.5
4 quartile	24.0	26.1	25.9
Total	383	4600	4983
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 22.1025$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.38 (%)

	Place of living		Total
	Urban	Rural	
1 Çeyrek	16.7	38.2	25.3
2 Çeyrek	24.2	29.6	26.3
3 Çeyrek	25.8	17.5	22.5
4 Çeyrek	33.4	14.7	25.9
Total	2998	1985	4983
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 430.7648$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Social Engagement

Appendix Table 11.39 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Do not participate in any activity	4.4	14.1	9.7
Participate in 1 activity	15.9	34.3	25.9
Participate in 2 activities	15.3	22.4	19.2
Participate in 3-4 activities	33.9	18.4	25.5
Participate in 5 and more activities	30.5	10.8	19.9
Total	1804	2131	3935
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 534.2151$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.41 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
Do not participate in any activity	5.9	18.4	10.4	9.7
Participate in 1 activity	22.5	34.1	22.6	25.9
Participate in 2 activities	19.5	19.0	13.9	19.2
Participate in 3-4 activities	28.8	17.6	25.2	25.5
Participate in 5 and more activities	23.3	10.9	27.8	19.9
Total	2679	1141	115	3935
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 279.3097$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.40 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
Do not participate in any activity	5.4	5.8	8.9	13.8	25.4	9.7
Participate in 1 activity	17.0	25.1	27.2	37.4	35.3	25.9
Participate in 2 activities	20.4	19.0	22.1	15.3	15.7	19.2
Participate in 3-4 activities	28.8	26.8	25.7	22.4	17.0	25.5
Participate in 5 and more activities	28.4	23.3	16.1	11.0	6.6	19.9
Total	1216	944	787	535	453	3935
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(16) = 392.3454$</i>						
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>						

Appendix Table 11.42 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
Do not participate in any activity	18.8	5.9	10.5	9.7
Participate in 1 activity	30.6	23.5	26.8	25.9
Participate in 2 activities	17.7	19.0	20.0	19.2
Participate in 3-4 activities	18.8	28.4	24.6	25.5
Participate in 5 and more activities	14.0	23.2	18.0	19.9
Total	627	1861	1447	3935
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 134.9955$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.43 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
Do not participate in any activity	21.8	4.9	9.7
Participate in 1 activity	50.5	16.1	25.9
Participate in 2 activities	23.9	17.3	19.2
Participate in 3-4 activities	3.8	34.0	25.5
Participate in 5 and more activities	0.0	27.7	19.9
Total	1114	2821	3935
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 1.2e+03$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.44 (%)

	Employment status		Total
	employed	not employed	
Do not participate in any activity	3.0	10.2	9.7
Participate in 1 activity	15.5	26.7	25.9
Participate in 2 activities	18.2	19.3	19.2
Participate in 3-4 activities	32.0	24.9	25.5
Participate in 5 and more activities	31.4	18.9	19.9
Total	303	3632	3935
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 56.4155$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.45 (%)

	Place of living		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Do not participate in any activity	6.7	13.9	9.7
Participate in 1 activity	21.6	32.1	25.9
Participate in 2 activities	17.6	21.4	19.2
Participate in 3-4 activities	27.6	22.4	25.5
Participate in 5 and more activities	26.5	10.3	19.9
Total	2329	1606	3935
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 233.3501$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Happiness

Appendix Table 11.46 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Very unhappy	0.7	1.5	1.1
Unhappy	2.7	5.7	4.3
Average	18.5	22.3	20.6
Happy	60.9	58.7	59.7
Very happy	17.2	11.8	14.3
Total	1850	2182	4032

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 56.1140$
Pr = .0000

Appendix Table 11.47 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
Very unhappy	0.8	1.1	1.5	0.7	1.9	1.1
Unhappy	2.7	4.6	5.0	6.2	4.5	4.3
Average	19.7	18.8	19.6	21.9	26.9	20.6
Happy	62.2	61.2	58.6	56.5	55.4	59.7
Very happy	14.6	14.3	15.3	14.6	11.2	14.3
Total	1244	975	802	547	464	4032

Pearson $\chi^2(16) = 38.5026$
Pr = 0.001

Appendix Table 11.48 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
Very unhappy	0.6	2.3	3.4	1.1
Unhappy	2.1	8.2	17.8	4.3
Average	17.4	26.3	39.0	20.6
Happy	62.7	55.2	33.1	59.7
Very happy	17.2	8.0	6.8	14.3
Total	2750	1164	118	4032

Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 276.0116$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.49 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
Very unhappy	3.3	0.5	1.0	1.1
Unhappy	10.6	2.8	3.6	4.3
Average	27.1	17.4	21.9	20.6
Happy	52.1	61.9	60.1	59.7
Very happy	6.9	17.4	13.4	14.3
Total	639	1911	1482	4032
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 174.3963$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.50 (%)

	Literacy		Total	
	No	Yes		
Very unhappy	1.7	0.9	1.1	
Unhappy	6.8	3.3	4.3	
Average	25.1	18.8	20.6	
Happy	58.5	60.2	59.7	
Very happy	7.9	16.9	14.3	
Total	1173	2859	4032	
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 91.7071$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.51 (%)

	Employment status		Total	
	employed	not employed		
Very unhappy	0.6	1.2	1.1	
Unhappy	1.3	4.6	4.3	
Average	18.3	20.8	20.6	
Happy	59.6	59.7	59.7	
Very happy	20.2	13.8	14.3	
Total	312	3720	4032	
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 17.1753$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.002</i>				

Appendix Table 11.52 (%)

	Place of living		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Very unhappy	1.2	1.1	1.1
Unhappy	4.8	3.7	4.3
Average	20.9	20.2	20.6
Happy	57.0	63.5	59.7
Very happy	16.2	11.6	14.3
Total	2371	1661	4032
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 24.3808$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Self-Rated Health

Appendix Table 11.53 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Very bad	3.0	4.1	3.6
Bad	17.5	27.7	23.0
Average	35.1	39.8	37.6
Good	41.4	27.5	33.9
Very good	3.0	0.9	1.9
Total	3785	4433	8218
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 273.1249$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.54 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
Very bad	1.3	1.4	3.4	5.1	12.2	3.6
Bad	14.7	18.7	25.3	31.2	41.2	23.0
Average	34.6	39.7	42.9	39.6	32.4	37.6
Good	46.3	38.0	27.3	23.6	13.7	33.9
Very good	3.1	2.2	1.1	0.5	0.6	1.9
Total	2693	1998	1446	1005	1076	8218
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(16) = 964.4946$</i>						
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>						

Appendix Table 11.55 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
Very bad	2.3	6.8	3.6	3.6
Bad	18.7	34.3	20.9	23.0
Average	36.9	39.3	38.1	37.6
Good	39.7	19.0	35.5	33.9
Very good	2.3	0.7	2.0	1.9
Total	5679	2232	307	8218

Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 489.8114$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.56 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
Very bad	4.7	1.1	1.2	2.1
Bad	32.2	18.9	17.9	22.3
Average	39.0	36.9	38.6	37.9
Good	22.9	40.3	38.8	35.1
Very good	1.2	2.8	3.6	2.6
Total	1133	1982	1006	4121

Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 198.3439$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.57 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
Very bad	6.3	4.0	5.7
Bad	36.1	26.6	33.3
Average	38.7	41.8	39.6
Good	18.4	26.8	20.9
Very good	0.5	0.8	0.6
Total	2443	1010	3453

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 53.3333$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.58 (%)

	Employment status		Total
	employed	not employed	
Very bad	0.3	2.4	2.1
Bad	10.8	23.8	22.1
Average	37.5	38.8	38.7
Good	47.4	33.2	35.1
Very good	3.9	1.7	2.0
Total	941	6040	6981

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 147.0157$
Pr = 0.000

Limitation in Daily Activities

Appendix Table 11.59 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Severely restricted	30.2	32.1	31.3
Restricted but not severely	52.1	55.3	54.0
Not restricted	17.7	12.6	14.6
Total	1805	2729	4534

Pearson $\chi^2(2) = 21.9999$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.60 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
Severely restricted	21.5	25.4	29.8	34.8	53.0	31.3
Restricted but not severely	57.8	58.7	54.5	54.1	41.7	54.0
Not restricted	20.7	15.9	15.7	11.1	5.3	14.6
Total	1232	1012	865	632	793	4534

Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 285.8174$
Pr = 0.000

Appendix Table 11.61 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
Severely restricted	27.3	38.8	32.5	31.3
Restricted but not severely	55.6	51.0	54.3	54.0
Not restricted	17.1	10.2	13.3	14.6
Total	2873	151	151	4534
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 77.6563$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.62 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
Severely restricted	34.2	23.6	23.7	27.1
Restricted but not severely	54.3	58.2	59.8	57.3
Not restricted	11.5	18.2	16.5	15.6
Total	725	999	502	2226
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 34.5272$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.63 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
Severely restricted	38.5	30.3	36.3
Restricted but not severely	53.1	58.5	54.6
Not restricted	8.4	11.2	9.2
Total	1648	607	2255
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(2) = 14.2041$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.001</i>			

Appendix Table 11.64 (%)

	Employment status		Total
	employed	not employed	
Severely restricted	12.8	29.1	27.4
Restricted but not severely	62.8	56.5	57.2
Not restricted	24.4	14.5	15.5
Total	398	3401	3799
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(2) = 59.3913$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Equivalised Income Quartiles

Appendix Table 11.65 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
1 quartile	20.3	29.1	24.3
2 quartile	24.8	27.0	25.8
3 quartile	27.8	22.1	25.2
4 quartile	27.1	21.8	24.7
Total	223	1891	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 60.0496$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.66 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
1 quartile	17.4	20.6	26.7	30.7	41.0	24.3
2 quartile	22.7	27.3	26.2	29.2	27.2	25.8
3 quartile	28.5	26.4	24.9	22.0	17.0	25.2
4 quartile	31.4	25.6	22.3	18.2	14.9	24.7
Total	1307	1061	764	518	471	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(12) = 178.5056$</i>						
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>						

Appendix Table 11.67 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
1 quartile	20.1	32.5	26.5	24.3
2 quartile	26.5	26.8	11.9	25.8
3 quartile	26.6	21.9	27.4	25.2
4 quartile	26.8	18.8	34.3	24.7
Total	2611	1291	219	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(6) = 111.8441$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.68 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
1 quartile	34.0	18.3	25.4	24.3
2 quartile	27.2	31.2	13.8	25.8
3 quartile	21.6	25.6	28.2	25.2
4 quartile	17.2	24.9	32.6	24.7
Total	1133	1982	1006	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(6) = 213.0470$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.69 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
	48.2	33.1	43.3
1 quartile	30.0	34.3	31.4
2 quartile	14.6	22.0	17.0
3 quartile	7.2	10.6	8.3
4 quartile	984	472	1456
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 33.4040$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.70 (%)

	Employment status		Total
	employed	not employed	
1 quartile	19.6	25.1	24.3
2 quartile	18.7	26.9	25.8
3 quartile	27.5	24.8	25.2
4 quartile	34.1	23.2	24.7
Total	545	3576	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 42.3163$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Equivalised Expenditure Quartiles

Appendix Table 11.71 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
1 quartile	18.3	27.2	22.4
2 quartile	25.0	27.8	26.3
3 quartile	29.3	22.7	26.3
4 quartile	27.4	22.3	25.0
Total	223	1891	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 65.6739$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.72 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
1 quartile	15.5	18.9	24.0	26.5	42.5	22.4
2 quartile	22.2	26.2	28.0	34.2	26.3	26.3
3 quartile	29.2	29.7	25.7	20.3	18.1	26.3
4 quartile	33.1	25.3	22.4	19.1	13.2	25.0
Total	1307	1061	764	518	471	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(12) = 242.1017$</i>						
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>						

Appendix Table 11.73 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
1 quartile	16.9	33.2	25.1	22.4
2 quartile	26.9	27.0	15.5	26.3
3 quartile	28.5	21.9	25.1	26.3
4 quartile	27.8	18.0	34.3	25.0
Total	2611	1291	219	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(6) = 168.8544$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.74 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
1 quartile	35.8	14.4	23.1	22.4
2 quartile	27.2	28.6	20.8	26.3
3 quartile	20.8	30.3	24.5	26.3
4 quartile	16.2	26.7	31.7	25.0
Total	1133	1982	1006	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(6) = 243.8442$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.75 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
1 quartile	46.5	29.2	40.9
2 quartile	31.4	36.4	33.0
3 quartile	15.0	23.3	17.7
4 quartile	7.0	11.0	8.3
Total	984	472	1456
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 44.2455$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.76 (%)

	Employment status		Total
	employed	not employed	
1 quartile	19.6	22.8	22.4
2 quartile	18.9	27.4	26.3
3 quartile	27.7	26.1	26.3
4 quartile	33.8	23.7	25.0
Total	545	3576	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 34.7148$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Budget Meeting Household Needs

Appendix Table 11.77 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Very hardly	6.7	7.9	7.3
Hardly	29.8	33.7	31.6
So-so	37.0	36.6	36.8
Easily	23.8	20.4	22.2
Very easily	2.7	1.4	2.1
Total	2230	1891	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 21.3683$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.78 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
Very hardly	7.4	7.5	6.0	7.1	8.5	7.3
Hardly	33.9	29.9	29.7	29.5	34.2	31.6
So-so	38.1	38.0	38.7	35.1	29.5	36.8
Easily	18.6	22.6	23.0	26.8	25.1	22.2
Very easily	2.1	2.0	2.5	1.4	2.8	2.1
Total	1307	1061	764	518	471	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(16) = 35.1143$</i>						
<i>Pr = 0.004</i>						

Appendix Table 11.79 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
Very hardly	6.3	8.1	13.2	7.3
Hardly	30.5	33.6	32.9	31.6
So-so	39.5	31.9	34.3	36.8
Easily	21.4	24.5	18.7	22.2
Very easily	2.3	1.9	0.9	2.1
Total	2611	1291	219	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 39.5284$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.80 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
Very hardly	9.3	5.6	8.4	7.3
Hardly	30.6	29.7	36.4	31.6
So-so	32.1	39.6	36.7	36.8
Easily	26.2	22.6	17.1	22.2
Very easily	1.8	2.6	1.5	2.1
Total	1133	1982	1006	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 61.9001$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.81 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
Very hardly	10.7	7.6	9.7
Hardly	40.0	33.5	37.9
So-so	32.4	37.1	33.9
Easily	16.4	20.8	17.8
Very easily	0.5	1.1	0.7
Total	984	472	1456
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 13.6026$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.009</i>			

Appendix Table 11.82 (%)

	Employment status		Total
	employed	not employed	
Very hardly	5.5	7.5	7.3
Hardly	26.2	32.4	31.6
So-so	39.1	36.5	36.8
Easily	25.9	21.7	22.2
Very easily	3.3	1.9	2.1
Total	545	3576	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 17.1457$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.002</i>			

Social Engagement

Appendix Table 11.83 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
do not participate in activity	36.8	54.6	46.6
participate in 1 activity	28.5	30.3	29.5
participate in 2 activities	18.9	8.8	13.3
participate in 3 and more activities	15.8	6.3	10.6
Total	3123	3858	6981
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 395.4660$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.84 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
do not participate in activity	39.4	44.1	48.1	53.2	64.2	46.6
participate in 1 activity	29.8	30.1	30.6	29.3	25.5	29.5
participate in 2 activities	16.7	15.1	10.4	10.5	7.0	13.3
participate in 3 and more activities	14.1	10.7	10.8	7.1	3.3	10.6
Total	234	1764	1238	848	791	6981
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(12) = 232.6877$</i>						
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>						

Appendix Table 11.85 (%)

	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
do not participate in activity	43.7	55.6	37.1	46.6
participate in 1 activity	29.5	30.1	24.1	29.5
participate in 2 activities	15.0	8.6	16.2	13.3
participate in 3 and more activities	11.7	5.7	22.7	10.6
Total	4841	1862	278	6981
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(6) = 179.0029$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.86 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
do not participate in activity	50.1	38.9	44.5	43.4
participate in 1 activity	30.5	30.0	26.4	29.3
participate in 2 activities	9.9	16.0	17.4	14.7
participate in 3 and more activities	9.5	15.0	11.6	12.7
Total	1133	1982	1006	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(6) = 68.7566$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.87 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
do not participate in activity	70.9	54.2	65.9
participate in 1 activity	26.1	34.3	28.5
participate in 2 activities	2.7	7.9	4.2
participate in 3 and more activities	0.4	3.6	1.3
Total	1986	845	2831
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 124.2370$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.88 (%)

	Employment status		Total
	employed	not employed	
do not participate in activity	41.6	47.4	46.6
participate in 1 activity	29.0	29.6	29.5
participate in 2 activities	16.3	12.9	13.3
participate in 3 and more activities	13.2	10.2	10.6
Total	941	604	6981
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(3) = 20.1300$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Happiness

Appendix Table 11.89 (%)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Very unhappy	0.6	0.9	0.8
Unhappy	3.3	4.8	4.1
Average	19.2	23.0	21.3
Happy	64.9	62.9	63.8
Very happy	12.0	8.4	10.0
Total	3123	3858	6981
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 46.9345$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

Appendix Table 11.90 (%)

	Age groups					Total
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80 years and more	
Very unhappy	0.8	1.1	0.5	0.4	1.0	0.8
Unhappy	4.0	3.7	3.9	4.0	5.8	4.1
Average	21.8	19.7	20.0	20.4	26.2	21.3
Happy	61.7	64.7	66.4	66.2	61.3	63.8
Very happy	11.7	10.8	9.2	9.1	5.7	10.0
Total	234	1764	1238	848	791	6981
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(16) = 53.6324$</i>						
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>						

Appendix Table 11.91 (%)

Mood	Marital status			Total
	married	widowed	never married / divorced	
Very unhappy	0.5	1.2	3.2	0.8
Unhappy	2.4	7.0	13.7	4.1
Average	18.7	26.4	32.7	21.3
Happy	66.4	59.9	44.6	63.8
Very happy	12.0	5.5	5.8	10.0
Total	4841	1862	278	6981
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 307.5357$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.92 (%)

	Household size			Total
	1 person	2 persons	3 and more persons	
Very unhappy	1.9	0.6	0.8	1.0
Unhappy	9.2	3.0	3.7	4.9
Average	27.5	19.6	22.0	22.4
Happy	56.1	63.9	63.1	61.5
Very happy	5.4	12.9	10.4	10.2
Total	1133	1982	1006	4121
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(8) = 139.9287$</i>				
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>				

Appendix Table 11.93 (%)

	Literacy		Total
	No	Yes	
Very unhappy	1.0	0.7	0.9
Unhappy	5.7	4.5	5.3
Average	23.3	20.1	22.3
Happy	64.8	66.4	65.2
Very happy	5.3	8.3	6.2
Total	1986	845	2831
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 13.6330$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.009</i>			

Appendix Table 11.94 (%)

	Employment status		Total
	employed	not employed	
Very unhappy	0.3	0.9	0.8
Unhappy	2.4	4.4	4.1
Average	17.2	21.9	21.3
Happy	68.3	63.1	63.8
Very happy	11.7	9.8	10.0
Total	941	604	6981
<i>Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 25.2635$</i>			
<i>Pr = 0.000</i>			

