

RESEARCH ON FAMILY STRUCTURE IN TÜRKİYE FINDINGS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS



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**THE MINISTRY OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL POLICIES
GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF FAMILY AND COMMUNITY SERVICES**

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FAMILY STRUCTURE IN TÜRKİYE
FINDINGS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

T.R. Ministry of Family and Social Policies
General Directorate of Family and Community Services

Research on Family Structure in Türkiye: Findings, and
Recommendations

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PREFACE

As an institution that guides peoples' lives and enables the continuity of societies, through which value judgments and behaviors are shaped and handed down from generations to generations, family stands as an important subject matter of research in the field of social sciences.

A closer understanding of family as a social institution is essential in comprehending the lifestyle of society and individuals. In all life stages, from mother's womb to babyhood, from babyhood to childhood and to adolescence and further to adulthood and old ages, an individual builds her/his relations with other actors in the social network based on their family relations in many different ways. In this context, familial relations play a very important role for steady social life.

Individuals and families may, from time to time, fail to put their inherent ability to solve problems into action in the face of fast social change. Particularly at times of crisis and painful social transformation, research on family problems and perceptions becomes evidently necessary in forming a better insight of the problems of families and individuals and to cope with the resulting problems more effectively.

Research on Family Structure in Türkiye has been conducted by our Ministry and is repeated every five years as a part of Official Statistics Program. I am happy to present this study done in 2006 and 2011 to alleviate the scarcity of data and information resulting from the dearth of such representative research on family across Turkey, along with the detailed analysis of other research on similar topics, on behalf of my Ministry to the attention of all parties conducting studies on the family.

I wish such research studies will grow in number to become one of our basic sources of knowledge as a basis of social policies and thank everyone who put their efforts into this study.

Ayşenur İSLAM
Minister

INTRODUCTION

The fast process of social transformation that the world and Türkiye undergo does not only induce the society to understand important social institutions such as law, health, education and culture, but it also forces us to have a scientific understanding of family as a basic institution that sets the relations between these institutions.

It can be concluded that one of the most important common grounds of social sciences is the quest for establishing and understanding factors that drive social change as well as the structural change that the addressees of such social change undergo. Family is a rare institution that both acts as a driver of change and as an object of such change itself to the same extent. Family has quite a dynamic nature for setting the static perspectives that shape the life of the individual as well as for its problem-solving capacity which protects itself and its members in cases of crisis or transformation.

I hold the perspective that understanding family typologies along with the changes in roles and status within intra-familial relations throughout social transformation processes is one of the main starting points for revealing the ability of the individual and the family to resist and adapt to change.

The structure of the family that embodies both static and dynamic nature at the same time forces the institutions of the state related with research and social policies to set down structural evaluations based on family when shaping and implementing social policies.

In this context, Our General Directorate realized the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye for the first time in 2006 as a study which was agreed to conduct regularly. In 2011 too, this research was repeated. Here, the 2013 analysis of both studies together with the Population and Health Studies in Turkey to show the journey of the transformation of the family in Turkey are offered. Thus, we thank those who contributed to the submission of the study at the disposal of relevant institutions by revising it.

With my wishes that this study paves the way to new ideas for prospective researches and benefits social policy makers...

Ömer BOZOĞLU
General Manager

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The number of studies that directly focus on family theme through representative sampling is pretty small in Türkiye, and therefore the need for scientific data in this field is quite vast. Within this framework, we owe our thanks to everyone who contributed to this study that purports to meet this need.

This important study was made real by the valuable directors, experts and staff of General Directorate of Family and Community Services. We would like to thank all the staff working for the preparation of questionnaires, literature review and report preparation,

To the staff of Directorate of Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) who did the sampling, provided support in terms of weighing and calibration and maximized the data quality and reliability of the research with their experiences in preparatory work,

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ABBREVIATIONS

EU	European Union
ADNKS	Adress-based Population Registration System
UN	United Nations
ASAGEM	General Directorate of Family and Social Research
Ca	Index of Induced Abortion
Cc	Index of Contraception
Ci	Index Of Postpartum Infecundability
Cm	Index of Marriage
SPO	State Planning Organization
HÜNEE	Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
IUD	Intrauterine Device
NUTS	Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics
MERNİS	Central Registration Administration System
NVI	General Directorate of Population and Citizenship Affairs
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
SES	Socioeconomic Status
SGK	Social Security Institution
SHARE	The Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe
SODES	Social Support Programme
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TAYA	Research on Family Structure in Türkiye
TF	Total Fecundity Rate
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
TN	Total Natural Marital Fertility Rate
TNSA	Turkey Demographic and Health Survey
TÜRKSTAT	Turkish Statistical Institute
TÜSİAD	Turkish Industry and Business Association

INTRODUCTION

Using data from Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (TAYA) conducted by the Directorate of Family and Social Research (ASAGEM) in 2006 and 2011, the fundamental purpose of "TAYA Findings and Recommendations" is to examine the transformation of family structure in Türkiye and discuss the factors that facilitate this transformation. The study is comprised of a total of nine articles that analyze family structure in Türkiye under the headings "Change in Family Structure," "Relative and Neighbor Relationships," "Old Age," "Marriage," "Fertility," "Divorce," "Gender Roles," "Relationship Between Parents and Children", and "Social Activities in the Family". Each one of these articles have been written by our esteemed academics who have accomplished important work in this field. With Prof. Dr. İsmet Koç, Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar and Dr. İdil Aybars providing academic consulting and writing articles, Prof. Dr. Ferhunde Özbay, Asst. Prof. Mehmet Ali Eryurt and Asst. Prof. Dr. Alanur Çavlin were also instrumental to the success of the study with the articles they contributed.

Prof. Dr. İsmet Koç's "*Change in Family Structure in Türkiye: 1968-2011*" article examines the change in family structure in Türkiye over the last 40-45 years. The analysis utilizes the nine demographic studies completed in Türkiye between 1968-2008 and data from the studies on Family Structure in Türkiye carried out in 2006 and 2011. The results of the analysis demonstrate that the trends brought on by the socioeconomic transformation of Türkiye are ongoing; including the nuclearization of the family and the dissolution of the extended family, especially that of the patriarchal extended family. In parallel with this transformation is the increase in broken families in Türkiye, especially after the 1990's with the rapid rise of one-person and single parent family structures. The rapid growth of the broken family has slowed down the nuclearization process of the family structure, even made it regress. When examined in greater detail, as one of the sub-families that comprise the nuclear family structure in Türkiye, the nuclear family without children is growing at a faster rate than nuclear families with children; within nuclear families with children on the other hand, the

decline of fertility rates in Türkiye has brought about an increase in the number of such families with just one or two children; there has been a serious decline in the number of families with three or more children. In recent years the dissolution of the patriarchal family has risen, and there is an upward trend in the transient extended families, which are nuclear families with additional members. When focusing on the transformation observed in the past 45-50 years, it is predicted that the dissolution of the extended family will continue and these will transition into nuclear and broken family structures. Another prediction that can be deduced from the current trend will be that with the increase in divorce rates, some of the nuclear family structures will transition into one-person and single parent broken family structures. In order to monitor and evaluate the transition in family structures in Türkiye, its consequences and the structural and ideational factors behind this transformation, a series of family studies designed by a panel of experts needs to be started.

In her article "*Relative and Neighbor Relationships*," Prof. Dr. Ferhunde Özbay examines the general characteristics of individuals' family members and types of relatives as well as individuals living in different household types in Türkiye. The article aims to create a foundation for discussions on the share of the state and the family to meet the needs of destitute individuals. The analysis illustrates that kinship relations are important across Türkiye but on the other hand also points to how, as a society that has reached the final stages of demographic transition, it is experiencing its final days of kinship wealth. Postulating that adults over 25, who are mostly married, and especially those between the ages of 25-44 are the most blessed in terms of family and relatives and that as age rises, the number of relatives one has falls. This article is notable for identifying relatives over 18 living in extended families for the first time in Türkiye. The article has determined that a very large proportion of individuals in the 2006 and 2011 period were "family members" of the head of the household's nuclear family; that the percentage of relatives in the household was very low and exhibited a decreasing trend from 2006 to 2011. During this 5 year period,

the percentage of individuals living by themselves had a comparable percentage. Both the relatives living with the household and the ones living by themselves were comprised mostly of elderly women and to a lesser degree single, young men. From here the analysis points out the necessity of separating individuals in need into certain categories such as elderly living by themselves, women busy with the care of children and elderly in "families missing members" or middle aged women, and create services to meet their needs. It recommends the creation of programs for the health, shelter, personal care and livelihood of elderly living by themselves away from close relatives; organization of services such as nurseries and daytime nursing homes/at-home caregiving services for the very old/ill to lighten the load of women in single parent households; preparation of educational programs aimed at men to encourage the equitable division of responsibilities in order to assist women whose responsibilities grow with the increase in elderly population.

In "*Elderly Population in Türkiye and Preferences for Old Age*," Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Ali Eryurt presents the profile and transformation of the elderly population in Türkiye as well as the preferences of adults between the ages of 18-60 for their old age. And so, with the decline in fertility rate and the rise in average life expectancy, the elderly population has been steadily climbing, and is expected to rise to a level rivaling those of many European countries. Eryurt states that the development of social policies should start today, otherwise problems in many areas such as the social security system and health are prone to appear. Eryurt points out that with the rise in the elderly population, there will be a rise in the number of individuals that individuals at working age will be responsible for, upsetting the balance between active social security beneficiaries and retirees. Chronic medical conditions will also rise with the rising elderly population and this will reflect on health expenditures. It shows that three fourths of the elderly people live in lower middle class and lower class. Therefore, to develop economic and social policies for the elderly population, there is a need for a comprehensive research on "The Status and Needs of the Elderly in Türkiye", covering areas such as their profile, social, economic and psychological needs and health issues. Today, the size of the house-

hold is shrinking, there is a transition from the extended family into the nuclear family and the urban population is rising, therefore preferences for old age take on a new importance. The article demonstrates that among urban individuals with a higher educational level and socioeconomic status, the percentage of those who report they want to go to a nursing home or receive home health care in their old age is higher. From this point, the importance of developing and extending services for home health care and institutional care facilities within the cities and areas where elderly people live becomes very important.

Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar looked deeper into "*Marriage in Türkiye*", and analyzed the differentiating marriage practices and views on marriage by region, income level, education and other variables. The article is based on the analysis of Research on Family Structure Türkiye studies conducted in 2006 and 2011 on the attitudes, views and ideals on marriage. It shows that Türkiye is currently undergoing a transformation of attitudes concerning marriage. While the percentage of individuals who never married and divorced people are rising, the age at first marriage continues to rise with the contribution of the change in expectations from marriage and increases in educational and income levels. The article draws our attention to the fact that despite this transformation, traditional values and the importance of marriage still exists in Türkiye. Another important topic is how marriage practices, relationships between spouses and ideals on marriage are affected by education, income and regional differences. The article which looks at the current popular issue, the "child bride" phenomenon in Türkiye, and examines the marriages of individuals under 18, points to the necessity and importance of creating awareness campaigns on the negative effects caused by the marriage of underage male and female children on individual, family and social issues across all segments of Türkiye. Attention is also drawn to marriages made without the consent of the individual and the importance of awareness campaigns for both men and women on individual rights was emphasized. The article which touches upon the problems experienced in the marriage and looks at the reactions given by spouses to such situations, demonstrates that as the educational level rises, individuals react in a manner that give themselves and their spouses the chance to evaluate the situation

while as the educational level drops, these reactions become more spontaneous and violent. On the other hand, she points to the fact that when problems are experienced in the family, the percentage of individuals who think of getting help from professionals or institutions is very low, especially among the low income, low education individuals who think they can get help from no one therefore making the offering of professional and institutional support directed at such individuals and creating awareness campaigns on the subject even more important.

The other article from Prof. Dr. İsmet Koç, “*Change in Birth Rates and Patterns in Türkiye*”, focused on the demographic transformation of the family structure in Türkiye and pinpointed the factors affecting this change. In this study, where the data from demographic research conducted in Türkiye during the period of 1968-2008 and TAYA 2006 and 2011 data, besides descriptive analyses, a multivariable statistical analysis method called the Poisson Regression technique was used to find the socioeconomic factors acting upon birth rates. Moreover, to demonstrate the intervening variables, an analytical method developed by Bongaarts called Intervening Variable Model was also used in the study. The results show that birth rates in Türkiye are directly dependent on the region and area of residence, educational level, work status and household prosperity. The Bongaarts model on the other hand, shows that over time, factors effective on birth rate in Türkiye is transitioning from biological factors such as breast feeding and post-pregnancy transient infertility towards demographic factors such as the usage of birth control methods and delaying marriages. The TNSA 2008 results, demonstrate 67% of the decrease in birth rates comes from the use of birth control methods, 24% comes from the rise in the age at first marriage and the 9% comes from abortions, breastfeeding and post-pregnancy transient infertility. These results show that in Türkiye, the decrease in birth rates will continue with the change in socioeconomic factors such as urbanization, the rise in education and income level on one hand, and on the other, with the change in demographic factors such as the rise in the usage of birth control methods and the rise in age at first marriage. The results obtained from this study show that total fertility rate in Türkiye will gradually decrease and will drop to 1.69 by 2050. This drop

points to a serious demographic crisis that will soon start affecting health, social security and labor sectors in Türkiye. For this reason, taking the lessons learned from the experiences of countries that have gone through this transformation before to heart, Türkiye needs to take the necessary measures as soon as possible.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Alanur Çavlin in her article on “*Divorce in Türkiye*” looks at the divorce level in Türkiye, the characteristics of marriages that end in divorce, the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of divorced individuals, reasons for divorce and situations and attitudes that may contribute to the reason for divorce. The study shows that divorce rates are low in Türkiye, however in the five year period between 2006 and 2011 divorce rates rose by a small number. In her article, Çavlin points out that divorces are concentrated at the first years of marriage and factors such as the duration of the marriage and the number of children reduces the probability of a divorce. Consequently, she stresses the fact that although divorce rates are low in Türkiye, the rise in these rates will continue to grow in the near future and the creation of social policies directed both at the parents and children during and after divorce to allow divorced individuals and their children to rebuild their individual and family lives is imperative. The article which underlines the fact that during this process, there is a need for mechanisms that will support individuals legally, psychosocially and financially, again emphasizes the need for policies to raise the awareness of individuals on their rights and responsibilities during the divorce process, to financially support the parent who has the custody of the children and lives with the children and to preserve and maintain the relationship between the children and the parent living apart.

Dr. Ayşe İdil Aybars, in her article on the “*Relationship between Parents and Children*” looks at this relationship from three different dimensions: expectations from and views on children, problems experienced with children and punishments given. The article finds that although the economic value attributed to children is relatively lesser among younger parents, it is still high across all groups. On the other hand, the social value attributed to children seems to be relatively high. On the subject of expectations from

children and relationships with children, there is no significant transformation in the five years between 2006 and 2011. As policy suggestions, Aybars proposed measures to develop institutional mechanisms to support the family especially psychologically, to establish family counseling centers, to create education and counseling programs on child rearing for parents from disadvantaged segments of the society, to popularize educational and counseling services in schools and to establish cooperation and coordination between institutions and programs working for the family.

Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar's other article "*Gender and the Family*" looks at the attitudes towards gender roles in the family, the work status of women, views on women working outside the home and the property ownership of women. In her article, Beşpınar arrives at the conclusion that all these subjects are directly related to each other and are arranged according to traditional gender roles. The care giving and housework responsibilities of women prohibit them from participating in the work force, thus excluding them from participation in the decision making mechanisms in the family. The fact that the great majority of women are housewives in Türkiye, also contributes to their economic dependency on men. On the other hand, as the educational and income level of women rises, they participate in the work force more, live in households where the division of chores are more egalitarian and take on more active roles in the decision making processes of the family. In the article where the traditional gender roles and conservative values are compared between the eastern and western regions, it was found that in western regions, more egalitarian values and attitudes were encountered. As a result, Dr. Beşpınar advises social policies such as diversifying accessible, quality and free child care services to meet the different needs of the children, parents and regions, making priority improvements on vocational education programs directed at women, bringing flexible work schedules and social security to workplaces, maintaining women's job security after giving birth and increasing the duration of the leave after birth for the father and creating awareness campaigns on family models where the partners have equal roles in participation

in social life, responsibilities around the home and decision making mechanisms

Dr. Ayşe İdil Aybars, in her article "*Social Activities in the Family*", looks at the social activities in the family, leisure time activities and socialization practices. In the article, she shows that social activities in the family not only covers the leisure time activities of individuals and their social relationships, but also provides clues on inequalities in the society and the cycle of social exclusion. It is observed that the disadvantaged segments in Türkiye are faced with a serious social exclusion problem alongside the usual income poverty problems resulting from income distribution inequalities. The segment with the lowest social participation are found to be individuals and especially women with a low income level, who do not have sufficient access to education opportunities, are more advanced in age, and are living in underdeveloped regions and in rural areas. Starting from this point, the need to extend active labor market policies especially to these segments is emphasized. The popularization of care services, development of cultural and athletic, as well as socialization opportunities and the elimination of transportation problems are recommended. Especially in the disadvantaged regions of large cities, accessible and free playgrounds for children, daycare centers, study centers, and providing other social activity opportunities will help children in acquiring different interest areas and with their socialization process as well as lightening the care load of mothers allowing them to participate more in economic and social life. The article also points to the importance of developing mechanisms to allow individuals to participate in local decision making processes to strengthen their participation in social life.

We would like to extend our thanks to our managers who never failed us in their support, to our professors who enriched this study with their labor and made it possible for us to finish the work on this project in a relatively short time span of ten months.

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Section 1

CHANGE IN FAMILY STRUCTURE IN TÜRKİYE: 1968-2011

Prof. Dr. İsmet Koç



Introduction

Data Source and Methodology

Conceptual Framework

Analysis

Result and Social Policy Recommendations

1. 1. Introduction

The sociodemographic and economic transformation encountered in Türkiye starting from the end of the XIXth century, has resulted in changes in the family structure and the emergence of different family models. The functions of traditional families have slowly disappeared during this process and families suited to the new life styles brought about by modernity appeared and started to gain more importance in social life (Özbay, 1985; Duben, 1985; Duben and Behar, 1998). In this period during which instead of a single and linear modernization process multiple and non-linear modernization trends were also encountered, the sociodemographic structure in Türkiye also went through important changes as with different locations around the world. During this process affecting the changes in family structure in Türkiye, variations in the numerical reach of the population, its structure, population distribution by location, sectoral distribution, level of birth rates, birth norms, life expectancy at birth, its characteristics specific to the family institution and marriage, the social status of women, the structure of the social security system and maybe more importantly the mentality of the society have gone through important changes that resulted in the transformation of the family structure.

When changes in the population structure are examined closely, it was seen that over time, Türkiye changed from a young population structure into and old population structure. The population aged 15 and below that made up of 40% of the total population in the 1950s, has regressed to 25% today. The older, that is age 65 and over, population on the other hand, rose from 3% to about 7% during the same time frame. A serious transformation in the distribution of population by areas of residence resulting in rapid urbanization was observed. 75% of the population that lived in rural areas in the 1950s now lives in urban areas. Similar changes are also true in the distribution of population by regions. While the regions where the majority of the rural population lived in the 1950s had the bulk of the total population, today, regions with large metropolitan areas house the majority of the

population. During this period, the sectoral distribution of labor has manifested itself in the gradual fall in the importance of the agricultural sector and the rise in industry, especially in the services sector. The decrease in birth rates per woman and its gradual retreat to the replacement rate of 2.1, is another major change that occurred during this period. Parallel to this change, other key changes in the age structure of fertility were observed with the majority of births shifting from the 20-24 age group to the 25-29 group (Koç et al., 2010). The decrease in the number of desired children taking place concurrently with the fall in birth rates, gives us clues on the future demographic plans of the society. Between 1960s until the 1970s, while there was an important wide gap of two to three children between observed rates of birth and the desired number of children, starting from the 1990s this gap has started to shrink. The TNSA 2008 study shows that the difference between actual birth rates (2.1) and desired births (2.4) has fallen to a minimum. This shows that couples are more decisive about the number of children they want to have and fewer children in the family has been established as the norm over time. Another development in support of these findings is the observation that couples from generations born in 1980 and before, 68% declared three or four children as the ideal number of children, however, this rate has fallen to 37% among couples born in 1990 or later (Eryurt, Canpolat and Koç, 2013).

Another factor that is one of the causes of the structural change in the Turkish family, is the shift seen in the characteristics of the establishment of the marriage institution (marriage age, kind of marriage, marriage decision, marriage between relatives etc.) over time. The results of demographic research in Türkiye show that the first age of marriage for women was 16 before 1970 and before, however, this age rose to 24 in the year 2000 and later. In Türkiye where the age of first marriage rises rapidly in urban and rural areas and in all regions, the rates of marriage only by religious ceremony, women married against their will and the rate of women getting married to a close relative are falling swiftly as a result of the fast sociodemographic and

economic transformation. In societies like Türkiye where having children and living as part of an extended family is seen as security, the enlargement of the scope of social security had a transformational effect on the family structure. From this point of view, while the percentage of individuals covered by social security was 65% at the beginning of the 2000s, this percentage rose to 83% by 2012 (Ministry of Development, 2013). Another demographic development Türkiye experienced is the major increase in life expectancy at birth because of the improvements recorded in health conditions and hygiene and the wider scope of health insurance. Life expectancy at birth, a determinant process of the life span and the resulting composition of families, has lengthened by seven years for women in the last 40 years and by five years for men ultimately rising to 81 and 78 years respectively (Koç et al., 2010).

With internal migrations gaining speed in the 1950s in Türkiye, the share of industrial and service sectors mostly organized in urban areas increased in overall production and the role of education to find a job in these sectors became more important. This situation caused a differentiation between the practices of forming a family between urban and rural areas. In the formation of families, the level of education and especially the ownership of real estate became important and as a result, the process of choosing a spouse lengthened. Especially in urban areas, as a result of postponing marriage, the age of first marriage rose rapidly (Duben and Behar, 1998; Duben, 1985; Shorter and Macura, 1982; TurkStat, 1995). This demographic development has turned into a factor that extends the natural life of nuclear families with children that exerts an effect on the transformation of the Turkish family structure as a result. In the process of internal migration the pattern of female labor force shifting from agriculture into industrial and service sectors and the rising levels of education are other supporting elements of this progression. Women now living mostly in urban areas increased their education levels and had opportunities to find paying jobs which made them more economically independent, resulting in postponing marriage thus lengthening the process of forming a family; increased the time span between

marriage and having children; ultimately speeded up divorces and contributed to the dissolution of the family thus furthering the transformation of family structure. During the modernization process in Türkiye, the increase of per capita income to seven thousand dollars in the 2000s and fifteen thousand dollars in 2010 has resulted in the rapid adoption of western life styles especially among the younger generation. This resulted in broken family models such as one person and single parent households normally seen in the second stage of demographic transformation in many West European countries to emerge during the first stage of demographic transformation in our country (Koç et al., 2010).

These socioeconomic and demographic changes experienced in Türkiye for the past 50 years have inevitably affected family structure. In this context, this study has three goals: The first one is to demonstrate the change that took place in Türkiye between 1968-2011; the second is to illustrate the connection between sociodemographic changes and the changes in the family structure; finally, the third one is to make assessments on how the Turkish family structure will change in the future.

1.2. Data Source and Methodology

In the study the data sets of demographic research on household members done by Hacettepe University Population Studies Institute (HÜNEE) every five years between 1968-2008, and the data sets from the 2006 and 2011 family research on households done by the Directorate of Family and Social Services of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies were used. In the study, because the data from demographic research of 1968, 1973 and 1983 data sets were not ready for use on computers, the main reports of this study or academic papers on these studies were employed. From other demographic data on the other hand, in this study, the data sets from research done every ten years from 1978 to 2008 (1978, 1988, 1998 and 2008) were analyzed in detail. The similarities between sampling and questionnaire design in demographic research in Türkiye, has helped the use of data sets from this research comparatively (HÜNEE, 1999).

The sampling and questionnaire design of Research on Family Structure Türkiye (TAYA) studies conducted in 2006 and 2011 (TAYA 2006 and TAYA 2011) by the Directorate of Family and Social Services of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, are internally largely similar (ASAGEM, 2006; Ministry of Family and Social Policies, 2011). The sampling and questionnaire design of these studies are somewhat different than other demographic research. However, these differences do not constitute serious limitations in a trend study on the changes in family structure. In the study, the weights used in the analysis of data sets from family research were used to project the number of observations to the population of Türkiye; the weight used in the analysis of data sets from demographic research, on the other hand, were used to calculate the base population.

1.3. Conceptual Framework

In studies conducted on the changes in family structures, the concepts of households and family are usually used interchangeably. However, there are significant differentiating features in the respective conceptual frameworks. While household members constitute a socioeconomic unit made up of individuals who may or may not be related, the family is a unit harboring traditional or legal relationships. Moreover, while household members are defined as a group of individuals living together, the family is defined as a group made up of individuals who are related by blood (Koç, 1997; Koç, 1999; Yavuz and Yüceşahin, 2012).

As can be inferred from these descriptions, while there may be one or more family units among

Table 1. Classification and Definition of Family Structures Used in the Study

Family Structure	Definition
1. Nuclear	Type of family made up of a husband-wife and/or unmarried children.
1.1. Nuclear without children	Type of family made up of only the husband and wife.
1.1.1. Nuclear without children (<45 age)	Type of family made up of only the husband and wife where the wife is younger than 45 years of age.
1.1.2. Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	Type of family made up of only the husband and wife where the wife is at or over 45 years of age.
1.2. Nuclear with children	Type of family made up of husband, wife and unmarried children.
1.2.1. Nuclear with children-1 child	Type of family made up of husband, wife and one unmarried child.
1.2.2. Nuclear with children -2 children	Type of family made up of husband, wife and two unmarried children.
1.2.3. Nuclear with children -3+ children	Type of family made up of husband, wife and three unmarried children.
2. Extended	Type of family where another person or another family is added to the nuclear family unit horizontally or vertically.
2.1. Patriarchal extended	Type of family where another one or more families are added to the nuclear family unit horizontally or vertically.
2.2. Transient extended	Type of family where another person from a broken family or just another person is added to the nuclear family unit horizontally or vertically.
3. Broken	Type of family where the nuclear family unit is reduced to one person or one parent or a family made up of individuals who may or may not be related.
3.1. One person	Type of family where an adult female or an adult male lives alone.
3.1.1. One person-Male	Type of family where an adult male lives alone.
3.1.2. One person-Female	Type of family where an adult female lives alone.
3.2. Single parent	Type of family where one of the parents has split from the nuclear family with children by divorce, separation or death.
3.2.1. Single parent-Male	Type of family where the woman has split from the nuclear family with children by divorce, separation or death.
3.2.2. Single parent-Female	Type of family where the man has split from the nuclear family with children by divorce, separation or death.
3.3. Other broken	Type of family where one of the nuclear elements of a transient extended family has broken away from the family (grandmother-grandchild; grandfather-grandchild etc.).
3.4. Non-relatives	Type of family where members have no relationship either by blood or by kinship.

members of a household, there may also be no family units. For this reason, in literature, a household including family unit within is called a family household and a household which does not include a family unit inside is called a no family household (Laslett, 1972; Koç, 1997; Yavuz, 2002; Koç, Özgören and Şirin, 2010; Yavuz and Yüceşahin, 2012). In this study, because the unit of analysis is the household members, the classification made is more about the “composition of household members” than a classification of family structure. In this respect, because the data sets are based on household members, this study uses the concepts of household member and family interchangeably.

The classical approach to family types is to use the triple typology of nuclear, extended and broken family classifications. However, in countries like Türkiye where a rapid socioeconomic and demographic transformation is taking place, it would not be possible to deduce the transformation of the family structure by using this classical family typology. As a result, a three stage approach was used to construct the typology used in this study. In the first stage family units are classified as nuclear, extended and broken. In the second stage, secondary family types (nuclear without children, nuclear with children; patriarchal extended, transient extended; one person, single parent, other broken, non-relatives); in the third stage, tertiary family types (nuclear without children(<45 age), nuclear without children (≥45 age); nuclear with children-1 child, nuclear with children-2 children, nuclear with children-3+ children; one person-male, one person-female, single parent-male, single parent-female) were generated. Family types developed in three stages and descriptions are shown in Table 1.

During the development of family typologies to be used in this study, the degree of the closeness of the household members to the head of the household was taken as the main variable. Other than this, the gender, age and marital status of household members were used in the generation of family types. Keeping these variables in mind, each individual in the household was scanned and each individual in each household was assigned a unique number. Later, these numerical values were added to find the

total numerical value of the household, the family code. Family codes were analyzed by the family typology used, the number and percentage of each household belonging to each family type was calculated.

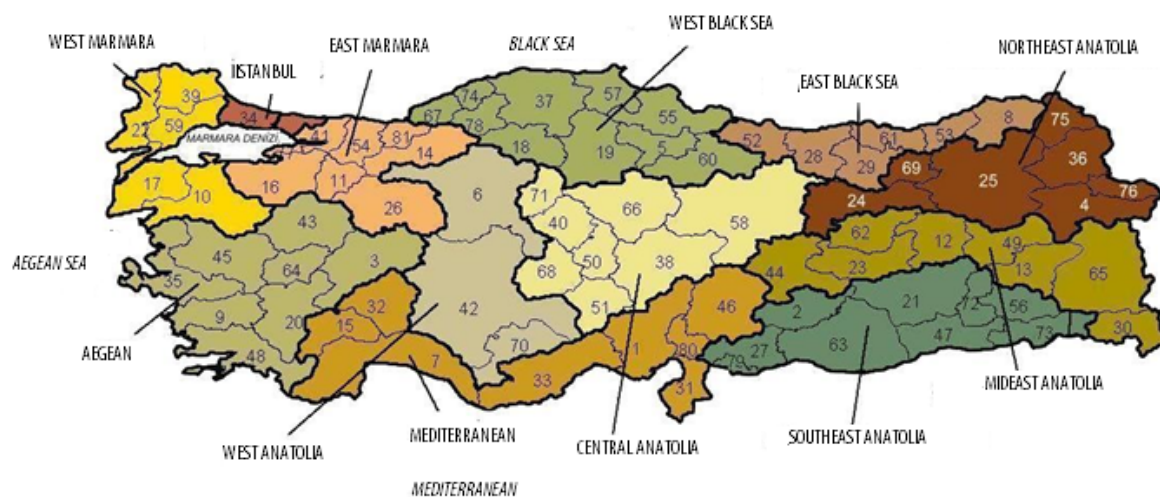
1.3.1. Unit of Analysis

In this study, considering the available data sources, “household members” became the unit of analysis. The main data source of the study TAYA, represents Türkiye by urban and rural areas, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir separately and Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS) Level 1. In TAYA 2006 12.208 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 48.235 individuals belonging to these households were collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 23.279 individuals over the age of 18. In TAYA 2011, 12.056 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 44.117 individuals belonging to these households were collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 24.647 individuals over the age of 18. In the study, reference individuals from the households were given the list of individuals and household questionnaire and individuals over 18 were given the separate individual questionnaire. Although the unit of analysis in this study is household members, while individuals were analyzed by characteristics such as gender, age and marital status according to their family structure, “household members” were used as the unit of analysis. Independent of whether the unit of analysis is the household or household members, weights providing the number of households or household members, in other words, weights that allow for the population were used in this study instead of weights that calculate base population.

The sampling design of these three studies that form the main data source of this study allows for analysis in the NUTS (Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics) Level 1. To illuminate the discussions on the transformation of the family structure in different regions, NUTS 1 regions and cities that belong to these regions are tabulated in Figure 1 in the following sections.

Figure 1. NUTS 1 Classification Used in TAYA 2006, TAYA 2011 and TNSA 2008 and Cities in These Regions

TÜRKİYE - 12 NUTS



01 İSTANBUL	04 EAST MARMARA	06 MEDITERRANEAN	08 WEST BLACK SEA	10 NORTHEAST ANATOLIA	12 SOUTHEAST ANATOLIA
34 İstanbul	14 Bolu	01 Adana	18 Çankırı	24 Erzincan	21 Diyarbakır
02 WEST MARMARA	16 Bursa	07 Antalya	19 Çorum	25 Erzurum	27 Gaziantep
10 Balıkesir	26 Eskişehir	15 Burdur	37 Kastamonu	36 Kars	47 Mardin
17 Çanakkale	41 Kocaeli	31 Hatay	55 Samsun	69 Bayburt	56 Siirt
22 Edirne	54 Sakarya	32 Isparta	57 Sinop	75 Ardahan	63 Şanlıurfa
39 Kırklareli	77 Yalova	33 İçel	60 Tokat	76 Iğdır	72 Batman
59 Tekirdağ	81 Düzce	46 Kahramanmaraş	67 Zonguldak	11 MIDEAST ANATOLIA	73 Şırnak
03 EGE	05 WEST ANATOLIA	80 Osmaniye	74 Bartın	12 Bingöl	79 Kilis
03 Afyon	06 Ankara	07 CENTRAL ANATOLIA	78 Karabük	13 Bitlis	
09 Aydın	42 Konya	38 Kayseri	09 EAST BLACK SEA	23 Elazığ	
20 Denizli	70 Karaman	40 Kırşehir	08 Artvin	30 Hakkâri	
35 İzmir		50 Nevşehir	28 Giresun	44 Malatya	
43 Kütahya		51 Niğde	29 Gümüşhane	49 Muş	
45 Manisa		58 Sivas	52 Ordu	62 Tunceli	
48 Muğla		66 Yozgat	53 Rize	65 Van	
64 Uşak		68 Aksaray	61 Trabzon		
		71 Kırıkkale			

1.4. Analysis

The data sets for the last 40-45 years taken as a whole show that in Türkiye the incidence of nuclear families and broken families is on the rise while the prevalence of extended families is falling (Table 2). The percentage of broken families (18%) in Türkiye increased significantly in the last 40-45 years surpassing those of extended families (14%). Today,

the percentage of nuclear families is 70%, but in the 1960s and 1970s this percentage was around 58-60%. If the fluctuations observed in the percentage distribution of family structure over time are put aside, it is clear that in the past 40-45 years the percentages of nuclear and broken families rose by 15% and 53% respectively, and the percentage of extended families fell by 161% in Türkiye.

Table 2. The Change in Family Structure in Türkiye, 1968-2011 (%)

	Nuclear	Extended	Broken
1968 ¹	59.6	32.1	8.3
1973 ²	59.0	32.4	8.6
1978 ³	58.0	33.9	8.1
1983 ⁴	61.6	27.9	10.5
1988 ⁵	63.4	25.5	11.1
1993 ⁵	67.6	23.5	8.9
1998 ⁶	68.2	19.5	12.3
2003 ⁷	69.3	16.0	14.7
TAYA 2006 ⁸	73.0	14.5	12.5
2008 ⁹	69.8	15.9	14.3
TAYA 2011 ¹⁰	70.0	12.3	17.7
1968-2011 percentage of change	+11.1	-137.8	+57.4

References: ¹Timur, 1972; ²Kunt, 1978; ³Hancıoğlu, 1985a, 1985b; ⁴Ünal, 2005; ⁵⁻⁶Koç, 1997, 1999;

⁷Yavuz, 2002; ⁶⁻⁷Canpolat, 2008; ⁸⁻⁹⁻¹⁰ calculated by the author using TNSA-2008 data.

The data in Table 3 show that the rise in the percentage of nuclear families is especially due to the rise in the percentage of childless nuclear families. This increase in the family made up of only a husband and a wife is the result of the demographic transformation of postponing having children and the rise in life expectancy. Another development related to this transformation shows itself in the inner distribution of the nuclear family with children. As the percentage of nuclear families with one or two children rises rapidly in Türkiye, there is a significant decrease in the percentage of nuclear families with three or more children. Between 1978-2011, nuclear families with one child increased by 42%; nuclear families with two children increased by 41%; the percentage of nuclear families decreased by 81%. Between 1978-2008, extended family structures decreased by more than half.

Among extended family structures, the unraveling of the patriarchal extended families is especially significant. While 19% of household members lived in patriarchal extended families in 1978, this percentage regressed to 5% in 2011. Another development observed in this time period is the fact that transient extended families proved to be more resilient than patriarchal extended families and become more prevalent.

When the transformation of the broken family is analyzed for the same period, the significant rise in especially the one person household is worth noting. In the last 40-45 years, the number of one person households increased threefold. Two thirds of one person households are made up of women, especially elderly women. The rise in one person households is thought to be related to the aging

of the population and the migration of the young work force. The percentage of single parent families in Türkiye is around 5%. About 90% of those single parent households have a composition of mother and child(ren). Among broken families, other broken family types and non-relative broken households also show an increase in percentage. In other broken family types, family structures such as grandchild-grandmother (maternal), grandchild-grand-

mother (paternal) and grandchild-grandfather groupings are widespread. Between the years 1978-2011 another significant increase observed in the percentage of non-relative broken households is thought to be due to employment and education opportunities in urban areas and that these households are comprised of students in higher educational institutions and migrants who come to cities to find work.

Table 3. The Change in Family Structure in Türkiye, 1978-2011 (%)

	1978	1988	1998	TAYA 2006	2008	TAYA 2011
Nuclear	58.0	63.4	68.4	73.0	69.9	70.0
Nuclear without children	8.3	9.9	13.5	15.7	14.3	17.1
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	6.1	5.7	5.3	4.0	4.0	4.2
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	2.2	4.2	8.2	11.6	10.4	12.9
Nuclear with children	49.3	57.4	54.9	57.4	55.5	52.9
Nuclear with children -1 child	9.5	12.1	13.3	17.6	17.7	16.5
Nuclear with children -2 children	12.7	19.1	18.7	21.6	21.2	21.4
Nuclear with children -3+ children	27.1	26.3	22.9	18.1	16.6	15.0
Extended	33.9	25.5	19.5	14.5	15.9	12.3
Patriarchal extended	19.3	14.3	10.4	8.2	7.4	5.1
Transient extended	14.6	11.2	9.1	6.3	8.5	7.1
Broken	8.1	11.1	12.2	12.5	14.3	17.7
One person	3.0	4.3	5.2	6.2	6.3	9.2
One person-Male	1.0	1.7	1.9	1.7	2.0	3.5
One person-Female	2.0	2.6	3.3	4.5	4.4	5.7
Single parent	4.8	5.4	5.0	4.0	5.2	4.6
Single parent-Male	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.5
Single parent-Female	4.3	4.7	4.4	3.6	4.6	4.1
Other broken	0.3	1.0	1.1	2.0	1.6	3.1
Non-relatives	0.1	0.5	0.9	0.3	1.1	0.8

According to the results of TAYA 2006, TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011, nuclear family is the most common type in both urban and rural areas (Table 4). In TAYA 2011, the percentage of nuclear families in urban areas exceed the national average and reach 71.2%; in rural areas, this percentage falls to behind the national average and drops to 66.8%. When the subcategories of nuclear families are inspected, the results show that childless nuclear families are more common in rural areas and nuclear families with children are more common in urban areas. In 75% of childless nuclear families, the woman is 45 years of age or above. This shows that

in households where the woman is older, childless nuclear families are more widespread. The reason for this is, usually parents who have married their children off live in those households. When we look at nuclear families with children, which make up 76% of all nuclear families, it is observed that nuclear families with one or two children are more prevalent in urban areas, while nuclear families with three or more children are more widespread in rural areas. The reason is, for one, nuclear families are more prevalent in urban areas and two, in urban areas married couples desire less children.

Table 4. Family Structure by Residence Area, TAYA 2006, TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011(%)

	TAYA 2006		TNSA 2008		TAYA 2011	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Nuclear	75.9	67.7	72.3	62.5	71.2	66.8
Nuclear without children	13.3	20.0	13.0	18.4	14.9	23.5
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	4.8	2.5	4.5	2.4	4.6	3.0
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	8.4	17.5	8.4	16.0	10.3	20.5
Nuclear with children	62.6	47.7	59.4	44.1	56.3	43.2
Nuclear with children -1 child	20.1	13.2	19.4	12.4	18.2	11.7
Nuclear with children -2 children	24.7	15.9	23.4	14.7	23.5	15.3
Nuclear with children -3+ children	17.8	18.6	16.5	17.0	14.6	16.2
Extended	10.9	21.1	13.1	24.3	11.0	15.8
Patriarchal extended	5.8	12.6	5.5	13.1	4.4	7.2
Transient extended	5.1	8.5	7.6	11.2	6.7	8.6
Broken	13.2	11.2	14.6	13.2	17.8	17.4
One person	6.3	6.0	5.9	7.5	8.4	11.3
One person-Male	1.6	1.8	2.0	1.7	3.3	3.9
One person-Female	4.7	4.3	3.9	5.7	5.1	7.4
Single parent	4.4	3.4	5.6	4.2	5.1	3.4
Single parent-Male	0.3	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.4
Single parent-Female	4.1	2.7	5.0	3.4	4.5	3.1
Other broken	2.1	1.7	1.8	1.0	3.4	2.4
Non-relatives	0.4	0.0	1.3	0.5	0.9	0.3

The percentage of extended families in rural areas is significantly higher in Türkiye compared to urban areas. In rural areas, about 2 of every 10 households have the extended family composition; this percentage drops to only 1 of every 10 households in urban areas. Patriarchal extended family and transient extended family, examined under extended family, are both more prevalent in rural areas. Transient extended family is more widespread in both urban and rural areas. This result indicates that with the high potential of transient extended families to dissolve into broken families, the percentage of broken families in Türkiye will increase in the near future. As expected, broken families are more prevalent in urban areas where the cosmopolitan lifestyle is more

predominant. Underlying this difference is the fact that in urban areas, the prevalence of single parent families, other broken families and non-relative families is higher in urban areas compared to rural areas. In rural areas on the other hand, especially one person households made up of elderly women are as widespread as in urban areas. In urban areas people living in one person households are younger while in rural areas they are older. This shows that in urban areas living in a one person household is a matter of choice while in rural areas it is a matter of inescapability. Findings that belong to TNSA 2008 on the distribution of family structures according to area of residence support the findings of TAYA 2006 and TAYA 2011 to a large extent (Table 4).

When the percentage distribution of family structure is analyzed by regions (Table 5, Table 6 and Table 7), it is clear that the nuclear family is the most prevalent type without exception. According to both TAYA 2006 and TNSA 2008, the highest prevalence of nuclear families is in the Mediterranean region, the least prevalence is in the West and East Black Sea regions. TAYA 2011 results on the other hand, show that the Mediterranean and the West Anatolia are regions with the highest percentage of nuclear families (73%). Starting from TAYA 2011 findings, when we look at the subcategories of the nuclear family (Table 7), it is clear that the percentage of nuclear families with children is higher than those of nuclear families without children across all regions. Within nuclear families, the highest percentages of nuclear families with children are found in Southeast Anatolia (88%) and

Mideast Anatolia (87%) while the highest percentage of nuclear families without children is found in West Marmara (41%). When nuclear families are analyzed by the number of children, with the exception of the three eastern regions, the number of nuclear families with one or two children is higher than the number of nuclear families with three or more children in all the remaining regions. Within nuclear families, the percentage of those with three or more children reaches 44% in Northeastern Anatolia, 46% in Mideast Anatolia and 55% in Southeast Anatolia. TAYA 2006 and TNSA 2008 results support these findings on the distribution of nuclear families with children across regions.

TAYA 2011 findings show that in the Mediterranean and Aegean regions, where the percentage of nuclear families is the highest, have the lowest per-

Table 5. Family Structure by Regions (NUTS-1), TAYA 2006 (%)

	Istanbul	West Marmara	Aegean	East Marmara	West Anatolia	Mediterranean
Nuclear	74.7	72.8	74.5	73.0	71.5	78.1
Nuclear without children	12.4	23.5	20.5	14.7	16.3	16.0
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	5.4	4.6	4.0	4.5	3.2	5.2
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	7.0	18.9	16.5	10.3	13.1	10.8
Nuclear with children	62.3	49.3	54.0	58.2	55.2	62.1
Nuclear with children -1 child	21.3	20.4	21.0	20.3	16.6	18.9
Nuclear with children -2 children	26.3	21.9	23.2	24.4	23.6	22.5
Nuclear with children -3+ children	14.7	7.0	9.8	13.5	14.9	20.7
Extended	10.5	12.5	12.3	17.0	13.7	8.7
Patriarchal extended	6.2	6.1	6.8	7.9	7.8	4.7
Transient extended	4.3	6.4	5.4	9.1	5.9	4.0
Broken	14.8	14.7	13.2	10.0	14.8	13.2
One person	7.1	7.8	7.2	4.3	8.6	6.3
One person-Male	2.1	1.8	1.7	1.0	2.2	1.6
One person-Female	4.9	6.0	5.5	3.3	6.4	4.7
Single parent	4.3	4.2	4.4	3.6	3.7	4.9
Single parent-Male	0.3	1.1	0.6	0.3	0.1	0.5
Single parent-Female	4.0	3.1	3.9	3.3	3.6	4.4
Other broken	3.1	2.4	1.5	1.8	2.0	1.6
Non-relatives	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.4

centages of extended families (9%) along with West Marmara (6%). In the Central Anatolia, Northwest Anatolia, Northeast Anatolia, Southeast Anatolia and Mideast Anatolia regions, the percentages of extended families reach 19%. With the exception of Mideast Anatolia, the percentage of transient extended families exceeds that of patriarchal extended families. With approximately 10%, the regions where the percentages of patriarchal extended family are Mid Anatolia and Mideast Anatolia. The region where the transient extended family is more prevalent is, Northeast Anatolia with 12%. When the situation of the broken family, which is on the rise in Türkiye, are examined by region, it is observed that the percentage of broken families reach 19-23% in West Marmara, East Marmara, West Black Sea, East Black Sea and Istanbul regions. Analyses made from TNSA 2008, show that

the prevalence of broken families reach 17% in Istanbul, West Marmara, the Aegean, West Anatolia and West Black Sea. Within the composition of broken families, the most common type is the one person household in almost all regions. With the exception of Istanbul, the percentage of one person families made up of women is higher than one person families made up of men across all the regions. Single parent households rise up to 6% in Istanbul and Northeast Anatolia. In this type, households with the woman as the single parent are more widespread than households with the man as the single parent. Both TAYA 2006 and TAYA 2011 also TNSA 2008 results show that non-relative families within broken families are more common in regions with large metropolitan areas. This situation is closely related to the fact that these regions are centers of attraction for internal migrations.

Central Anatolia	West Black Sea	East Black Sea	Northeast Anatolia	Mideast Anatolia	Southeast Anatolia	Türkiye
71.6	65.4	65.7	67.0	70.8	74.5	73.0
17.5	18.0	15.2	11.7	11.5	8.2	15.7
3.5	2.1	1.9	2.9	2.5	3.3	4.0
14.0	15.8	13.3	8.8	9.0	5.0	11.6
54.1	47.5	50.5	55.3	59.3	66.2	57.4
15.2	15.0	13.0	13.5	12.3	7.3	17.6
18.4	19.8	18.4	13.6	13.7	12.1	21.6
20.5	12.8	19.1	28.2	33.4	46.8	18.1
18.9	21.0	23.2	23.8	19.5	18.2	14.5
11.6	13.9	12.2	14.0	12.8	9.6	8.2
7.4	7.2	11.0	9.8	6.7	8.6	6.3
9.5	13.6	11.1	9.2	9.7	7.3	12.5
4.7	6.3	5.5	4.2	4.4	3.0	6.2
1.7	1.1	2.2	1.4	1.3	1.1	1.7
2.9	5.2	3.3	2.8	3.1	1.9	4.5
3.4	4.8	3.4	3.5	3.6	2.6	4.0
0.5	0.5	1.0	0.2	0.9	0.0	0.4
2.9	4.3	2.4	3.4	2.7	2.6	3.6
1.2	1.9	2.2	1.4	1.7	1.7	2.0
0.2	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3

Table 6. Family Structure by Regions (NUTS-1), TNSA 2008 (%)

	Istanbul	West Marmara	Aegean	East Marmara	West Anatolia	Mediterranean
Nuclear	69.5	70.3	71.2	71.2	72.2	74.1
Nuclear without children	11.2	24.4	17.9	15.1	13.9	14.0
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	5.1	4.5	4.4	5.1	3.9	3.9
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	6.2	19.9	13.5	10.0	10.0	10.1
Nuclear with children	58.3	45.9	53.3	56.1	58.3	60.1
Nuclear with children -1 child	19.8	21.0	21.7	22.3	18.8	16.0
Nuclear with children -2 children	24.7	21.3	21.0	21.8	24.6	24.4
Nuclear with children -3+ children	13.8	3.6	10.6	12.0	14.9	19.7
Extended	14.1	12.5	12.4	16.7	12.2	13.4
Patriarchal extended	5.7	6.5	5.7	6.8	5.7	5.1
Transient extended	8.4	6.0	6.7	10.0	6.5	8.2
Broken	16.4	17.2	16.5	12.1	15.6	12.5
One person	6.6	9.8	8.4	5.0	7.1	5.4
One person-Male	2.8	3.4	1.6	1.7	2.8	1.5
One person-Female	3.8	6.3	6.7	3.3	4.3	3.9
Single parent	6.1	5.1	5.2	4.5	5.4	4.9
Single parent-Male	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.5
Single parent-Female	5.4	4.3	4.4	3.9	5.0	4.4
Other broken	2.4	1.6	1.2	1.7	1.7	1.2
Non-relatives	1.2	0.7	1.7	0.8	1.4	1.0

Table 7. Family Structure by Regions (NUTS-1), TAYA 2011 (%)

	Istanbul	West Marmara	Aegean	East Marmara	West Anatolia	Mediterranean
Nuclear	70.0	69.3	70.8	68.3	72.8	73.0
Nuclear without children	17.1	12.2	28.7	17.4	21.0	16.8
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	4.2	5.5	4.9	5.0	4.0	4.2
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	12.9	6.7	23.8	12.4	17.0	12.6
Nuclear with children	52.9	57.1	42.2	50.9	51.8	56.2
Nuclear with children -1 child	16.5	17.8	20.6	20.1	20.3	15.2
Nuclear with children -2 children	21.4	24.6	18.7	22.9	23.4	23.7
Nuclear with children -3+ children	15.0	14.7	2.8	7.9	8.1	17.2
Extended	12.3	11.4	6.2	11.5	9.2	9.0
Patriarchal extended	5.1	4.1	1.8	3.5	4.2	3.8
Transient extended	7.2	7.3	4.5	8.0	5.0	5.2
Broken	17.7	19.3	22.9	20.2	18.0	18.0
One person	9.2	8.9	16.2	12.0	9.1	9.5
One person-Male	3.5	4.9	4.9	3.8	2.6	3.7
One person-Female	5.7	4.1	11.3	8.2	6.5	5.8
Single parent	4.6	6.1	3.5	4.7	4.4	4.4
Single parent-Male	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.3
Single parent-Female	4.1	5.5	3.0	4.5	3.8	4.1
Other broken	3.1	3.5	2.7	2.6	3.7	3.2
Non-relatives	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.9	0.8	0.8

Central Anatolia	West Black Sea	East Black Sea	Northeast Anatolia	Mideast Anatolia	Southeast Anatolia	Türkiye
68.3	61.9	64.0	63.6	65.4	69.7	69.9
14.7	18.3	20.1	9.2	6.9	7.4	14.3
2.1	2.7	3.0	2.0	2.7	2.5	4.0
12.6	15.6	17.2	7.2	4.3	4.9	10.4
53.6	43.6	43.9	54.4	58.5	62.3	55.5
15.3	14.2	14.2	8.4	9.0	9.0	17.7
20.0	17.8	15.5	13.6	12.8	13.8	21.2
18.3	11.5	14.2	32.4	36.7	39.6	16.6
19.1	23.1	22.1	25.6	26.1	19.7	15.9
9.9	12.3	9.6	14.8	14.6	10.8	7.4
9.2	10.8	12.5	10.8	11.4	8.9	8.5
12.6	15.0	13.9	10.8	8.5	10.6	14.3
5.7	7.9	5.9	3.2	2.4	2.8	6.3
1.3	1.9	2.6	0.8	0.3	0.5	2.0
4.4	6.0	3.3	2.4	2.1	2.2	4.4
5.5	4.6	5.6	4.0	4.8	5.7	5.3
1.3	0.9	0.7	0.4	0.8	0.3	0.6
4.2	3.7	5.0	3.6	4.0	5.4	4.6
0.8	1.3	1.3	1.2	0.8	1.9	1.6
0.6	1.0	1.0	2.4	0.5	0.3	1.1

Central Anatolia	West Black Sea	East Black Sea	Northeast Anatolia	Mideast Anatolia	Southeast Anatolia	Türkiye
70.3	68.3	66.4	68.0	63.6	71.7	70.0
15.1	22.7	23.8	26.1	8.9	9.1	17.1
3.9	3.4	3.6	2.9	1.5	1.4	4.2
11.2	19.3	20.2	23.2	7.4	7.7	12.9
55.2	45.6	42.5	41.9	54.7	62.6	52.9
18.4	13.2	13.3	12.2	10.8	11.4	16.5
22.4	17.4	17.8	15.8	16.0	18.1	21.4
14.3	15.0	11.5	13.8	27.9	33.2	15.0
12.8	19.4	15.1	13.3	18.8	17.7	12.3
6.1	9.6	6.1	4.6	6.5	9.6	5.1
6.7	9.9	9.0	8.7	12.3	8.1	7.1
16.9	12.3	18.6	18.7	17.6	10.5	17.7
8.3	6.6	11.0	11.8	7.3	3.6	9.2
3.4	1.5	4.2	3.9	1.8	1.2	3.5
4.9	5.2	6.8	7.9	5.5	2.4	5.7
4.7	2.8	4.0	2.6	6.1	3.8	4.6
0.5	0.4	0.7	0.0	1.0	0.3	0.5
4.2	2.3	3.3	2.6	5.1	3.5	4.1
3.2	1.8	3.3	3.6	2.5	2.1	3.1
0.6	1.1	0.2	0.7	1.6	1.0	0.8

TAYA 2006 and TAYA 2011 findings make analyses on the differentiation of the family structure by socioeconomic status possible (Table 8 and Table 9). According to TAYA 2011 results, the percentage of nuclear families among the lower SES group is 70%. In higher SES group this percentage is higher (82%). Although there are some fluctuations, as the SES group increases, the percentage of both childless nuclear households and nuclear households with children also increase. An interesting point is the percentage of nuclear families with one or two children is low in lower SES groups and higher in higher SES groups. Consistent with this finding, the percentage of nuclear families with three or more children drop as the SES rises. The percentage of nuclear families with three or more children is 29% in the lower SES households and is 3% in the higher SES group households. This shows that whereas there is a demand to have children in Türkiye across all SES groups, this demand is limited to one or two children in the higher SES group, there is a demand for three or more children in especially the lower SES groups. TAYA 2006 results largely confirm TAYA 2011 findings albeit at different levels.

From TNSA 2008, it is possible to make some analyses using the "household prosperity index" variable derived from the "prosperity index" calculated from the amount of durable consumer goods the family owns. Evaluated by this variable that separates households into slices of 20% prosperity groups (Table 10), findings of the TNSA 2008, largely confirm the results on the nuclear family from TAYA 2006 and TAYA 2011. TAYA 2011 shows that the percentage of extended family is lowest in higher upper class with 7%, and in upper class with 8% while it is seen as 13-15% in other classes. In all SES group, the percentage of transient extended families is higher than patriarchal extended families. This finding can be evaluated as there is a high possibility that extended families can turn to broken families in all SES groups.

When the households are analysed based on SES groups, %16 of families from lowest class consist of broken families. One person households, especially female households are more common in families from the lowest class (Tablo 9).

Table 8. Family Structure by Socioeconomic Status, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Lower class	Middle class	Upper class	Türkiye
Nuclear	61.8	73.8	82.7	73.0
Nuclear without children	21.5	14.6	15.7	15.7
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	1.5	4.0	7.4	4.0
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	20.0	10.5	8.3	11.6
Nuclear with children	40.3	59.2	67.0	57.4
Nuclear with children -1 child	6.6	18.1	29.7	17.6
Nuclear with children -2 children	9.4	23.0	28.1	21.6
Nuclear with children -3+ children	24.3	18.1	9.2	18.1
Extended	13.5	15.7	6.5	14.5
Patriarchal extended	6.8	9.0	3.8	8.2
Transient extended	6.7	6.7	2.7	6.3
Broken	24.7	10.5	10.8	12.5
One person	17.9	4.2	5.0	6.2
One person-Male	2.6	1.4	2.3	1.7
One person-Female	15.3	2.8	2.7	4.5
Single parent	4.5	4.0	3.4	4.0
Single parent-Male	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.4
Single parent-Female	4.3	3.5	3.3	3.6
Other broken	2.3	1.9	2.1	2.0
Non-relatives	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.3

Table 9. Family Structure by Socioeconomic Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Lowest class	Lower middle class	Upper middle class	Upper class	Higher upper class	Türkiye
Nuclear	70,0	73,9	75,7	77,6	81,7	70.0
Nuclear without children	13,9	21,4	14,7	16,4	19,3	17.1
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	1,3	3,0	4,8	10,2	14,3	4.2
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	12,6	18,4	9,9	6,2	5,0	12.9
Nuclear with children	56,1	52,5	61,0	61,3	62,4	52.9
Nuclear with children -1 child	9,2	15,4	21,2	24,4	30,4	16.5
Nuclear with children -2 children	17,5	20,9	25,8	28,3	28,8	21.4
Nuclear with children -3+ children	29,4	16,2	14,0	8,6	3,1	15.0
Extended	13,7	15,2	12,8	8,3	6,8	12.3
Patriarchal extended	5,6	6,3	5,9	3,0	1,9	5.1
Transient extended	8,1	8,9	6,9	5,4	4,9	7.1
Broken	16,2	10,9	11,5	14,1	11,5	17.7
One person	10,1	4,6	4,7	6,9	5,9	9.2
One person-Male	4,1	2,3	3,1	4,3	3,7	3.5
One person-Female	6,0	2,3	1,6	2,5	2,2	5.7
Single parent	3,9	3,8	3,3	4,1	3,3	4.6
Single parent-Male	0,6	0,7	0,3	0,2	0,4	0.5
Single parent-Female	3,3	3,1	3,0	3,9	2,9	4.1
Other broken	2,3	2,4	3,0	1,9	1,6	3.1
Non-relatives	0,0	0,1	0,5	1,3	0,7	0.8

Table 10. Family Structure by Prosperity of the Household, TNSA 2008 (%)

	Very low	Low	Middle	Good	Very good	Türkiye
Nuclear	58.2	67.8	70.0	73.4	76.4	69.9
Nuclear without children	15.6	15.0	16.0	14.4	11.4	14.3
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	1.5	2.8	4.4	5.2	5.2	4.0
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	14.1	12.2	11.6	9.1	6.2	10.4
Nuclear with children	42.6	52.8	54.0	59.1	65.0	55.5
Nuclear with children -1 child	8.0	12.7	18.6	20.2	25.4	17.7
Nuclear with children -2 children	10.3	17.9	18.4	25.6	30.1	21.2
Nuclear with children -3+ children	24.3	22.2	17.0	13.3	9.5	16.7
Extended	25.2	19.4	16.7	11.9	9.4	15.9
Patriarchal extended	13.3	10.4	8.1	5.0	2.5	7.4
Transient extended	11.9	9.0	8.7	6.9	6.8	8.5
Broken	16.6	12.8	13.3	14.6	14.2	14.3
One person	9.8	6.0	5.2	5.8	5.6	6.3
One person-Male	1.9	1.6	1.7	1.4	3.1	2.0
One person-Female	7.9	4.4	3.5	4.4	2.5	4.4
Single parent	5.0	5.2	5.3	5.0	5.7	5.2
Single parent-Male	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.6
Single parent-Female	4.5	4.5	4.6	4.3	5.1	4.6
Other broken	1.7	1.2	1.3	2.0	1.8	1.6
Non-relatives	0.1	0.5	1.5	1.9	1.2	1.1

1.4.1. Family Structure by Household Member Characteristics

In this section, the differentiation of sociodemographic characteristics of household members such as gender, age, marital status is examined with family structures. TAYA 2006 and TNSA 2008 results (Table 11 and Table 12) show that in line with sociodemographic expectations, there are 99 men for every 100 women across Türkiye. However, according to TAYA 2011 results, this number is 101 men to every 100 women. When nuclear families reaching 53 million are analyzed with the accompaniment of TAYA 2011 findings, the percentage of gender across Türkiye becomes 107.7 and with the exception of nuclear families with one or two children, nuclear families have the expected gender structure. Extended families which number about 14 million in Türkiye, and especially in transient extended families, the number of women exceed the number of men. Once the composition of transient extended families, where the gender rate is 90.3, is better understood as families made up of non-nuclear units added to the nuclear family is considered, it would be easier to see that the unbalanced demographic composition found in these households result from demographic circumstances like deaths, divorces and internal migrations. Findings on the gender distribution of nuclear and extended families from TAYA 2006 and TNSA 2008 are

largely consistent with the findings of TAYA 2011 (Table 11 and Table 12).

When the gender composition of broken families which number around 7 million in Türkiye is examined, TAYA 2011 findings show that only 40% of the population living in such households is male. In broken families where women have a significant presence, for every 100 women there are 68 males. Consistent with these findings, it would be safe to say that 60% of one person households are made up of women and for every 100 women in one person households, there are 66 men and in single parent households, there are 62 men per 100 women. In other types of broken households the female dominance can also be clearly seen. However, in households made up of individuals with no kinship relationships, the situation is reversed, the predominance goes to men. In such households, there are 137 men for every 100 women. This finding further confirms that such households are generally made up of male students and male labor. When the gender composition of broken households is examined from the point of findings from TAYA 2011 and TNSA 2008, similar result are found. However, TAYA 2006 results show that specifically in the gender composition of broken families, women are much more predominant than according to the findings of the other two studies (Table 11 and Table 12).

Table 11. Gender and Gender Rates of Household Members by Family Structure, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Male	Female	Gender rate*
TAYA 2006			
Nuclear	51.5	48.5	106.2
Nuclear without children	49.9	50.1	99.6
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	50.2	49.8	100.7
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	49.8	50.2	99.2
Nuclear with children	51.7	48.3	107.1
Nuclear with children -1 child	52.4	47.6	110.2
Nuclear with children -2 children	52.7	47.3	111.6
Nuclear with children -3+ children	50.5	49.5	102.0
Extended	47.7	52.3	91.1
Patriarchal extended	48.6	51.4	94.5
Transient extended	46.2	53.8	86.0
Broken	36.3	63.7	56.9
One person	26.9	73.1	36.9
One person-Male	100.0	0.0	-
One person-Female	0.0	100.0	-
Single parent	37.0	63.0	58.6
Single parent-Male	66.0	34.0	194.0
Single parent-Female	33.3	66.7	49.9
Other broken	41.5	58.5	70.9
Non-relatives	64.1	35.9	178.8
Türkiye	49.7	50.3	98.7
TAYA 2011			
Nuclear	51.9	48.1	107.7
Nuclear without children	49.6	50.4	98.5
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	50.8	49.2	103.4
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	49.2	50.8	96.8
Nuclear with children	52.2	47.8	109.2
Nuclear with children -1 child	52.6	47.4	110.8
Nuclear with children -2 children	52.9	47.1	112.3
Nuclear with children -3+ children	51.3	48.7	105.3
Extended	48.9	51.1	95.8
Patriarchal extended	50.6	49.4	102.5
Transient extended	47.4	52.6	90.3
Broken	40.3	59.7	67.5
One person	39.9	60.1	66.3
One person-Male	100.0	0.0	-
One person-Female	0.0	100.0	-
Single parent	38.1	61.9	61.5
Single parent-Male	65.2	34.8	187.1
Single parent-Female	34.9	65.1	53.6
Other broken	39.7	60.3	65.9
Non-relatives	57.8	42.2	137.1
Türkiye	50.2	49.8	101.0

*The gender rate shows the number of men per 100 women.

Table 12. Gender and Gender Rates of Members by Household Structure, TNSA 2008 (%)

	Male	Female	Gender rate*
TAYA 2006			
Nuclear	51.2	48.8	105.1
Nuclear without children	49.5	50.5	98.2
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	49.1	50.9	96.4
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	49.7	50.3	98.9
Nuclear with children	51.5	48.5	106.0
Nuclear with children -1 child	52.4	47.6	110.3
Nuclear with children -2 children	52.4	47.6	110.2
Nuclear with children -3+ children	50.1	49.9	100.3
Extended	48.7	51.3	94.8
Patriarchal extended	50.9	49.1	103.6
Transient extended	46.2	53.8	86.0
Broken	41.1	58.9	69.8
One person	31.5	68.5	46.0
One person-Male	100.0	0.0	0.0
One person-Female	0.0	100.0	0.0
Single parent	39.6	60.4	65.6
Single parent-Male	63.3	36.7	172.6
Single parent-Female	36.7	63.3	58.0
Other broken	45.6	54.4	83.8
Non-relatives	59.4	40.6	146.5
Türkiye	49.8	50.2	99.2

*The gender rate shows the number of men per 100 women.

When from TAYA 2011 findings the connection of the family structure and the age structure of its members are examined (Table 13 and Table 14), nuclear families have the highest population of (under 18) children (33%) and broken families have the highest percentage of aged (65 and above) members (20%). Broken families also have the lowest percentage of children and the highest percentage of working age individuals (%15 and %65 respectively). When one person households listed under the broken family type are examined, it is observed that 46% of these households were made up of aged individuals. Even though in general the percentage of aged members is the lowest in nuclear families, in the subcategories of this type, for instance in childless nuclear families the percentage of aged individuals rise to 31% and in childless nuclear families where the woman is 45 or over, this percentage

increases to 41%. In the extended family structure, the percentage of aged individuals (10%) is higher than the national average. This percentage rises slightly and reaches 12% in transient extended families. When the family structure with the highest percentage of children is examined more closely, it is observed that the child population in nuclear families with children reaches 38%. Almost half (48%) of the members of nuclear families with three or more children are made up of children. When the connection between family structure and age structure within the family is examined using TAYA 2006 and TNSA 2008 findings, it was observed once again that the children population in extended and nuclear families is higher and the percentages of young and elderly population is higher in broken families (Figure 2, Figure 3 and Figure 4).

Table 13. Age Groups of Household Members by Family Structure, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	0-17	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
TAYA 2006							
Nuclear	34.7	10.3	16.0	16.0	11.4	6.6	5.0
Nuclear without children	0.1	4.8	12.7	6.5	16.1	27.1	32.7
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	0.3	18.9	49.8	25.4	5.2	0.2	0.3
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.9	36.3	43.9
Nuclear with children	39.2	11.0	16.4	17.2	10.8	4.0	1.4
Nuclear with children -1 child	20.8	11.1	26.0	12.9	15.8	9.4	4.0
Nuclear with children -2 children	36.8	10.3	16.9	20.4	11.4	3.2	1.0
Nuclear with children -3+ children	50.4	11.5	11.1	16.8	7.9	2.0	0.5
Extended	31.8	12.9	16.2	10.2	10.0	8.2	10.8
Patriarchal extended	30.0	15.0	18.3	8.1	10.6	9.2	8.7
Transient extended	34.4	9.7	12.9	13.2	9.1	6.7	13.9
Broken	17.3	14.9	15.7	10.2	11.1	10.3	20.4
One person	0.0	2.7	8.8	6.7	9.8	19.4	52.7
One person-Male	0.0	5.9	18.4	12.4	6.6	12.5	44.3
One person-Female	0.0	1.5	5.2	4.6	10.9	22.0	55.7
Single parent	27.2	18.7	17.1	12.8	11.6	7.2	5.4
Single parent-Male	30.3	13.3	13.8	13.0	11.2	5.8	12.5
Single parent-Female	26.8	19.4	17.5	12.8	11.6	7.4	4.5
Other broken	17.7	15.1	18.7	10.0	12.5	7.8	18.2
Non-relatives	1.9	64.9	29.0	0.0	1.9	1.1	1.1
Türkiye	33.0	11.2	16.0	14.3	11.1	7.2	7.2
TAYA 2011							
Nuclear	32.9	10.6	17.1	15.3	11.8	7.4	4.9
Nuclear without children	0.1	5.0	14.6	5.2	15.3	29.4	30.5
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	0.3	19.0	55.1	19.4	5.3	0.7	0.2
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	18.9	39.6	41.4
Nuclear with children	37.9	11.4	17.5	16.9	11.2	4.0	1.1
Nuclear with children -1 child	22.0	10.3	26.1	12.9	15.4	10.0	3.3
Nuclear with children -2 children	37.0	10.0	19.3	19.5	10.7	2.8	0.6
Nuclear with children -3+ children	48.2	13.5	10.6	16.6	9.3	1.7	0.2
Extended	29.6	13.6	17.2	10.0	10.6	9.2	9.8
Patriarchal extended	28.4	15.9	19.7	6.9	10.9	11.3	7.0
Transient extended	30.7	11.5	15.0	12.8	10.3	7.4	12.3
Broken	14.5	17.3	17.4	10.4	10.7	9.6	20.2
One person	0.0	6.0	18.3	5.6	9.5	14.9	45.6
One person-Male	0.0	9.3	36.8	10.3	9.2	10.3	24.1
One person-Female	0.0	3.9	6.1	2.5	9.7	18.0	59.9
Single parent	25.0	17.8	16.7	14.4	13.6	6.5	6.0
Single parent-Male	30.1	12.4	11.4	17.0	11.6	6.8	10.8
Single parent-Female	24.4	18.4	17.3	14.1	13.8	6.5	5.5
Other broken	17.7	15.1	16.2	11.4	10.3	10.6	18.6
Non-relatives	0.8	71.0	22.0	2.5	0.6	0.9	2.2
Türkiye	30.6	11.8	17.1	13.9	11.4	7.9	7.3

Table 14. Age Groups of Household Members by Family Structure, TNSA 2008 (%)

	0-17	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Nuclear	34.2	11.0	16.5	15.3	12.1	6.4	4.6
Nuclear without children	1.6	5.8	15.8	5.8	16.6	25.2	29.3
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	1.7	19.3	54.8	18.5	4.5	0.7	0.5
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	1.6	0.6	1.0	0.9	21.2	34.4	40.3
Nuclear with children	38.3	11.6	16.6	16.5	11.5	4.1	1.4
Nuclear with children -1 child	21.5	11.0	25.5	12.3	17.3	8.6	3.7
Nuclear with children -2 children	36.2	10.5	17.8	19.1	11.5	3.9	1.0
Nuclear with children -3+ children	49.6	13.0	10.5	16.5	8.2	1.7	0.6
Extended	32.4	14.3	16.1	9.7	10.2	8.0	9.2
Patriarchal extended	31.3	17.0	17.1	8.4	10.3	8.2	7.7
Transient extended	33.6	11.4	15.0	11.2	10.0	7.9	11.0
Broken	15.9	22.1	16.9	9.9	10.4	8.4	16.5
One person	2.7	3.7	15.8	6.3	11.5	16.3	43.7
One person-Male	2.3	4.2	31.0	9.3	13.0	9.3	31.0
One person-Female	2.9	3.5	9.4	5.1	10.9	19.1	49.0
Single parent	23.7	19.0	16.3	12.4	12.8	6.4	9.4
Single parent-Male	19.7	12.6	16.2	13.1	12.6	7.6	18.2
Single parent-Female	24.5	20.2	15.9	12.2	12.5	6.4	8.4
Other broken	16.1	16.5	24.2	12.7	7.9	9.7	12.9
Non-relatives	3.3	76.2	14.6	2.3	1.8	0.3	1.5
Türkiye	32.3	12.7	16.4	13.5	11.5	7.0	6.7

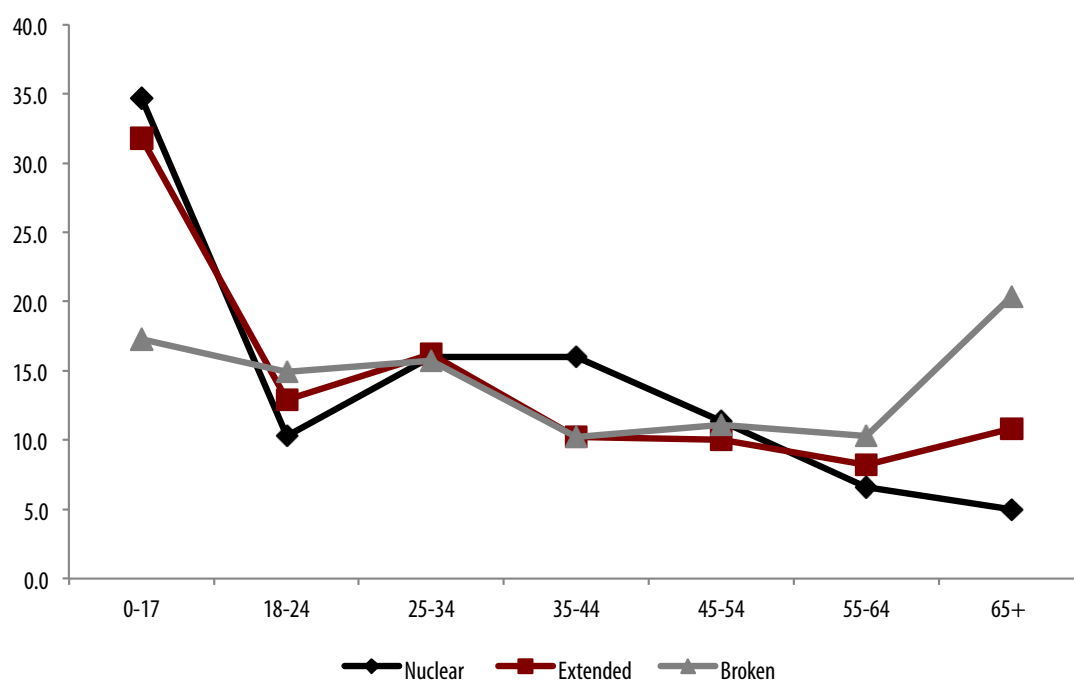
Figure 2. Age Distribution of Family Members by Family Structure, TAYA 2006 (%)

Figure 3. Age Distribution of Household Members by Family Structure, TNSA 2008(%)

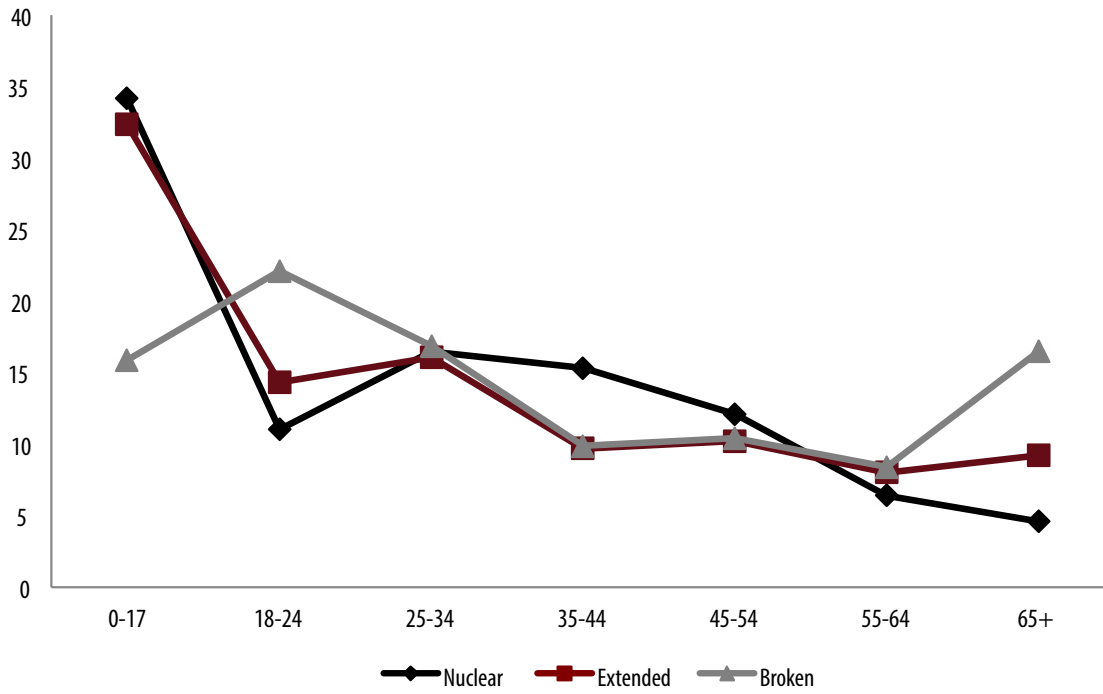
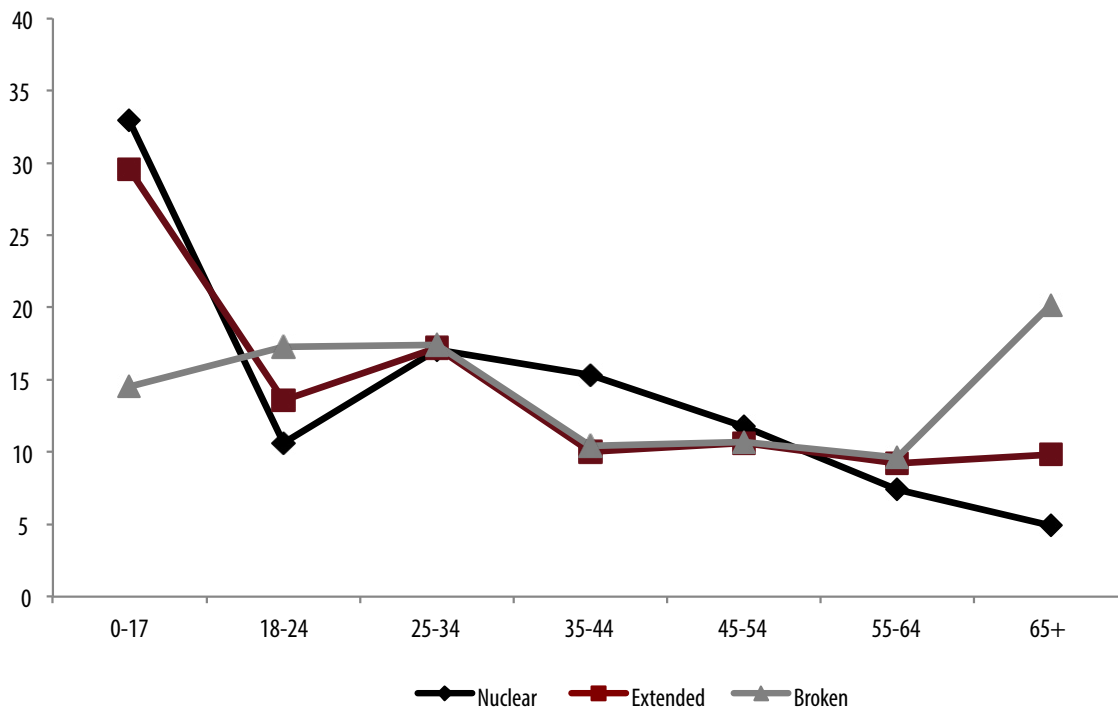


Figure 4. Age Distribution of Household Members by Family Structure, TAYA 2011 (%)



When the age averages of household members by family structure (Table 15) are looked at, new results are found in support of the data above. The average age of household members in Türkiye in 2008 was 30.2, this number increased to 31.2 in 2011. On the other hand, according to TAYA 2011 findings, in one person households (46%) average age is the highest (56.7), while in the nuclear family in the classical sense (5%), average age is the low-

est (29.8). When the percentage distribution of the aged population by family structure was examined, it was found that almost half of the aged population made up of a husband and wife live in nuclear households. It is interesting to see that one fifths of aged population lives in one person households comprising only 9% of all family types. Similarly the percentages of the aged population are also high in transient extended families (17.4%).

Table 15. Expansive Age Groups and Average Age by Family, TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011 (%)

	0-14	15-64	65 and +	Average age	Distribution of aged population
TNSA 2008					
Nuclear	20.9	66.3	4.7	29.2	46.7
Without children	0.0	70.6	29.4	52.8	33.7
With children	32.6	65.9	1.5	26.2	13.0
Extended	28.1	62.7	9.2	30.5	33.2
Transient extended	29.3	59.8	10.9	31.6	18.8
Patriarchal extended	27.0	65.3	7.6	29.5	14.4
Broken	11.9	71.2	16.9	37.9	20.1
One person	0.0	56.1	43.9	56.6	11.5
Single parent	18.5	71.8	9.7	33.4	6.0
Other broken	7.0	84.4	8.6	31.2	2.6
Türkiye	27.4	65.8	6.7	30.2	100.0
TAYA 2011					
Nuclear	27.5	67.6	4.9	29.8	48.5
Without children	0.0	69.5	30.5	54.5	39.5
With children	31.6	67.3	1.1	26.0	9.0
Extended	25.2	65.0	9.8	32.1	26.1
Transient extended	25.5	62.2	12.3	33.3	17.4
Patriarchal extended	24.8	68.2	7.0	30.8	8.7
Broken	10.2	69.6	20.2	40.4	25.3
One person	0.0	54.4	45.6	56.7	16.0
Single parent	17.8	76.2	6.0	31.9	2.9
Other broken	12.5	68.9	18.6	39.7	6.2
Türkiye	25.4	67.3	7.3	31.2	100.0

From the TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011 findings, when the number of aged individuals in Turkish households is inspected by type of household, it was found that the percentage of household which had the least number of aged individuals rose to 21.6% from 17.6%. TAYA 2011 findings show that 15% of households have only one elderly member, 7% have

two and less than 0.1% have three elderly members (Table 16). When the number of the aged members was examined by family structure, it was found that supporting the previous findings, about 49% of extended families had at least one elderly member. In half of one person households and in more than half of transient extended family households there is at

least one elderly member. On the other hand, in households comprised of only a husband and wife and in patriarchal extended families, 6-40% have at least one aged member. The family structure which has the highest percentage of two or more elderly individuals is the childless nuclear family (26.3%).

This situation is related to longer life expectancies in both men and women. Another interesting finding is that in none of the family structures other than extended families and other broken families, there are more than two elderly members.

Table 16. The number of Elderly Members in the Household by Family Structure, TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011 (%)

	No elderly	1 elderly	2 elderly	3 elderly
TNSA 2008				
Nuclear	90.9	3.8	5.3	0.0
Without children	66.0	12.3	21.7	0.0
With children	97.3	1.6	1.1	0.0
Extended	59.7	31.1	8.9	0.3
Transient extended	54.6	37.0	8.0	0.3
Patriarchal extended	65.4	24.2	10.0	0.4
Broken	66.2	33.3	0.5	0.0
One person	55.5	44.5	0.0	0.0
Single parent	73.2	26.0	0.7	0.0
Other broken	77.4	21.2	1.4	0.0
Türkiye	82.4	12.4	5.2	0.1
TAYA 2011				
Nuclear	87.7	4.8	7.5	0.0
Without children	60.7	13.0	26.3	0.0
With children	96.4	2.2	1.4	0.0
Extended	51.0	36.9	11.8	0.2
Transient extended	40.2	50.4	9.1	0.2
Patriarchal extended	66.1	18.0	15.6	0.3
Broken	60.2	39.1	0.6	0.1
One person	51.5	48.5	0.0	0.0
Single parent	81.5	18.5	0.0	0.0
Other broken	46.0	50.5	3.0	0.5
Türkiye	78.3	14.8	6.8	0.0

Another finding that indicates an increase in the number of elderly per household is the increase in the average number of aged individuals between 2008-2011 (Table 17). During this period, the number of elderly members per household increased by 20% rising to 0,285 from 0,229. Similarly in this period, the average number of elderly women rose by 22% reaching 0,159 from 0,124

while the number of elderly men rose by 17% reaching 0,126 from 0,105. The fact that the average number of aged women rise faster than the average number of aged men is related to the rapid increase in life expectancy in favor of women. TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011 results show that the average number of the elderly is rising in all family structures other than the single parent households.

Table 17. Average Number of Elderly Individuals by Family Structure, TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011

Household type	Average number aged women	Average number aged men	Average number of aged people
TNSA 2008			
Nuclear	0.055	0.089	0.144
Without children	0.221	0.334	0.556
With children	0.012	0.026	0.038
Extended	0.297	0.203	0.499
Transient extended	0.378	0.163	0.540
Patriarchal extended	0.204	0.249	0.453
Broken	0.273	0.070	0.344
One person	0.345	0.101	0.445
Single parent	0.222	0.054	0.276
Other broken	0.207	0.032	0.239
Türkiye	0.124	0.105	0.229
TAYA 2011			
Nuclear	0.077	0.121	0.198
Without children	0.270	0.385	0.656
With children	0.015	0.035	0.049
Extended	0.381	0.232	0.612
Transient extended	0.503	0.190	0.693
Patriarchal extended	0.210	0.290	0.500
Broken	0.329	0.077	0.405
One person	0.383	0.103	0.485
Single parent	0.148	0.037	0.185
Other broken	0.504	0.075	0.579
Türkiye	0.159	0.126	0.285

According to TAYA 2011, the average number of the elderly in nuclear families rose to 0,198, to 0,405 in broken families and to 0,612 in extended families. With the exception of nuclear families with children and single parent families which make up almost half of all family types in Türkiye, in all other family structures the average number of the aged is higher than the national average. It is notable that especially in childless nuclear, patriarchal extended, transient extended and one person households, the average number of aged individuals exceed the national average by approximately two times and sometimes by more than two times.

In Türkiye, the average number of elderly women per household (0,159) is higher than the average number of men (0,126). Especially in transient extended and in all broken family types, the average number of aged female members is higher than the average number of aged males. The finding in Table 17 shows that 8% of elderly living in broken families and 73% of elderly living in transient extended families are women. These conditions observed in transient extended families can be related to the facts that there is only one marriage unit in the mentioned households, women are generally younger than their spouses and therefore are still alive. In the nuclear family and patriarchal extend-

Table 18. Marital Status of Household Members by Family Structure, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

Family structure	Never married	Married	Divorced	Widowed
TAYA 2006				
Nuclear	26.4	73.6	0.0	0.0
Nuclear without children	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	0.7	99.3	0.0	0.0
Nuclear with children	31.6	68.4	0.0	0.0
Nuclear with children -1 child	18.6	81.0	0.4	0.0
Nuclear with children -2 children	29.1	70.6	0.3	0.0
Nuclear with children -3+ children	42.3	57.4	0.3	0.0
Extended	23.6	66.3	1.1	9.0
Patriarchal extended	21.6	73.0	0.7	4.7
Transient extended	25.8	58.9	1.5	13.8
Broken	41.9	7.1	10.4	40.5
One person	16.1	4.7	11.1	68.1
One person-Male	29.2	8.6	18.7	43.5
One person-Female	11.1	3.2	8.3	77.4
Single parent	52.2	8.0	11.3	28.5
Single parent-Male	50.8	14.5	10.6	24.0
Single parent-Female	52.4	7.1	11.4	29.1
Other broken	47.7	8.7	7.0	36.6
Non-relatives	83.1	12.3	4.6	0.0
Türkiye	26.9	66.5	1.2	5.4
TAYA 2011				
Nuclear	30.1	69.9	0.0	0.0
Nuclear without children	0.2	99.8	0.0	0.0
Nuclear without children (<45 age)	0.6	99.4	0.0	0.0
Nuclear without children (≥45 age)	0.0	99.9	0.0	0.0
Nuclear with children	37.1	62.9	0.0	0.0
Nuclear with children -1 child	22.3	77.7	0.1	0.0
Nuclear with children -2 children	34.4	65.6	0.0	0.0
Nuclear with children -3+ children	52.2	47.8	0.0	0.0
Extended	27.5	61.1	4.0	7.4
Patriarchal extended	21.9	69.2	7.2	1.6
Transient extended	32.0	54.6	1.3	12.1
Broken	52.1	0.8	15.9	31.1
One person	32.2	0.9	14.7	52.2
One person-Male	53.8	1.8	21.0	23.5
One person-Female	16.3	0.2	10.1	73.4
Single parent	62.6	0.3	16.4	20.7
Single parent-Male	64.2	0.0	12.6	23.2
Single parent-Female	62.4	0.3	16.9	20.4
Other broken	51.5	1.0	20.6	26.9
nNon-relatives	92.8	2.8	3.3	1.1
Türkiye	32.4	59.9	2.6	5.1

ed family, as expected, the average number of elderly males is higher than the average number of elderly females. This can be explained by the fact that when both spouses are alive, males are older than females.

When the marital status of household members were examined according to TAYA 2006 and TAYA 2011 findings (Table 18), it was found that the percentage of never married and divorced household members rose between 2006–2011 in Türkiye, in contrast, the percentage of currently married and of widowed members fell in the same period. The most striking finding here is the fact that the percentage of divorced family members have more than doubled in the same five-year period. TAYA 2011 findings show that the percentage of currently married household members is the highest (70%) among nuclear family households where the presence of a single family unit is needed. In extended families, with the majority of the members currently married, there are members from the whole spectrum of marital status. 11% of extended families are made up of widowed or divorced members, 28% have never married and the remaining 61% are made up of currently married members. It is interesting to note that in transient extended families, especially the percentage of widowed individuals is much higher than patriarchal extended families.

When the marital status of household members in broken families is examined, it was found that 52% are single, 16% are divorced and 31% is widowed. What is interesting is, although few in numbers, there are also currently married individuals in broken families. These members can be individuals whose spouses have migrated internally or externally, or they can be individuals who are separated from their spouses pending a divorce. While men in one person households comprise 54% of the total are single, 73% of women living in one person households are widowed. TAYA 2011 findings show that 21% of men and 10% of women living in one person households are divorced. The fact that the divorce rate of women living in one person households is lower than men can be related

to the two facts that for one, about three fourths of women living in such households are widowed and for two, divorced women get remarried faster than divorced men do (Yüksel Kaptanoğlu, Eryurt and Koç, 2012). About 17% of women living in single parent households are divorced, 20% is widowed. In other broken and non-relative households, single people are more predominant (93%) (Table 18).

1. 5. Results and Social Policy Recommendations

Three important developments were effective in the change of family structure in Türkiye. The first is the socioeconomic transformation that came from urbanization, the rise of the industrial and service sectors in economic life, women's participation in the paid workforce, the increase in income per capita; the second one is the demographic transformation from the rise in the age of first marriages, the increase of birth control within marriage, the rise in the age of having the first child, the limiting of fertility rate at two children, the narrowing of the divide between the ideal number of children and the number of children families actually have, the rise in speed of getting divorced and the rise in survivability at birth; the third one is the transformation in mentality or ideational change considered as critical in the transformation of family structure as the aforementioned structural factors, and even playing an important role in the transformation of the structural factors themselves.

Ideational change is one of the core concepts of the Developmental Idealism Theory put forward by Arland Thornton to uncover the underlying factors behind the transformations of demographic and family structures. The developmental idealism perspective focuses on modernization and development theories to question how Western ideas and norms directly and indirectly transform perceptual and behavioral patterns in non-Western countries. This approach emphasizes how Western ideas and values, particularly in the areas of population and family, are effectively imposed in non-Western countries; how Western ideas suggested establishing a compulsory relationship between develop-

ment and certain family practices. For example, for many developing societies, the effect of this idea has been to perceive having less children and living in a nuclear family as conducive to development and progress; while having many children and living in an extended family as impediment (Barrett and Frank, 1989; Donaldson, 1999; Harkavy, 1995; Hodgson, 1983; Hodgson, 1988). For many years, the effect of these ideas has made a large number of people from policymakers to regular citizens think that population growth could not occur without a drop in living and health standards and slowing down economic development. Towards this end, the population programs adopted in developing countries were held as one with modernization and progress and in many countries governments applied population programs in the name of Westernization and modernization. Approaches to modernization and development argue that modernization of the family triggered the general modernization of society, and general modernization of society triggered the modernization of the family. According to this reasoning, the family structures in developing countries adopt Western examples as models. Leading demographers such as Caldwell (1982), Freedman (1979) and Van de Kaa (1987) postulated that the spread of Western style and thought especially in countries outside the West would lead to ideational change which would in turn speed up demographic transformation and the change of family structure.

Taking Western style and thought as the standard for many aspects of life from the final days of the Ottoman Empire, Türkiye has witnessed a modernization experience that has treated Westernization as a national project since the establishment of the republic. The revolutionary policies enacted in our country spread Western norms and values not just to the societal and political spheres but to the private sphere as well. While Western policies and ideas influenced people's lives through their day-to-day experiences, reforms enacted through public policy would also shape the lives of individuals. For example, changes to the Civil Code brought many important transformations to the private sphere, especially to family life. The mod-

ernization project that was implemented in a rapid and stable manner right at the beginning of the republican period has continued uninterrupted to our day. The most important example of the modernization projects influence on fertility and family structure was the antinatalist population policies that began in the 1960s. While pronatalist policies aimed at increasing population in order to rebuild the demographic structure were implemented after the establishment of the republic, from the 1950s on, changes were made to these policies. In the first of the five year plans that was prepared from the 1960s on, the importance of population planning was emphasized by pointing out how if population was not controlled it would lead to potential problems such as rapid population growth, urban sprawl, the decrease in GNP per capita as a result of rapid population growth, the necessity for spending on demographic investments instead of economic investments in order meet the needs of the rapidly growing population, the rapid growth in the population of youth resulting in employment problems, cities growing uncontrollably and the rise of hidden unemployment in the agricultural sector (Koç et al., 2010). Starting in the 1960s and changing shape with the legal regulation of 1983, the antinatalist intervention resulted in a notable decline in the rates of fertility in Türkiye. In conclusion, the cause behind the notable decline in fertility rates and transformation in family structure, whether on a global scale or in Türkiye in particular, is the idea that there was an essential connection between these processes, progress/development, having fewer children and socioeconomic development.

The family is a societal institution where primary human relations are experienced, responsible for meeting specific needs of its members and transferring the epistemic codes and behavioral patterns relevant for those needs from one generation to the next. Like all other societal institutions, the family has functions that correspond to specific needs in social life. The family institution satisfies human needs such as the continuation of lineage; economic needs; the need for love, support, protection and

trust; the need for childrearing; the need to find a niche in society; the establishing and sustaining of close human bonds. Among the family's functions is the existence of a very strong reciprocal relationship. And so, a strengthening or weakening in one of the family's functions can also result in strengthening or weakening in its other functions. Similarly, there might be changes in the family's functions or the meaning attributed to these functions for societal, cultural, religious, demographic, political, economic, legal and ideational reasons. When considered in this regard, there have been some very important changes in family structure in Türkiye over the past 50 years. These transformations and predictions about family structures and the future and precautions to be taken about the planning stages can be collected under ten headings:

1. Showcasing its endurance by remaining around 25% well into the middle of the 1980s, the extended family grew weaker under the strain of powerful socioeconomic and demographic transformations and regressed to around 12% by the end of the 2000s. The loss of endurance of the extended family and its descent into a period of rapid decline can be largely related to the weakening of the extended family's most important sub family type, the patriarchal extended family. The change in employment structure, increase in urbanization, change in type of manufacture in agriculture, the diminishing value of children and the expansion of the social security system to cover everyone during the modernization period weakened the patriarchal extended family structure and sped up the nuclearization of family structures.

2. There were also important changes in the family structure of another subset of the extended family, the transient extended family. With the functions of the extended family diminishing during the 2000s, the transient extended family entered a period of decline similar to the patriarchal family, witnessing a significant rise in prevalence. The TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011 results reveal that the frequency of this family type is around 8-9%. With transient extended families on the rise in this

period when patriarchal extended families are disappearing, it can be argued that this type of family has undertaken new roles in social life and these roles meet some of the newer needs of individuals. When you consider that a transient extended family is comprised of a nuclear family with additional individuals or groups of individuals, transient extended families acts as buffer zones providing temporary shelter for those who have broken off from their family due to sociodemographic reasons such as death, ageing, divorce, internal migration, separation and those who continue as a broken household or are unable to establish a new household for economic, social or cultural reasons.

3. In the second half of the 1990's there is a deceleration in the transformation of extended families transforming into nuclear families. The demographic researches (TNSA 1998, TNSA 2003 and TNSA 2008) and family structure (TAYA 2006 and TAYA 2011) studies conducted during this period indicate that the prevalence of nuclear families is around 70%. There are three reasons behind this development: First, the diminishing of patriarchal extended families consequently reduced the number of patriarchal families transforming into nuclear families; second, the transformation of patriarchal extended families not into nuclear families but rather into transient extended families, especially in the 2000s; third, the smaller elements breaking off from extended and nuclear families that gave rise to broken families. This development is one of the underlying reasons behind the rapid rise seen in transient extended families (roughly 12%) and broken families (roughly 40%), especially in the 2000s.

4. The socioeconomic, demographic and ideational transformation of Türkiye has affected the nuclear family just as other family types. In this period the composition and life cycles of the subtypes of the family that comprise the nuclear family have changed. While the percentage of childless nuclear families was 14% of all nuclear families in 1978, by 2011 it had grown to 24%. The reason for the increase in the proportion of nuclear families that

are childless nuclear families is largely the result of increased use of birth control methods to postpone childbirth within marriage. While only 38% of married couples used birth control methods in 1978, that number rose to 73% by the end of the 2000s. During this period not only was there a rise in the prevalence of nuclear families but there was also a rise in their lifespan. Two factors in particular were effective in the increase in the lifespan of childless nuclear families, meaning the transformation going from "temporary" to "permanent". The first of these factors was the rise in the age of having the first child with the use of birth control methods to prevent pregnancy, especially the use of modern methods; the second factor was the decrease in the rate of death during the period of demographic transformation and the subsequent longer time parents lived after the children had departed from home.

5. The average number of children per woman was five in the 1970s while the ideal number was around three; the average number of children per woman was 2.5 in the 2000s while the ideal number is 2.4. This situation shows that the disparity between the average number of children and the ideal number of children in Türkiye has decreased, or in other words this indicates that having two children has been established as the norm. An important subset of the nuclear family, the classic nuclear family or nuclear family with children has been the most affected by this period. In the time it took for having fewer children to become the norm in Türkiye (the 1978-2008 period) there was a 44% increase in nuclear families with a single child and 38% increase in families with two children while there was a 58% decrease in families with three or more. In other words, the proportion of nuclear families with three or more children in 1978 was 54% and decreased to 24% in 2008. This situation shows that with the effects of the demographic transformation, nuclear families with children have become households with one or two children reflecting the two child norm.

6. One of the most striking developments in the

transformation of Turkish family structures is the very significant rise in the prevalence of broken families, which have become a buffer zone outside of transient extended families for elements that have broken off from patriarchal extended families, transient extended families and nuclear families for various reasons. One person or single parent families which arose in Western European societies with the second demographic transformation period after the 1960s did not arrive in Türkiye until the early stages of its first demographic transformation in the 1970s. The reason these family types appeared in Türkiye at the same time as they did in Western European society was due to the period of heavy internal migration that began in Türkiye in the 1950s and a period of heavy emigration that began in the 1960s presenting itself as a labor migration. In later years the breaking up of extended and nuclear families during a period of internal migration caused significant increases in the percentage of one person and single parent households. It is clear that internal and external migration contributed to the 67% increase in one person households for the 1978-2011 period.

7. Women comprise 62% of one person households and 89% of single parent households. While the gender composition observed in these households is enough just by itself to warrant social policy priority, an even more important finding is that the number of elderly women in such households is notably higher than other households. Elderly women comprise 38% of one person households. Meanwhile there is at least one elderly woman in 15% of single parent households. For these reasons, policy priorities regarding the rapidly increase in one person and single parent households need to be developed. Another important development in these households is the increasing role of the young population in their establishment. Created with the dissolution of transitory extended, patriarchal extended and nuclear families out of necessity, the establishment of one person and single parent families are becoming less "out of necessity" and with the addition of young people to their creation process becoming more a "result of choice,"

particularly as a product of the socioeconomic, demographic and especially ideational transformation processes seen in urban areas.

8. Another household covered under the scope of broken family, households comprised of people who share no kinship, have experienced a significant increase in recent years. Almost exclusively in urban areas and particularly in metropolitan centers, these households are comprised of men (58%) and women (42%) who have migrated to urban areas to for educational and employment opportunities. Being by their very nature "temporary" households, these do have the potential to transform into other family types, especially nuclear families.

9. Taking into consideration the transformations of family structures in the 1978-2011 period, projections made for the centennial of the Turkish Republic in 2023, predict 69% will be nuclear families, 7% extended families and 24% broken families. Evaluating the internal composition of these families provided socioeconomic, demographic and ideational transformation continue as before, the percentage of nuclear families will stay at the same level after a partial increase; a subset of the nuclear family, the percentage of nuclear families without children is predicted to grow and reach 20%, while nuclear families with children will stand still at 50% after a very limited increase. During this period, the percentage of nuclear families with three or more children will diminish even further while nuclear families with one child in particular will become even clearer. The percentages of both subsets of extended families are expected to decrease. The patriarchal extended family is predicted to drop to 2% among all family types especially as its societal and economic functions will be largely covered by other societal, political and economic institutions. With its potential to be a safe buffer zone for elements that have broken off from other family structures, the transient extended family will remain resilient for a while longer. It is predicted that one in four families will be a broken family by the centennial of the Republic. Within

this type of family, one person families and single parent families in particular are expected to quickly grow to 12% and 10% respectively. With these types of households becoming less about "necessity" and more by "choice," it would be beneficial to take the necessary safeguards set forth by the constitution and the development plans in order to monitor the numeric size as well as age and gender composition of these households.

10. The 41st article of the Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye accepts the family as the foundation of society and emphasizes how the state needs to take necessary precautions to ensure its peace and welfare. The 10th Development Plan prepared for the 2014-2018 period by the Ministry of Development states, "the institution of the family comprises the core of society, holding both individuals and the community together, and raising individuals within a framework of tolerance, respect and empathy are the fundamental basis of a strong society," and emphasizes that the family "is of critical importance to the strengthening of the societal structure and solidarity." Once again in the 10th Development Plan (Ministry of Development, 2013), constitutes "a shift from extended family to nuclear family" in our country

11. Similarly, the 10th Development Plan (Ministry of Development), emphasizes that in the country "there is a shift from the extended family towards the nuclear family" and the relationship between family members are changing and especially suggests "there is a need for follow-up and counseling services for the solution of problems of single parent families that emerged as a result of the increase in divorce rates". Furthermore it underlines that to decrease the number of divorces, family counseling and negotiation mechanisms are going to be developed. As can be clearly seen, in order to implement all the solutions included in our constitution and development plans, there needs to be data based planning. The Ministry of Family and Social Policies has made two studies on the family possible in six years. However, the

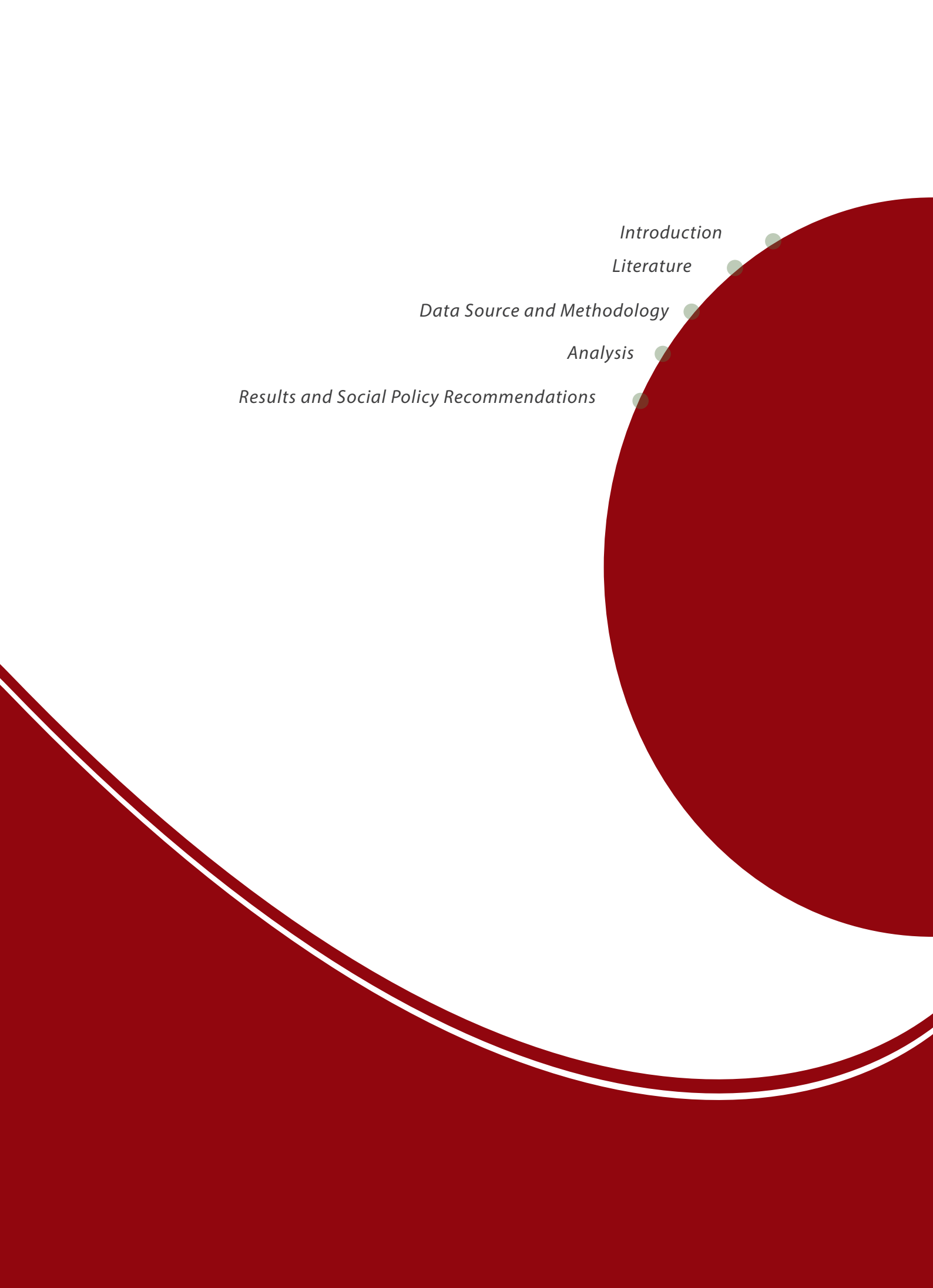
sampling design, the questionnaire design and the quality of the data is far away from providing sufficient or dependable data to put the precautions mentioned in the constitution and development plans into effect and to make the necessary planning. As in other demographic research done in Türkiye, these studies collect data on structural factors, they do not contain information or have little data on the transformation of mentality, the shaping of perceptions, attitudes and behavior. For

this reason, there is great benefit to conduct panel type research to understand and expose the reasons behind the transformation of family structure in Türkiye and their underlying mechanisms. Moreover in this context, this panel type design needs to be based on *Developmental Idealism Theory* and show mentality factors as well as the structural factors effective on the transformation of family structures.

Section 2

RELATIVE AND NEIGHBOR RELATIONSHIPS

Prof. Dr. Ferhunde Özbay



Introduction

Literature

Data Source and Methodology

Analysis

Results and Social Policy Recommendations

2. 1. Introduction

The recently falling birth rates both in Türkiye and in the world, the rise in the non-productive aged population and the resulting changes in the age structure have led social scientists and authorities to reconsider relationships between families and relatives. The primary goal of numerous research done on relationships between generations was to understand how the care provided to the elderly was shared between the state, markets and family triangle and to make predictions on the subject. On the other hand, low birth rates have started to disintegrate horizontal categories of relatives. The fact that siblings, maternal and paternal uncles, maternal and paternal aunts, nephews and nieces, cousins and similar horizontal relative categories have started to diminish and even become non-existent for some individuals, have prompted questions on the changes in social life and other changes expected to take place in the future. The insurrection of women against gender hierarchy and their demands for a world with greater equality have started to show results. In many countries including Türkiye, laws and practices on gender discrimination are being changed. At the same time, the fact that domestic violence against women has risen to levels never seen before, is a point worth to reflect on (Altınay and Arat, 2007; Bozbeyoğlu et al. 2010). While this discussion was going on, to get to reliable data on the relationships and relationship models with relatives across Türkiye, the Ministry of Family and Social Policies has conducted the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (TAYA) in 2006 and 2011. The aim of this study is to understand the elements of change and stability in the relationships between relatives using the data gained from these two studies conducted across Türkiye.

In this article, first the legal, social, cultural and demographic changes will be discussed. In the next section where the methodology and results will be argued, the way these changes reflect upon relationships between relatives will be looked over and comparisons between other study results will be made. In the last section, social policy suggestions based on the primary findings of the study will be made.

2. 2. Literature

2.2.1. Kinship and Relations with Neighbors: Sociocultural, Legal and Scientific Definitions

Relatives are individuals connected to each other by family lineage. Civil Code defines family lineage as: “The lineage between the mother and child is established at birth. Lineage between the father and child is established by marriage to the mother, accepting paternity or by court order. Family lineage can also be established by adoption.”¹ In fact, this definition is also used to define the family. Because the family is an institution that exists within the system of relatives. For instance, both familial ties and kinship can be claimed between the mother and child. Relationships between relatives are a complex, hierarchical and dynamic system researched and debated by anthropology extensively (Fliche, 2006).

Sociological research on the other hand, is focused more on the family as an institution rather than the kinship system. Studies have defined kinship as the relatives of the nuclear family made up of parents and unmarried children and have chosen to separate the concepts of family and kinship. For instance, households formed by the addition of other relatives are defined as “extended families”. In households where the nuclear family does not exist, even if two siblings live together, these types are classified as “non-family households” or “broken families”. TAYA 2006 and 2011 are also family oriented. Both studies consider kinship not as a system but as a network of relationships. In this manner, kinship can be compared to neighbor relationships and evaluated together.

Even though the nuclear family is generally defined to be basically made up of parents and unmarried children, it is accepted that childless couples can also be considered within this category. While single-parent families are frequently classified as “nuclear family”, some include this type under the definition of “broken family”. In this study,

¹ The article number 282 of the 4721 Turkish Civil Code ratified in 22 November 2001 which went into effect on January 1, 2002.

single parent families are classified under “nuclear family”. The reason for this is to clarify the definitions of “family” and “kinship”.

The family and its members have other social relationships and strong ties with relatives and neighbors. For instance, friendship, coming from the same hometown, membership in tribes and religious – political communities are other important ties the individual and family are in. A factor that differentiates relationships with relatives and neighbors from others is the fact that these are more closely related to family life. Because of this differentiation, women are in the forefront of relationships with relatives and neighbors. Women are generally more active in ensuring the maintenance of good relationships and conflict resolution. On the other hand, men are more present in other social relationships. Relationships between relatives and neighbors are naturally intertwined with other ties such as sharing the same hometown, belonging to the same religious community, friendship and belonging to the same tribe. When choosing their spouses or the location of their homes, individuals utilize other social relationships. As a result, men are indirectly effective in the formation of relationships between relatives and neighbors. For instance, men play an active role in the formation of neighborhoods for different groups such as those sharing the same hometown, religious communities and other groups individuals belong, thus playing a role in the formation of neighbor relationships (Erder, 2002).

Another component that differentiates relations between relatives and neighbors is the fact that it also includes legal benefits. Issues such as the division of inheritance among relatives, the responsibilities of parents towards their children, sharing common spaces and sharing common expenses with neighbors are defined by law. For example the Divided Co-Ownership Law passed in Türkiye in 1965, defines the rights and communal responsibilities of co-owners sharing the same apartment building. Land, garden borders and common spaces are also regulated in rural areas. A portion of conflict seen between relatives and neighbors arise from self-interest on these issues. However, other issues of conflict can sometimes become more important.

A point that needs special attention here is the fact that by law, neighbor relationships are not as clearly defined as relationships between relatives. Their meaning may change according to ownership and public order issues. As an example in urban areas those that share the same apartment building are considered “neighbors” and there is a self-interest relationship based on co-ownership, however, the “neighborliness” of those who live in the building next door or the next street is discussed in the legal context of public order. Neighbor relationships include an undefinable number of friendships/animosities. In some places, relationships between those who live side by side or closely together cover just two three households and in some other places these relationships can cover tens of different households. As a result, the context of neighbors becomes important when discussing the concept.

In relations with neighbors, there are no predetermined hierarchical categories (grandfather, daughter-in-law, grandchild, uncle, cousin etc.) as in the system of relatives. Neither can we approach neighbor relationships as friendships that take place in the same location. Because there may be individuals or families who do not know or who have never met their neighbors. Neighbor relationships, similar to the relationships between people who come from the same hometown, are those formed between individuals and families who share some common ground (living in the same location, being born and raised in the same place). In places where there is little or no migration, neighbors also share the same hometown. In such places being neighbors is an even stronger bond. The importance of coming from the same hometown increases with migration. In the case of migration, coming from the same town reflects similar experiences and background and helps relationships to develop between individuals. In the absence of other social- cultural commonalities, the development of neighbor relationships take a longer time. Frequent moves and renting are reasons why neighbor relations sometimes do not develop at all.

In religious and moral lexis, neighbor relationships are seen as important and close as relative relations. Islamic law places special importance to relations

between relatives and between neighbors². Neighbor and relative relationships are also supported in other religions. In this context neighbor relationships can be thought of as a close circle outside of relatives who can access the daily life of the family. In this study, neighbor relationships are limited to the discussion of some very general issues. The main emphasis is on relationships with relatives.

2.2.2. Characteristics Observed in the Definition of Kinship in Türkiye

When evaluating relationships with relatives, first we need to look at the basic characteristics of the kinship system. First of all we need to emphasize that although there is a biological component, kinship is defined by the political authority by law and as a result does not have an absolute, unchanging structure. The understanding of kinship in the pre-Islamic period and among Turks before Islam has changed with the Islamic law; with the onset of the Turkish Republic, those who may or may not be relatives have been redefined and some changes were made. Even today, with changes and additions to the Civil Code, kinship system and legal relationships between relatives are constantly updated.

A second important factor is, although the law brings a single definition to kinship, there may be many different approaches observed during implementation. For instance, in the pre-Islamic period and among Turks before Islam, adoption was performed to establish family lineage, however, this was banned by Islamic law. Following this approach, the Republic has defined the legal framework for adoption. Today, while there are people who legally adopt a child and see them as no different from their own children, there are also people who do not legally adopt the child and raise the child in a foster home environment. Because they are not considered biological children, foster children in this category are not considered to be “relatives” either. These two very different approaches exist

side by side in our society. (Özbay, 1999; Özbay, 2012).

While the first Civil Code was being debated during 1926, the goal was to come as close to European norms as possible, so the Swiss Civil Code was taken as the blueprint for this discussion. On the other hand, in order to not hurt sensibilities, some other solutions for articles that were in direct opposition to Islamic Law were also sought³. In essence, both approaches aim to protect the family institution. Both have elements that support marriage and having children. Even though it is not as rampant as in Islamic Law, the 1926 Civil Code was also based on gender hierarchy.

To attribute the latest changes in Civil Code only to the governments of the Republic would not be right. Intellectuals and authorities in the late stages of the Ottoman Empire tried to make similar changes to family law. The need to end polygamy and slavery was voiced often (Kızıltan, 1993). From the point of view of this subject, the most important change proposal came from Ziya Gökalp. Voicing his concerns on the drawbacks of the extended family he called the “mansion type”, Gökalp has strongly supported the nuclear family he called the “nest type” in his article published in 1917 (Gökalp, 1992). Historical studies on the “mansion type” families done recently show that this type was not as widespread in XIXth century Anatolia (Duben, 1985; Duben and Behar, 1996). However, the issue Gökalp was trying to underline was the need to clarify the demarcations of the family. According to Sirman, the aim of the central government by passing laws supporting the nuclear family was to gain the ability to directly supervise young males by freeing them from the hegemony of the older members of the family (Sirman, 2005).

In fact, not only the Turkish Republic, but all nation-state governments want to strengthen their dominion over citizens and become the sole authority over them. As a result, in some of the

2 “Worship God and do not consider anything else as equal to Him. Do good deeds for parents, relatives, orphans, the destitute, close neighbors, far away neighbors, friends who are near, travelers, and those under your care. Indubitably, God does not like arrogant and boastful people.” (Nisa: 36)

3 However, in the updated law of 2001, extensive changes to largely eliminate gender hierarchy were instigated for compliance with the European Union. (TMK, 2001; Uluşan, 2002)

changes made in the area of family and kinship, a clash between those and Islamic Law was inevitable in some respects. Foremost among those were the ban on polygamy, the systemization of marriage and divorce agreements under the scrutiny of the government, gender-neutral approach to inheritance rights, prioritizing descendants, legalizing adoptions and disregarding forming kinship bonds through wetnursing and becoming siblings by sharing the same wetnurse.

However, there are important costs associated with the efforts of the government to take all its citizens under its control. The government has to provide rights for its citizens in health, education, retirement and unemployment; in short it has to become a welfare state. Even though governments started with this goal in the beginning of the Republic, these services could only be provided to a limited number of citizens in urban areas. In reality, the change in Family Law was limited to those who had access to the aforementioned services and the total change desired by this law has never taken place.

Governments may have preferred to have both the old and the new approach to family law to exist side by side. This way, not only did they not clash with existing cultural values, but they also could overcome some of the difficulties of the transitional period. The co-existence of this dual kinship approach has reinforced the importance of family and kinship from the point of the individual. Furthermore as pointed out by Alan Duben, even in Northern European countries where the welfare state model is fully achieved, the state cannot replace family and relatives in taking care of the elderly for instance (Duben, 2013: 11).

Studies conducted on the subject reveal that even when parents do not require care, adult children continue to live in solidarity with their parents and close relatives. The studies of Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı and friends emphasize the fact that in countries such as Türkiye, family and kinship relations do not need a material basis. Kağıtçıbaşı, with the model she calls cultural relationality opposes the West-

ern origin view that in Türkiye, with the onset of urbanization and industrialization, family and kinship relationships based on interdependence have left their place to relationships based on independence principles. According to her, in many non-European traditional societies such as Türkiye, the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand, while economic hardships have necessitated interdependence among family members, children are also seen as the insurance of old age. As opposed to the West, even when family resources increase and inter-generational financial independence is seen, emotional dependence between members of the family continue in full force (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982; Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2005).

2.2.3. Gender Preference and Kinship Relations

The male dominated perspective in Family Law was conserved in the 1926 Civil Code. The law had defined the man as the head of the household and provided the right of final say in matters such as the wife working outside of the house. Until the Civil Code restructured in 2001, in other words during the whole of XXth century, social and religious norms, in addition to the sexist perspective of the law have seriously hurt the rights of women to be equal individuals in society and in the family. Although a more equality oriented perspective has been implemented with the new regulations, in reality there are only meager indications that this change in the law has been internalized. Disturbingly, not only in Türkiye, but everywhere else in the world, underlying the tyranny, abuse and violence that can go as far as murder instigated by male relatives upon female relatives widely called “domestic violence”, is to a degree the male reaction to increasing equality demands of women (Altınay and Arat, 2007; Bozbeyoğlu et al. 2010). It is clear that the gains of women through the new Civil Code need to be supported by other policies and practices.

The sexist roots of kinship system have been supported by social and religious norms and local authorities have not truly been determined to en-

sure equality. For instance, although it was clearly stated in the Civil Code, unless there was an express complaint, the political authority looked the other way for years when daughters were given a lesser share of the inheritance; until the end of the XXth century, serious measures were not taken to stop the practice when thousands, even millions failed to register their marriages or children, especially their female children (Özbay, 2010b). Similarly, the government turned a blind eye when thousands of families made unregistered adoptions and an important number used these adopted children as household help (Özbay, 2012).

In a study done on cotton growers in the Aegean region in the 1970's, Nükhet Sirman touches upon problems caused by this duality in inheritance. Mothers who plan to spend their old age with their sons do not want daughters who will eventually go "outside" the family to have an equal share of family lands. As a result, when looking for potential spouses for their daughters, they look for candidates who will not pursue the legal inheritance of their daughters, while the daughters look for "assertive" husbands who will not let their inheritance go to male siblings. This conflict between the mother and daughter can result in hostile behavior (Sirman, 2010).

Sirman's observation of this conflict between mother and daughter in the 1970s rural areas has lessened somewhat in later years. Moreover in the present day, there are many who get close to relatives from both sides. In large cities, the solidarity between the mother and daughter surpasses the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. Gülçin Con has observed that daughters are more altruistic and responsible than sons (and daughters-in-law) when it comes to caring for the elderly (Con, 2013). There are findings from other societies showing that daughters are more closely involved with their parents. Researching the relationship children have with their parents after they get married, Merrill has shown that the widespread American saying "a daughter is a daughter all of her life, but a son is a son 'til he takes him a wife" is true for the American society. In short, as the effectiveness of laws that eliminate gender differences increase, the respon-

sibility of sons looking after the parents, which has been the accepted norm, diminishes and relationships with the woman's side of the family increase.

2.2.4. Intergenerational Flow of Wealth

When we look at changes in kinship systems from the point of inheritance, the most prominent quality is the fact that Civil Code promotes monogamous nuclear families and as a result, focuses on the descendants⁴. In Islamic law on the other hand, ancestors and descendants are considered together and a clear preference for gender has been made⁵.

4 In the Civil Code renewed in 2001 and come into effect in 2002 heirs are defined as:

"A. Blood relatives

I. Descendants

ARTICLE 495.- The primary heirs of the deceased are their descendants. Children are equal heirs.

5 The place of children who died before the deceased are taken by their descendants to all degrees of legal subrogation.

II. Mother and father

ARTICLE 496.- The heirs of a deceased with no descendant are the mother and father of the deceased. These are equal heirs.

The place of parents who died before the deceased are taken by their descendants to all degrees of legal subrogation.

In the case of no descendants from one side, the inheritance goes to the descendants of the other side in totality.

ARTICLE 497.- The heirs of the deceased who has no descendants, parents or their descendants are the grandparents. They are equal heirs.

The place of the grandparents who died before the deceased are taken by their descendants to all degrees of legal subrogation.

If one of the grandfathers or grandmothers from the side of the mother or father dies before the deceased with no descendants, their share of the inheritance goes to the heirs on the same side of the family.

If both of the grandparents from either the mother's side or the father's side die before the deceased without descendants, the inheritance goes to the heirs from the other side in totality.

If there is a surviving spouse, in case a grandfather or grandmother dies before the deceased, his/her share goes to their own child; if the surviving spouse has no children, the share of the inheritance goes to the grandmother and grandfather on that side; if both grandparents on one side are both dead their shares of the inheritance goes to the other side.

IV. Relatives related without marriage

ARTICLE 498.- If born out of wedlock and recognized by family lineage, recognition or by court order, relatives become heirs of the father's side just the same as relatives by wedlock.

B. Surviving spouse

ARTICLE 499.- The surviving spouse according to his/her category becomes an heir to the deceased under the conditions below:

1. If he/she becomes an heir along with the descendants of the deceased, one fourth of the inheritance,

2. Half of the inheritance if he/she becomes an heir in the mother father category of the deceased

3. Three fourths of the inheritance if he/she becomes an heir along with the grandmother and grandfather of the deceased along with their children, if no other descendants exist, the inheritance passes to the surviving spouse in totality.

These principles are also generally observed in other articles as well.

In Turkish Civil Code not only inheritance, but also wealth flow during life is also directed toward descendants. Here, not only the expenses made within the family and within kinship relationships to ensure the welfare of the children are considered, but also the interest and care for each other are included in the definition of the flow of wealth. The latter is considered as moral capital. The care responsibilities of the parents toward the children are clearly defined in the law. Moreover, the provision of care by the parents until the child completes his/her education is anticipated in the Civil Code⁶. Which parent gets the custody of the child in the event of the death of one spouse or divorce is also a matter

C. Adopted children

ARTICLE 500.- Adoptive children and their descendants will become heirs to the deceased just as blood relatives. The adopted child also continues to be an heir in his/her own family.

Those who adopt the child and their relatives do not become heirs of the adopted child."

The division of inheritance is described in the Islamic Law in these terms:

"While dividing inheritance, God orders you to give two female shares to every male child. If they are all females and there are more than two, these get two thirds of the inheritance; if it is a single child, then half of the inheritance is given to the female child. If the deceased has children one sixth share of the inheritance is each given to the mother and father, if the deceased has no children and if the parents become heirs, one third is given to the mother, if the deceased also has siblings, one sixth of the inheritance is given to the mother. These can all be done after the will of the deceased is carried out or after all debts are paid. You cannot know if your father or which one of your sons are closer to you in benefit. All these are considered as conditions by God; indubitably God is all-knowing; God is wise."(Nisa: 11)

6 Some examples from Turkish Civil Code:

ARTICLE 327.- The costs associated with the care, education and protection of the child are met by the parents.

If the parents are without means, or if the care of the child requires extraordinary expenses or in the presence of extraordinary conditions, by the judgement of the court, the mother and father can spend a portion of the inheritance of the child to meet his/her care and education needs.

II. Duration

ARTICLE 328.- The care debt of the parents runs until the child becomes legally of age.

If the education of the child who is legally of age still continues, the parents are obligated to care for the child according to the amount they would be expected to spend until the education of the child comes to an end.

ARTICLE 338.- Spouses are liable to show care and concern for their step children who are not of age.

The other spouse assists the spouse who uses familial authority on the child; represents the child's needs as the situation and conditions necessitate.

for the courts to decide. Moreover, a later amendment to the law made it possible for grandparents and close relatives such as maternal and paternal aunts and uncles to primarily gain the custody of a child who has lost both parents (Uluslan, 2002; TCC, art. 325.). However, the care and concern for parents and other close relatives by children are not mandated by law. That is to say that the care and concern responsibilities discussed as moral capital in literature is solely directed towards descendants in the law. Even though it is not a legal obligation, as was stated before, Türkiye is perceived as a country where solidarity between relatives is considered very high (Aytaç, 1998; Ataca and Sunar, 1999; Kallaycıoğlu and Rittersberger, 2000; Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2005; Con, 2013; Duben, 2013).

The direction of the flow of generational wealth in society and within the family is an important subject for social scientists in the world today. Ronald Lee, who has studied this issue directly related to kinship relationships, does not consider changes in the legal code as an independent variable. For him, the changes in demographic structure along with the economic and technological developments are the determinants of generational wealth flow at different times and different regions (Lee, 2003).

In short, the issue Lee emphasizes in his analyses covering the period from hunter gatherer societies to the present is the fact that the concepts of retirement and education have emerged and become widespread with the advent of economic and technological developments. In the past, among people who joined production at early ages and kept producing until death, the direction of the flow of wealth was not important. Common or horizontal ownership is in effect within the family and inter-family relationships, as retirement and education became more and more important in society, other alternatives for the livelihood of non-producing groups have emerged. When under age children and the elderly largely pulled away from production and solely became consumers, the family and relatives undertook their welfare primarily. The government support provided for those non-producing groups became stronger by the formation of the nation-state but never reached the level of private contributions.

In their empirical studies in different countries, Lee and friends have shown that today the flow of wealth is basically from the older generation to the younger (Lee, 2011). Even if the intensity changes, this finding shows no change in public or private (family and relatives) space. Youth are the future of a country. The future of the family is also determined by the manner and conditions of bringing children up. As a result, it is natural for both the state and the family to encourage top down flow of wealth. Even in European countries where the aged population rises rapidly, the investment of the state in the younger generation is larger than the one made for the elderly. In reality, the aged population does not require any extra resources than health expenses. However, with the effect of factors such as the development of health technologies and the proliferation of health services that move away from preventive medicine more towards treatment services that arose with the rise of liberalism, the aged population is increasingly more expensive for the state and the family. Because the market provides services for the well-to-do, even though the market's contribution in this area increases, its role in the overall society is still negligible. On the other hand, for the elderly who are largely at a disadvantage (i.e. cannot pay for market services), the state and families are forced to take responsibility for their welfare and consumption needs.

2.2.5. Relationships with Horizontal Relatives

For a long time, relationships between horizontal relatives such as siblings, children of siblings, paternal and maternal uncles, paternal and maternal aunts have not attracted enough attention. The fact that legal responsibilities seen between vertical relatives are not as clearly defined between horizontal relatives can be a factor for this disinterest. Kinship system exhibits a clear hierarchical structure in cultural norms. Placing those that are healthy, male members, descendants of male members, older people, married people and people with children on a higher hierarchical rung is almost a natural unseen rule. The result solidarity and cultural hierarchy has brought forward in different conditions is the fact that sometimes very close and at other

times hostile relationships are experienced. Among siblings who have shared many financial and emotional things since childhood have two possible future contentious issues. The first one is the question of who takes care of elderly and unhealthy parents and other aged family members: who makes how much contribution. The other one is what kind of "justice" is going to be needed during the division of the inheritance.

As mentioned earlier, Gülçin Con, in her study on relationships between siblings underlines the fact that daughters are much more altruistic than sons (2013). Moreover the elderly members of the family complain more about the indifference of their daughters-in-law than their sons.

Davidoff states that relationships between siblings are longer than relationships between any other relative and as a result, it is impossible to break free of this relationship completely (Davidoff, 2011). The importance of relatives such as siblings and maternal and paternal uncles and aunts is higher in high death rate societies. Because in such societies the time spent with these relatives are short. Relatives from the father's side of the family especially uncles older than the father, aunts older than the mother etc. can take on the role of grandparents. However, a conflict of interest is not present between vertical relatives although some hostile relationships especially with uncles in the issues of the division of the estate, organization of the business and the estate of the father can be experienced.

Horizontal relatives have largely lost their importance in Türkiye due to rapidly falling death rates and decreasing birth rates. Individuals develop intense support networks within the triangle of mother-father-child, largely leaving other relatives outside.

2.2.6. Reflections of Changes in Demographic Structure on the Kinship System and Related Relationships

Issues like the number of relatives, the intensity of relationships with relatives change with births and

deaths, marriages, migrations and the age structure of the population. However, it has to be noted that population should be considered as an independent variable here. In other words, changes in the population structure and rate should not be taken as factors affecting the kinship system and relationships within. Because the change in population is largely shaped by past social, cultural, economic and political circumstances. For instance, when we say high birth rates multiply kinship, instead of forming a cause and effect relationship, what should be understood is by definition, in high birth rate societies kinship will increase.

Yes, high birth rates increase the number of relatives. Especially the number of horizontal kinship relationships, that is the number of siblings, maternal and paternal aunts, maternal and paternal uncles, sisters and brothers-in-law, nephews and nieces, cousins etc. increase by birth. On the contrary, in countries like China, the kinship model born out of the single-child policy destroys horizontal kinship relationships and only vertical ones are formed. The newborn does not have any other relatives other than the grandparents.

High birth rates are usually observed alongside high death rates. Average life expectancy is low in such societies. Both newborn and infant deaths combined with senior deaths decrease the average life span. In such cases, rather than the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren, the horizontal relationship between maternal and paternal aunts and uncles are more dominant. With the rise of life expectancy, the number of those with grandparents increases.

In the transition period, that is, in societies where death rates fall rapidly but birth rates fall at a slower pace, the types and numbers of relatives an individual has are at their highest level. However, here, the characteristics of the age structure should also be noted. Each generation has many or few relatives depending on the number of relatives in previous and latter generations. That is to say, in places where there is no stagnancy in the demographic structure, where even rapid changes take place, “kinship wealth” changes generation by generation. As a

country experiencing this transitional period, Türkiye exhibits a structure where there are significant fluctuations between generations in the number of relatives one has. Thus, it is useful to examine kinship relationships by different age groups. Today, we are going through a period where there is a wealth of relatives among the younger generation. Almost all of the members of the younger generation have both vertical and horizontal kinship ties. On the other hand, newborns and the elderly do not have the same number of relatives.

Circumstances related to population, which is births, deaths, marriages and divorces, migrations do not change at the same rate everywhere. For instance, in Türkiye, the regional differences between the birth and death rates are important (Koç, 2007:2). The level of education, especially the level of education of women is another factor that reflects the differentiation in birth rates. Therefore, when analyzing kinship relationships, we have to look at different status groups separately.

Relatives have been scattered around the country and even around the world by migrations. Long-distance kinship relationships are the subject of altogether different studies (Ünal, 2006). For instance immigrant female workers have generally left their children with their mothers or husbands, and they manage their relationships with their children through communication tools, grandmothers have to look after their grandchildren more often than in the past. The hierarchy in kinship relations and the features of relationships change as a result.

2.3. Data Source and Methodology

In this section, evaluations of kinship relationship based on the 2006 and 2011 studies of Research on Family Structure in Türkiye done by the Directorate of Family and Social Services of the Family and Social Policies Ministry are presented. The study represents Türkiye according to rural and urban areas, Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS) Level1 and the cities of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir are measured separately. Within the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (TAYA) 2006, 12,208 households were inter-

viewed, the demographic information of 48,235 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 23,279 individuals over the age of 18. In TAYA 2011, 12,056 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 44,117 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 24,647 individuals over the age of 18. In the study, reference individuals from the households were given the list of individuals and household questionnaire and individuals over 18 were given the separate individual questionnaire.

The main goal of these two studies which have also been supported by the findings of other research is to monitor the continuity and change in kinship relationships. Moreover, the findings of these studies are meant to form an infrastructure in the debate between the state and families in meeting the needs of the impoverished.

In line with this goal, the studies focused on several areas that were deemed important. The first one of these is the type of family members and relatives individuals have. This information was not directly asked during TAYA 2006 and 2011; it was a derivative of a series of questions aiming to understand the relationships with family members and close relatives⁷. To understand the presence of the

mentioned family members or relatives, the first alternative answer to these questions was designated as “absent/deceased”, in this thinking, because any other answer would indicate the presence of the family member or the relative, the information on

this question was presented as “have/have not”. E.g. has a mother/does not have a mother.

In the 2006 study, there are nine different family member and kinship definitions. In 2011, these categories were increased to 15. As detailed in footnote 9, the questions generally asked in 2006 were differentiated by gender in 2011. For this reason a definitive comparison between these two periods cannot be made.

Types of relatives an individual has have been used in two different ways. Individuals were not only asked if they had a certain relative, but the total number of types of relatives each individual had was also calculated. However, an important issue to remember here is that the calculation was not the total number of relatives but the number of “relative types” and thus, because of the differences between questions, a definitive comparison between the periods cannot be made.

Secondly, to define the general characteristics of individuals living in different types of households was attempted. Household types were grouped as: “Nuclear family households”, “extended family households”, “single person households”, “households where relatives live together” and “households made up of non-relative individuals”. The nuclear family households were classified as husband and wife, husband and wife and unmarried children and single parent families. In some studies, single parent households are considered in the “broken household” category. In a study where kinship relationships are taken under scrutiny, such a categorization is not appropriate. Because just as in nuclear

⁷ In TAYA 2006 these questions are ordered as B41.2 with your children, B41.3 with your mother, B41.4 with your father, B41.5 with your siblings, B41.6 with other relatives, B41.7 with your mother-in-law, B41.8 with your father-in-law, B41.9 with your sisters and brothers-in-law, B41.10 with the other relatives from your spouse's side. In 2011 the alternatives of these questions were diversified according to gender. These questions are ordered in the 2011 study as: B41.2 with your mother, B41.3 with your father, B41.4 with your daughter, B41.5 with your son, B41.6 with your elder sister or sister, B41.7 with your elder brother or brother, B41.8 with your paternal uncle, B41.9 with your maternal uncle, B41.10 with your maternal aunt, B41.11 with your paternal aunt, B41.12 with your mother-in-law, B41.13 with your father-in-law, B41.14 with your maternal grandmother, B41.15 with your paternal grandmother, B41.16 with your grandfather.

families, between members of such households not a kinship but a family relationship exists. Here, I have specifically named “broken families” defined in other categorizations as “other relative households”. Because such households show a kind of kinship solidarity just as in extended family households. For instance, grandmother-grandchild, two siblings etc. When kinship is considered, these households are not broken but quite the contrary, they are individuals who came together for mutual support.

In the report, analyses on the relatives within extended families were also included. Those who are not direct members of the nuclear family of the head of the household were evaluated as “kinship status” in the household; others were classified as “household members”. Starting from the hypothesis that those who belong to the immediate nuclear family of the head of the household have a higher status of the household, this variable was called “status in the home”. The aim here is to determine the types and characteristics of kinship that make up the extended family. Generally, all that is known about the composition of “patriarchal extended family” and “transient extended family” is limited. Moreover, data based on the household does not exactly provide us with the information on the number of people who live within the extended family in kinship status. However, this information can form the basis for social policies.

When questions about the proximity of living quarters with relatives were evaluated, answer alternatives were simplified and grouped as “in the same building/yard”, “in the same neighborhood/district/village”, “in the same city/town” and “in a different city”. Again, here the 2006 and 2011 studies are different. Although this question was asked to individuals in the 2006 study, in the 2011 version, this question on the household questionnaire was asked only to the person who answered the interview questions. Moreover, because relatives were classified in general terms, that is, the questionnaire used the plural such as brothers, sisters etc., the interviewer only considered the relative who lives the

closest. Here, an additional cumulative classification was made. Analyses were made, prioritizing their results, on those who lived in the same building, also on those who do not live in the same building but in the same neighborhood, among those that do not belong to either category but live in the same neighborhood and on the rest those that live in other towns and cities. The proximity of relatives’ living quarters is thought to increase the possibility of solidarity. As a result, the age, household structure and education of individuals whose solidarity with relatives was high or low were evaluated by using the proximity of living quarters.

Because it was later understood that a series of questions on the help and support between relatives did not work, they were not included in the report. For instance, almost everyone gave positive answers to questions about gift giving, attending weddings, funerals and there was no significant difference between periods. For this reason questions about all relatives and neighbors in the questionnaire were not included here.

All analyses were based on age groups, educational status, urban/rural location, region and gender. Among those, the ones seen as important were included in the report. Age groups were divided into four groups and simplified as 18-24, 25-44, 45-64, and 65+. Similarly, educational status was also grouped into three as no education, primary and middle school (elementary education) and high school and above.

The findings were exhibited in simple cross tables, even by frequency distributions. Between the two studies, most of the time an exact comparison could not be made because of the differences in the formulation of the questions. It should be remembered once again: in TAYA 2006 and 2011, questions about relatives were directed to adults over 18. As a result, here kinship relations of adults are being discussed⁸.

⁸ The statistical analyses were done by Selçuk Akbaş. I would like to thank him here once again

Table 19. Family and Kinship Possession by Age, and Residence Area, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Türkiye	Rural			
		18-24	25-44	45-64	65+
2006					
Has mother	71.2	97.7	86.3	42.0	4.9
Has father	57.5	90.6	70.6	24.8	2.7
Has child	73.3	19.5	80.9	94.8	92.6
Has sibling	96.6	98.4	98.9	96.0	84.5
Has other relatives	99.1	99.2	99.6	98.8	94.9
Has mother-in-law	51.8	28.4	73.1	40.6	7.6
Has father-in-law	40.7	25.6	60.1	25.9	4.1
Has brother/sister in law	77.3	32.0	86.9	94.0	80.2
Has other relatives from the spouse's side	79.8	33.1	87.9	97.5	92.7
2011					
Has mother	69.0	97.0	85.0	41.2	2.1
Has father	55.3	91.5	68.8	22.1	1.2
Has daughter	57.1	13.3	62.1	81.1	86.7
Has son	60.4	13.0	64.2	85.9	91.9
Has sister	80.2	78.3	86.8	85.4	63.6
Has brother	81.5	76.5	88.3	84.9	61.9
Has paternal uncle	63.2	88.1	76.3	39.5	7.1
Has maternal uncle	68.8	93.1	84.3	47.7	8.5
Has maternal aunt	69.4	91.0	84.1	48.0	7.3
Has paternal aunt	64.0	86.5	79.1	40.6	5.2
Has mother-in-law	47.5	30.0	69.8	39.5	2.6
Has father-in-law	36.8	26.7	57.4	23.0	0.6
Has maternal grandmother	22.4	50.8	22.9	1.4	0.0
Has paternal grandmother	17.1	44.1	14.8	0.8	0.0
Has grandfather	14.3	35.2	12.7	0.6	0.0

2.4. Analysis

2.4.1. Owned Family Members and Types of Relatives

The number of relatives is not frequently known nor is it something that raises curiosity. Here, calculating the average number is not our aim. However, the family members and kinship types of an

individual is important. Cases like orphans, childless people, only children, getting to know the grandmothers, relationships between the mother and daughter-in-law have separately become the focus of interest and the subject of research (Özbay, 2012; Davidoff, 2013). In societies where propagation and reproduction are fostered but where the services of the welfare state are inadequate, kinship ties are important and having relatives is considered to be

Urban			
18-24	25-44	45-64	65+
2006			
97.9	87.8	48.2	4.9
91.6	72.4	28.2	2.1
16.2	77.4	94.0	91.5
96.2	98.4	97.2	84.4
99.7	99.7	99.0	96.3
23.9	73.0	47.2	8.0
21.3	60.0	31.0	3.6
27.0	84.9	93.7	76.8
28.7	85.6	96.1	91.2
2011			
98.2	89.0	47.7	4.8
91.9	74.0	26.9	1.8
7.9	54.1	76.0	83.2
8.5	58.2	81.0	83.2
71.1	83.0	84.7	64.3
76.1	86.0	85.1	57.4
90.1	79.6	45.2	7.2
93.2	85.4	51.6	9.0
91.4	86.1	55.2	9.5
89.3	81.4	46.0	5.7
20.5	70.6	43.1	6.3
18.3	58.7	26.9	2.6
61.1	27.3	3.1	0.2
50.8	19.7	2.2	0.2
44.2	15.7	1.9	0.2

a valuable factor. On the other hand, kinship ties can especially increase the social control on women and their responsibilities, moreover, it can become an additional source of contention. It is impossible to understand the importance and meaning of having relatives using findings from such large scale research. Still, keeping former discussions in mind, probable areas of conflict and types of support were included.

In Türkiye, individuals over 18 can be considered to have a wealth of relatives. The number of orphans is very low. Even though the number of siblings have dropped, it is still not large enough to reach the over 18 population. Life expectancy has increased and grandchildren, that is, today's youth for the most part, have found the opportunity to get to know their grandparents. Again, among young people almost all have several of paternal and maternal aunts and uncles and cousins. Because marriage is widespread, in-laws also add to this wealth (Table 19).

Of course, having a family and relatives changes with age. As age progresses, the number of older relatives like parents and grandparents decrease and the number of children increase⁹. Adults over 25, who are mostly married and especially the 25-44 age group are the luckiest in terms of having a family and kinship ties.

Having different types of relatives are both beneficial and detrimental. Because solidarity between relatives is especially directed towards the younger generation, younger generations are potentially luckier in this respect. They can get all the financial and personal support they need while growing up. For them weddings and births are “fruitful”! “fruitful”! Young children get help from the family and relatives. Of course, here, the support of female relatives that cannot be given a pecuniary value is very important.

The group with the most problems is the one that tries to support both the younger and older generation, old enough to have their own grandchildren but still have both parents. This group can roughly be defined as the 45-64 age group. Although individuals in this group cannot receive serious help from the older generation, they have to give them

help and also have to help out the younger generation. Between the years of 2006 and 2011, almost one fourth of individuals in this group still have their father and almost half still have their mother (Table 19). Even though there are no significant differences between 2006 and 2011, with lengthening life spans, the instances of having both the mother and father still alive will increase in the future. I will come back to the details of the subject later. What I want to especially emphasize here is the fact that the age of the individual can affect positive or negative potential outcomes of kinship.

Significant differences are found when having a family and relatives are a little bit more closely examined by rural-urban living and by educational status of the individual. For instance, as the educational level increases, having parents also increases. As the educational level drops, having children increases. These differences come about because education as an indicator of status. In higher status families, life spans are relatively longer and the numbers of relatives increase positively as a result. For the same reasons, compared by the urban-rural divide, there are more individuals living in urban areas that have more relatives (Table 20-21).

Table 20. Family and Kinship Possession by Educational Status and Residence Area, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Türkiye	Rural			Urban		
		No education	Primary & middle school	High school and above	No education	Primary & middle school	High school and above
Has mother	71.2	39.2	70.9	86.9	43.2	73.9	86.7
Has father	57.5	28.9	56.3	76.2	30.8	58.4	74.1
Has children	73.3	86.8	79.5	47.3	86.2	80.9	52.1
Has a sibling	96.6	92.2	97.2	98.2	94.6	97.8	96.1
Has other relatives	99.1	97.3	99.1	99.6	98.4	99.4	99.4
Has mother-in-law	51.8	30.3	56.8	46.2	34.1	61.9	48.4
Has father-in-law	40.7	19.6	45.7	37.6	23.8	48.5	39.7
Has brother/sister-in-law	77.3	82.5	83.7	55.8	84.4	85.5	59.3
Has other relatives from the spouse's side	79.8	89.8	85.5	57.9	90.7	87.2	60.7

⁹ In both versions of the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye, there are no questions about grandchildren. However there are questions on maternal and paternal grandparents.

Table 21. Family and Kinship Possession by Educational Status and Residence Area, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye	Rural			Urban		
		No education	Primary & middle school	High school and above	No education	Primary & middle school	High school and above
Has mother	69.0	30.5	60.8	86.1	41.0	69.3	85.8
Has father	55.3	20.3	47.3	70.3	29.6	53.9	73.1
Has daughter	57.1	83.5	67.8	37.8	79.9	62.7	35.7
Has son	60.4	85.9	71.6	39.8	82.9	66.7	38.2
Has sister	80.2	77.3	84.4	76.3	79.8	83.7	74.7
Has brother	81.5	76.5	84.1	77.7	80.0	85.8	76.6
Has paternal uncle	63.2	32.5	56.6	74.4	42.5	64.4	75.6
Has maternal uncle	68.8	36.5	63.8	81.8	47.2	69.7	80.5
Has maternal aunt	69.4	34.5	64.0	81.2	46.3	71.2	81.3
Has paternal aunt	64.0	30.2	57.7	78.4	40.0	65.5	76.7
Has mother-in-law	47.5	20.6	50.0	50.1	30.7	54.2	46.9
Has father-in-law	36.8	14.8	36.2	43.1	22.8	41.8	37.9
Has maternal grandmother	22.4	5.1	14.7	32.9	8.8	19.7	35.7
Has paternal grandmother	17.1	3.1	11.2	24.1	6.0	14.2	29.1
Has grandfather	14.3	2.6	7.9	24.5	4.6	11.9	24.2

Average family members and kinship types were calculated to get a rough idea. In 2006 the average values changed between 0-9, in 2011 these values varied between 0-15. In 2006, total average family and kinship types was about 6-7, this number

is about 8 in 2011. Although changes between the two periods could not be determined because of the differences in the questions, in both studies the highest number of possession of relatives is around 25-44 years of age and as expected the lowest is among the oldest age group¹⁰ (Table 22).

Table 22. Average Number of Family Members and Kinship Types by Age, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Türkiye	18-24	25-44	45-64	65+
2006	6.5	5.1	7.4	6.3	4.6
2011	8.1	9.1	9.7	6.7	3.4

Note: The question used in 2006 and 2011 are not compatible for comparison. Only the annual changes in trends in age groups should be considered.

¹⁰ It is interesting to note that the younger generation (18-24) have more kinship types than the average in 2011. Whether they get married earlier compared to the study done five years ago, whether they become parents earlier or whether they have a tendency to have more aged relatives cannot be determined by these findings. Again, the fact that between aged and younger individuals, the great difference in kinship type in 2011 cannot be justified unless a more detailed study is conducted. Because the content of the questions also point to a similar change in the same direction. This difference can be attributed to the fact that "have"s and "have-not"s went into calculations of average twice. For instance if there are no siblings and either a brother or sister is present, these numbers went into calculations once in 2006 and twice in 2011.

Kinship with the spouse does not make a difference on the number of relatives. From the point of view of the density of relationships, such marriages can be considered more important. On the other hand,

educational levels cause differentiations on average kinship types. Those without an education have less average kinship types (Table 23)

Table 23. Average Number of Relatives by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011

	Türkiye	No education	Primary & middle school	High school and above
2006	6.5	5.8	6.9	6.1
2011	8.1	6.0	8.2	8.7

Note: The question used in 2006 and 2011 are not compatible for comparison. Only the annual changes in trends in educational status should be considered.

This finding is open to interpretation. The low number of kinship types present can also be a cause of low educational level. On the other hand, compared to others the levels of marriages, marrying children off, death could have affected this differentiation. For whatever the reason, considering the low social status of those with no education, the wealth of kinship types can also be considered an indicator of high status.

2.4.2. Changes in Household Structure

As is true for many countries, today the norm is to live together as a nuclear family. Other structures outside of this norm are almost labeled as “problematical”. However, the general trend in the world is a proliferation of structures that do not belong to this norm. Those who live alone and those who live together are the major components of this trend in developed western countries like the USA and Europe. Gerstel in the USA has observed that kinship relationships are especially important and beneficial to the disadvantaged like the poor, single parent families and individuals who live alone (2011).

Based on those findings, Gerstel emphasizes that in governmental social service programs, the state should stop assuming that individuals live in nuclear families of mother-father-child. In underdeveloped or developing countries, lifestyles outside of the norm can be especially associated with poverty and migration. As a result of the mother or the father leaving and going to another place (country) for economic reasons, norms like grandchildren living with their grandparents or aged poor individuals living alone are increasing faster over time¹¹. While living together as an extended family was limited to the well-to-do in the past, nowadays it has become the survival strategy of mainly lower and middle classes (Özbay, 1998).

The majority of individuals (74%) in live in nuclear family households (Table 24). This is followed by extended families. Although the other three types continue their increase, they are still proportionately small. The most significant change observed between 2006 and 2011 is the unraveling of the extended family and the rise in the number of people living alone. This trend might provide a clue about

Table 24. Household Types by Individuals in Türkiye, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Nuclear	Extended	Other relative households	Non-relative households	Individuals living alone
2006	74.3	20.7	2.0	0.3	2.7
2011	73.6	17.7	2.9	1.1	4.7

¹¹ As I said earlier, I do not want to call this household type as the “broken family” household. Because families like grandmother-grandchild or aunt-niece households have not formed as a result of a family breaking up, rather they came into being by the coming together of more than one relative. Calling these “kinship households” would be more appropriate. I would like to emphasize once more that according to my definition single parent families are included in nuclear families.

how household structures are going to change in the future. Another factor that does not need to receive a lot of attention in household structures, is the stability observed in individuals living in nuclear families.

The value society attributes to the family is so great, the social status of those who do not live as a member of a family is questioned. Relatives living as members of extended households are lower in the hierarchical rung because they do not belong to the immediate family of the head of the household. Of

course this is an unseen, unspoken hierarchy. When individuals in nuclear and extended households are parsed as family member and relative, we notice a remarkable finding: In Türkiye 87% of individuals over 18 live as a member of a family (Table 25). This high rate has continued between 2006-2011 without any change. Similarly, Table 25 shows that the number of relatives in a household has decreased and the number of people living alone has increased between 2006-2011. These findings almost give the impression that some individuals leave extended families and start living on their own.

Table 25. Household Types Individuals Live in According to Family and Kinship Relationships, TAYA 2006-2011

	Family member	Relatives in the household	Those living in other households of relatives	Those that live in non-relative households	Individuals living alone
2006	87.4	8.7	0.9	0.2	2.7
2011	87.1	6.3	1.1	0.7	4.7

2.4.3. Changes in Extended Family Structure Life

The falling rates of extended families are generally explained by modernity, urbanization and industrialization. These explanations are the beliefs of the structural functional theory also known as American sociology (Parsons, 1962). Because this theory defines social change as a linear progression, it has been seriously criticized. Demographers have rejected the supposed ties between the nuclear family life and modernity by asserting that although an extended family norm existed in the pre-capitalistic era, extended families where three generations lived together was not the dominant lifestyle because of high death rates. For instance Laslett and his team have shown by their detailed historical research that living as a nuclear family in Europe was very prevalent in the past (1972). Duben says that in Anatolia during the Ottoman period, nuclear family households were widespread (1985).

In fact, due to the shortness of human life span, the strength of the norm is related to the short duration of extended family life where three generations live together. In his study of villages conducted in Central Anatolia in the 1950's, Stirling has found out that when the father outlives life span expectations,

conflicts start between married sons and some break away from their home and migrate to cities (1965). In other words, the increase in life expectancy brings about the weakening of norms associated with living together as an extended household.

Analyses made by Timur in 1968 across Türkiye and by Özbay in 1982 in the Black Sea region, show that families do not embrace one single type of household, on the contrary, they experience extended-nuclear-extended household types throughout their life cycle. Based on this study, it can be offered that the norm of the extended family continues in different forms in lower and middle classes. It is possible to say in low and middle levels, it is a common norm for the first born newlywed son to stay at home until the couple has their first baby and stay long enough to raise the baby until he can establish an independent lifestyle for his family. This cyclical family life can be thought of as a typical example of kinship solidarity or providing younger generations with financial and personal wealth transfer. In higher classes, the couple establishing their own household upon marriage is widespread.

When evaluating these macro level findings on the basis of individuals, several important issues arise.

It is difficult for the young mother to raise her first baby without help. This difficulty was even more serious in periods of primitive technology. In agricultural societies, because the mother has to join in the labor as well as care for the baby, it was inevitable to receive help from the older women of the family. On the other hand, it was basically the father's decision to allow the son(s) working the father's soil to establish to permit his son to establish his own independent household. In summary, in primitive technology levels, the flow of wealth from the older generation to the younger (in the sense of care and financial support) is important. These conditions make extended family norms understandable.

When he compared the results of his 1968 research with his findings from Ereğli in 1982, Özbay has shown that among newlywed couples, both the number of those who live at home in the first years of their marriage has decreased and those who do, move faster to establish their own households in a shorter time. In their life cycle, individuals are living in extended families for a shorter time. The decrease in the extended household lifestyle within the population also occurs by these changes (1998). However, the number of married couples still living at the family home during the early years of their marriage is still high enough and cannot be neglected. Using the findings from the 2001 Hacettepe Research, İsmet Koç has shown that roughly half of the young men leave home after 25 years of age, however, the number of those who leave home after getting married and having a baby affects this rather high percentage (2007). On the other hand, in Italy where the age of leaving home is high, young men continue to stay in their family home before getting married (Livi-Bacci, 2001).

It can be proposed that the willingness of married young people to establish their own household rather than stay at the family home can be explained by their relatively low status at the home. In the process of transitioning from an agrarian into an industrial society, the transfer from one generation to the younger one has relatively decreased when young men found jobs as wage earners and this resulted in the young couple establishing their own households. On the other hand, the time between

marriage and the first baby has increased. It may be suggested that the mother candidate has developed some alternatives for the care of the baby. It has become possible for the young mother to shorten the time caring for the baby and get help from different sources. Local research suggests the importance of the young mother's receiving outside support from her own mother instead of living with her mother-in-law. The mother's moving into her daughter's home for a few months after the birth is another frequently encountered solution. That is to say that the transfer of wealth from the older generation to the younger has both decreased and changed shape. The share of the market and the state has started to increase.

In short, the main factor that determines household types is related to the quality and importance of the transfer of wealth from the older generation to the younger. To live in extended families because of the care needs of the elderly is a relatively new situation. It has not become a norm. The fact that although the number of elderly individuals has increased between 2006-2011, the fall in the number of extended households points to this conclusion. How many relatives live as an extended family? Who are they? What are some of their characteristics like gender and age? These questions are discussed by comparison below.

2.4.4. Relatives at the Home

No other study exists on relatives that live in the same household along with the members of the nuclear family. However, learning about these individuals will make it possible to make extrapolations about the future of family and kinship relationships. Undeniably, countrywide findings on relatives living in the same house will be an important information resource during the process of creating social policies.

In 2006 in Türkiye, 9% of individuals over the age of 18 were relatives living in an extended household. As expected, most of them were women (61%). In 2011, although the majority was still women, a slight decrease was observed in gender rates (59%). The rate of relatives in the home has dropped to 6%.

Between 2006–2011, important changes occurred in the differentiation of whether the relatives at the home were living in urban or rural areas. In rural areas in 2006 while more individuals were living as relatives in the household, in 2011 the majority of people living as a relative in the house is currently reside in urban areas (Table 26). The changes in

migration strategies might be a reason for the shift from rural to urban areas. The unraveling of the extended family in rural areas was much more rapid during this period. Whatever the reason, these findings suggest that relatives living in extended families and their related problems will start to be experienced in “urban” areas at an increasing speed.

Table 26. Relatives Living at the Home by Residence Area, TAYA 2006–2011 (%)

	Rural	Urban
2006	52.5	47.5
2011	36.6	63.4

In both periods, the number of elderly individuals in the home is higher than the percentage of the elderly in the general population (Table 27). Another important characteristic observed in the age distribution of the individuals in the home, is about young individuals. Similar to the aged people, young

individuals living as relatives in the house are represented at a higher percentage than their percentage in the general population (Table 27). The fact that people living in the home as relatives are predominantly at non-productive ages is meaningful.

Table 27. Relatives at the Home by Age, TAYA 2006–2011 (%)

	18-24	25-44	45-64	65+
2006				
Relative	27.8	49.4	9.5	13.3
Total	17.1	48.6	25.3	9.0
2011				
Relative	27.1	46.0	11.1	15.8
Total	16.9	44.7	27.9	10.5

Another important characteristic of this group compared to the general population is the fact that

they had been married before (Table 28).

Table 28. Relative at Home by Marital Status, TAYA 2006–2011 (%)

	Unmarried	Married	Married before
2006			
Relative	10.4	68.1	21.5
Total	19.5	74.0	6.6
2011			
Relative	9.0	63.0	28.0
Total	19.5	71.7	8.8

It seems like relatives whose spouses died, those who got a divorce or those who are separated have taken refuge among their relatives. While the percentage of such individuals do not exceed 10%, in both studies, at least one fifth of relatives in the home have been married before. Surely, a percentage of those are widowed elderly relatives. However, these findings indicate that widowed, divorced or separated individuals are more fragile and helpless

than married, even never married individuals.

Regional differences do exist. The rate of relatives at the home exceeded 10% in the Black Sea region in 2006; this percentage fell rapidly in the same region in 2011. On the other hand, the rates that were relatively higher in Southeast and Central Anatolia in 2006, continue more or less the same with just a slight dip in 2011 (Table 29).

The only region that shows an increase in the number of relatives living in the house between 2006-2011 is the Mediterranean region. The reason for these differences can be attributed to the changes in life style but also to migration.

Against the falling trend of relatives in the house, there is a rise in the number of people living on their own. Again for instance, the rise in individuals

living alone in the Black Sea region is important. In Western Marmara, while the number of relatives in the house decreased, the percentage of those living on their own rose to 10%, showing twice the increase than the Turkish average (Table 29). Moreover, the personal characteristics of people living alone and of those who live in the house as a relative are very close together.

Table 29. Status at Home by Regions, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Nuclear family member	Relatives living at the house	Living in other households of relatives	Living alone	Living in non-relative households
2006					
Türkiye	87,4	8,7	0,9	2,7	0,2
Istanbul	88,6	6,2	1,4	3,5	0,2
West Marmara	87,6	7,5	1,0	3,7	0,3
Aegean	87,7	8,6	0,6	3,0	0,2
East Marmara	89,0	7,8	0,6	2,2	0,4
West Anatolia	86,2	8,9	1,0	3,5	0,4
Mediterranean	91,0	5,4	0,7	2,5	0,3
Central Anatolia	86,8	10,5	0,5	2,2	0,0
West Black Sea	80,7	15,2	0,9	2,7	0,5
East Black Sea	83,9	12,1	1,3	2,6	0,1
Northeast Anatolia	84,2	13,3	0,9	1,6	0,0
Mideast Anatolia	87,1	10,0	0,7	2,2	0,0
Southeast Anatolia	87,0	10,4	1,4	1,2	0,0
2011					
Türkiye	87,1	6,3	1,1	4,7	0,7
Istanbul	87,8	5,4	1,4	5,2	0,3
West Marmara	85,8	2,9	1,1	9,5	0,7
Aegean	86,9	5,2	0,9	6,2	0,8
East Marmara	88,1	5,8	0,9	3,7	1,4
West Anatolia	88,3	4,5	1,4	4,5	1,2
Mediterranean	83,4	13,6	0,8	2,2	0,0
Central Anatolia	84,7	10,5	0,8	2,9	1,1
West Black Sea	85,3	7,6	1,2	5,9	0,0
East Black Sea	86,5	5,5	0,6	6,7	0,7
Northeast Anatolia	84,4	9,7	1,1	3,3	1,6
Mideast Anatolia	88,0	8,8	1,0	1,8	0,4
Southeast Anatolia	87,4	9,8	0,9	1,3	0,7

2.4.5. Individuals Living Alone

The number of those living on their own rose and fell over time. The fact that today, this trend is on the rise and almost doubled in five years is an important change.

Today, the most prominent issue is the fact that the number of males who live on their own has reached a significant percentage. This is a new trend. Moreover, with a steady improvement in economic conditions, the percentage of males living alone in urban areas can be expected to rise even more. In 2006, more than half of the males living on their own (55%) had an educational level of high school or above. This rate increased to 68% in 2011. In other words, living alone is becoming a life style for men rather than necessity. Besides, the majority of men who live alone are young people who have never been married (18-44). While men in this age group comprised 48% of all men living alone in 2006, this percentage rose to 60% in 2011.

Duben and Behar who emphasized the importance of people living alone in Istanbul during the late Ottoman and early Republic periods and point out the fact that most of them were poor widowed women of working age (1996). Those households made up of poor women who had lost family or husband at war decreased in number over time. In the rising trend of living alone, there are many women and widows. The majority of people living alone in 2006 were women (70%). This percentage dropped in 2011 (57%). In 2006, the majority of both genders lived in urban areas (66%). In 2011 there was a slight increase in men living alone in urban areas (68%) and a slight decrease in women in urban areas (63%).

In 2006, the majority (57%) of women living alone were those who were older (65+) and had been married before (84%). In 2011, the percentage of aged women among those living alone has increased even more (62%). In both studies, about one fifth of women living alone had an educational level of high school or above. However, especially in rural areas, the educational level of women living alone was very low. Again, in both studies, those with no

education comprised three fourths of women living alone in rural areas. Living alone is still seen as the manifestation of poverty and vulnerability on the part of women.

In this study, there are several reasons to focus on the people living on their own. The first one is those who live alone are usually somebody's relative. Individuals who need the solidarity of kinship are those who were left alone because of poverty and helplessness. The second is that the rising trend in this group shows parallels with the unraveling of the extended family. There are indications that living alone is being embraced as a life style. The third reason is while the trend of young, educated men living alone can be a factor that allows them certain flexibility in the face of market conditions, this trend can also be an indicator of distress they are feeling about their roles in society. This choice can be interpreted as a resistance to the social control of the father's family and the responsibilities of father and husband roles that accompany marriage.

2.4.6. Distance from Relatives

To understand how close relatives outside the household lived to its members, respondents were asked "how close they lived to their relatives." The various responses were simplified to four categories: "the same building/yard," "the same neighborhood/district/village," "the same city" and "a different city." Even if not living in the same house, for relatives to live in the same building or even neighborhood has a positive impact in terms of support. These statistics can also be interpreted as an indicator of support between relatives.

Before proceeding to the findings we need to discuss the composition of the questions once again. These findings do not have as clear figures as the ones for relatives in the house. The questions asked were once again over the types of relatives and varied between the two periods. Thus, an exact comparison cannot be made.

In 2006 the percentage of people who say they live in the same building as at least one relative is 13%. In five years this proportion has increased a little to

17% (Table 30). This is a high percentage. Since the same period coincides with a drop in relatives in the same house, it is as if some of the relatives do not go too far and simply move to another apartment in the building.

Among those who do not have relatives residing in the same building, those who had relatives in the same neighborhood was also significant. In both

periods 27% of individuals reported having a relative reside in the same neighborhood. The most significant variation between 2006 and 2011 is data that suggests relatives living in the same city seem to have migrated elsewhere. Between 2006-2011 the percentage of relatives living in the same city decreased while those living in different cities increased (Table 30). This variation is seen in both urban and rural settings.

Table 30. Distance to at Least One Relative, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Nuclear family member	In the household	Living in other relative's households
2006			
Same building	13.1	14.0	11.8
Same neighborhood	26.7	18.9	38.3
Same city	47.5	53.3	38.9
Different city	12.7	13.8	11.0
2011			
Same building	16.5	18.3	13.4
Same neighborhood	26.7	17.2	43.9
Same city	29.1	33.2	21.7
Different city	27.7	31.4	21.1

Note: the categories were calculated in progression. Meaning relatives residing in the same neighborhood were calculated for those who did not have a relative in their building, relatives residing in the same city were calculated for those who did not have a relative in their building or neighborhood, relatives residing in a different city were calculated for those who did not have a relative in their building or neighborhood or the same city. In both studies there were no individuals with any relatives.

As the questions related to distance were asked separately for each type of relative, we were also able to get an idea about which type of relative lived close by and which type lived farther away.

Of those that lived in the same building there is no significant difference when it comes to general trends between 2006 and 2011 (Table 31a and Table 31b). In both studies individuals mostly reported living in the same building as either their parents or their in-laws. The least common situation was living in the same building as their paternal/maternal uncles and aunts. With relatives differentiated by gender in 2011, it can be noted that it is a little

more likely for relatives on the male's side to reside in the same building. But the discrepancy is not a major one. Additionally there is no significant variation between urban-rural when it comes to residing in the same building.

Relatives that live in the same neighborhood/village are naturally more common in rural settings. But there is no significant variation between the studies. While in urban settings it is more common to live in the same neighborhood as close relatives such as siblings, parents and in-laws, rural settings have a wider range of relatives that live in the same village.

Table 31a. Type of Relatives Residing in the Same Building and Neighborhood, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

Same Building							
	Türkiye	Urban	Rural		Türkiye	Urban	Rural
	2006				2011		
Mother/father	4.9	5.1	4.5	Mother	5.6	5.5	6.0
				Father	5.6	5.5	5.9
Sibling(s)	3.5	3.9	2.9	Sister	2.2	2.2	2.0
				Brother	4.1	4.4	3.5
Child(ren)	2.4	2.5	2.3	Daughter	1.9	1.9	1.8
				Son	4.0	3.9	4.2
In-laws	5.6	5.9	5.0	Maternal grandmother	5.7	6.1	4.6
				Paternal grandmother	5.9	6.4	4.4
Grandparents	3.8	3.7	4.0	Grandfather	1.9	1.9	1.9
				Paternal uncle	2.8	2.8	2.9
				Maternal uncle	1.1	1.2	1.0
Uncles and aunts	0.9	1.0	0.7	Paternal aunt	2.0	1.8	2.6
				Maternal aunt	0.7	0.5	1.2
				Paternal Aunt	0.7	0.6	1.0
				Maternal Aunt	0.9	0.8	1.2
Same Neighborhood							
	Türkiye	Urban	Rural		Türkiye	Urban	Rural
	2006				2011		
Mother/father	13.3	8.7	22.3	Mother	14.3	9.8	29.1
				Father	14.1	10.1	28.3
Sibling(s)	16.8	11.0	27.0	Sister	16.7	11.6	30.0
				Brother	17.5	10.9	34.7
Child(ren)	4.1	2.8	6.3	Daughter	5.5	4.0	8.6
				Son	3.8	2.7	6.2
In-laws	16.9	10.5	28.9	Mother-in-law	16.4	10.4	34.3
				Father-in-law	16.1	10.3	34.2
Grandparents	15.5	8.1	31.8	Maternal grandmother	10.5	7.1	25.1
				Paternal grandmother	11.5	7.9	29.7
				Grandfather	10.5	7.6	25.0
Uncles and aunts	15.9	7.6	31.5	Paternal uncle	16.2	10.1	35.8
				Maternal uncle	12.9	8.0	27.8
				Paternal aunt	11.9	8.1	23.8
				Maternal aunt	12.7	8.4	26.7

Table 31b. Type of Relatives Residing in the Same City and Different Cities, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

Same Accomodation							
	Türkiye	Urban	Rural		Türkiye	Urban	Rural
2006				2011			
Mother/father	31.1	32.5	28.4	Mother	19.7	20.4	17.6
				Father	20.0	19.9	20.6
Sibling(s)	41.5	44.8	35.9	Sister	26.4	28.0	22.4
				Brother	25.7	27.6	20.9
Child(ren)	10.8	10.4	11.5	Daughter	10.0	9.4	11.1
				Son	6.0	5.8	6.5
In-laws	41.9	44.2	37.4	Mother-in-law	25.9	25.7	26.5
				Father-in-law	26.3	25.6	28.5
Grandparents	43.7	45.2	40.2	Maternal grandmother	21.7	19.8	30.0
				Paternal grrandmother	20.2	19.8	22.5
				Grandfather	19.6	18.8	23.7
Uncles and aunts	52.2	54.8	47.4	Paternal uncle	25.3	25.2	25.7
				Maternal uncle	26.2	25.2	29.1
				Paternal aunt	25.6	24.6	28.9
				Maternal aunt	25.8	24.8	29.1
Different Accomodation							
	Türkiye	Urban	Rural		Türkiye	Urban	Rural
2006				2011			
Mother/father	20.7	25.4	11.4	Mother	43.0	48.5	24.4
				Father	46.1	51.2	27.7
Sibling(s)	16.8	11.0	27.0	Sister	49.8	52.9	41.7
				Brother	46.8	50.8	36.3
Child(ren)	6.2	4.6	8.9	Daughter	17.9	15.0	24.5
				Son	14.7	11.4	22.2
In-laws	26.6	33.4	13.8	Mother-in-law	46.4	52.5	28.5
				Father-in-law	48.4	54.6	29.1
Grandparents	31.0	38.5	14.4	Maternal Grandmother	65.1	70.3	42.1
				Paternal Grandmother	62.9	67.5	39.4
				Grandfather	66.4	70.6	45.8
Uncles and Aunts	30.7	36.3	20.0	Paternal Uncle	56.2	62.6	35.5
				Maternal Uncle	60.2	66.1	41.8
				Paternal Aunt	61.5	66.4	45.7
				Maternal Aunt	60.3	65.7	42.4

As indicated previously, there is striking variation in five years when comparing relatives that live in the same city with those in different cities. There

is greater distance between almost all relatives in this period, but mostly from distant relatives such as grandparents, aunts and uncles.

Table 32a. Types of Relatives Living in the Same Building by Household Type, TAYA 2006-2011

	Nuclear family w/o child	Nuclear family w/child	Extended	One person household	Single parent household	Other broken	Non-relative household
2006							
Mother/father	31.1	32.5	28.4	Mother	19.7	20.4	17.6
				Father	20.0	19.9	20.6
Sibling(s)	41.5	44.8	35.9	Sister	26.4	28.0	22.4
				Brother	25.7	27.6	20.9
Child(ren)	10.8	10.4	11.5	Daughter	10.0	9.4	11.1
				Son	6.0	5.8	6.5
In-laws	41.9	44.2	37.4	Mother-in-law	25.9	25.7	26.5
				Father-in-law	26.3	25.6	28.5
Grandparents	43.7	45.2	40.2	Maternal grandmother	21.7	19.8	30.0
				Paternal grandmother	20.2	19.8	22.5
				Grandfather	19.6	18.8	23.7
Uncles and Aunts	52.2	54.8	47.4	Paternal uncle	25.3	25.2	25.7
				Maternal uncle	26.2	25.2	29.1
				Paternal aunt	25.6	24.6	28.9
				Maternal aunt	25.8	24.8	29.1
2011							
Mother/father	20.7	25.4	11.4	Mother	43.0	48.5	24.4
				Father	46.1	51.2	27.7
Sibling(s)	16.8	11.0	27.0	Sister	49.8	52.9	41.7
				Brother	46.8	50.8	36.3
Child(ren)	6.2	4.6	8.9	Daughter	17.9	15.0	24.5
				Son	14.7	11.4	22.2
In-laws	26.6	33.4	13.8	Mother-in-law	46.4	52.5	28.5
				Father-in-law	48.4	54.6	29.1
Grandparents	31.0	38.5	14.4	Maternal grandmother	65.1	70.3	42.1
				Paternal grandmother	62.9	67.5	39.4
				Grandfather	66.4	70.6	45.8
Uncles and aunts	30.7	36.3	20.0	Paternal uncle	56.2	62.6	35.5
				Maternal uncle	60.2	66.1	41.8
				Paternal aunt	61.5	66.4	45.7
				Maternal aunt	60.3	65.7	42.4

Note: The household structures in this table are based on information on households.

When we look at distances of relative by taking household types into consideration we get some meaningful results. As most nuclear families without children are older couples who have already raised their children, the percentage who lives in the same building as their children is higher (Table 32a). Similarly, since elderly are more common in one person households as well, a similar relation is observed: in 2006 12% of those living by themselves resided in the same building as their children. With the 2011 questions differentiated by gender we observe that male children tend to live in the same building more often. The young and childless,

single parent households and those living on their own also tend to live with their parents the most.

Mother-father-child and of course mother-in-law and father-in-law, are clearly distinct from other relatives as the closest circle. Residing in the same building is more common with this closest circle. Neither study features questions on grandchildren, nieces, nephews and cousins. I personally feel this is a big oversight. As such it is not possible to determine deep relationships with young grandchildren and even nieces and nephews.

Table 32b. Types of Relatives Living in the Same Neighborhood by Household Type, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Nuclear family w/o child	Nuclear family w/child	Extended	One person household	Single parent household	Other broken	Non-relative household
2006							
Mother/father	19.4	14.0	11.6	9.5	5.3	5.0	0.0
Sibling(s)	21.9	15.5	19.4	15.8	10.5	11.0	0.0
Child(ren)	16.6	1.6	3.0	18.3	4.9	4.1	0.0
In-laws	18.7	17.5	14.0	22.2	18.7	9.5	0.0
Grandparents	12.7	15.8	15.8	11.9	23.0	5.5	0.0
Aunts and uncles	15.2	14.2	22.6	8.4	15.0	15.3	0.0
2011							
Mother	18.9	16.7	8.9	4.5	8.1	2.1	0.0
Father	18.5	15.5	10.5	3.3	9.5	6.6	0.0
Daughter	14.3	1.8	7.9	20.8	3.9	6.0	0.0
Son	12.2	1.4	2.3	18.0	2.7	12.0	0.0
Sister	19.1	16.7	18.4	13.9	11.9	9.1	0.0
Brother	20.1	17.1	20.8	12.6	12.0	10.8	0.0
Paternal uncle	15.6	15.6	23.8	6.7	15.4	10.3	0.0
Maternal uncle	13.5	12.4	17.9	3.6	9.6	10.3	0.0
Maternal aunt	12.0	11.7	15.6	3.9	9.3	11.9	0.0
Paternal aunt	13.1	12.0	18.4	4.5	11.6	10.5	0.0
Mother-in-law	18.1	17.0	13.8	6.9	11.7	13.7	0.0
Father-in-law	14.7	17.0	13.9	4.6	8.1	13.4	0.0
Maternal grandmother	6.9	12.4	11.2	1.9	4.9	9.3	0.0
Paternal grandmother	11.0	12.9	14.1	1.2	22.8	0.0	0.0
Grandfather	11.8	12.2	10.5	0.6	17.7	1.0	0.0

Note: The household structures in this table are based on information on households.

Relatives who reside in the same neighborhood are common (Table 32b). The most notable information revealed here is that relations with relatives are more common with single parent households or other types of broken homes. For example, the percentage of single parent households who live in

the same neighborhood as the grandmother and grandfather is higher. These kinds of households also have more instances of living with paternal uncles and maternal aunts in the same neighborhood or even in the same city (Table 32c).

Table 32c. Types of Relatives Living in the Same City by Household Type, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Nuclear family w/o child	Nuclear family w/child	Extended	One person household	Single parent household	Other broken	Non-relative household
2006							
Mother/father	44.6	33.3	22.8	35.4	18.3	12.8	10.9
Sibling(s)	48.5	42.1	37.3	50.8	33.9	31.0	14.8
Child(ren)	40.6	5.3	6.8	47.0	9.4	15.5	73.1
In-laws	47.1	45.1	29.0	46.0	43.8	34.6	0.0
Grandparents	42.8	47.1	34.8	31.7	49.8	29.6	4.8
Aunts and uncles	51.8	53.2	49.6	51.0	55.6	55.2	7.6
2011							
Mother	26.0	22.2	12.1	14.6	17.3	5.1	8.1
Father	21.4	22.2	13.8	12.8	18.5	12.2	6.2
Daughter	28.5	4.9	9.9	27.5	4.8	7.6	18.8
Son	21.9	2.3	3.1	22.9	4.8	12.5	21.6
Sister	29.0	26.9	25.6	22.7	22.6	24.5	9.0
Brother	27.9	26.9	21.9	22.3	23.8	28.1	8.3
Paternal uncle	25.3	26.8	24.6	16.9	23.1	19.6	5.5
Maternal uncle	29.6	26.5	26.0	16.1	29.1	22.7	9.1
Maternal aunt	29.4	25.6	27.1	17.6	23.4	23.4	8.1
Paternal aunt	24.8	26.3	29.7	14.4	21.6	23.0	8.1
Mother-in-law	27.6	27.3	20.2	28.7	16.8	25.4	0.0
Father-in-law	28.8	27.0	22.4	6.5	14.4	33.2	0.0
Maternal grandmother	22.9	23.4	22.2	3.9	23.9	19.1	5.9
Paternal grandmother	18.9	23.1	16.8	11.4	21.1	12.2	6.4
Grandfather	21.4	22.7	16.5	4.3	28.6	10.9	2.4

Note: The household structures in this table are based on information on households.

Table 32d. Types of Relatives Living in Different Cities by Household Type, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Nuclear family w/o child	Nuclear family w/child	Extended	One person household	Single parent household	Other broken	Non-relative household
2006							
Mother/father	27.8	22.1	13.2	46.3	7.7	17.4	89.1
Sibling(s)	26.1	21.4	17.9	30.1	17.2	19.1	85.2
Child(ren)	27.4	2.7	3.6	20.6	3.7	8.7	26.9
In-laws	27.9	30.0	14.7	30.1	33.1	25.3	100.0
Grandparents	39.6	32.1	21.9	51.8	24.2	30.9	95.2
Aunts and Uncles	32.3	31.5	26.1	39.7	28.5	27.4	92.4
2011							
Mother	47.1	44.5	28.7	75.9	33.8	29.0	91.9
Father	51.9	43.8	35.3	79.1	50.1	68.6	93.8
Daughter	52.3	8.9	15.2	46.0	13.3	28.9	81.2
Son	53.2	6.6	7.4	44.2	12.3	23.1	78.4
Sister	50.0	49.8	46.4	60.1	49.8	41.9	90.6
Brother	48.4	46.6	42.3	61.1	47.7	34.7	91.7
Paternal Uncle	58.4	55.4	48.2	74.8	60.4	65.0	94.5
Maternal Uncle	56.8	60.2	54.5	79.3	61.2	66.5	90.9
Maternal Aunt	57.4	61.8	55.6	77.1	65.8	63.7	91.9
Paternal Aunt	61.7	60.6	49.8	79.7	65.9	63.3	91.9
Mother-in-law	49.6	48.6	34.9	61.6	67.0	33.9	100.0
Father-in-law	52.6	48.7	41.0	84.5	74.4	50.3	100.0
Maternal Grandmother	69.5	61.1	61.9	91.1	70.6	70.0	94.1
Paternal Grandmother	69.5	59.6	52.2	83.9	54.8	72.9	93.6
Grandfather	66.0	62.1	62.2	93.2	52.2	81.6	97.6

Note: The household structures in this table are based on information on households.

2. 4. 7. Frequency of Meeting with Relatives

While TAYA 2006 and TAYA 2011 do not ask questions that would test Kağıtçıbaşı's model exactly, it does provide strong evidence that ties with family and relatives remain deep. The percentage of individuals who do not meet with family and relatives, no matter the type of relative, never surpassed 10%.

While we cannot compare TAYA 2006 and 2011 perfectly due to the variation in questions asked, the ranking of frequently visited and rarely visited relatives does not change in either one. Individuals are first and foremost in close relations with their children. The subsequent ranking is below.

Ranking of the most frequently visited relatives:

1. Children
2. Parents
3. Siblings
4. In-laws
5. Grandparents
6. Aunts and Uncles

While the data indicates that the mother-father-child triangle is a very strong relationship network, the relationship with siblings should not be overlooked either. Comparing rural-urban variations in both studies, the frequency of meeting relatives face to face is higher in rural households as expected. The only exception is that relations

with children are much stronger in urban households (Table 33a and 33b). Could the fact that there were similar trends in both 2006 and 2011 be interpreted as urban individuals focusing more on the parent-child relationship? In 2011 frequently spending time with one's children takes place a lot until the age of 45, at which point, when individuals need their children the most, the frequency rapidly declines. Besides as age progresses the frequency of meeting with all relatives declines.

2.4.8. Visiting with Neighbors

The frequency of visiting with neighbors was only

asked in the 2006 study. The findings are interesting. Individuals reported that they saw their neighbors more of the than their relatives (Table 33a). Again, opposite to visiting with relatives, these relationships do not systematically decrease with age. It can even be said that in the most advanced age groups, visiting with neighbors have become the only and most important form of relationship.

The frequency of seeing each other face to face does not give us a complete idea on the quality of the relationship. As a result, the question of for whom visiting with neighbors becomes a support mechanism cannot be understood just by these questions.

Table 33a. The Frequency of Visiting with Close Others by Residence Area and Age, TAYA 2006 (%)

		Türkiye		Urban				Rural			
			18-24	25-44	45-64	65+	18-24	25-44	45-64	65+	
Mother/father	Never	2.0	1.9	1.8	2.3	13.2	1.5	1.3	2.8	23.4	
	Rarely	48.3	54.6	52.0	56.1	46.3	39.4	39.5	34.5	25.9	
	Often	49.8	43.5	46.2	41.6	40.4	59.0	59.1	62.7	50.7	
Sibling(s)	Never	1.9	1.2	1.3	2.2	5.1	1.0	1.3	2.4	4.9	
	Rarely	51.9	50.1	51.6	61.1	66.6	44.3	45.3	46.0	50.2	
	Often	46.1	48.7	47.1	36.7	28.3	54.7	53.3	51.6	44.9	
Child(ren)	Never	1.1	0.0	1.7	0.5	1.2	27.6	1.3	1.2	0.6	
	Rarely	32.0	13.8	18.8	28.2	25.0	14.0	16.8	40.7	46.1	
	Often	66.9	86.2	79.5	71.3	73.7	58.5	82.0	58.0	53.2	
Mother-in-law/father-in-law	Never	3.6	2.3	2.9	4.4	19.6	5.8	3.3	4.4	20.1	
	Rarely	51.9	42.9	57.2	62.6	60.0	29.9	41.0	39.1	44.6	
	Often	44.5	54.8	39.9	33.1	20.4	64.3	55.7	56.5	35.3	
Grandmother/grandfather	Never	6.9	4.1	7.2	21.5	21.9	3.6	8.1	23.8	37.1	
	Rarely	61.4	64.5	72.2	62.9	60.8	39.7	49.3	36.2	27.9	
	Often	31.7	31.4	20.7	15.6	17.3	56.6	42.6	39.9	35.0	
Maternal/Paternal uncle, aunt	Never	3.6	2.4	3.5	4.5	9.0	1.6	3.5	4.7	8.0	
	Rarely	72.7	69.6	81.4	83.1	78.8	52.3	62.1	61.9	59.9	
	Often	23.7	28.0	15.0	12.4	12.2	46.1	34.3	33.3	32.1	
Neighbors	Never	5.4	11.8	8.0	4.5	6.1	2.1	1.6	1.0	1.5	
	Rarely	9.7	14.7	13.4	11.8	10.2	4.5	4.6	2.5	2.5	
	Often	84.9	73.5	78.5	83.6	83.7	93.4	93.8	96.5	95.9	

Table 33b. The Frequency of Visiting with Close Others by Urban-rural and Age Groups, TAYA 2011 (%)

		Türkiye	Urban				Rural			
			18-24	25-44	45-64	65+	18-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Mother	Never	0.9	0.4	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.4	0.9	1.7	0.0
	Rarely	36.0	20.2	43.1	46.6	49.9	16.2	34.4	29.8	46.4
	Often	63.0	79.4	55.9	52.3	48.8	82.4	64.7	68.5	53.6
Father	Never	1.8	1.9	1.6	1.9	4.1	1.2	1.7	4.6	0.0
	Rarely	38.1	23.5	45.9	53.9	43.6	19.7	35.0	30.6	81.3
	Often	60.1	74.6	52.6	44.2	52.3	79.1	63.3	64.7	18.7
Daughter	Never	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.5	1.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	1.8
	Rarely	17.4	2.5	3.9	19.9	29.8	0.6	5.8	35.0	48.8
	Often	82.0	97.1	95.7	79.6	69.0	99.2	93.9	64.7	49.4
Son	Never	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.4	1.6	0.0	0.1	0.2	1.7
	Rarely	15.0	2.8	4.9	16.4	25.6	0.9	4.1	29.6	41.6
	Often	84.4	96.8	94.5	83.2	72.8	99.1	95.9	70.3	56.7
Sister	Never	1.8	0.4	1.2	2.6	4.5	0.5	1.4	2.5	4.0
	Rarely	54.5	30.0	55.9	63.9	65.8	29.0	55.0	60.3	61.4
	Often	43.8	69.6	43.0	33.5	29.7	70.4	43.6	37.2	34.6
Brother	Never	2.4	1.0	2.1	3.4	5.7	0.9	1.4	2.4	4.6
	Rarely	53.5	27.9	54.7	64.6	69.6	31.2	54.9	56.8	56.7
	Often	44.2	71.1	43.1	32.0	24.7	67.9	43.8	40.7	38.8
Paternal uncle	Never	7.4	6.7	8.2	8.0	8.7	7.7	5.6	6.5	1.6
	Rarely	70.9	66.0	75.7	78.0	70.6	56.6	65.9	59.3	61.8
	Often	21.7	27.3	16.1	14.0	20.7	35.7	28.5	34.2	36.6
Maternal uncle	Never	6.5	4.7	6.9	9.0	11.5	7.5	4.2	6.8	2.3
	Rarely	75.6	72.4	79.6	79.1	72.7	65.7	71.8	65.7	66.6
	Often	17.9	22.9	13.4	11.8	15.8	26.8	24.0	27.5	31.2
Maternal aunt	Never	5.3	4.0	5.3	7.0	7.4	6.5	4.9	5.9	3.3
	Rarely	77.0	73.0	80.0	81.5	80.0	66.5	74.1	71.1	79.4
	Often	17.6	23.1	14.7	11.6	12.6	27.0	21.0	23.1	17.3
Paternal aunt	Never	6.8	6.7	7.5	7.5	12.7	7.0	4.6	4.2	8.0
	Rarely	76.9	72.7	79.9	82.2	71.8	64.7	74.9	71.0	79.7
	Often	16.3	20.6	12.6	10.3	15.5	28.2	20.5	24.8	12.4
Mother-in-law	Never	2.5	2.8	2.3	2.2	1.1	3.9	2.7	3.4	0.0
	Rarely	56.4	42.3	59.9	64.6	69.2	29.6	48.5	48.0	58.2
	Often	41.1	54.9	37.8	33.1	29.7	66.5	48.8	48.5	41.8
Father-in-law	Never	2.8	3.1	2.7	3.4	0.0	3.5	2.3	3.1	0.0
	Rarely	57.3	43.6	61.3	66.3	74.7	25.8	49.2	49.5	87.9
	Often	40.0	53.4	36.0	30.3	25.3	70.6	48.5	47.4	12.1
Maternal grandmother	Never	4.0	3.3	4.1	12.1	0.0	8.2	1.5	2.9	0.0
	Rarely	72.4	69.1	79.6	60.3	0.0	55.0	72.3	67.4	0.0
	Often	23.6	27.7	16.3	27.6	0.0	36.8	26.2	29.6	0.0
Paternal grandmother	Never	6.0	5.6	6.4	16.3	0.0	6.5	3.3	6.1	0.0
	Rarely	65.3	63.1	74.2	60.3	0.0	44.4	58.9	83.4	0.0
	Often	28.7	31.3	19.4	23.4	0.0	49.1	37.8	10.5	0.0
Grandfather	Never	5.4	4.3	6.4	20.0	0.0	5.8	3.0	11.9	0.0
	Rarely	69.7	67.8	78.6	65.8	0.0	45.4	67.4	88.1	0.0
	Often	24.9	27.9	15.0	14.2	0.0	48.8	29.7	0.0	0.0

2.5. Results and Social Policy Recommendations

This report was started by defining the legal foundations of kinship relationships. Two important issues were brought forward. The first one of those was the fact that kinship relationships could be changed by legal regulations and that these relationships change over time. The second was when social values do not mesh with the law, a proliferation of definitions on kinship relationships can be observed. It is important for family and kinship social policy makers to pay attention to these findings and know that by legal-enforcing decrees, a direct intervention on kinship relationships will have limited effect. The role of incentive policies to reinforce or change societal values should not be overlooked.

Cultural values that consider kinship and neighbor relationships together, although not completely unraveled by migrations, have weakened and the support mechanism function of neighbor relationships have begun to emerge in settlements of restricted groups and in those reinforced by sharing the same hometown. The functions of neighbor relationships could not be thoroughly determined by the nationwide studies conducted in 2006 and 2011.

This comparison of TAYA 2006 and 2011 results tell us that in Türkiye, kinship relationships are generally important.

When we define kinship relationships as relationships between individuals that are outside of the immediate nuclear family, when children leave to establish their own households, whether they get married and start their own family or whether they live alone, they start a kinship relationship with their families. The relationship experienced between mother-father-child that first starts as a member of the family, then transforms into various kinship relationships is highly valued. In other words, when kinship relationships are mentioned, the first thing that comes to mind in Türkiye is the relationship between the children and their parents once they have left home and started their own households. In this society where almost everyone is married with children, there is almost no other relationship

that can surpass this one.

In 2006, 92% of the aged population (aged 65+) had children. In 2011 this percentage is 87% for daughters and 91% for sons (Table 19). The rate of having children falling rapidly amongst those who have an educational level of high school or above. Moreover this falling trend continued between 2006-2011. This trend is consistent with data on the variation in birthrates. On the other hand, educational level is a factor that increases the wealth of kinship. Since respondents were 18 years of age or above, children's wealth of kinship was not measured. Similarly, adults' relationship with their grandchildren, nieces, nephews and cousins was not covered in this study. As relations with relatives is predominantly focused on children this is a serious oversight.

This study classifies wealth of kinship as having a variety of types of relatives. Wealth of kinship has been determined by certain demographic factors such as marriage rates, marriage age, fertility, mortality, divorce and separation. In the demographic transition period, the percentage of individuals with both vertical and horizontal relatives increases. As a country that has come to the final stage of demographic transition, Türkiye is experiencing the last days of the wealth of kinship.

The results of the study reflect this reality as well. Adults over 25 which comprise most of the married population, especially those between 25-44, are the luckiest in terms of having family and relatives. As age progresses the wealth of relatives naturally decreases.

The percentage of nuclear families did not change between the two periods and has shown once again that it has settled as Türkiye's normalized household type. By contrast while the extended family has decreased by percentage, other household types have witnessed small increases. This data shows that living as an extended family has unraveled.

This study is the first to calculate relatives over the age of 18 living in an extended family. Whether

the household is comprised of nuclear or extended families, an even more important conclusion is reached when those who live as a member of a nuclear family are compared within the household to those who reside as relatives and others in an extended family. In both studies a very large percentage of individuals, 87%, is a "family member" of the head of household's nuclear family. Relatives in the household are a very low percentage and have decreased from 2006 to 2011. Relatives over 18 in the household decreased by 6% in 2011. In the same period there was a comparable increase in those who lived alone. The characteristics of the relatives in the house and those of individuals living alone are similar. They are mostly elderly women, with a smaller percentage being young single men. These results give us the first clues that people have begun accepting living alone as a lifestyle. However it would be incorrect to interpret this as dissolution of relations with relatives. New and perhaps even more fulfilling kinship relations and support networks might be formed this way. Even though there has been an increase in the number of individuals living by themselves a portion of these individuals live in the same building as their relatives.

When looked at this way, it is possible to think of urban dwellers as being extended families divided in many separate apartments. Even the ones who live in the same neighborhood are not a negligible amount. For both periods 27% of individuals reported having at least one relative in the same neighborhood. Of course this percentage is much higher in the rural community.

The majority of relatives living in the same building are either parents or in-laws. This is consistent with earlier findings. There is a strong mother-father-child relationship in Türkiye. This relationship continues even after the children leave home with them living nearby. On the other hand, relatives like the elders of the family and aunts, uncles, etc. that live farther away, even in other cities, do not exhibit strong relations.

Questions on meeting face to face display similar

results, with the most frequent such meetings being in the mother-father-child (and of course the in-laws) triangle.

The frequency with which neighbors were visited was not asked in 2011. But in the 2006 study neighbors are visited frequently and unlike relations with relatives, the frequency does not decrease with age. The Research on Family Structure in Türkiye does not analyze relationships with neighbors in a meaningful manner.

If we summarize my policy suggestions starting from this topic, it is important to try to understand relations with neighbors with a targeted study. The forms of support that ease the lives of those living alone and disadvantaged groups has not been analyzed enough. Thus, I suggest that not only relations with neighbors but also those with other friends and social relations (religious, ethnic, geographical, professional, etc.), especially for disadvantaged individuals, need to be analyzed.

In order for the policies related to family and kin to work systematically, these studies need to separate those in need by different categories and provide services according to their needs.

For example, the number of people who lived by themselves in Türkiye would occasionally increase, and then decrease. It being on the rise once again and having nearly doubled in the past five years is an important change. Taking this into consideration, the elderly who live by themselves is one group who needs services to be brought to them. Especially starting with those who live far from their relatives, local administrations and civil society organizations should cooperate to bring them healthcare, personal care and decentralized programs to ensure their welfare. Appropriate housing should be designed for elderly who live by themselves.

Another group in need of support almost as much as the elderly living alone are women in "families missing a member" who are busy with looking after children and the elderly. Some authorities ob-

ject to this policy by exaggerating how supporting mothers in single parent households increases their likelihood of divorce. The thing every family member, particularly children, need the most is a peaceful and organized life. In households where there is discord between the husband and wife it is impossible for individuals to exhibit healthy development. The main reason behind keeping the family together is to ensure societal order and the idea that ensuring individuals' health and peace is the responsibility of the state. Society expects a lot of responsibilities from women in this group and providing support for them is an important governmental duty. One way to ease the burden on these families are nurseries and daytime nursing homes for the very old/sick (or individualized services). It is worth repeating that the results of the study indicate that those who do not get much support from their mother-father-child relationship do not get much support from horizontal relations either.

The egalitarian articles in the new Civil Code aimed at reducing the institutionalization of male dominance and the problems that stem from it need to be supported in every policy and application.

The study results imply that as the women, especially **middle aged women**, will have more responsibilities as the elderly population grows. It is important for social policies to gravitate towards lightening this unequal and heavy burden, especially for middle aged women over (45+). It looks like if precautions are not taken, the women in this group might develop serious health problems in the years to come and strain the state's budget from another angle.

Without addressing the issues listed above, it does not look like it will be fair or possible to increase the family and relatives' contribution to issues regarding elderly care. Because in the group defined as family and relatives, it is almost always just the female members that are personally responsible for caregiving.

In order to eliminate the existing societal discrimination, the state must urgently develop methods designed to get men to also accept responsibility for caregiving.

Caregiving training for men needs to be developed and scheduled in line with this framework and should be mandatory in barracks, unions, schools, businesses, mosques, Alawi congregation houses and other minority religious institutions. Additionally, men should be contributing not just with money, and laws that incentivize men personally taking responsibility for caregiving duties need to be adopted.

The 45th article of *the Tenth Five Year Plan*, predicts that the country's development level can only advance with the empowerment of women. Target goals for female employment and workforce participation are explicitly covered in the plan¹². Promoting female employment is important not just for female empowerment but also as another means of getting men to take over the responsibilities of elderly care. Thus there can be a more egalitarian distribution of responsibilities in family and kin relationships while also making it possible to provide more support for members in need.

Currently, women who are part of families in need and who are taking care of the elderly are given monetary assistance. While this is positive support in a way, it is not a permanent solution. Additionally, presenting women receiving a caregiving stipend as employed erroneously raises the female workforce. Likewise millions of female homemakers busy with elderly care are considered inactive population because they do not receive monetary assistance. Offering "caregiving support" does not encourage employment. On the contrary, it is a policy that reinforces women's role as caregivers and conflicts with the struggle women have been making to develop themselves and head out into the public sphere. While this kind of social policy might provide a short term solution, it will inevitably create new problems in the long term.

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Section 3

ELDERLY POPULATION IN
TÜRKİYE AND PREFERENCES FOR
ELDERLINESS

Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Ali Eryurt



Introduction

Data Source and Methodology

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Analysis

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3. 1. Introduction

The elderly population is rising both in Türkiye and around the globe. In a way, this can be interpreted as a success story for humankind. The reasons behind the fact that the share of the aged population is much higher compared to the past, are socio-economic developments, the spread of urbanization and progress in health services. While the number of people 65 and over was 128 million (5%) globally in 1950, this number rose to over half a billion today (8%). United Nations population projections predict that by 2050, the share of aged population will proportionally double (16%) and numerically triple (one and a half billion), and that the rising trend will continue (United Nations, 2012). In the very near future, the percentage of the population aged 65 and above will exceed the percentage of the population aged under five. This rapid rise in the elderly population is also evaluated from a different angle and the burden on the economy and the weaknesses it will cause in social security systems are questioned. If necessary precautions are not taken, the current regulations on labor, the structure of social security and health systems will be unable to meet the needs of an ageing population.

The percentage of elderly population (65 and above) which was around 3% during the first years of the Republic, rose to 8% today (TurkStat, 2014). According to population projections, the aged population will reach 20% by the mid 2000s, that is to say that one in every five individuals will be elderly (United Nations, 2012; TurkStat, 2013). For this reason, to learn the characteristics of the aged population and to identify their needs is especially important. There are three main goals of this study: (1) To demonstrate the historical development of the aged population and make predictions on the future of ageing by the help of population projections. (2) To determine the profile of the aged, identify their needs and reveal vulnerable elderly groups. (3) To contribute to the policies on elderly care by analyzing the preferences of individuals who are not among the elderly yet, between 18-60, using the method of multiple variable analyses.

Even though there is a multitude of studies on the profile of the aged population and their issues in the developed western world, there are a limited number of similar studies in developing countries. The same is true for Türkiye. Aytaç (1998), using the findings of 1988 Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (TAYA) shows that only one out of five individuals live with the elderly of the family, however, when proximity is taken into account, one in every two individuals live in close proximity to the elderly. Aytaç interprets this situation as a phenomenon where families try to protect their privacy on one hand, but also maintain close family ties. Ünalan (2000), in the study that uses the 1998 Turkish Population and Health Study (TPHS) results, describes the situation of the elderly. According to Ünalan's findings, the majority of the aged individuals are women, they mostly live in rural areas and are less educated than the rest of the population. When households with elderly members were compared to other households in general, they were found to be lower income households. In their study (2003) Kalaycıoğlu et al., emphasize that although the trend of nuclearization of family structure in Türkiye continues, by living in the same building, same street or the same neighborhood with the elderly, the Turkish family also maintains relationships within the traditional family structure. In their study (2004) done in Ankara, Terzioğlu et al., interviewed 1,300 seniors and found out that the life quality of the elderly was directly related to their physical health and their socioeconomic conditions and that the family environment seniors live in do not directly contribute to their welfare. In the unpublished PhD thesis Canpolat (2008), using the findings of TPHS 1998 and 2003 has evaluated the change in the composition of household members, the direction this change will take in the future and the economic burden this change in the composition and age structure of the population will bring, from a demographic point of view. Koç et al., (2010), using the findings of TPHS 2008, analyzed the determinants of the life quality of the elderly and have found that the link between their quality of life and the structure of the family they live in, along with the number of children they have and their proximity to their children, is a weak one.

They have emphasized that personal factors such as age, gender, marital status and educational status have more influence on the quality of life of the elderly.

With the ever increasing percentage of the aged population in Türkiye, the issues brought about by this rising trend have found a larger place in Development Plans. The 9th development plan covering between 2007-2013 (State Planning Organization, 2006) states that because of the rise in the elderly population in Türkiye and the transformation of family structure, the importance of services for the aged also increase, that services for the elderly will include home care and institutional care, and that the number of nursing homes will be increased. In the 10th Development Plan covering between 2014-2018 (Ministry of Development, 2013) the subject of seniority was studied more comprehensively. As a result of the decreasing population density in rural areas, to facilitate the involvement of old people in economic and social life and to provide better access to care and other social services, the service providing capabilities of local governments and the development of innovative new models is foreseen. It is also emphasized that an active lifestyle for the increasing elderly population will be facilitated, access to healthy and safe conditions will be provided and intergenerational cooperation will be strengthened.

3.2. Data Source and Methodology

The main data source for this study is the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye done in 2006 and 2011 by the Directorate of Social Services of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. The research represents Türkiye by urban and rural areas, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir separately and Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS) Level 1. In TAYA 2006 12,208 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 48,235 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 23,279 individuals over the age of 18. 2213 of these individuals are over 65. In TAYA 2011, 12,056 households were interviewed, the demographic information of

44,117 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 24,647 individuals over the age of 18. Among those 2,455 individuals are over the age of 65. In the study, reference individuals from the households were given the list of individuals and household questionnaire and individuals over 18 were given the separate individual questionnaire. The household members questionnaire has questions on subjects such as the main characteristics of the household, the care of children and the elderly, sharing of household chores, decision makers on the main issues in the household, the individual questionnaire on the other hand, asks questions on subjects like real estate ownership, children, intra-family relationships, neighbor and kinship relationships, old age and quality of life. Apart from these studies on the family structure in Türkiye, especially census information from the beginning of the Republic was used in the section where the historical development of the aged population is examined, demographic research representing general population of the nation, data from the Address Based Population Registration System, data from the United Nations Population Fund and population projections from The Turkish Statistical Institute were heavily used.

In the findings section of the study, first the results of descriptive analyses are presented then a multi variable analysis is made. In the multi variable analysis section, binary logistic regression method was used. This binary logistic regression method is one that gives dependable results to study the cause-effect relationships between the dependent variable and independent variables. In the binary logistic regression analysis the old age preferences of individuals between 18-60 were used as the dependent variable. In this variable, those who preferred to spend their old age in a nursing home or those who want to receive home care received the value of one (1), those who want to stay with their children or those who gave the answer of "other" received the value of zero (0). The independent variables used in the analysis were the area of residence (urban/rural), region (NUTS Level 1), gender, age group, marital status, educational level and socioeconomic status.

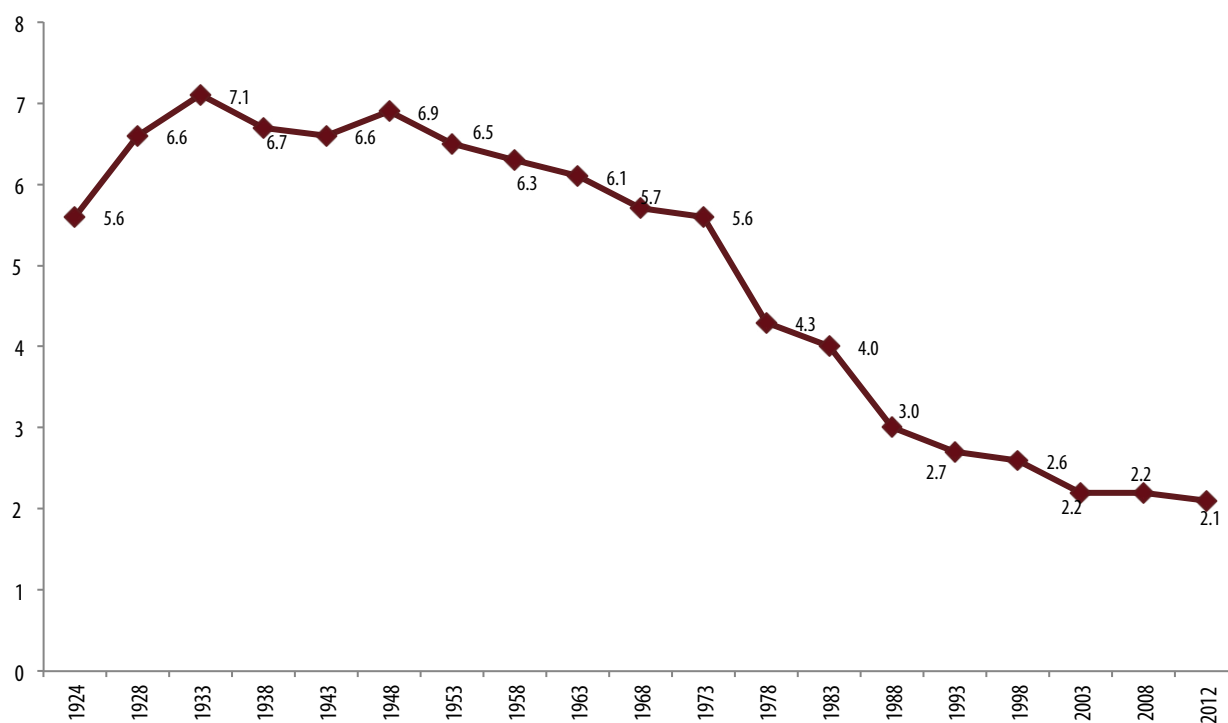
To form the basis for descriptive and multi-variable analyses, in the next section of the study, first the transformation of the aged population since the formation of the Republic to the present, then future expectations are going to be evaluated, after that the descriptive and multi-variable analysis results of TAYA 2011 data will be discussed.

3.3. Literature: The Elderly Population from the Past to the Present

One of the most important demographic phenomena encountered in this stage of demographic transformation in Türkiye is the ageing of the population. This phenomenon means the change in the age structure of the society, the decrease in the younger population and the rise in the older population as a result of longer average life expectancy and the drop in birth rates. This demographic transformation process has also completely changed the age compo-

sition of the society. In the early years of the Republic, according to the 1927 census results, the national population of around 13.6 million rose constantly as a result of pronatalist population policies of that time, and the share of the younger population in the whole remained high. The total birth rate at that time, in other words, the average number of children per woman is around 6. Starting from the 1960s when the antinatalist policies were put into effect, birth rates started to fall slowly and decreased to 5 children by the end of the 1970s and to 3 children by the end of the 1980s (Figure 5). According to the results of the 2008 Turkish Population and Health Research findings, birth rates have decreased to almost replacement (2.16 children) levels (HUNEE, 2009). The birth statistics of the Turkish Statistical Institute show that the total birth rate has fallen below the replacement rate, to 2.08 children (TurkStat, 2014b).

Figure 5. Change in Birth Levels, 1923-2012

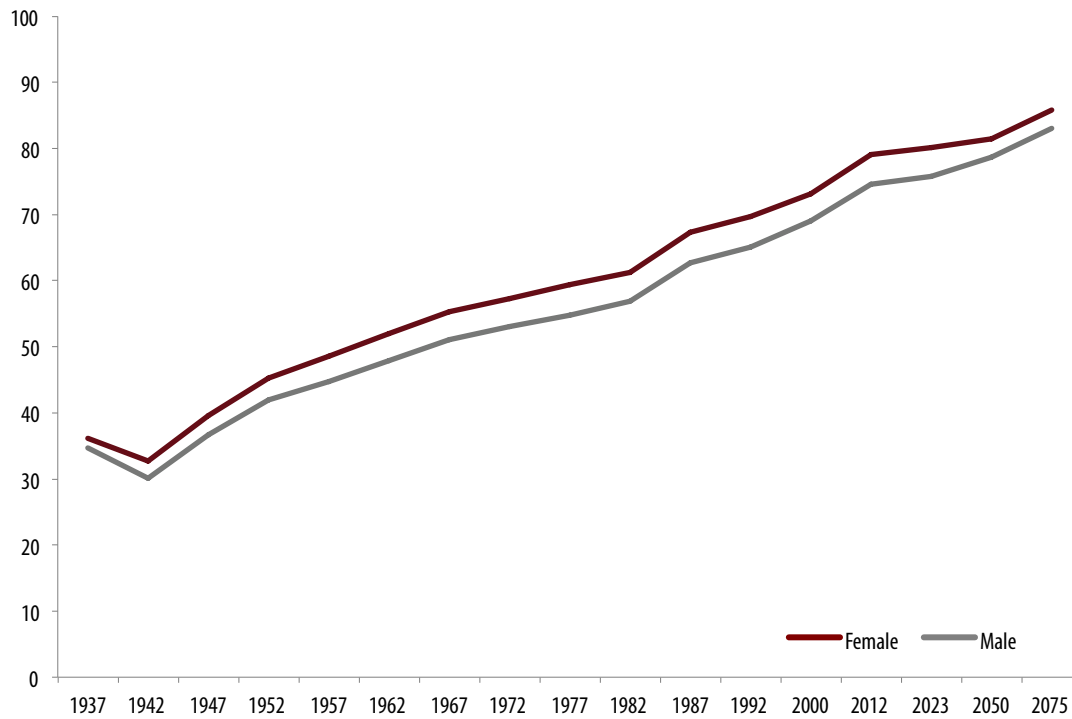


Reference: TurkStat, 1995; 2014b; Eryurt et al., 2010

In synch with the decrease in birth rates, average life expectancy rose constantly as a result of improvements in health and living conditions (Figure 6). Life expectancy at birth which was 30 years for males and 33 years for women in the 1940's increased by 2.5 times, in other words rose around 45 years until

today, and reached 74.6 years for men and 79.1 years for women in 2012. According to the population projections, this trend is expected to continue and reach 75.8 for men and 80.2 for women by 2023; to 78.7 and 81.4 respectively by 2050; and to 83.1 and 85.8 respectively by 2075 (TurkStat, 2013; 2014b).

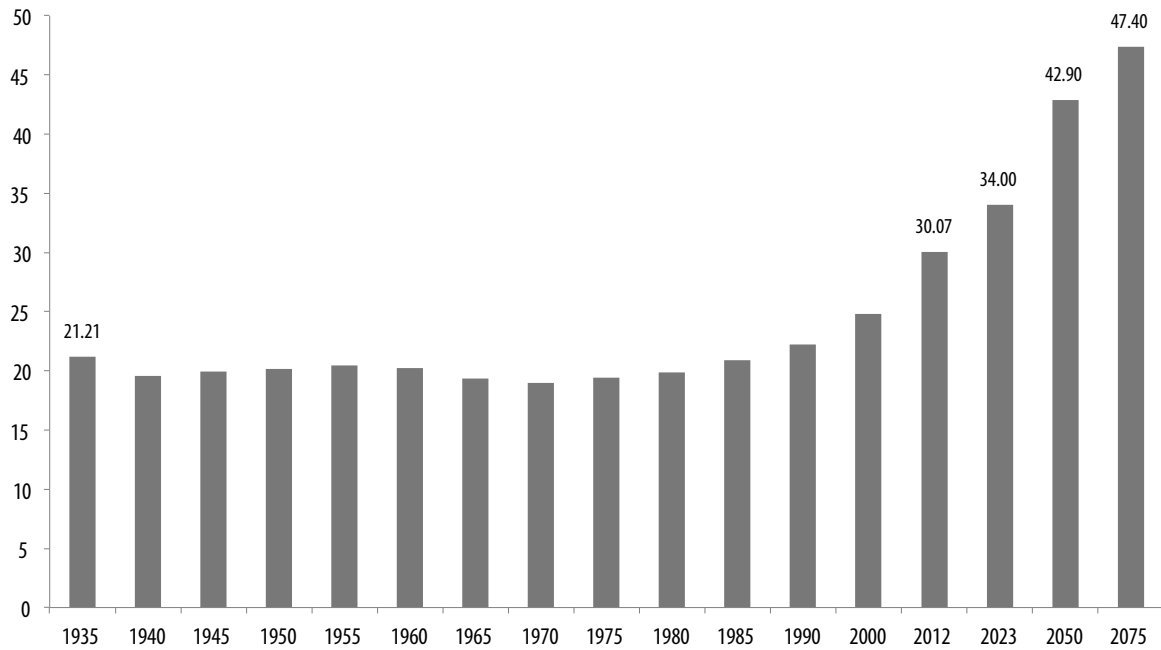
Figure 6. Change in Life Expectancy at Birth, 1935-2075



Reference: TurkStat, 1995; 2013; Koç et al., 2010

Related to the fall in the birth rates and the rise in life expectancy, not only the size but also the age structure of the population has undergone a transformation (Figure 7). The median age which was 21.2 in the 1930s stayed at the same level for years, the population kept its young characteristic

for a long time, however, especially with the coming of the 2000s, the median age started to rise and reached 30.1 today. In the years ahead, the median age is expected to rise and reach 34 by 2023, reach 42.9 by 2050 and reach 47.4 by 2075 (TurkStat, 2013).

Figure 7. Change in Median Age, 1935-2075

Reference: (TÜİK, 2013; 2014a)

The transformation seen in the age structure of the population and the phenomenon of an ageing population can be understood better looking at the transformation of extensive age groups. This change is clearly seen through absolute numbers in Table 34, and through percentages in Figure 8. Although the 0-14 age group called the young population and the 0-4 age group called the children population

increased constantly until the 2000s, now it is declining numerically (Table 34, Figure 8). Until the beginning of the 80s the share of the young generation stayed at around 40%, this percentage fell to 30% in 2000, however, the young population continued to increase numerically. Today, the percentage of the young population has regressed to 25%, also the young population has started to decrease

Table 34. Transformation of Population by Age Groups, 1935-2075

	0-4	0-14	15-64	65+	85+	Türkiye
1935	2,741,019	6,692,150	8,834,479	630,821		18,900,404
1940	2,644,803	7,511,256	9,679,152	630,542	47,956	17,820,950
1945	2,474,710	7,430,875	10,731,934	627,365	46,028	18,790,174
1950	3,094,276	8,028,741	12,226,905	691,542	50,145	20,947,188
1955	3,864,775	9,490,104	13,850,958	823,701	90,213	24,164,763
1960	4,263,511	11,447,589	15,326,796	980,435	63,306	27,754,820
1965	4,623,909	13,168,168	16,978,945	1,244,308	72,409	31,391,421
1970	5,256,424	14,881,829	19,157,262	1,566,085	107,946	35,605,176
1975	5,712,281	16,361,949	22,129,051	1,856,719	130,180	40,347,719
1980	5,983,020	17,499,430	25,116,359	2,121,168	107,892	44,736,957
1985	6,088,769	19,046,347	29,488,224	2,129,887	149,252	50,664,458
1990	5,959,448	19,760,959	34,292,844	2,419,232	175,069	56,473,035
2000	6,587,096	20,227,079	43,716,577	3,860,272	216,574	67,803,927
2012	6,193,590	18,857,179	51,088,202	5,682,003	405,699	75,627,384
2023	5,834,544	17,854,319	57,768,287	8,624,483	681,809	84,247,089
2050	4,683,220	14,694,508	59,296,228	19,484,834	2,398,880	93,475,570
2075	4,259,636	13,026,803	51,472,952	24,672,343	4,629,025	89,172,098

Kaynak: (TÜİK, 2013; 2014a)

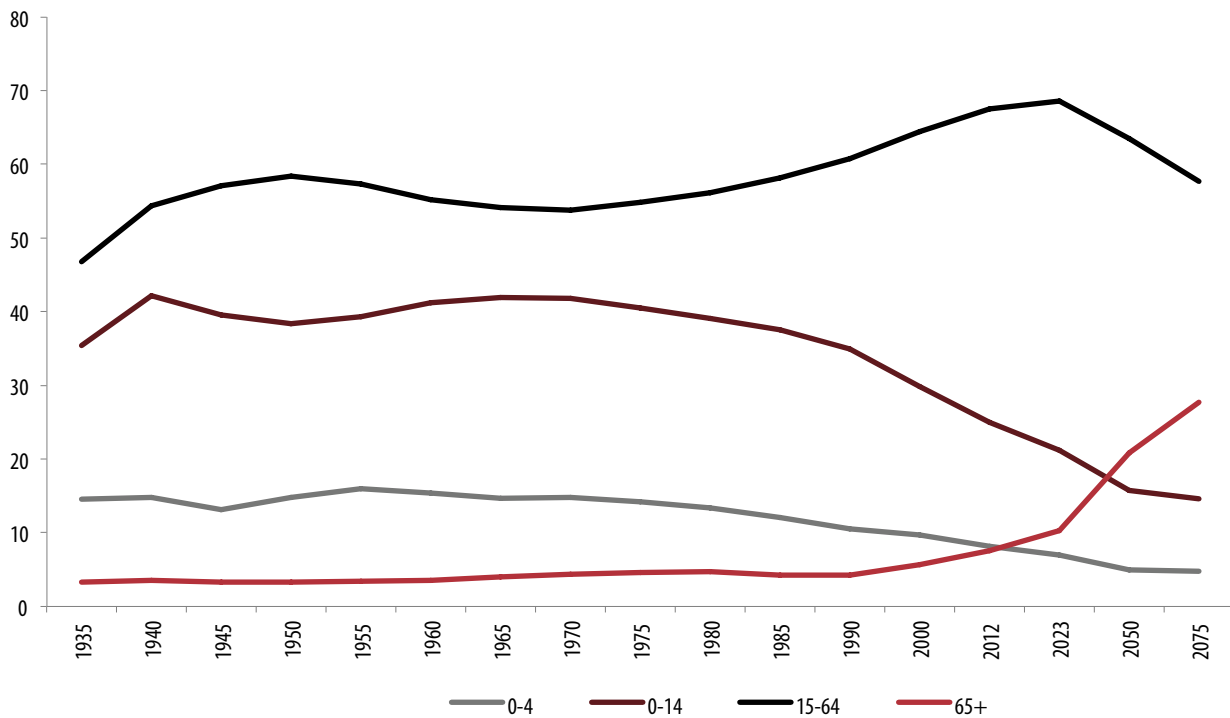
numerically. According to population projections, the percentage of young population expected to fall to 23% in 2023 and to 16% in 2050, will also continue its numeric decline, the young population numbering 18,857 thousand in 2012 will fall to under 15 million in 2050. Similar conclusions can be derived for the children population. The population of children under 5 years of age comprised 15% of the population, today, this percentage declined to 8%, in 2050, it will fall further to 5%. All these developments demonstrate that Türkiye is fast losing its young population characteristic.

When the working age population (ages 15-64) is examined, the increase is expected to rise for a long time until 2050. The working age population which is at the 68% level at present, will increase numerically by 2050, and will decrease slightly in percentage to 63%. The reason the increase in the working age

population is expected to continue is the population momentum, generations born in times of high birth rate continue to add to the working population.

When the transformation in the aged population is evaluated, it is seen that the percentage of the aged population (65 and over) is at around 3% in the early years of the Republic, this percentage remained at 4% until the 2000s and rapidly rose to 8% today. The percentage of the aged population is expected to rise to 10% in 2023, to 21% in 2050 and to 28% in 2075. In other words, in 2023, one in 10 people, in 2050 one in five people and in 2075 one in three people will be elderly. Numerically, there are around 6 million aged people today, this number will reach 9 million in 2023, 20 million in 2050 and 25 million in 2075. An aged population of such magnitude is more than the total population of many European countries.

Figure 8. Percentage Changes in Population by Age Groups, 1935-2075



Reference: (TurkStat, 2013; 2014a)

When the changes in the dependency ratios tabulated in Table 35 are examined, it is seen that the total dependency ratio has been in a falling trend since the 1960s. Until the 1990s, while 100 working age individuals had more than 70 children and elderly to take care of, today this ratio fell to below 50. Population projections predict that the dependency ratio is going to continue to fall until 2023, however, they will start to rise again starting from the middle of the century. When the total depen-

dependency ratio is broken down and examined, it is seen that the child dependency ratio is falling due to the decrease in birth rates and the aged dependency ratio is rising due to the increase in the aged population. The youth dependency ratio was 3-4 times the aged dependency ratio until today, however, according to population projections, around the middle of the century the aged dependency ratio will overtake youth dependency ratio and will double by 2075.

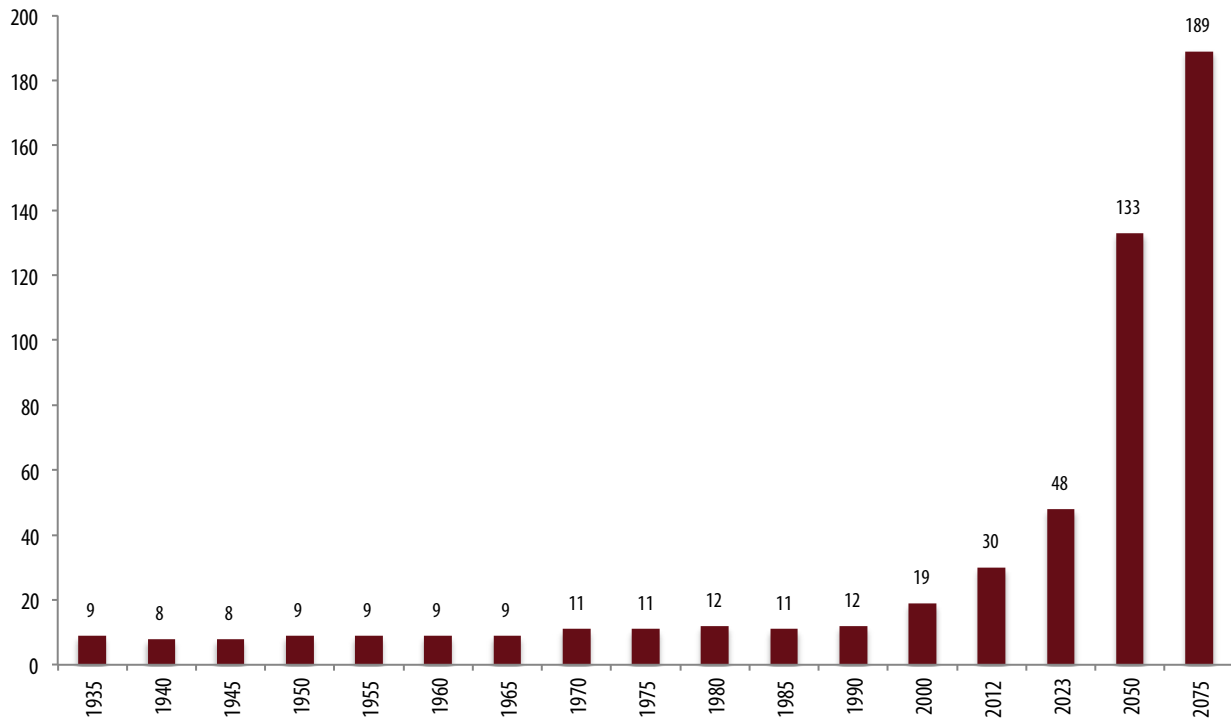
Table 35. Change in Dependency Ratios, 1935-2075

	Total age dependency ratio	Elderly dependency ratio (aged 65 +)	Youth dependency ratio (aged 0 -14)
1940	84	7	78
1945	75	6	69
1950	71	6	66
1955	75	6	69
1960	81	6	75
1965	85	7	78
1970	86	8	78
1975	82	8	74
1980	78	8	70
1985	72	7	65
1990	65	7	58
2000	55	9	46
2012	48	11	37
2023	46	15	31
2050	58	33	25
2075	73	48	25

Reference: (TurkStat, 2013; 2014a)

It is possible to see the relationship between aged dependency ratio and child dependency ratio by examining the ageing index more closely (Figure 9). The ageing index shows the number of elderly per 100 youth. While there were about 10 elder-

ly individuals per 100 young individuals for many years, today this number rose to 30. This increase is expected to continue and reach 189 by the last quarter of this century.

Figure 9. Change in Ageing Index, 1935-2075

Reference: (TurkStat, 2013; 2014a)

3.4. Analysis

3.4.1. Profile and Living Conditions of the Aged Population in Türkiye

The fact that the numeric extent of the aged population in Türkiye has surpassed those of many European countries and it will continue to accelerate makes it a necessity to understand the profile of the elderly population. In Table 36, the sociodemographic characteristics of the elderly population are shown according to the results of TAYA 2011. Because average life expectancy among women is higher, 55% of the aged population is women, 45% is men. Approximately three fourths of the aged belong to the “young elderly” age group of 60-74. The percentage of those 85 or over called “the aged elderly” is around 3%. Although the rural population has fallen to 27% in Türkiye, the fact that almost half of the aged population live in rural areas clearly shows that the share of the aged population in rural areas is quite high. The percentage of aged women living in rural areas is higher than men.

When the distribution of the elderly is examined by regions, the percentage of elderly people is denser

in areas where there is a dense population as expected. The Mediterranean, Istanbul and East Marmara are the top three areas with an elderly population, whereas West Anatolia, Northeast Anatolia and Mideast Anatolia have the lowest concentrations.

One of the important elements of the elderly profile is the marital status. 69% of the elderly are still married, 28% is widowed. The total percentage of those who never married, divorced or separated does not exceed 3%. Marital status also shows an important differentiation by whether the elderly person is a male or a female. While 88% of the males are still married, and 10% is widowed, 53% of the females are still married and 44% is widowed. This differentiation is essentially related to the fact that women live longer than their spouses (Table 36).

One third of the elderly is illiterate. While 11% of the men are illiterate, this percentage rises to 41% in women. The percentage of the elderly who has an educational level of middle school and above is only around 16% in Türkiye. While this percentage approaches 24% in men, among women it falls to 10%.

Table 36. The Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Elderly by Gender, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Male	Female	Total
Türkiye	45.0	55.0	100.0
AGE			
60-74	75.7	75.4	75.5
75-84	21.4	21.2	21.3
85+	2.9	3.4	3.2
RESIDENCE AREA			
Urban	42.7	40.6	41.5
Rural	57.3	59.4	58.5
NUTS			
Istanbul	11.3	12.8	12.1
West Marmara	7.2	7.8	7.5
East Marmara	10.9	10.8	10.8
Aegean	8.4	9.3	8.9
Mediterranean	12.7	12.7	12.7
West Anatolia	2.6	2.4	2.5
Central Anatolia	7.1	5.7	6.3
West Black Sea	8.6	8.5	8.5
East Black Sea	5.9	5.6	5.7
Northeast Anatolia	2.7	2.7	2.7
Mideast Anatolia	4.4	3.8	4.1
Southeast Anatolia	6.2	5.3	5.7
Ankara	5.6	5.6	5.6
Izmir	6.5	7.1	6.8
MARITAL STATUS			
Never married	0.6	1.1	0.9
Married	88.0	52.6	68.5
Separated	0.4	0.6	0.5
Widowed	9.9	43.6	28.4
Divorced	1.2	2.2	1.7
EDUCATIONAL STATUS			
Illiterate	10.6	41.3	27.5
Never finished any school	12.6	13.6	13.2
Primary school	52.9	34.8	43.0
Elementary/secondary school	8.8	4.8	6.6
High school/equivalent	6.7	3.5	4.9
University	8.4	2.0	4.9

Reference: (TurkStat, 2013; 2014a)

One element the concept of elderly profile brings to mind is elderly welfare. In this context, in Table 37, the work situation of the elderly, whether they have health insurance, the socioeconomic status of the households they live in, the average monthly income of the household and how the elderly evaluate the income level of their own households are shown.

A closer look at the working situations of the elderly show that 44% is retired, 6% still work and the rest neither work nor are retired. While the percentage of those who are not retired and do not work is 12% among men, among women it rises to around 80%. In other words, it can be deduced that four women

out of every five do not have any income. When the share of the elderly population within health insurance is examined, it was found out that 6% of the elderly have no health coverage.

When the distribution of elderly households is evaluated by socioeconomic level, it is interesting to note that three fourths of elderly individuals live in lower middle and lowest socioeconomic status (SES) households. The percentage of elderly individuals living in households in the upper and highest categories is around 7%. When analyzed by gender, the percentage of elderly women living in households from lower class is higher than men.

Table 37. Elderly Welfare by Gender, TAYA 2011

	Male	Female	Türkiye
WORK STATUS			
Working	13.1	0.9	6.4
Retired	74.8	18.8	44.0
Not working	12.1	80.3	49.6
HEALTH INSURANCE			
Has insurance	95.4	92.8	94.0
No insurance	4.6	7.2	6.0
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS			
High upper class	1.8	0.8	1.3
Upper class	6.5	5.3	5.9
Upper middle class	18.5	18.8	18.6
Lower middle class	62.4	61.4	61.9
Lower class	10.9	13.6	12.3
HOW WOULD YOU EVALUATE YOUR FAMILY FROM THE POINT OF MONTHLY AVERAGE INCOME?			
Very poor	3.1	4.2	3.7
Poor	16.6	18.8	17.8
Middle/normal	78.1	76.3	77.1
Wealthy	2.2	0.8	1.4
Very wealthy	0.1	0.0	0.0

Table 38. Household Type, Number of Children, Relationships with Children and Spouse of Elderly by Gender, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Male	Female	Türkiye
HOUSEHOLD TYPE			
Lives alone	7.5	22.9	15.9
Lives with the spouse only	52.7	34.6	42.7
Other family types	39.8	42.6	41.3
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS			
1	7.5	22.9	15.9
2	54.1	42.3	47.6
3	16.8	11.8	14.0
4	7.9	7.4	7.6
5+	13.8	15.7	14.8
NUMBER OF CHILDREN			
0	3.0	3.4	3.3
1	4.1	5.4	4.8
2	21.4	18.2	19.7
3	21.5	22.2	21.9
4	16.5	17.4	17.0
5+	33.5	33.3	33.4
RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SPOUSE			
Very bad	0.0	0.2	0.1
Bad	0.3	0.2	0.2
Average	2.4	2.6	2.5
Good	26.8	17.9	21.9
Very good	59.3	32.5	44.6
Absent/deceased	11.2	46.8	30.7
RELATIONSHIP WITH DAUGHTERS			
Very bad	0.4	0.3	0.3
Bad	1.1	0.8	0.9
Average	2.0	1.4	1.7
Good	33.8	29.9	31.7
Very good	48.6	52.0	50.5
Absent/deceased	14.1	15.7	15.0
RELATIONSHIP WITH SONS			
Very bad	0.3	0.6	0.5
Bad	1.5	1.3	1.4
Average	3.0	1.7	2.3
Good	35.8	30.9	33.1
Very good	47.2	52.1	49.9
Absent/deceased	12.3	13.3	12.8

Characteristics like the family types of the elderly, the number of their children, their relationships with their children, frequency of visits and the person responsible for the care of the aged in the family are tabulated in Table 38. In Türkiye, 16% of the elderly live alone. This percentage rises to 23% for women. The percentage of men living alone is around 8%. This can be explained by the fact that because men live shorter lives than women, widowed men are less in numbers and men do not learn the skills of living alone when they are younger. The percentage of the elderly who only live with their spouses is 43%. This percentage rises to 53% among men and falls to 35% among women. When single person families and those who live with their spouse are evaluated together, it shows that 6 elderly people out of 10 live alone or live only with their spouses. The percentage of the elderly who live with their children, relatives or other people, under the heading of “other family types” is 41%.

The number of household members also yields similar results. 16% of the elderly live in one person households, about half in two person households, 14% live in three person households, 8% in four

person households and 15% live in households of five or more members. From the point of the number of children, only 3% of the elderly have no children. 24% have 1-2, 39% 3-4 and 33% have five or more children. In other words, it can be said that three out of four elderly individuals have three or more children. The elderly were asked about their relationships with their spouses and children. They reported good relationships with both their spouses and their sons and daughters. The percentage of the elderly reporting poor relationships with their spouses or their children does not exceed 1-2%. As with poverty, the elderly have an optimistic attitude in their relationships with spouses and children.

It was mentioned above that the elderly exhibited a positive attitude when asked about the household income and relationships with spouses and children. The elderly were also asked to evaluate the happiness of their families and their own personal happiness (Table 39). Approximately three out of four aged people rate their families as happy or very happy, the percentage of those who rate their families as unhappy/very unhappy is about 4-5%.

Table 39. Family Happiness and Personal Happiness, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Male	Female	Türkiye
GENERAL HAPPINESS OF THE FAMILY			
Very unhappy	0.3	0.9	0.6
Unhappy	1.9	4.1	3.1
Average	18.7	20.8	19.8
Happy	61.5	61.5	61.5
Very happy	17.6	12.8	15.0
PERSONAL HAPPINESS			
Very unhappy	0.6	1.4	1.1
Unhappy	2.7	5.6	4.3
Average	17.7	22.4	20.3
Happy	61.2	58.8	59.9
Very happy	17.8	11.7	14.5

Table 40. Health Status and Quality of Life Indicators, TAYA 2006

	Male	Female	Türkiye
HEALTH STATUS COMPARED TO PEERS			
Very good	13.9	6.7	10.1
Good	58.1	50.0	53.7
Same	16.1	21.6	19.1
Poor	10.6	19.2	15.3
Very poor	1.2	2.5	1.9
CAN THEY EAT?			
With ease	90.0	85.3	87.5
With difficulty	5.4	11.9	8.9
With the help of somebody	0.8	1.8	1.3
Do not perform, irrelevant	3.8	1.1	2.4
CAN THEY PERFORM DAILY CHORES?			
With ease	71.7	59.1	64.9
With difficulty	7.6	23.9	16.4
With the help of somebody	2.1	6.0	4.2
Do not perform/irrelevant	18.6	11.0	14.5
CAN THEY SHOP?			
With ease	78.5	47.5	61.8
With difficulty	10.5	15.7	13.3
With the help of somebody	3.4	9.8	6.9
Do not perform/irrelevant	7.7	26.9	18.0
CAN THEY TRAVEL?			
With ease	70.6	45.5	57.1
With difficulty	11.0	15.9	13.6
With the help of somebody	3.5	12.0	8.1
Do not perform/irrelevant	14.9	26.7	21.2
CAN THEY LOOK AFTER THEIR PERSONAL HYGIENE (TAKING A SHOWER ETC.)?			
With ease	87.7	74.7	80.7
With difficulty	8.3	16.8	12.9
With the help of somebody	3.9	7.5	5.8
Do not perform/irrelevant	0.2	0.9	0.6
CAN THEY PERFORM DUTIES OUTSIDE THE HOME?			
With ease	75.9	35.0	53.9
With difficulty	9.9	11.2	10.6
With the help of somebody	5.5	11.2	8.6
Do not perform/irrelevant	8.7	42.6	27.0

To determine the elderly profile in Türkiye, understanding the health status of the aged also need to be analyzed. Questions on this subject were asked in TAYA 2006. One of the questions from TAYA 2006 tabulated in Table 40 is about how the elderly evaluated their own health. The elderly were asked how they saw their health compared to other people

of their own age. About 17% of the elderly reported their health as very poor/poor. This percentage rises to 22% among women. It seems that although the share of women in the elderly population is higher and they have a higher life expectancy, the number of women who report poor health is higher than men.

In TAYA 2006, to determine the life quality of the elderly, researchers tried to gauge whether the elderly took part in different dimensions of everyday life of the household such as if they could or could not perform some activities inside or outside the home. This was asked together with the degrees of this performance and from the answers, researchers tried to find out if they had a health problem that affected their everyday activities. In Table 40, the degree of the ease of this performance is tabulated by gender. This table shows the “easiest” task the elderly report doing is eating. This is followed by taking a shower. However, activities outside of the household have the lowest percentages of “easiest” answers. The percentage of the elderly who report it is easiest to pay the bills, go to banks, hospitals and do fieldwork etc. is only 54%. The percentage of the elderly who report they can easily travel and shop is 57% and 62% respectively. The elderly can perform activities inside the home much easily than outside the home. When the performability of everyday activities was examined by gender, it was found that men could do both inside and outside activities more easily than women. This difference increases especially with outside activities. The percentage of women who can easily pay the bills, go to banks, hospitals etc. is less than half of the men. Similar percentages are valid for travel and shopping. This situation which puts women at a disadvantage com-

pared to men, shows that women have more health problems that affect their everyday life than men.

3.4.2. Elderly Care and Preferences for Old Age

According to TAYA 2011 results, two thirds of the elderly either live by themselves or only with their spouses. This is closely related to the shrinking of the average household size and the fall in birth rates. The TPHS 2008 results show that even though children do not live with their parent, they prefer to either live in the same building or close by (Koç et al., 2010). However, the social and demographic developments and the transformation in the family structure points to the importance of increasing state support in care services. The number of nursing homes in the country is already insufficient. Nursing homes only admit people 60 or over who are financially and socially destitute, however, can perform daily necessities (eating, drinking, using the rest room) independently, fairly healthy with no major health problems or disabilities that need constant care and treatment, also mentally stable. According to the National Action Plan, the number of people living in nursing homes is below 20 thousand (Table 41). The maximum capacity of all nursing homes including private nursing homes is 24 thousand.

Table 41. Number of Nursing Homes, Their Capacity and Occupancy Rates

	Number	Capacity	Occupancy
Nursing homes operated by the General Directorate of Disabled and Elderly Services	106	11,678	10,638
Nursing homes operated by other ministries	2	566	566
Nursing homes operated by municipalities	20	2,013	1,409
Nursing homes operated by associations and foundations	34	2,820	1,974
Nursing homes operated by minorities	7	961	673
Private nursing homes	123	6023	4216
Total	292	24,061	19,476

Reference: National Action Plan for the Elderly, 2012

In TAYA 2011, individuals between 18-60 years of age were asked how they wanted to live when they are too old to look after themselves. If the percentage of those who answered “I have no idea” is left aside, approximately 17% of individuals indicated they wanted to stay in a nursing home and 32% said they wanted to be taken care of at home (Table 43). The present capacity is far from meeting this demand. In case 17% of 20 million elderly prefers to live in nursing homes in 2050, nursing homes do not have the capacity to meet this demand.

By selected demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, the preferences of individuals between 18-60 for their old age was observed and findings show that those who live in urban areas want to spend their old age in nursing homes while 34% prefer to receive home care. These percentages fall to 9% and 28% respectively in rural areas and the desire to spend old age with children is comes to the foreground (60%). The desire to stay with the male children is especially high (51%).

When life preferences for old age is examined by regions, the percentage of those who answer “I will go to a nursing home” is highest in West Marmara and the Mediterranean and the lowest in North-east Anatolia. A comparison by three major cities shows that the percentage of those who want to spend their old age in a nursing home is highest in Ankara and lowest in Istanbul. Old age preferenc-

es do not show important differentiation by gender (Table 43)

By age groups, the percentage of young people who want to stay in a nursing home is significantly higher than older generations. While 77% of those from the 18-24 age group declare they want to go to a nursing home in their old age, the desire to stay with their children in their old age is more prominent among the 55-60 age group (56%).

Examined by marital status, those that declare “I will go to a nursing home” and “I will get home care” choices is highest among single individuals as expected (38% and 54% respectively). Among widowed individuals, the desire to stay with their children is more prominent (68%). Among married individuals who make up the most numerous group, the percentage of those who say “I will go to a nursing home” stays at 13%, while the percentage of those who say “I will stay with my children” goes up to 54%.

By educational status and SES, among individuals with a low educational level and who belong to a lower SES, nursing home preference is quite low (6% among illiterates, 8% among the lowest SES), among university graduates and the highest SES group this percentage of individuals who say “I will go to a nursing home” rises above 30%.

Table 42. Life Preferences for Old Age among Individuals Aged between 18-60 throughout Türkiye and by Residence Area (%)

	I will go to a nursing home	I will get home care	I will stay with my son	I will stay with my daughter	Other
Türkiye	16.9	31.9	37.2	10.0	4.0
RESIDENCE AREA					
Rural	8.6	27.6	50.9	9.3	3.6
Urban	19.9	33.5	32.3	10.2	4.2

Table 43. Life Preferences for Old Age in Individuals from the 18-60 Age Group by NUTS, Gender, Age, Marital Status, Educational Status, and SES (%)

	I will go to a nursing home	I will get home care	I will stay with my son	I will stay with my daughter	Other
NUTS					
Istanbul	15.9	33.9	34.6	11.3	4.5
West Marmara	21.4	26.9	31.9	18.7	1.2
East Marmara	12.6	37.5	34.6	12.4	3.0
Aegean	13.7	42.0	33.9	8.8	1.7
Mediterranean	18.8	32.8	31.3	10.6	6.6
West Anatolia	14.6	26.2	46.6	8.4	4.2
Central Anatolia	17.1	26.2	44.9	9.2	2.5
West Black Sea	12.3	34.8	40.6	9.7	2.6
East Black Sea	10.6	29.3	48.6	9.0	2.4
Northeast Anatolia	8.3	28.6	53.3	6.3	3.5
Mideast Anatolia	14.9	21.0	49.5	6.7	8.0
Southeast Anatolia	11.9	23.9	53.8	5.0	5.3
Ankara	31.8	36.1	20.5	7.1	4.5
Izmir	28.5	29.6	26.2	13.3	2.4
GENDER					
Male	16.0	31.0	39.0	8.9	5.1
Female	17.7	32.7	35.5	11.0	3.1
AGE					
18-24	31.6	45.3	12.0	4.0	7.2
25-34	18.1	34.5	31.5	11.6	4.2
35-44	14.6	28.6	42.2	11.0	3.6
45-54	12.4	28.4	45.9	10.3	3.0
55-60	13.8	27.2	46.3	9.2	3.5
MARITAL STATUS					
Never married	37.8	54.3	0.0	0.0	7.9
Married	13.0	29.1	43.2	11.1	3.5
Separated	22.4	23.7	27.6	22.4	3.9
Widowed	13.5	18.2	51.5	16.1	0.7
Divorced	38.1	26.0	16.7	14.2	5.0
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL					
Illiterate	5.9	12.4	70.2	9.4	2.2
Never finished any school	9.0	19.3	60.1	8.6	3.0
Primary school	10.1	27.3	48.2	11.5	2.9
Elementary/secondary school	16.4	34.3	34.2	11.4	3.7
High school/equivalent	25.8	38.8	20.2	9.7	5.5
University	30.0	43.5	15.0	5.2	6.3
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS					
High upper class	31.4	48.7	8.9	5.7	5.3
Upper class	24.6	44.2	17.2	9.1	4.8
Upper middle class	20.1	34.8	31.4	9.4	4.3
Lower middle class	12.4	28.2	44.1	11.5	3.7
Lower class	7.8	16.0	63.2	10.0	3.0

After these descriptive analyses on the period of old age, to see the clear effect of each factor on old age preferences, further multivariable analyses need to be made. This way, the influence of other variables will be taken under control and the outcomes of each factor on old age preferences will be cleared of other effects. The determinants of “the preference of spending old age in a nursing home or receiving home care” will be analyzed by binary logistic regression. This method was chosen because the dependent variable has two categories. In the dependent variable, those who want to spend their old age in a nursing home and those who want to receive home care got the value of one (1), those who want to spend their old age with their children or who chose the answer “other” got the value of zero (0). The dependent variables of staying in a nursing home or receiving home care were evaluated together because both are outside the support of the family. The independent variables included in the analysis were the area of residence (urban/rural), region (NUTS level1), gender, age group, marital status, educational level and socioeconomic status. All the variables are categorical variables.

Table 44, shows the results of binary logistic regression. The percentage of those who want to spend their old age in a nursing home or receiving home care is 35% more in urban areas. Evaluated by regions, this preference is highest in the Aegean region and lowest in Mideast Anatolia. Among three major cities, this preference is more evident in Ankara.

Although descriptive analyses do not show a great differentiation in preferences for old age by gender, multivariable analysis show that among men, the percentage of those who want to spend their old age in a nursing home or receive home care is less than women by one third. When the other variables are controlled, there is no significant differentiation by age group.

Evaluated on marital status, in line with descriptive analyses, the percentage of those who want to spend their old age in a nursing home or receive home care are higher among singles and lowest among widowed individuals.

As the educational level and the socioeconomic status of the household increases, the percentage of those who want to go to a nursing home in their old age or receive home care increases. While this percentage is 3.5 times higher among university graduates compared to illiterate individuals, it is 6 times greater in the highest SES group compared to the lowest.

3.5. Results and Social Policy Suggestions

As is true for the whole world, the aged population increases rapidly in Türkiye both proportionally and numerically. In the first section of this study, the transformation of the aged population from the past to the present and how this trend would continue in the future was evaluated; in the second section, analyses were made to reveal the profile of the elderly population and in the third section, old age preferences of individuals between the ages of 18-60 were examined by multiple variable analysis.

The percentage of the aged population which was 3% in the early years of the Republic, rose to 8% today. With the fall in the birth rates and the rise in life expectancy, the share of the elderly population within the whole rose steadily. The percentage of the elderly population is expected to increase to 10% by the year of the centennial anniversary of the Republic, to 21% by the middle of the XXIst century and to 28% by the beginning of the last quarter of the XXIst century. In other words, by the centennial of the Republic, one in every 10 people; one in every five people by mid century and as we enter the last quarter of this century, one in every three people will be elderly. When these percentages are expressed in absolute numbers, the elderly numbering about 6 million today will reach 9 million by 2023, 20 million by 2050 and 25 million by 2075.

An elderly population more numerous than the total populations of many European countries will bring along many issues if the necessary preparations are not started today. One area that is going to be very highly affected will be the social security system. The elderly dependency ratio which can be described as the number of elderly individuals per

Table 44. Logistic Regression Analysis of Determinants of Preferences of Going to a Nursing Home or Receiving Home Care in Old Age

	Sig.	Exp(B)
RESIDENCE AREA		
Rural		1.00
Urban	0.000	1.35
NUTS		
Istanbul		1.00
West Marmara	0.016	1.31
East Marmara	0.006	1.28
Aegean	0.000	2.23
Mediterranean	0.000	1.68
West Anatolia	0.070	1.30
Central Anatolia	0.216	1.15
West Black Sea	0.000	1.48
East Black Sea	0.413	1.12
Northeast Anatolia	0.084	1.31
Mideast Anatolia	0.378	0.89
Southeast Anatolia	0.432	1.08
Ankara	0.000	2.18
Izmir	0.000	1.52
GENDER		
Male	0.000	0.67
Female		1.00
AGE		
18-24	0.220	0.85
25-34	0.969	1.00
35-44	0.261	0.91
45-54	0.095	0.87
55-60		1.00
MARITAL STATUS		
Never married	0.000	7.43
Married	0.000	0.51
Separated	0.146	0.63
Widowed	0.000	0.31
Divorced		1.00
EDUCATIONAL STATUS		
Illiterate		1.00
Never finished any school	0.003	1.64
Primary school	0.000	2.24
Elementary/secondary school	0.000	2.76
High school/equivalent	0.000	3.22
University	0.000	3.51
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS		
High upper class	0.000	5.97
Upper class	0.000	3.27
Upper middle class	0.000	1.97
Lower middle class	0.000	1.46
Lower class		1.00
R2 (Nagelkerke)	0.270	
Wald F	6.016	

100 individuals at working age, is 11% today, however, it will rise to 15% by 2023, to 33% by 2050 and to 48% by 2075. In other words, while 10 individuals of working age look after one elderly individual today, this will rise to three working age individuals in 2050 and to two working age individuals by 2075. The change experienced in the age composition of the population, will disturb the balance between active insured individuals who still work and pay their social security premiums and passive insured individuals who have retired and left business life. In its current state Türkiye has a young population structure that provides advantages on the matter of active/passive balance. For every 10 individuals of working age there is one elderly individual working age individuals need to take care of. However, according to the numbers released by the Social Security Administration the active/passive ratio was 1.90 in 2012. (SSA, 2012). This difference comes from factors that lower the number of active social insurance beneficiaries such as one unemployed working age individual out of two and the majority of the population working unofficially, and from such factors as past early retirement policies that increased the number of passive insurance beneficiaries today. Unless the necessary precautions are not taken, the ratio of active/passive insurance beneficiaries will become much direr in the future. Globally, a system where four active social security beneficiaries pay the pension of one passive beneficiary is considered to be ideal (Gümüş, 2010).

The ageing of the population will also seriously overstrain the health system. Because the incidence of many illnesses increases with age, investments in health will also have to increase. The increase in the elderly population will also bring increases in chronic conditions such as cardiac diseases, hypertension, diabetes, asthma and chronic lung disease. In the Turkish Illness Burden study conducted by the Ministry of Health and Başkent University in 2004, it was noted that nine out of 10 disease burdens from the over 60 population were chronic diseases (Başkent University, 2004). The drain chronic diseases bring to the health system is well known. If we keep in mind that a large portion of health expenditures goes towards individuals with chron-

ic diseases, it is obvious that there will have to be greater increases in health expenditures in the future. The health system urgently needs to synchronize itself with chronic diseases.

To understand the profile of the aged is very important from the point of view of economic and social policies directed at the ageing population. Characteristics of the elderly such as age, gender, marital status, educational level and income, lead the elderly to experience the ageing process differently. In this study, findings from Research on Family Structure in Türkiye 2011 study were used to make analyses to reveal the profile of the aged. Analysis results show that four out of every 10 elderly individuals is either illiterate or have not even graduated elementary school. This percentage rises to 55% among elderly women. More than half of the aged live in poor households; the average total income of households where more than half the elderly live is below 800 TL. According to TAYA 2011 results, 6% of the elderly, according to TPHS 2008 results 10% of the elderly have no health insurance. Again, according to TPHS 2008 results, one third of the aged have no income whatsoever. In a study done on the quality of life of the elderly, the most disadvantaged groups among the elderly were found to be old people, elderly women and widowed individuals (Koç et al., 2010). Because women live four to five years longer than men, the share of elderly women among aged and widowed elderly individuals is higher. When safeguards for the elderly are put into place and policies are developed, the profile of the elderly and their main characteristics need to be taken into consideration. In this context, it is important to create a comprehensive database on the sociodemographic characteristics of the elderly, their health status etc.

To learn more about the profile of the elderly, their social, economic and psychological needs and their health problems, a very comprehensive study on “The Status of the Elderly in Türkiye and Their Needs” has to be conducted across Türkiye. During the designing phase of this study, using the questionnaire of “SHARE - Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe” study and the question-

naire module developed by WHO to measure the quality of life of the elderly (WHOQOL-OLD) will make it easier to make international comparisons. The “Old Age” institute planned to carry out activities in this particular area by the General Directorate of Disabled and Elderly Services of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, will meet an important need.

Parallel to the change in age structure in Türkiye, serious social changes are also observed. The majority of the population now lives in cities. Extended families which provided for the elderly in the past are being replaced by nuclear families. Today, the size of the household is shrinking relentlessly, and according to TAYA 2011 results, six out of every 10 elderly individuals live in childless households either by themselves or with their spouses. Disregarding those who do not have an opinion, when the preferences of old age of individuals under 60 are evaluated, it is observed that half of the individuals want to stay at a nursing home or receive home care. The results of the binary logistic regression analysis conducted on the old age preferences of individuals between 18-60 show that the percentage of individuals who prefer to go to a nursing home or want to receive home care increase as the level of urbanization, education and the socioeconomic status rise. When the fact that urbanization and education levels will continue to rise in the future is taken into account, it would be safe to predict that the percentage of individuals who want to receive institutional help outside of the support structure of the family will also increase. For this reason, home care and institutional care services that ensure the quality of life of the elderly need to be improved. If the fact that in 2012 only 20 thousand elderly out of 6 million are staying in nursing homes is

kept in mind, it becomes obvious that the number of nursing homes is very inadequate. The number of nursing homes must definitely be increased and their quality improved. Special care should be taken to build nursing homes not outside the city away from the opportunities the city has to offer, but in the city itself. Today, in developed countries, social policies directed at the elderly primarily provide care at the place where the elderly individual is currently lives. Adopting a similar practice in Türkiye will both reduce institutional care expenses and will meet the needs of the elderly individuals by not severing their ties with their surroundings.

During planning phase of safeguards for the needs of elderly individuals, all areas of life need to be covered. Cities, where the elderly find it very difficult to live, should be transformed into “elderly friendly” cities. This requires a number of steps from shortening the height of bus or other vehicle steps, to planning the height of sidewalk borders for the elderly. In sectors such as food and textiles, products geared for the needs of the elderly have to be manufactured. In the area of nutrition, the number of nutritionists specialized in elderly nutrition; in the area of health, the number of geriatrists and physicians specialized in old age definitely need to be increased. The number of gerontology centers in our universities which will be active using a multi-disciplinary approach to ageing which is a multi dimensional phenomenon need to be increased. If these steps are taken starting from today, the necessary preparations are undertaken and the social and economic life is constructed according to the needs of the future demographic composition, the increase in the elderly population will become an opportunity instead of a “problem”.

Section 4

MARRIAGE IN TÜRKİYE

Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar



Introduction

Data Source and Methodology

Literature

Conceptual Framework

Analysis

Results and Social Policy Recommendations

4.1. Introduction

From the point of view of marriage dynamics, fairly rapid changes are happening in Türkiye. There are well known marriage practices and opinions on marriage that change by region, socioeconomic status, education and other variables. A deeper understanding of those practices and the relationship and ideals on marriage, will provide us with important clues to understanding the change in the society and social processes.

Studies on marriage practices, marriage relationships and ideals are very limited in the social sciences literature in Türkiye. The inadequate number of studies generally adopts an ethnographical and anthropological approach based on qualitative methods, and for this reason they are far from being representative. From this point of view, this study based on the quantitative approach aims to overcome that deficiency in this area. Based on Research on Family Structure in Türkiye done in 2006 and repeated in 2011, this report analyzes practices of marriage and opinions and ideals on marriage. It is based on the representative study Research on Family Structure Türkiye (TAYA). The study is important because it displays marriage practices and opinions about marriage by region and groups, also because it offers clues on marriage practices across Türkiye and opinions on marriage and ideals. Moreover, this research repeated in 2006 and 2011, provides the opportunity to understand the changes over time.

In the study, first the research on marriage in Türkiye was summarized. Then, a short discussion on the methodology is offered. The analysis section is followed by the section on conclusion.

4.2. Data Source and Method

This report is based on the analysis of questions about attitudes, opinions and ideals on marriage from the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye 2006 and 2011, conducted by the Directorate of Family and Social Services of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. The sampling represents Türkiye by urban

and rural areas, NUTS Level 1, and Ankara and Izmir separately. In TAYA 2006, the research covers 12,208 households. In these households, a total of 23,279 individuals who are 18+ years old were interviewed. Additionally, demographic profile of all household members were gathered (n=48,235 people). In TAYA 2011, 12,056 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 44,117 household members was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 24,647 individuals over the age of 18. Household questionnaire and household roster are applied to reference person; and individual questionnaire is applied to 18+ individuals who are present at household during the visit. TAYA 2006 and 2011 studies are not based on the same questionnaires. Therefore, a comparison between 2006 and 2011 can prove to be difficult especially due to the mutation of some questions and/or the exclusion or inclusion of some questions in the questionnaire. It would not be wrong to say that this analysis is limited to common questions in both studies. Another issue to underline is that even if the analysis were based on repeated questions in both studies, the roots of the questions or the given choices can show differences between 2006 and 2011. This causes some problems during interpretation. When such questions are analyzed, the change in the question between 2006-2011 is specified. During analysis, along with descriptive statistics, t-test, chi-square and ANOVA methods are used. In all analyses, statistical significance was tested in the 95% confidential interval. The analyses were completed using MS Office Excel and IBM SPSS programs.

4.3. Literature

Marriage is an important topic in family sociology. Even though the definition of marriage is different from one society to the other, from the perspective of sociology, marriage is defined as “a sexual union between two adults approved by society” (Giddens, Duneier and Appelbaum, 1996). Ingoldsby (2006) defines marriage as a culturally approved sexual union that brings psychological and economic expectations along with it. The approval of the relationship by the society and the provision of

the couple with certain rights are other important characteristics for sociology. Moreover, it is stated that marriage is not limited to these two people, but also includes the family which is the main institution for the socialization of children (Risman 1998). According to the United Nations (UN) data for the year 2000, at least 90% of men and women in all countries around the world are married and women get married younger than men.

Marriage is seen not simply as a union between a man and a woman, but it is considered to be an institution where family and kinship relationships develop with the addition of children. However, as Ingoldsby has pointed out (2006), although marriage causes many biological and/or socially based relationships, essentially it is based on two social positions made up of the spouses. Kaufman (1992) on the other hand, maintains that rather than the members of the household and family, it is the couple that should be the subject of sociological research and expresses the view that while the family and household members remain in the fictional plane, the relationship between the couple is based on the type of reality experienced from day to day. Bourdieu offers an important contribution at this point. Bourdieu (1996), in an article that examines the family, states that the family can be defined in different ways as a result of different societies and different constructs of the state.

In all stages of marriage, from pre-marriage ceremonies to kinship relationships formed within the marriage, the regulatory interference of social norms are present. For this reason, marriage is not only a phenomenon limited to procreation and sexual unity, it is a phenomenon constructed and regulated by society. As the effect of the social community weakens, the importance of relationships formed in the marriage increases (Crow, 2008).

Choice of spouse is another seriously studied topic. The choice of the spouse shows differentiation from society to society. For instance Nock (1998:6), states that the ideals perceived as necessary for marriage in the United States (USA) are personal choice, maturity, sexual fidelity and the desire to

have children. Bumiller (1990) on the other hand, shows that in India, contrary to Western countries, love is not perceived to be a necessary condition for marriage; instead families play an important role on the choice of spouse. Bumiller, states that 95% of Indian marriages are conducted in this manner. Even in the same society, different social classes or ethnic groups may have different marriage norms. For instance for a social group, religious marriage and ceremony can be seen as essential, while for others the consent of the family may be perceived a necessary condition. Civil marriage provides a different dimension of the union of two people.

In different societies, apart from the societal norms based on personal expectations, there are also legal and moral norms. The presence of civil marriage between the couple creates a binding legal contract including the children. This contract provides a standard to regulate intra-family relationships and establish rights between spouses (and their children if any).

Expectations from marriage command as large a share in literature as marriage ideals. Blakeslee and Wallerstein (1995) have examined the expectations of the couple from the marriage in the United States. Their findings demonstrate that people put their spouses first before friends, work and money and expect to experience the most intense emotional and spiritual sharing with their spouses. In dealing with difficulties in other areas of social life like work, the marriage is seen as a safe haven, a support system. While in Western societies, individual choices and expectations come first, in Eastern societies, the main expectation can be to marry the right person who will get along with the rest of the family and establish tranquility within the extended family.

The practices, customs and ceremonies in marriage are the subjects of another topic. There are many anthropological studies on this subject. The timing and the order of marriage among siblings, customs practiced during marriage and ceremonies show differences from society to society, sometimes even within the same society. Pyke (2005) while showing

how different the practices of marriage among immigrants are from the practices of the host country, also states that these practices also differ from the practices in the home country. It is also a known fact that second and third generation immigrants consider marriage as a strategy in their host country.

The structure of the family makes up another area of study. Although marriage structures also differ from society to society, basically there are four types (Ingolsby, 2006). These can be summarized as monogamy, polygamy, polyandry and group marriages. As the culturally most preferred type throughout the world, monogamy is the foremost form. While there are researchers who suggest that with the ascendancy of Western culture, this type became more widespread (Stephens, 1963), there are also social scientists who emphasize the economic, social and religious reasons behind the dominance of this model (Ingolsby, 2006). As the institution of marriage affects the relationships of individuals with other institutions such as politics, labor market and education (Rotolo, 2000), it also gets affected in return by institutions such as the state and labor market (Teachman, Tedrow and Crowder, 2000).

When the marriage studies in Türkiye are examined, it becomes obvious that marriage is usually the subject of anthropological and sociological studies. As stated by Altuntek (2001), first studies on this topic were based on the village monographies of Berkes (1942), Boran (1945), Erdentuğ (1956, 1969), Yasa (1957), Pierce (1964) and Stirling (1965). In these studies, marriage practices of different groups in different locations were studied. In studies on marriage and types of kinship (Balaman, 1982; Yalçın-Heckman, 1990; Altuntek, 1993), the properties of different marriage types in different areas in Türkiye affecting the social organization are discussed. In research studying relationships between spouses, power dynamics are discussed (Olson, 1982; Hart, 2007). There are also studies that look at the marriage institution and the family from a historical perspective (Ortaylı, 1985; Duben and Behar, 1991). In these studies the fact

that there was no uniform family type in the Ottoman Empire and Türkiye, but many different types are also brought to attention.

There are special stages, traditions and ceremonies to be observed before and during the marriage in our society. These customs and ceremonies were examined by researchers (Erdentuğ, 1969). Erdentuğ states that these customs lost their past importance as a result of Westernization. Sezen (2010) in the article on the models of marriage in Türkiye, speaks about the presence of 33 different kinds of marriage, some, like marriage by snatching a head scarf is traditionally specific to an area, while TV marriages are newer occurrences.

These studies were followed by research comparing urban-rural marriage practices (Timur, 1972). Marriage practices differ in villages and cities. Migrants try to keep to their traditions for a time in the cities, but later generations, instead of carrying out these practices in the same manner, combine them with practices they encounter in cities (Kandiyoti, 1985; Sunar and Okman Fişek, 2005; Tezcan, 2009). Güreşçi (2013) examines how marriage gets affected in villages by the process of migration. There are also studies on marriage migration (Yılmaz, 2009; Özgür and Aydın, 2011). Özgür and Aydın (2011), state that compared to men, women migrate more because of marriage. Lievens (1999) and Çelik, Beşpınar and Kalaycıoğlu (2013) study marriage in an international emigration context. The authors show that marriages can be used as an emigration strategy and are seriously affected by the emigration process.

4.4. Conceptual Framework

The evaluation in this report goes forward in three main axes. The first one is attitudes towards marriage. In this section, the focus is on attitudes such as the status of the marriage, the age at first marriage, how the marriage took place, how the spouse was chosen, how the marriage was solemnized, and the kind of wedding ceremony. While looking at marriage practices across Türkiye, the way these

practices differ by region were also examined. Similarly, the relationship between independent variables like gender and education, and marriage practices were also studied.

The other axis is about relationships with the spouse. In this section, the level of relationship with the spouse, problems experienced with the spouse and reactions shown when a problem is encountered are discussed.

The third axis is the ideals related to marriage. The personal and social characteristics sought in a spouse and age of first marriage should be examined within the framework of ideals related to marriage. Again, under this topic, after a discussion of

trends in Türkiye, how ideals differ by gender and education are also studied.

4.4.1. Variables

Demographic characteristics such as gender, age, education and marital status were used as independent variables in the study. Also, type of family, the number of children, socioeconomic status, and area of residence are also important independent variables used in the analysis. Lastly, religious belief was also included as an important independent variable. The dependent variables for 2006 and 2011 are shown in the table below with their variable numbers.

Table 45. Analyzed Dependent Variables from the Data Set of TAYA 2006-2011

1. Attitudes towards marriage		
	2006	2011
1.1. Marital status	F6	F16
1.2. If not married, would s/he want to get married?	B28	No question asked
1.3. Age at first marriage	B6	B5
1.4. How did s/he got married	B9	B10
1.5. Marriage solemnization	B10	B12
1.6. How many times did s/he get married	B5	B4
1.7. What kind of ceremonies	B11	B13
1.8. Bride price	B12	B14
1.9. Which social circle did s/he get married from	B13, B14, B15, B16	B11, B15, B16
2. Relations with the spouse		
2.1. Ideals about marriage	B40	B35, B36
2.2. Ideal marriage age	B41	B37
3. Relations with the spouse		
3.1. level of relationship with the spouse	B29	B26, B27
3.2. Three problems experienced with the spouse	B49	B27
3.3. Reactions given to the problem	B50, B51	B28, B 29

4.5. Analysis: Marriage Practices

In this section, attitudes towards marriage will be discussed. Important topics on marriage practices starting from the marital status, at what age and how the individuals got married, how they met their spouse will be approached.

4.5.1. Marital Status

Let us start the discussion first with marital status. While this question was asked to individuals 15 years of age and above in 2006, it was asked to individuals 12 years of age and above in 2011. For comparison purposes, the marital status of participants 15 years of age and above is shown in the table below.

Table 46. 15+ Marital Status by Gender, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Male	Female	Total
2006			
Never married	30.1	24.0	27.0
Married	67.6	65.3	66.4
Divorced	0.9	1.9	1.4
Widowed	1.4	8.8	5.2
2011			
Never married	31.2	22.6	26.8
Married	65.7	64.5	65.1
Separated	0.3	0.8	0.5
Widowed	1.7	9.4	5.5
Divorced	1.3	2.8	2.0

In 2006, the percentage of never married men was 30%, never married women was 24%; the percentage of married men was 68%, married women was 65%; the percentage for divorced men was 9 per thousand, percentage for divorced women was 2%; widowers was 1% and widows 9%.

In 2011, the percentage of never married men was 31%, 23% for women; married men 66%, married women 65%; separated men 3‰, women 8‰; the percentage of divorced men 1‰, women 3‰; widowers 2‰ and widows 9%.

When a comparison between the 2006 and 2011 data was made, a small rise in the percentage of divorced and widowed individuals in both men and women was noted. From 2006 to 2011 the percentage of divorced men rose from 9‰ to 1.3%, and divorced women rose from 1.9‰ to 2.8%. The percentage of widowed individuals rose from 1.4%

in men to 1.7%, and in women from 8.8% to 9.4% during the same period.

The educational status options are different in TAYA 2006 and 2011. To make comparison possible, illiterate individuals and literate individuals who received no schooling in TAYA 2006 were presented together. In TAYA 2011 table on the other hand, primary and middle school graduates, individuals with associate degrees and graduates of vocational schools also individuals with undergraduate and graduate degrees were given together (Table 47).

As the educational level rises, the percentages of never married and divorced individuals rise in general. While in 2006 the percentage of never married individuals was 15% among illiterates, this increases to 58% in elementary/secondary graduates, 49% in high school and equivalent graduates and to 36% among individuals with undergraduate

and graduate degrees. The percentage of divorcees is higher among university graduates compared to other educational groups. The divorce percentage of 1% among illiterates rises to 2% among primary school graduates; it is the same at 1% among primary and middle school graduates and again rises to 2% among people with undergraduate and graduate degrees.

While the percentage of never married individuals was 12% among people with no schooling in 2011, this percentage was 4% among primary

school graduates, 50% among elementary/secondary school graduates, 45% among high school graduates and 35% among associate degree/undergraduate degree/graduate degree holders. Although there is no linear increase, it can be said that divorce rates also increase as the educational level increases. While the divorce rate is 1% among illiterates, this percentage rises to 2.5% among high school graduates and 2.9% among university graduates. An increase in divorce rates between 2006 and 2011 was observed across all educational levels (Table 47).

Table 47. 15+ Marital Status by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/graduate)
2006					
Never married	15.2	9.2	57.9	49.2	35.5
Married	66.3	85.4	40.1	48.5	61.9
Divorced	1.0	1.6	1.1	1.3	2.2
Widowed	17.6	3.8	1.0	1.0	0.4
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/graduate)
2011					
Never married	11.5	4.1	50.2	45.2	35.1
Married	63.5	87.7	46.6	50.7	60.8
Separated	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.4
Widowed	22.5	5.6	1.4	1.1	0.9
Divorced	1.9	1.9	1.4	2.5	2.9

When the marital status of different SES groups is examined, an interesting picture emerges. In 2006 as the SES level rises, the percentage of individuals who have never married increases, there is no significant trend in 2011. It is worth to note that

the percentage of widowed individuals is higher in lower SES groups. The relationship between divorce and SES is also interesting. The highest divorce rate in 2011 (2%), is among the highest SES groups (Table 48).

Table 48. 15+ Marital Status by SES, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Low class	Middle class	High class		
2006					
Never married	18.3	27.9	29.8		
Married	68.3	66.1	66.8		
Divorced	1.1	1.5	1.2		
Widowed	12.4	4.5	2.1		
	Lower class	Lower middle class	Upper middle class	Upper class	Higher upper class
2011					
Never married	18.9	25.2	29.7	27.9	24.0
Married	72.0	68.1	64.7	67.6	72.0
Separated	0.8	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3
Widowed	7.2	4.5	2.9	2.5	1.4
Divorced	1.1	1.7	2.3	1.7	2.4

When the marital status is examined by regions for 2006, it was observed that the percentage of divorced individuals is higher in Istanbul, the Aegean, West Anatolia, and the Mediterranean regions. In Istanbul and the Aegean regions the percentage of divorcees is the highest (2%). In the question of the status of the marriage, those that are divorced and separated are processed in the same category. The related percentage is 2% in the Aegean, Mediterranean, West Marmara, and Istanbul. The percentage of divorced individuals is the lowest in East Black Sea (6‰), Northeast Anatolia (5‰), and Southeast Anatolia (4‰) compared to other regions (Table 49).

Higher divorce rates were again observed in 2011 in Istanbul, West Anatolia and the Aegean regions. The percentage of divorcees in Istanbul and

West Anatolia rose to 3% in 2011. This percentage is 2% in the Aegean region. When separated and divorced individuals are taken together, for each of the Istanbul, the Aegean, East Marmara and West Anatolia regions, this percentage rises to 3%. The percentage of divorced individuals in 2011 is the lowest in Mideast Anatolia (5‰), East Black Sea (7‰) and Northeast Anatolia (8‰).

In 2006 unmarried individuals were asked the question “do you want to get married?” The analysis of this question was expected to yield interesting results. While 38% of divorced men think to get married again, this percentage falls to 21% among divorced women. When the “undecided” option is excluded, the percentage of men who do not want to get married rises to 47% and women rises to 53% (Table 50).

Table 49. 15+ Marital Status by NUTS, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Never married	Married	Divorced	Widowed	
2006					
İstanbul	27.2	66.2	1.9	4.7	
West Marmara	22.5	69.1	1.5	6.9	
East Marmara	23.3	69.6	1.9	5.2	
Aegean	26.0	67.9	0.8	5.3	
Mediterranean	27.2	65.5	1.8	5.5	
West Anatolia	28.4	65.7	1.6	4.3	
Central Anatolia	21.8	71.1	1.1	5.9	
West Black Sea	23.6	68.1	1.4	6.9	
East Black Sea	29.8	63.7	0.6	5.8	
Northeast Anatolia	29.5	64.4	0.5	5.5	
Mideast Anatolia	30.8	63.2	0.8	5.1	
Southeast Anatolia	35.4	60.6	0.4	3.6	
	Never married	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Separated
2011					
İstanbul	29.8	62.2	2.8	4.8	0.5
West Marmara	20.3	69.4	1.8	8.0	0.4
East Marmara	23.9	67.7	2.3	5.3	0.8
Aegean	23.5	67.1	2.3	6.5	0.7
Mediterranean	25.9	65.8	2.6	5.0	0.7
West Anatolia	25.5	66.2	2.1	5.7	0.5
Central Anatolia	23.9	69.0	1.8	5.0	0.4
West Black Sea	23.0	67.7	1.9	7.2	0.2
East Black Sea	24.4	67.2	0.7	7.0	0.7
Northeast Anatolia	30.9	60.4	0.8	7.6	0.3
Mideast Anatolia	33.9	61.6	0.5	3.6	0.4
Southeast Anatolia	36.2	57.9	1.2	4.2	0.5

Table 50. Divorced Individuals Who Want to Remarry, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Men	Women
Yes	37.9	20.9
Undecided	19.8	14.3
No	42.2	64.7

When whether divorced individuals with children want to get remarried is examined, while 30% of divorced men with children want to remarry, this percentage falls to 16% for divorced women with children (Table 51).

Gender plays an important role on whether or not a divorced individual wants to remarry. Because of societal pressures and the fact that generally a di-

vorced woman is not considered to be a “suitable” wife, women think to get married again less than men. Having children rises the percentage of negative regard towards marriage in both men and women. This could be because of apprehensiveness about the relationship between the new spouse and the children and/or because, as a spousal candidate, a divorced individual with children is not considered to be a “suitable” choice.

Table 51. Divorced Individuals with Children Who Want to Remarry, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Men	Women
Yes	30.3	16.2
Undecided	18.2	14.6
No	51.5	69.2

Between 2000 and 2012, there is no increasing or decreasing trend in the percentage of divorce, but fluctation is observed. The number of divorce are similar between 2000 and 2010.

In this sense, there is a drop in the percentage of divorce from 2000 to 2004, and increase in following years (Table 52).

Table 52. Marriage and Divorce in Years

Years	Population (TurkStat)	Marriage (TurkStat)	Divorce Nvi	Re-Marriage	Remarrying ex spouse (Nvi)
2000	64,252,000	675,602	122,459	70,805	7,562
2001	65,133,000	544,322	145,700	74,290	7,830
2002	66,008,000	510,155	128,818	72,451	8,442
2003	66,873,000	565,468	96,242	70,810	10,407
2004	67,723,000	615,357	95,807	73,759	11,633
2005	68,566,000	641,241	102,598	76,722	12,146
2006	69,395,000	636,121	100,322	81,348	15,584
2007	70,215,000	638,311	100,673	82,437	14,399
2008	71,095,000	641,973	104,035	82,747	13,120
2009	72,050,000	591,742	117,410	85,345	14,879
2010	73,003,000	582,715	122,939	88,214	14,128
2011	73,950,000	-	124,019	93,178	15,528
2012	74,885,000	-	16,085	11,659	2,670

4.5.2. Age at First Marriage

In 2006 in Türkiye, the age at first marriage is concentrated in the 18-24 age group. The first marriage age for 59% of marriages in Türkiye is in this age group. The fact that this group is followed by the under 18 age group is an important finding; 20% of all marriages in Türkiye are made before 18. The first marriage age of 18% of individuals is between

25-29; 3% between 30-34 and 1% between 35-39 (Table 53).

When the first marriage ages for 2011 are studied, the first finding to stand out is the percentage of marriages under 18. While the percentage of age at first marriage among married individuals in Türkiye is 3% for for age 14 and below, this percentage is 15% among the 15-17 age group. While the

percentage of married individuals who got married under 18 was 20% in 2006, this percentage fell to 18%. Correspondingly, even with increasing social awareness and social policies put in effect, the fact that in 2011, one individual in five has a first marriage age of under 18 is a phenomenon to note.

In 2011, the percentage of those whose age at first marriage was between 18-24 was 57%, for the 25-29 age group 20%, for the 30-34 age group 4% and 1% for the over 35 age group.

Table 53. Age at First Marriage, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	2006	2011
Below 14		2.5
15-17	19.5	15.1
18-24	59.0	57.0
25-29	17.5	19.8
30-34	3.1	4.3
35-39	0.9	0.9
39+	-	0.4

While in 2006 the age at first marriage for men in the 18-24 age group was 59%, this percentage is 60% for women. Two important points related to gender are worth to note. The first one is the percentage difference between men and women in two age groups. While the age at first marriage is 7% for men under 18, this percentage rises to 31% among women. In the 25-29 age group while 29% of the men get married for the first time, this percentage is 8% for women. The percentage of marriages between the 30-34 age group is 5% for men and 1% for women. In the 35-39 age group, the percentage of men who get married for the first time in is 1% while this percentage for women is 5%. From these findings, it is observed that in Türkiye, men and women mostly get married between 18-24. Again, a large percentage of women get married under 18 (31%). The marriage age for over 25 years of age is quite low in Türkiye. The percentage of women whose age at first marriage

is over 25 is less than 10% (9%). 87% of men on the other hand, get married between the ages of 18-29 (Table 54).

In 2011 the percentage of women whose age at first marriage is below 14 is 4%. The percentage of women who got married between 15-17 is 24%. These percentages offer important data for early marriages, a phenomenon discussed as “child brides”. The percentage of men whose age at first marriage was below 18 is 6%. This finding is also very important because while discussing early marriages to admit to the fact that “child bridegrooms” make up an important percentage is imperative for effective social policies to be developed. While the percentage of men whose age at first marriage was between 18-24 was 54% in 2011, this percentage rose to 60% among women. The percentage for women whose age at first marriage was above 25 was 12% while it was 40% for men.

Table 54. Age at First Marriage by Gender, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Men	Women	Men	Women
	2006		2011	
Below 14			0.6	4.1
15-17	6.5	31.2	5.2	23.9
18-24	58.5	59.5	54.0	59.7
25-29	28.5	7.6	31.6	9.4
30-34	5.1	1.2	6.8	2.0
35-39	1.4	0.5	1.3	0.5
39+	-	-	0.5	0.3

As the educational level increases, the age at first marriage also increases. It is a known fact that with the rise in the educational level, marriages tend to be delayed. In 2006, individuals with university and graduate degrees are combined in the same category; however, this was broken down to associate degree, undergraduate degree and graduate degrees and treated separately in 2011 (Table 55).

In 2006 15% of undergraduate degree holders had a first marriage age of above 30 (for the 30-34 age group 12%, 35-39 age group 3%). On the other hand for 94% of individuals who never went to school, the first marriage age is under 24. Similarly in 2011 this percentage is 89%. For 61% of university graduates, the age at first marriage is above 25. This percentage rises even further among individuals with graduate degrees. For 71% of individuals in this group the age at first marriage is above 25.

Table 55. Age at First Marriage by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/ literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/graduate)
2006					
Below 18	42.5	19.0	11.4	3.6	0.6
18-24	49.3	64.2	64.0	60.4	39.1
25-29	6.3	14.0	20.7	30.2	45.5
30-34	1.3	2.2	2.9	4.6	11.5
35-39	0.6	0.6	1.0	1.2	3.2
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
Below 14	8.3	2.2	0.9	0.3	0.0
15-17	32.2	17.5	12.6	3.5	0.5
18-24	48.8	60.9	65.5	59.2	38.8
25-29	7.9	15.3	17.6	29.8	44.6
30-34	1.8	3.0	3.0	5.3	12.9
35-39	0.6	0.6	0.4	1.3	2.5
39+	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.6	0.5

The age in first marriage for different SES groups shows that as the SES increases, so does the age at first marriage (Table 56).

In 2006 the first marriage age of 88% of those from low SES groups was below 24 (36% below 18, 52% between 18-24). In the same year, the first marriage age was over 24 for 55% of the upper SES individu-

als (6% below 18) and 49% for below the range of 18-24. In 2011, the percentage of individuals from the lowest SES group whose age at first marriage was under 18 was 25%. This percentage drops to 2% in the highest SES groups. The percentage of individuals from the highest SES group whose age at first marriage was above 25 was 60% (41% between 25-29, 15% between 30-34, and 4% 35 years and above).

Table 56. Age at First Marriage by SES, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

Table 30. Age at First Marriage by SES, IATA 2000-2011 (%)

	Lower class	Middle class	Upper class		
2006					
Below 18	35.6	18.6	6.1		
18-24	52.1	61.3	49.2		
25-29	9.7	16.5	35.1		
30-34	1.5	2.8	7.3		
35-39	1.0	0.7	2.3		
	Lower class	Lower middle class	Upper middle class	Upper class	Higher upper class
2011					
Below 14	4.0	2.8	1.8	0.2	0.3
15-17	21.3	17.7	12.8	5.8	1.8
18-24	55.7	59.4	59.5	51.3	37.5
25-29	15.0	16.0	20.9	32.1	40.9
30-34	2.5	2.9	3.9	8.3	15.4
35-39	1.1	0.6	0.9	1.7	2.6
39+	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.7	1.5

When a comparison is made between regions, while in 2006 the percentage of individuals who got married before 18 was the lowest in Istanbul and West Marmara (13% and 15% respectively), this percentage was significantly higher in Mideast Anatolia and Northeast Anatolia compared to other regions (29% and 27% respectively). The percentage of individuals whose age at first marriage was above 25 in Istanbul is 27%. This is 27% in the Mediterranean and 23% in West Marmara. In Southeast Anatolia however, the percentage of those whose age at first marriage was above 25 is 15%; in other words 85% of the population gets married before 25 (Table 57).

In 2011, West Marmara and Istanbul have the lowest percentages of people who got married before the age of 18. This percentage is 13% in West Marmara and 14% in Istanbul. The highest percentage of individuals who got married before 18 is the highest in Southeast Anatolia (25%), Mideast Anatolia (24%) and Central Anatolia (23%). The percentage of people in Southeast Anatolia who got married after 25 is 22%. A regional comparison of age at first marriage between the 2006 and 2011 results demonstrate that the trends are similar.

Table 57. Age at First Marriage by NUTS, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	18-	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39		
2006							
Istanbul	12.6	60.6	22.0	3.9	0.9		
West Marmara	15.4	61.1	18.3	4.1	1.0		
East Marmara	17.9	59.0	19.1	3.0	1.0		
Aegean	18.1	61.8	17.1	2.5	0.6		
Mediterranean	18.8	62.0	15.6	2.8	0.7		
West Anatolia	18.4	55.2	19.9	5.0	1.6		
Central Anatolia	25.6	58.7	13.9	1.3	0.5		
West Black Sea	24.0	58.7	14.2	2.0	1.1		
East Black Sea	22.6	58.5	15.0	2.8	1.2		
Northeast Anatolia	27.0	53.2	16.7	2.0	1.2		
Mideast Anatolia	28.9	53.8	14.2	2.5	0.6		
Southeast Anatolia	25.4	59.4	12.6	2.0	0.5		
	14-	15-17	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	39+
2011							
Istanbul	2.2	11.6	57.4	21.2	5.7	1.3	0.5
West Marmara	1.4	11.9	60.7	21.5	3.1	0.6	0.8
Aegean	2.1	14.9	56.9	21.1	4.3	0.5	0.2
East Marmara	1.6	13.6	58.5	20.2	4.5	1.3	0.2
West Anatolia	2.3	15.7	59.1	17.5	4.7	0.5	0.2
Mediterranean	2.7	13.9	53.3	23.2	4.6	1.5	0.8
Central Anatolia	2.8	19.8	59.2	15.2	2.6	0.2	0.3
West Black Sea	2.1	16.8	59.5	17.2	3.1	1.1	0.2
East Black Sea	2.2	16.1	57.2	19.0	3.9	0.9	0.8
Northeast Anatolia	1.7	18.4	56.1	18.9	4.1	0.5	0.2
Mideast Anatolia	4.2	19.4	55.5	17.3	3.1	0.5	0.1
Southeast Anatolia	4.9	20.2	53.3	17.6	3.2	0.7	0.1

4.5.3. Familial and/or Personal Choices and Decisions in Marriage

To find out how individuals got married in Türkiye, participants were asked “How did you marry your spouse?” in 2006 and the multiple choice options were “my decision with the approval of my family, with my own decision without my family's approval, arranged marriage, my decision, arranged marriage with the decision of my family, without taking my opinion, eloped/ abducted, bride exchange,

other”. In 2011, the answer choices for the question asked in the same manner included the choices “my decision with the approval of my family, with my own decision without my family's consent, arranged marriage, my decision, arranged marriage with the decision of my family, without taking my opinion, eloped/ abducted, bride exchange, other”. While in 2006 this question was asked for the first, second, third, fourth and last marriages, in 2011 it was asked only for the first and the last marriage (Table 58).

While 31% of the interviewees declared “my decision with the approval of my family” in 2006, 31% said “arranged marriage with the decision of my family”. The percentage of those who report “arranged marriage, my decision” is 30%. The percentage of those who eloped is 6%. Those who said “My own decision outside the knowledge of my family” is 1%. The percentage of those who make their own marriage choice/decision is 68%. If the 31% of those who made their own decision with the approval of the family is left out, (with the exception of those who eloped) the percentage of those who said they made their own choices/decisions is 37%.

In 2011, the percentage of those who said “arranged marriage, my decision” rose to 42%. Compared to 2006, it can be safely said the percentage of those who chose this category rose significantly. Second,

the percentage of those who say “my decision with the approval of my family” is also high (41%). The main reason why 83% of the answers were clustered around these two choices is the fact that in 2006, this question included the choice of “arranged marriage with the decision of my family”. This choice was eliminated from the 2011 questionnaire. In the 2011 research, the choice of “arranged marriage with the decision of my family without taking my opinion” was added. The percentage of those who had an arranged marriage with the decision of their family without being asked their opinion was 9%. While this percentage is 12% among women, it falls to 6% among men. For this reason those with marriages arranged by the decision of their family are also dispersed among other choices (especially two choices). The percentage of those who eloped to get married or being eloped was 4% in 2011.

Table 58. Decision of Marriage, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	My own decision with the approval of my family	My own decision; outside of my family's knowledge	Arranged marriage. my decision	Arranged marriage with the decision of my family	Eloped	Married despite my family's disapproval	Other
2006							
Türkiye	31.2	1.3	29.7	31.2	5.8	0.6	0.1
	My decision with the approval of my family	My own decision without my family's consent	Arranged marriage. my decision	Arranged marriage with the decision of my family. without taking my opinion	Eloping/ being eloped	Bride exchange	Other
2011							
Türkiye	41.0	2.9	42.4	8.9	4.4	0.3	0.1

There is a connection between education and how individuals got married. In 2006 among individuals who responded “my decision with the approval of my family”, the percentage of university graduates was 65%. Among the respondents who chose this answer, the percentage of those with no schooling is 13%, in elementary/secondary school graduates this percentage is 41%. Among those who married by the arrangement and the decision of their families, the percentage of individuals with no schooling is 54%, only 9% is undergraduate and graduate degree holders. As the educational level rises, personal decisions and preferences also increase, decisions of the family decrease.

In 2011 because the answer choices changed, the relationship between the effect of education and the

family and/or personal preferences and decisions becomes more prominent. In 2011, among all university graduates the percentage of those who stated “my decision with the approval of my family” is 78%. The percentage of those who chose this statement among individuals with undergraduate degrees was 79% while it was 84% for graduate degree holders. Again, in the same educational level the percentage of those who got married with the decision of the family without giving their opinion is 1% among all three groups. However, 23% of individuals with no schooling chose the same statement. As a result, as the educational level rises, so does the percentage of people who married their own choice increases, similarly, as educational level rises, the percentage of those who make arranged marriages (without being asked about their decision or opinion) drops.

Table 59. Decision of Marriage by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
2006					
My decision with the approval of my family	13.1	26.1	41.1	51.7	65.4
My own decision outside of my family's knowledge	0.6	1.2	1.4	2.1	2.9
Arranged marriage. my decision	24.3	32.8	32.5	28.2	21.1
Arranged marriage with the decision of my family	54.3	32.6	18.0	13.5	8.6
Married despite my family's disapproval	0.3	0.4	0.9	1.1	1.6
Eloped	7.3	6.8	6.0	3.2	0.4
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate deg- ree/vocational school/ undergra- duate/graduate)
2011					
My decision with the approval of my family	21.2	32.0	43.5	58.8	78.1
My own decision without my family's consent	2.4	2.8	3.6	3.4	2.5
Arranged marriage. my decision	47.9	50.2	42.1	32.1	17.7
Arranged marriage with the decision of my family. without taking my opinion	22.7	9.6	4.6	2.3	0.9
Eloping/ being eloped	4.5	5.1	6.0	3.2	0.7

Table 60. Decision of Marriage by SES, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Lower class	Middle class	Upper class		
2006					
My decision with the approval of my family	15.3	30.3	58.4		
My own decision outside of my family's knowledge	0.4	1.3	2.5		
Arranged marriage. my decision	28.5	30.7	23.2		
Arranged marriage with the decision of my family	48	30.9	12.7		
Married despite my family's disapproval	0.5	0.5	1.2		
Eloped	7.1	6.1	2.0		
	Lower class	Lower middle class	Upper middle class	Upper class	Higher upper class
2011					
My decision with the approval of my family	27.8	33.6	48.9	67.8	84.8
My own decision without my family's consent	3.6	2.9	2.3	2.3	2.2
Arranged marriage. my decision	49.8	47.1	39.5	25.6	11.7
Arranged marriage with the decision of my family. without taking my opinion	12.6	10.6	5.9	2.5	0.6
Eloping/ being eloped	5.1	5.5	3.3	1.6	0.4

Similarly, as the SES level rises, the percentage of those who themselves make the decision to marry increases and the percentage of those who made an arranged marriage without being asked their opinion decreases. 15% of the individuals in the lower SES group and 58% of the upper SES group made their own choices but got the approval of their families. From the lower SES group, 48% made an arranged marriage by the decision of their families while 13% of individuals from the upper SES group did so (Table 60).

In the most prevalent type of marriage in 2011, the arranged marriage, the percentage of those who made the decision themselves was 50% at the lowest SES group, while this percentage fell to 12% in the highest SES group. Similarly, the percentage of those who made arranged marriages with the decision of their families decreases as the SES level rises. While the percentage of those who made such marriages is 13% in the lowest SES group, this percentage falls to 1% in the highest SES level. The percentage of those who make their own decision on marriage but with the approval of their families rise as the SES level rises. While the percentage of such marriages is 28% in the lowest SES group, it is 85% in the highest SES group.

When marriage practices in different regions are studied, it becomes apparent that in 2006, the percentage of those that took the marriage decision themselves is higher in the West (Marmara, The Aegean, the Mediterranean) this percentage is low in Central and Southeast Anatolia. Another issue worth noting is that the percentage of those who stated “arranged marriage with the decision of my family” is low in the West while it is quite high in Central and Southeastern Anatolia. While this percentage is 16% in West Marmara, it increases to 46% in Southeast Anatolia (Table 61).

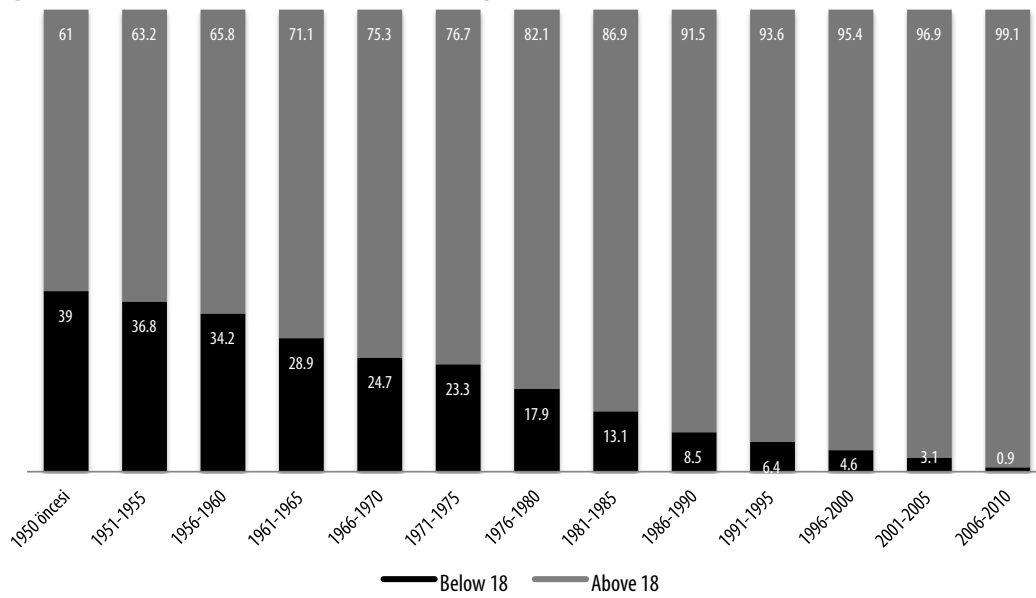
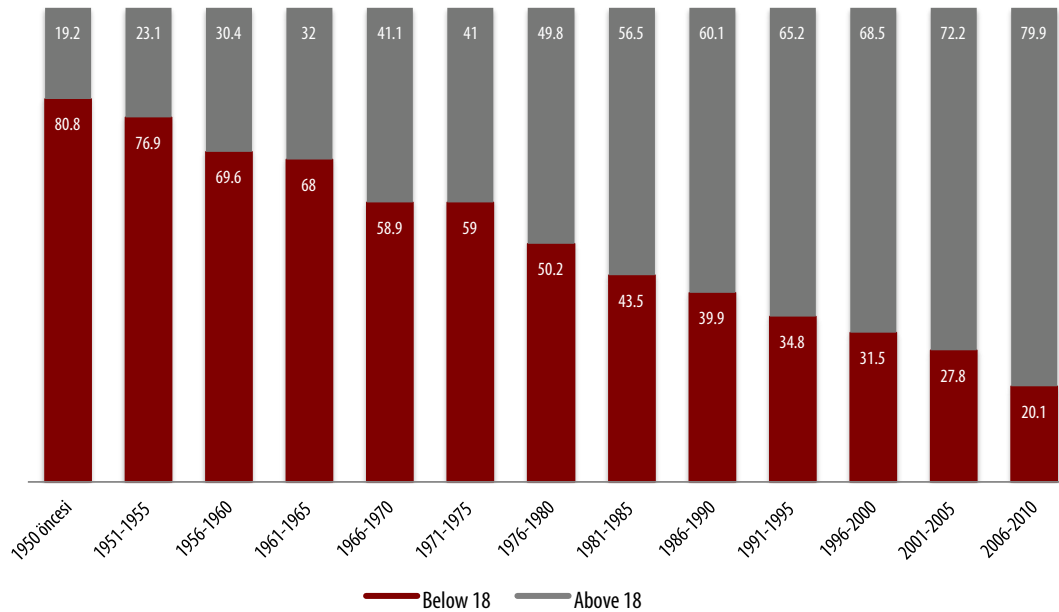
The regions with the highest percentages of those who made the marriage decision themselves and got the approval of their families is Istanbul (55%), West Marmara (55%) and East Marmara (49%) in 2011. In these regions the percentage of people who made arranged marriages with the decision of their families is lower than other regions. This percentage is 5% in West Marmara and 6% in Istanbul. The highest percentages of those who made arranged marriages with the decision of their families are highest in East Black Sea (17%), Northeast Anatolia (12%) and West Black Sea (12%).

Table 61. Decision of Marriage by NUTS, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	My decision with the approval of my family	My own decision; outside of my family's knowledge	Arranged marriage, my decision	Arranged marriage with the decision of my family	Married despite my family's disapproval	Eloped
2006						
Istanbul	42.8	1.4	27.9	22.1	1.2	4.4
West Marmara	38.4	2.0	27.7	16.3	0.7	15.0
Aegean	30.7	1.8	34.2	27.5	0.3	5.5
East Marmara	35.9	1.9	24.9	27.3	0.7	9.4
West Anatolia	25.7	1.5	31.1	39.0	0.3	2.4
Mediterranean	28.3	1.3	29.3	34.1	0.8	6.0
Central Anatolia	17.1	0.9	34.7	41.0	0.4	5.7
West Black Sea	28.0	0.8	23.8	37.1	0.6	9.6
East Black Sea	30.2	1.4	26.2	32.1	0.3	9.8
Northeast Anatolia	29.8	1.4	40.8	21.8	0.5	5.6
Mideast Anatolia	30.8	0.3	30.5	35.1	0.4	2.3
Southeast Anatolia	23.3	0.3	29.4	45.7	0.1	1.1
	My decision with the approval of my family	My own decision without my family's consent	Arranged marriage, my decision	Arranged marriage with the decision of my family, without taking my opinion	-	Eloping/ being eloped
2011						
Istanbul	55.2	4.3	30.9	5.7		3.6
West Marmara	54.9	0.6	31.3	4.8		8.4
Aegean	45.4	3.2	38.7	8.3		4.2
East Marmara	49.2	1.6	33.7	8.6		6.9
West Anatolia	34.7	2.5	49.4	10.6		2.5
Mediterranean	34.4	4.0	49.3	7.0		5.0
Central Anatolia	22.7	2.5	59.6	11.2		3.8
West Black Sea	31.8	1.2	50.2	11.9		4.7
East Black Sea	29.9	2.2	42.4	17.1		8.4
Northeast Anatolia	33.3	5.0	46.9	12.1		2.6
Mideast Anatolia	37.7	2.1	46.8	10.8		2.4
Southeast Anatolia	30.1	3.0	51.2	10.8		1.6

While about 40% of men married under the age of 18 before 1950, this percentage fell to 20% in the 1970s and below 10% starting from 1985. This percentage is below 1% since 2005. On the other hand, while 80% of women married before the age of 18

before the 1950s, this percentage shows a consistent decrease. The percentage of women who got married before 18 fell below 50% starting from the mid 1970s, and stands at 20% between 2006-2010 (Figure 10 & 11).

Figure 10. Individuals Who Got Married Under the Age of 18 in Years (Man) (%)**Figure 11. Individuals Who Got Married Under the Age of 18 in Years (Woman) (%)**

4.5.4. Way of Meeting the Spouse and the Social Circle where the Spouse is Met

Way of meeting a spouse in Türkiye provides many clues on social relationships. For instance, the social circle the spouse is met can give an idea on with which social circles individuals form intensive relationships. In 2006 answers to the question “how did you meet your spouse” were “1. Family/neighborhood network, 2. School network, 3. Work circle, 4. Friends network (Outside school & work), 5. Internet/marriage agencies, 6. Other”. In 2011 this same question was asked in the form of “which social circle did you meet your spouse”. The options were “1. Family/relative network, 2. Neighborhood network, 3. School/educational institutions network, 4.

Work network, 5. Friends network (Outside school & work), 6. Internet, 7. Marriage agency and 8. Other”. This question was asked for the first marriage and the last in TAYA 2011.

The fact that the options for this question were organized differently in 2006 and 2011, makes comparison very difficult. In 2006 the family and neighborhood circle was a single option, however, in 2011 family circle and neighbor circle became two different options making a comparative analysis problematic. In the table below, family and neighbor network and Internet and marriage agency options were given together for 2011.

In 2006 the social network spouses meet each other, is predominantly family and neighbors. 84% of participants across Türkiye meet their spouses in family and neighbor circles. The second social circle is the friend network (7%). Compared by rural urban areas, while the percentage of individuals in rural areas who mostly meet their spouses through the family and neighbor network is 90%, this percentage falls to 81% in urban areas (Table 62).

In 2011, participants mostly met their spouses through two social circles. The family relative network (39%) and neighbor network (39%). Other social circles spouses meet each other in Türkiye are the friend network (8%), work network (6%) and school/educational institutions network (4%).

Table 62. Way of Meeting the Spouse, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Family/neighbor network	School network	Work network	Friends network (Outside school & work)	Internet/marriage agency	Other
2006						
Türkiye	84.4	2.5	4.8	7.4	0.0	0.8
Urban	81.0	3.0	6.3	8.8	0.1	0.9
Rural	90.0	1.8	2.4	5.0	0.0	0.7
2011						
Türkiye	78.4	4.4	6.1	8.1	0.1	3.0
Urban	74.9	5.0	7.6	9.3	0.1	3.0
Rural	86.3	3.0	2.6	5.1	0.3	2.8

The rise of the educational level causes diversity in the social circle. When the educational level is low, individuals mostly form close ties with their immediate circle of family and neighbors. As the educational level rises, school, work and friend networks are added. In 2006, when individuals from different levels of education were asked how they met their future spouses, it is apparent that as the educational level rises, the probability of meeting someone through the family and neighbor network decreases. Among individuals with no schooling, the percentage of those who get married through their family and neighbor network is 96%. This percentage is 90% among primary school graduates, 80% among elementary school graduates, 67% among graduates of high school or equivalent and 48% among university graduates and holders of graduate degrees. The percentage of people who met their spouses through the school and the network of friends outside of work rises as the educational level rises.

Differences between urban and rural areas are also evident. In rural areas almost half of the marriages (48%) were made between people who met each other through the neighborhood network. In rural areas, the percentage of marriages made between spouses who met through family and relative connections is 39%. In rural areas, marriages made between people who met through the school, work and friend networks are lower than the average across Türkiye. On the other hand, when urban areas are studied, 40% of marriages take place within the relative network, the percentage of marriages made within the neighborhood network however, is lower than urban areas (35%). The fact that couples meet each other through the work (8%) and friend (9%) networks is higher than the average in Türkiye.

While the percentage of individuals who met their spouses through the friend network is 2% among illiterate individuals, this percentage rises to 9% among elementary school graduates, 14% among graduates of high school or equivalent, and 21% among university graduates and graduate degree holders. As the educational level rises, so does the incidence of meeting the spouse through school and work networks. In Türkiye, the percentage of marriages made through the Internet/marriage agencies seems to be 0%. This shows that in our society, individuals meet and marry each other face-to-face through spontaneously developing relationships (Table 63).

When we analyze the relationship between education and the social circles spouses meet and marry for 2011, as the educational level rises, the social circles these individuals meet have shifted towards what could be considered secondary networks

of school, work and friends. Among those with no schooling, while the percentage of individuals who met their spouses through the network of family and relatives is 47%, this percentage falls to 25% among university graduates. A more detailed analysis shows that this percentage among associate degree holders/vocational school graduates is 34%, 22% among undergraduates and 11% among gra-

duate degree holders. Among individuals with no schooling, while the percentage of those who met their future spouse within neighborhood circles is 46%, this percentage is 18% among university graduates. Within university graduates such as associate degree holders/vocational school graduates this percentage falls to 21%, to 16% among undergraduates and 8% among holders of graduate degrees.

Table 63. Way of Meeting the Spouse by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/graduate)
2006					
Family/neighbor network	96.3	90.3	80.1	66.7	48.3
School network	0.2	0.9	3.2	5.5	14.2
Work network	0.5	2.6	5.8	13.1	15.2
Friends network (Outside school & work)	2.2	5.5	9.2	13.6	21.2
Internet/marriage agency	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3
Other	0.7	0.6	1.5	1.1	0.9
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/graduate)
2011					
Family/relatives & neighbor network	92.5	87.2	78.7	63.5	42.9
School network	0.6	1.2	2.3	6.9	22.1
Work network	0.9	3.0	6.0	12.9	16.8
Friends network (Outside school & work)	2.7	5.6	9.6	13.6	15.6
Internet/marriage agency	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.3
Other	3.2	3.0	3.1	3.0	2.3

An analysis of which social circles individuals met according to different regions in 2006 shows that in West Marmara, the percentages of meeting the future spouse through school, work and friends is 25%, this is 20% in Istanbul, 19% in the Aegean and 18% in East Marmara. For all three of these Western regions, the percentage of those who met their future spouses through family and neighbors is low compared to other regions. This is 73% in West Marmara, 80% in the Aegean, 80% in Istanbul and 81% in East Marmara. The percentage of those who met through the family and neighbor network is 92% in Central Anatolia, Mideast Anatolia and Northeast Anatolia, while it is 95% in Southeast Anatolia. In economically advanced regions, individuals form different social circles other than family and neighbor networks. In economically underdeveloped regions on the other hand, traditional relationships are more important.

In 2011, in the western regions of Türkiye, the percentage of individuals getting married through their family and neighbor network is lower compared to eastern regions. While the percentage of those who met their future spouse through family and neighbors is 70% in West Marmara, the percentage of those who meet and marry through their friend network (outside of school & work) is 16%. The highest percentage of individuals who meet and marry through their friends (outside of school & work) is in this region. This is followed by East Marmara (12%) and Istanbul (9%). In the eastern regions of Türkiye however, the percentage of meeting and marrying through the family and neighbor network is very high compared to other regions. This percentage is 92% in Northeast Anatolia, 89% in Mideast Anatolia and 86% in Southeast Anatolia (Table 64).

Table 64. Way of Meeting the Spouse by NUTS, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Family/neighbor network	School network	Work network	Friends network (Outside school & work)	Internet/marriage agency	Other
2006						
Istanbul	79.6	2.2	6.7	11.0	0.0	0.6
West Marmara	72.8	4.3	6.0	14.7	0.2	2.0
Aegean	79.5	3.6	7.4	8.2	0.0	1.3
East Marmara	81.0	2.3	4.9	10.8	0.0	1.0
West Anatolia	86.8	2.2	4.3	5.8	0.2	0.6
Mediterranean	85.3	2.6	4.8	6.6	0.0	0.7
Central Anatolia	91.9	2.5	2.3	2.8	0.0	0.6
West Black Sea	85.4	2.7	4.4	6.5	0.0	0.9
East Black Sea	88.7	2.1	3.0	5.2	0.0	1.0
Northeast Anatolia	91.9	2.6	2.3	2.9	0.0	0.3
Mideast Anatolia	91.5	1.8	1.9	4.4	0.2	0.1
Southeast Anatolia	94.5	1.4	1.7	1.7	0.0	0.6
2011						
Istanbul	75.1	5.0	8.9	8.8	0.0	2.3
West Marmara	69.7	4.6	7.1	16.1	0.1	2.5
Aegean	76.5	5.6	8.9	6.0	0.0	2.9
East Marmara	72.9	4.9	8.3	11.5	0.1	2.2
West Anatolia	78.2	4.2	6.6	8.9	0.1	2.0
Mediterranean	74.3	5.3	4.9	9.3	0.3	5.9
Central Anatolia	86.6	3.8	2.8	5.0	0.2	1.6
West Black Sea	83.6	3.2	4.4	5.7	0.0	3.0
East Black Sea	84.8	4.3	3.2	5.5	0.0	2.1
Northeast Anatolia	91.5	3.5	1.4	1.5	0.0	2.2
Mideast Anatolia	88.8	1.4	1.4	7.7	0.0	0.8
Southeast Anatolia	85.8	1.9	1.7	5.0	0.6	5.1

4. 5.5. Consanguineous Marriage

Marriage between relatives emerges as an important phenomenon in Türkiye. In TAYA 2006 and 2011 questionnaires the question was asked as “Is there a

kinship between you and your spouse?” The options are “yes” and “no” for the first and the last marriage. All participants replied to this question for their first marriages. The percentage of those who married a relative in Türkiye is 22% in 2006. The percentage of

Table 65. Consanguineous Marriage, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Married a relative	Did not marry a relative
2006		
Türkiye	22.4	77.6
Urban	20.2	79.8
Rural	25.9	74.1
2011		
Türkiye	21.3	78.7
Urban	19.8	80.2
Rural	24.6	75.4

people who married a relative in 2011 is 21%. In other words, one out of five marriages in Türkiye is a marriage between relatives. In both periods, the percentage of individuals who marry a relative shows differences between urban and rural areas. While this percentage is 25% in rural areas, it falls to 19% in urban areas in 2011 (Table 65).

When we look at the differences between regions in 2006, West Marmara is the region with the lowest percentages of marriages between relatives; this percentage is 4.8%. This is a very low percentage compared to other regions. West Marmara is followed by East Marmara (14%), the Aegean (19%) and West Black Sea (21%) regions. The regions above

the Turkish average (22%) are West Anatolia (23%), Central Anatolia (24%), the Mediterranean (25%), East Black Sea (30%), Mideast Anatolia (34%) and Southeast Anatolia (43%). Marriage between relatives has become a social norm in Southeast Anatolia where especially marriages between cousins is very frequent (Table 66).

The lowest percentage of marriage between relatives in 2011 is in West Marmara (7%). This is followed by the Aegean (15%) and East Marmara (14%). The percentage of marriages between relatives is 17% in Istanbul. The highest percentages are found in Southeast Anatolia (44%), Mideast Anatolia (36%) and East Black Sea (26% (Table 66)).

Table 66. Consanguineous Marriage by NUTS, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Married a relative	Did not marry a relative
2006		
Istanbul	16.2	83.8
West Marmara	4.8	95.2
Aegean	19.2	80.8
East Marmara	14.4	85.6
West Anatolia	22.7	77.3
Mediterranean	25.1	74.9
Central Anatolia	24.3	75.7
West Black Sea	21.0	79.0
East Black Sea	30.4	69.6
Northeast Anatolia	31.5	68.5
Mideast Anatolia	33.8	66.2
Southeast Anatolia	43.1	56.9
2011		
Istanbul	17,1	82,9
West Marmara	6,8	93,2
East Marmara	13,5	86,5
Aegean	15,3	84,7
Mediterranean	23,1	76,9
West Anatolia	24,5	75,5
Central Anatolia	25,1	74,9
West Black Sea	19,4	80,6
East Black Sea	25,6	74,4
Northeast Anatolia	22,8	77,2
Mideast Anatolia	35,5	64,5
Southeast Anatolia	43,6	56,4

The relationship between kinship marriages and the level of education shows that as the educational level rises, kinship marriages decrease. In 2006, 32% of individuals with no schooling made kinship marriages while this percentage fell to 23% among primary school graduates, 17% among elementary school graduates, to 15% among high school/equivalent graduates and to 11% between university graduates (Table 67).

Table 67. Consanguineous Marriage by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Married a relative	Did not marry a relative
2006		
No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	31.8	68.2
Primary school	23.2	76.8
Elementary/secondary school	17.3	82.7
High school/equivalent	14.7	85.3
University (Undergraduate/graduate)	11.1	88.9
2011		
No schooling (Never finished any school)	30.5	69.5
Primary school	22.8	77.2
Elementary/secondary school	21.4	78.6
High school/equivalent	14.0	86.0
University (Associate degree/vocational school/undergraduate/graduate)	11.7	88.3

4.5.6. The Parties of Consanguineous Marriage

In 2006 and 2011 to collect information on the kinship relationship between spouses, they were asked the question “how are/were you related to your spouse?”. This question was directed at both the first and the last marriage. However, in the 2006 and in the 2011 studies, participants were offered different options for this question. There are two basic differences between the options: The first one is, in 2006 the options were gender neutral like the child of paternal uncle/paternal aunt/ maternal uncle/maternal aunt, however in 2011, the options were clarified and changed into son of paternal uncle/daughter of paternal uncle etc. The second difference is the last option of “other relative” used in the 2006 version was divided into two in the 2011 study and became “other relative from the father’s side” and “other relative from the mother’s side”. These two changes make it possible to reach clearer results.

Similarly, in 2011 kinship marriages decrease by rising educational levels. While the percentage of kinship marriages are 31% in individuals with no schooling, this falls to 23% among primary school graduates, 21% in elementary school graduates, 14% in high school/equivalent graduates and 12% between university graduates.

20% of interviewees reported they married the child of the paternal uncle in 2006. This is followed by 13% with the child of the maternal aunt. While the percentage of those who married the child of the maternal uncle is 12%, this percentage is 11% among marriages with the child of the paternal aunt. The percentage of those stating they married other relatives is 44% (Table 68).

In 2011, 18% of interviewees reported they are married to the son/daughter of paternal uncle. 12% were married to the son/daughter of paternal aunt. With the same percentage 12% of participants were married to son/daughter of maternal aunt and another 12% is married to the son/daughter of maternal uncle. As mentioned above, the percentage of individuals “married to another relative from the father’s side” and “married another relative from the mother’s side” make up the highest percentage. With 29%, the percentage of participants who married a relative

from the father's side is higher than the 18% of individuals who married a relative from the mother's side. The percentages of participants who married a relative is similar in 2006 and 2011. With the excep-

tion of other relative option, all categories rose at a lower percentage in 2011 compared to 2006 (1-2% interval).

Table 68. Degree of Kinship between Spouses, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Child of paternal uncle	Child of paternal aunt	Child of maternal uncle	Child of maternal aunt	Other relative	
2006						
Türkiye	19.8	11.1	12.2	13.1	43.8	
	Son/daughter of paternal uncle	Son/daughter of paternal aunt	Son/daughter of maternal uncle	Son/daughter of maternal aunt	Other relative from the father's side	Other relative from the mother's side
2011						
Türkiye	18.4	11.8	11.7	11.8	28.7	17.5

Kinship marriages show differences across regions in 2006. The most prevalent form of kinship marriage, marriage with the child of the paternal uncle is highest in Southeast Anatolia by 37% in 2006. It is followed by Northeast Anatolia (27%), Mideast Anatolia (25%) and West Black Sea (21%). The regions below the Turkish average are the Mediterranean (19%), Istanbul (18%), West Anatolia (17%), West Marmara (17%) the Aegean (14%) and finally East Marmara (9%). Compared to other regions, marriages with the child of the paternal aunt is the highest in West Black Sea by 14% and Central Anatolia by 14%. Marriages with the child of the maternal uncle is more widespread in East Black Sea and Southeast Anatolia both by 14%. With 19% West Marmara, and West Black Sea by 18% are the regions where marriage with the child of the maternal aunt is more

prevalent (Table 69).

In 2011, the regions with the lowest percentages of marrying the child of a paternal uncle were, as in 2006, East Marmara (10%), the Aegean (10%) and West Marmara (13%). The highest percentage of marriages with the child of a paternal aunt is in Northeast Anatolia (19%) and West Marmara (14%). Marriages with the child of a maternal uncle is the highest in Northeast Anatolia (24%). Marriages with the child of maternal aunt are found predominantly in the Aegean (15%) and East Black Sea (13%). In all regions, with the exception of Northeast Anatolia, the percentage of marrying someone from the father's side of the family is higher than marrying someone from the mother's side of the family.

Table 69. Degree of Kinship between Spouses by NUTS, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Child of paternal uncle	Child of paternal aunt	Child of maternal uncle	Child of maternal aunt	Other relative	
2006						
İstanbul	18.3	7.9	11.6	9.1	53.0	
West Marmara	17.0	8.5	12.1	19.3	43.1	
East Marmara	9.0	10.1	12.5	15.8	52.6	
Aegean	14.3	12.5	12.8	13.2	47.3	
Mediterranean	19.1	12.6	12.6	16.3	39.4	
West Anatolia	17.1	10.0	10.1	15.6	47.2	
Central Anatolia	11.0	13.7	10.3	14.9	50.1	
West Black Sea	20.7	13.8	13.2	17.5	34.8	
East Black Sea	11.4	11.0	14.1	8.6	54.8	
Northeast Anatolia	26.5	11.3	10.7	13.2	38.3	
Mideast Anatolia	24.5	12.4	10.7	10.6	41.8	
Southeast Anatolia	36.8	9.5	13.9	9.9	29.9	
	Son/daughter of paternal uncle	Son/daughter of paternal aunt	Son/daughter of maternal uncle	Son/daughter of maternal aunt	Other relative from the father's side	Other relative from the mother's side
2011						
İstanbul	14.9	13.1	12.2	11.7	30.6	17.5
West Marmara	13.0	14.2	7.3	4.8	36.4	24.3
East Marmara	10.3	7.7	8.9	14.8	32.9	25.4
Aegean	10.4	10.4	10.9	10.5	34.8	23.0
Mediterranean	17.6	11.6	12.0	11.4	28.2	19.1
West Anatolia	16.2	13.7	12.5	11.1	28.6	17.9
Central Anatolia	24.4	13.6	12.0	12.9	24.0	13.2
West Black Sea	14.4	12.4	11.1	11.9	28.2	22.0
East Black Sea	20.1	10.2	11.0	13.4	23.7	21.6
Northeast Anatolia	21.2	18.8	23.6	9.3	13.1	14.0
Mideast Anatolia	23.6	9.8	11.0	12.8	33.1	9.7
Southeast Anatolia	29.2	11.3	11.4	11.2	25.7	11.1

In 2006, as the educational level rose, the incidence of marrying the child of a paternal uncle fell and remarkably, the incidence of marrying other relatives rose. This shows that the most traditional form of kinship marriage, marrying the child of a paternal uncle is more widespread among individuals with no schooling/lower educational level. As is well known, marrying the child of the paternal uncle is experienced as the marriage norm in some regions like Southeastern Anatolia. It is also known that as the education increases, individuals use networks other than their closest social circle. The rise in marrying other relatives connected with the rise in education can be explained by this trend.

In 2011, due to the new arrangement of the available options for the same question, although not as clear as 2006, the percentage of those who chose son of paternal uncle/daughter of paternal uncle as a spouse decreases with education. Among those who married a relative, 25% of those who have no schooling is married to son/daughter of paternal uncle, this percentage is 13-14% among graduates of high school and above. For all educational categories, marriage with other relatives are very high. However, especially being married to relatives from the father's side of the family is very high across all educational levels. For instance, 31% of all elementary school graduates who married a relative, married one from the father's side of the family (Table 70).

Table 70. Degree of Kinship between Spouses by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
2006					
Child of paternal uncle	25.9	19.1	14.2	13.6	10.4
Child of paternal aunt	11.0	11.3	10.8	9.1	15.6
Child of maternal uncle	14.0	11.4	13.6	10.3	10.4
Child of maternal aunt	11.3	13.6	14.6	14.9	12.3
Other relative	37.9	44.6	46.8	52.1	51.3
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/ vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
Son/daughter of paternal uncle	25.1	18.3	14.2	13.9	13.0
Son/daughter of paternal aunt	13.0	11.9	12.9	9.2	7.2
Son/daughter of maternal uncle	12.7	11.3	10.4	12.6	12.6
Son/daughter of maternal aunt	9.4	10.6	14.2	15.5	19.3
Other relative from the father's side	25.5	29.8	31.2	27.9	27.4
Other relative from the mother's side	14.3	18.1	17.1	20.8	20.6

4.5.7. Marriage with Fellow Townspeople

In the 2006 study, the presence or absence of coming from the same hometown was examined by the question “Do you/did you come from the same town as your spouse?”. In 2011, this question was not asked. Therefore it is not possible to make a comparison between the years.

In Türkiye in 2006, 69% of marriages were between fellow townspeople. Evaluated by regions, the region

with the highest percentage of marriages between fellow townspeople was in East Black Sea by 87%. This is followed by Southeast Anatolia by 85%. The lowest percentage is in East Marmara with 57%. In Istanbul, the percentage of marriages between two fellow townspeople is 56%. The percentage of marriages between townspeople decreases as the educational level increases. While this percentage is 78% among people with no education, it falls to 47% in university graduates and graduate degree holders (Table 71).

Table 71. Coming from the Same Hometown with the Spouse throughout Türkiye, by Residence Area, Three Major Cities, and NUTS, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Yes	No
Türkiye	69.2	30.8
NUTS		
Istanbul	56.1	43.9
West Marmara	60.5	39.5
East Marmara	67.8	32.2
Aegean	57.2	42.8
Mediterranean	71.8	28.2
West Anatolia	72.8	27.2
Central Anatolia	78.4	21.6
West Black Sea	68.4	31.6
East Black Sea	86.4	13.6
Northeast Anatolia	80.6	19.4
Mideast Anatolia	80.8	19.2
Southeast Anatolia	84.9	15.1
EDUCATIONAL STATUS		
No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	78.2	21.8
Primary school	72.7	27.3
Elementary school	65.6	34.4
High school/equivalent	57.4	42.6
University (Undergraduate/graduate)	46.8	53.2

4.5.8. Bride Price

In the 2006 study, the question about bride price was asked as “when you were getting married, was a bride price paid?” Options for the first and the last marriages are “yes” and “no”. The same question was asked as “was a bride price paid while getting married?” in 2011. Again, the options are yes and no

for the first and the last marriages. As known, these questions are only analysed for the first marriage.

Across Türkiye, those that were paid a bride price was 18% in 2006 and 16% in 2011. It is possible to say that the percentages for the payment of bride price stayed more or less the same between those two years (Table 72).

Table 72. Bride Price, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Yes	No
2006		
Türkiye	17.8	82.2
2011		
Türkiye	15.6	84.4

Compared by regions, the payment of bride price in 2006 was highest in Northeast Anatolia by 49%, Mideast Anatolia 45% and in Southeast Anatolia by 43%. In Central and West Black Sea, both in the Black Sea region, the payment of bride price falls to 23%. In other words, going from the north and east towards the west and south, the convention of the payment of bride price decreases. The lowest per-

centage was from the Aegean region with 7% and the Aegean region has fallen to almost one sevenths of the percentages of Northeast-Mideast-Southeast Anatolia regions (Table 73).

The regions with the highest percentage of bride price payments in 2011 were Northeast Anatolia (40%), Mideast Anatolia (40%) and Southeast Ana-

Table 73. Bride Price by NUTS, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Yes	No
2006		
İstanbul	10.2	89.8
West Marmara	10.7	89.3
East Marmara	6.7	93.3
Aegean	17.3	82.7
Mediterranean	11.3	88.7
West Anatolia	11.2	88.8
Central Anatolia	23.6	76.4
West Black Sea	23.3	76.7
East Black Sea	18.1	81.9
Northeast Anatolia	48.9	51.1
Mideast Anatolia	45.4	54.6
Southeast Anatolia	42.7	57.3
2011		
İstanbul	12.9	87.1
West Marmara	8.3	91.7
East Marmara	5.1	94.9
Aegean	11.1	88.9
Mediterranean	10.6	89.4
West Anatolia	9.8	90.2
Central Anatolia	23.8	76.2
West Black Sea	21.3	78.7
East Black Sea	11.3	88.7
Northeast Anatolia	39.7	60.3
Mideast Anatolia	39.6	60.4
Southeast Anatolia	38.8	61.2

tolia (39%). The lowest percentages were found in the Aegean (5%), West Marmara (8%) and the Mediterranean (10%) regions (Table 73).

In 2006, the percentage of bride price payment in ru-

ral areas was 25%; this percentage fell to 14% in urban areas. In 2011, this percentage was 23% in rural areas and fell to 12% in urban areas. It can be safely said that in rural areas the payment of bride price is true for one of every four marriages (Table 74).

Table 74. Bride Price by Residence Area, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Yes	No
2006		
Urban	13.8	86.2
Rural	24.5	75.5
2011		
Urban	12.6	87.4
Rural	22.8	77.2

It is clear from both the 2006 and 2011 studies that educational level is directly related to the payment of a bride price to get married. In this regard, it is known that every increase in the educational level causes a corresponding decrease in the payment of the bride price. It was established that in 2006, 41% of uneducated individuals paid a bride price while only one fortieth (2%) of university graduates and graduate degree holders did so. In 2011, the disinclination to

pay a bride price that rose with the level of education and the related percentages stayed almost the same without any change. The average percentage of those with no schooling in 2006 is close to the percentage of those who had no schooling in 2011 (38%). Similarly the percentage of bride price payments among university graduates (associate degree /vocational school /undergraduate /graduate) in the 2011 (2%) is parallel to the one from the 2006 study. (Table 75)

Table 75. Bride Price by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Yes	No
2006		
No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	41.0	59.0
Primary school	16.3	83.7
Elementary/secondary school	8.6	91.4
High school/equivalent	4.1	95.9
University (Undergraduate/graduate)	2.4	97.6
2011		
No schooling (Never finished any school)	37.6	62.4
Primary school	17.0	83.0
Elementary/secondary school	9.3	90.7
High school/equivalent	4.5	95.5
University (Associate degree/vocational school/undergraduate/graduate)	2.2	97.8

Generally, the distribution and differentiation of the SES level and the payment of bride price shows similar characteristics to the relationship between educational level and bride price payment. While this practice was 37% among individuals from low SES

groups in 2006, this percentage fell to 5% among high SES groups. There is a similar tendency in 2011. While the percentage of bride price payment is 30% in the lowest SES group, this percentage was found to be 2% in the highest SES (Table 76).

Table 76. Bride Price by SES, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Yes	No
2006		
Upper class	4.6	95.4
Middle class	16.4	83.6
Lower class	37.2	62.8
2011		
Higher upper class	1.7	98.3
Upper class	4.0	96.0
Upper middle class	9.3	90.7
Lower middle class	18.1	81.9
Lower class	29.9	70.1

4.5.9. Marriage Ceremonies

The question about wedding ceremonies in the 2006 questionnaire was “which ceremonies were performed for your marriage”. In the question where more than one option could be marked, the options were betrothal/asking for the girl's hand in marriage, engagement, henna night, wedding ceremony, civil marriage ceremony; religious marriage ceremony and no ceremony. In 2011, the same question was asked in the form of “which ceremonies were performed as you were getting married”; again the interviewees were made aware of the chance of answering with more than one option. There are two difference in the options, the first option, which read “betrothal/asking for the girl's hand in marriage” was changed to simply “betrothal” in the 2011 study. The seventh option of no “ceremonies were performed” was taken out of this question.

The most frequent ceremony in 2006 is the wedding ceremony. In 2006, the ceremonies of wedding, betrothal/asking for the girl's hand in marriage and henna night were performed by 88%, 84% and 83% respectively. These ceremonies were followed by 77% engagement, 72% civil marriage ceremony and again religious marriage ceremony by 72%. 2% of the participants reported no ceremonies during marriage (Table 77).

In the marriage ceremonies of 2011, similar to 2006, wedding ceremony is still the most frequent (88%). As in 2006, the wedding ceremony was followed by betrothal (88%). There was an increase in engagement, civil marriage and religious marriage ceremonies. While the percentage of civil and religious marriage ceremonies was 72%, in 2011, these percentages rose to 84% and 85% respectively.

Table 77. Marriage Ceremonies, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Betrothal/asking for the girl's hand in marriage	Engagement	Henna night	Wedding	Civil marriage ceremony	Religious marriage ceremony	None
2006							
Türkiye	84.1	77.4	83.1	88.3	71.7	72.3	1.7
2011							
Türkiye	88.2	81.6	84.9	89.4	84.2	84.6	

When the marriage ceremonies performed were analyzed by different educational and SES levels, in 2006, as the educational level rose, the incidences of betrothal/asking for the girl's hand, engagement and civil marriage ceremonies increased. Henna night and religious marriage ceremony is lower in low and high education groups, it is higher among people with a mid level educational level and displays a bell curve.

In 2011, as we examine how these ceremonies differ by education, it is observed that with the exception

of religious marriage ceremony, the percentage of all other ceremonies increase with educational level. This upwards trend is true for all educational levels including associate degree holders. With the exception of religious marriage ceremony, the incidence of performing these ceremonies is lower among undergraduates and graduates than among associate degree holders. With the exception of engagement and civil marriage ceremonies, especially among individuals with graduate degrees, the frequency of performing these ceremonies during marriage is lower than other educational groups (Table 78).

Table 78. Marriage Ceremonies by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
2006					
Betrothal/asking for the girl's hand	79.2	85.0	85.5	86.5	85.2
Engagement	68.2	78.2	79.8	82.7	84.1
Henna night	76.7	85.4	85.8	84.1	79.1
Wedding	84.8	90.0	88.4	87.9	86.1
Civil marriage ceremony	59.4	72.5	76.7	77.9	81.8
Religious marriage ceremony	69.6	73.3	76.2	72.1	67.4
No ceremonies performed	3.4	1.5	0.8	0.9	1.0
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/ vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
Betrothal	83.8	88.4	86.9	90.7	92.3
Engagement	73.5	81.1	82.5	86.4	87.4
Henna night	77.7	85.4	87.2	88.2	85.5
Wedding	84.6	89.8	91.1	91.4	89.5
Civil marriage ceremony	75.0	84.0	85.1	89.3	90.1
Religious marriage ceremony	82.1	85.3	84.6	87.5	81.3

As the relationship between marriage ceremonies and SES levels are analyzed, 2006 results show that the low level of socioeconomic status is not the reason behind the absence of any kind of ceremony. As the SES rises, the frequency of engagement and civil

marriage ceremonies also rise. No direct relationship was found between the SES level and other ceremonies of betrothal, henna night, wedding and religious marriage ceremony (Table 79).

Table 79. Marriage Ceremonies by SES, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Upper class	Middle class	Lower class		
2006					
Betrothal/asking for the girl's hand	83.6	85.0	79.0		
Engagement	80.7	78.3	69.3		
Henna night	85.5	89.1	85.1		
Wedding	85.5	89.1	85.1		
Civil marriage ceremony	80.9	73.2	55.4		
Religious marriage ceremony	68.6	73.6	66.7		
No ceremony was performed	1.0	1.4	4.1		
	Higher upper class	Upper class	Upper middle class	Lower middle class	Lower class
2011					
Betrothal	89.9	93.0	90.9	87.8	84.9
Engagement	85.4	88.4	85.9	80.2	74.1
Henna night	80.8	88.7	88.2	85.0	79.5
Wedding	87.2	89.5	91.2	90.2	85.2
Civil marriage ceremony	93.0	90.1	88.8	82.8	75.6
Religious marriage ceremony	77.9	86.1	86.9	84.4	81.7

In 2011, (with the exception of religious marriage ceremony), the incidence of performing all ceremonies rises as the SES rises. These percentages are a little lower in the highest SES level compared to upper and middle SES groups. The fact that marriage ceremonies became more widespread recently and the fact that their popularity commercialized these ceremonies which are now performed outside of their traditional content, cause this picture to emerge for 2011

4.5.10. Form of Solemnization

In the 2006 TAYA the question “how did you solemnize your marriage” was used in order to understand the form of solemnization. For the first, second, third fourth and last marriages, options of 1. Official 2. Religious 3. Both civil and religious were given. In TAYA 2011 questionnaire, the question and the options stayed the same, but were only asked for the first marriage and the last.

In 2006, 10% of all solemnizations were civil, 3% is only religious, 86% is both civil and religious. Even though it was not included in the options, 1% had no official or religious solemnization. In 2011 the percentages of only civil ceremony or only religious ceremony were 3% and the percentage for having both ceremonies was 94%. Analyzed by urban and rural differences, in rural areas the percentage of solely civil marriages is 2%, religious marriage alone is 3% and the percentage of having both ceremonies performed during marriage is 95%. In urban areas the percentage of civil ceremonies only is 4%, religious ceremony only is 3% and the percentage of having both ceremonies is 93%.

When the two years are compared, there is a 6% fall in civil ceremonies and a corresponding rise in the percentage of having both civil and religious ceremonies. There is no change in the percentage of only religious ceremonies (Table 80).

Table 80. Form of Solemnization, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Official/civil	Religious	Both civil and religious	No ceremony was performed
2006				
Türkiye	9.7	3.2	86.5	0.6
RESIDENCE AREA				
Urban	11.1	2.4	85.8	0.7
Rural	7.5	4.6	87.5	0.5
	Only official/civil	Only religious	Both civil and religious	
2011				
Türkiye	3.4	2.6	93.9	
RESIDENCE AREA				
Urban	4.2	2.5	93.3	
Rural	1.7	2.8	95.5	

A comparison between regions reveals that in 2006, in the eastern regions of Türkiye, religious ceremonies are prevalent. In the Northeastern, Mideastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions the percentage of religious ceremonies are 7%, 8% and 16% respectively. The regions where only civil ceremonies are performed, are Istanbul (17%), Central Anatolia (14%) and the Mediterranean (14%) regions. Here, an interesting point is that in Türkiye, the dominant practice is performing both civil and religious ceremonies. With the exception of Southeast Anatolia, the percentage of having both ceremonies performed

is over 80% (Table 81).

In 2011, the regions where the percentages for religious ceremony is the highest are Southeast Anatolia (8%) and Mideast Anatolia (5%). Regions where the percentage of people who only had a civil ceremony performed are Istanbul (8%), Mideast Anatolia (6%) and West Black Sea (5%) regions. Mideast Anatolia is interesting in this respect, here, the percentages of civil ceremonies only and the percentages of religious ceremonies only are both high. As with 2006, in 2011 the most widespread marriage ceremony in

Türkiye was having both ceremonies performed. In all regions across Türkiye the percentage of people who got married by both ceremonies is above 89%. The regions with the highest percentages where both

of these ceremonies are performed are East Black Sea (97%), West Marmara (97%) and Mideast Anatolia (97%).

Table 81. Form of Solemnization by NUTS, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Official/civil	Religious	Both civil and religious	No ceremony was performed
2006				
İstanbul	16.7	1.3	80.9	1.0
West Marmara	5.5	0.5	93.2	0.8
East Marmara	7.8	1.4	90.6	0.3
Aegean	9.8	1.7	88.2	0.3
Mediterranean	8.6	2.1	88.8	0.6
West Anatolia	13.5	2.6	83.5	0.3
Central Anatolia	13.6	2.7	83.1	0.7
West Black Sea	5.3	1.5	92.2	1.0
East Black Sea	1.8	2.6	95.4	0.2
Northeast Anatolia	1.7	6.5	91.6	0.3
Mideast Anatolia	2.9	7.8	88.7	0.6
Southeast Anatolia	8.4	15.5	75.2	0.9
	Only official/civil	Only religious	Both civil and religious	
2011				
İstanbul	8.1	1.9	90.0	
West Marmara	2.3	0.7	97.0	
East Marmara	3.2	1.4	95.5	
Aegean	1.5	1.9	96.7	
Mediterranean	3.6	1.4	95.0	
West Anatolia	1.6	3.5	94.9	
Central Anatolia	1.0	2.5	96.5	
West Black Sea	5.1	3.1	91.9	
East Black Sea	0.6	2.1	97.2	
Northeast Anatolia	0.6	3.3	96.1	
Mideast Anatolia	6.2	5.3	88.5	
Southeast Anatolia	0.8	7.5	91.8	

According to TAYA 2006, the relationship between the form of solemnization and educational level shows that the percentage of religious ceremonies fall as the educational level rises. While this percentage is 8% among uneducated individuals, it falls to 2% among primary school graduates, to 1% among graduates of high school and equivalent and to 1% among university graduates. However, only the percentages of civil solemnization are affected by the rise in the level of education. While only 7% of uneducated individuals had a civil ceremony, this percentage increased to 17% among university graduates. There is a similar trend in 2011. The percentage of having only a religious solemnization performed falls as the educational level rises and the percent-

age of having only the civil solemnization performed rises. In the 2011 study where the associate degree holders, undergraduates and graduates were evaluated separately, while the percentage of civil solemnization among associate degree holders was 3%, this percentage rises to 10% among undergraduates and to 34% among holders of graduate degrees (Table 82).

A similar picture emerges with the SES as with the educational level. In 2006 yılında, as the SES level rises, the percentage of having only the civil solemnization performed also rises and the percentage of having only the religious solemnization falls. In 2011 as we go from the lower SES group the upper

Table 82. Form of Solemnization by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
2006					
Official/civil ceremony	6.7	9.6	8.4	11.8	17.3
Religious ceremony	7.8	2.4	2.6	1.3	0.7
Both civil and religious ceremony	84.9	87.5	88.3	86.3	81.3
No ceremony was performed	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.6
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
Only official/civil ceremony	1.6	2.5	3.1	4.3	9.2
Only religious ceremony	6.5	2.3	2.2	1.4	0.6
Both civil and religious ceremony	91.9	95.2	94.7	94.3	90.2

SES groups, the percentage of only civil ceremony rises, the percentage of only religious solemnization decreases (Table 83).

Table 83. Form of Solemnization by SES, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

Upper class		Middle class		Lower class	
2006					
Official/civil ceremony	16.3		9.4	6.8	
Religious ceremony	0.8		2.6	9.0	
Both civil and religious ceremony	82.1		87.5	83.5	
No ceremony was performed	0.9		0.5	0.7	
Higher upper class	Upper class	Upper middle class	Lower middle class	Lower class	
2011					
Only official/civil ceremony	13.1	5.8	3.5	2.7	1.3
Only religious	1.2	0.6	1.9	2.7	4.1
Both civil and religious	85.7	93.6	94.7	94.7	94.6

The relationship between the form of solemnization and the determinant effect of religious belief in the choice of spouse shows, as expected, among those who say that religious belief is very influential, the probability of having only a religious ceremony performed is 4%, while among those who say it is influential, this percentage drops to 3% and among those who say it is not influential at all, this percentage further drops to 2%. As the determinant effect of religion in the choice of spouse decreases, both the percentages of civil and religious solemnization decrease and the percentage of performing only the civil solemnization increases. Among those who did not want to answer the question about the determinacy of religion in the choice of a spouse, 21% had

a civil ceremony only, 4% had a religious ceremony only, 74% had both civil and religious solemnizations performed and 2% had no ceremony (Table 84).

The relationship between the form of solemnization and the determinant effect of religion in the choice of spouse in 2011 reveals that the trends are very similar to those of 2006. Five different options were offered to find out the determining effect of religion. When religion has no effect on the choice of a spouse, the percentage of those who only had a civil solemnization performed rose, the percentage of only religious solemnization decreases somewhat, both civil and religious solemnization percentage also decreases.

Table 84. Form of Solemnization by The Determinant Effect of Religion in the Choice of Spouse, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Very determinant	Determinant	Not determinant	Does not want to respond		
2006						
Civil ceremony	6.9	9.1	17.5	20.9		
Religious ceremony	4.1	2.8	1.8	3.5		
Both civil and religious ceremony	88.5	87.5	80.0	74.0		
No ceremony was performed	0.5	0.6	0.7	1.5		
	Very determinant	Determinant	Neither	Not determinant	Not determinant at all	Does not want to respond
2011						
Only civil	1.2	2.1	4.5	6.9	14.7	8.8
Only religious	3.2	2.7	2.0	1.7	1.9	2.5
Both civil and religious	95.6	95.2	93.5	91.4	83.4	88.7

4. 5.11. Relationship with the Spouse

Four questions on the relationship with the spouse were used in the analysis. These were an option aimed to evaluate the relationship with the spouse, subjects that cause problems between the couple, the reaction of the spouse or the interviewee when confronted with a situation that cannot be solved through a discussion.

The first question that gives a general impression about the relationship with the spouse is the spouse option of the question from the 2006 questionnaire, “How would you define your relationship with family members and close relatives?” In 2011 the same question was asked in the form of “How would you define your relationship with the family members and close relatives that I will now read to you”. The options of the question are different for 2006 and 2011. The 11 options in the 2006 question were increased to 21 in the 2011 question (Table 85).

In 2006, 47% of married people in Türkiye evaluated their relationship with their spouse as good, while 46% rated it as very good. The percentage of those who evaluated their relationship as average was 6%. While the percentage of those who rated their relationship with their spouse as bad was 0.5%, that percentage was 0.4% for those who thought their relationship with their spouse was very bad. The evaluations of men and women on the relationship with their spouse shows that while more men evaluate their relationship with their spouse as very good, the percentages of those who find it average, bad and very bad is lower than women.

In 2011, the percentage of those who evaluate their relationship with their spouse as very good increased compared to 2006. While 62% of married people rate their relationship with their spouse as very good, 33% think it is good. As in 2006, men in 2011 rate their relationship with their spouses more positively than their spouses.

Table 85. The Level of Relationship with the Spouse by Gender, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Very good	Good	Average	Bad	Very bad
2006					
Türkiye	45.8	47.2	6.1	0.5	0.4
GENDER					
Men	48.3	46.4	4.8	0.3	0.3
Women	43.2	48.0	7.5	0.8	0.5
2011					
Türkiye	62.2	32.6	4.6	0.4	0.2
GENDER					
Men	65.9	30.6	3.1	0.3	0.1
Women	58.5	34.6	6.1	0.5	0.3

Problems experienced with the spouse disclose three main issues of dispute, home and responsibilities about the children, expenditures and the insufficiency of income. These three issues reveal that the most frequent problem is financial. When all problem areas are inspected separately, in 2006, the percentage of those who report that they sometimes have issues about the home and responsibilities towards children is 34%. Those that report they often have problems are 3% (Table 86). Women reported a higher percentage of problems than men on this issue. While the percentage of women experiencing problems about the home and responsibilities towards the children is 39%, it is 34% for men (Table 87).

The second reported issue is problems related to

expenditures. While 29% of married individuals report they sometimes have problems with their spouses over expenditures, 3% report they often face such problems (Table 86). Women again reported a higher rate of problems than men on this subject. 34% of women have problems with their spouses on the subject of expenditures, this percentage is 31% for men (Table 87).

The third issue that causes problems between spouses is the insufficiency of the income. 28% of married people reported occasional problems on this issue (Table 86). The percentage of those who report frequent problems is 5% (Table 86). The viewpoint of both men and women on this issue is similar (Table 87).

Table 86. First Three Matters of Conflicts between Spouses, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Irrelevant
2006				
Responsibilities regarding the house and children	62.5	33.6	2.6	1.3
Expenditures	66.9	29.3	3.4	0.5
Insufficiency of his/her income	66.5	27.5	5.1	0.9
2011				
Responsibilities regarding the house and children	62.0	35.4	2.5	0.1
Expenditures	67.9	27.4	4.5	0.1
Insufficiency of his/her income	68.0	25.1	6.0	0.9

In 2011, again, the most frequent problems were experienced on the issues of responsibilities regarding the home, expenditures and the insufficiency of income. The percentage of those who experience problems over the responsibilities of the home is 38%. While 35% of those who report that they sometimes had this issue, 3% reported frequent problems (Table 86). The percentage of problems experienced on this issue is different between men and women. While 38% of men (36% sometimes, 2% frequently) report having problems with their spouses on this issue, this percentage is 40% among women (37% sometimes, 3% frequently). Because this option of the question was asked differently in the 2006 and 2011 versions, a five-year comparison between those who experience problems on this issue is not possible (Table 87).

Expenditures are another issue that causes problems between spouses. In 2011, the percentage of those who experience problems on this matter is 32%. 27% report they sometimes have these problems, while 5% report they have often problems. While 30% of men (26% sometimes, 4% frequently) report having problems, this percentage rises to 33% (28% sometimes, 5% frequently) among women.

The percentage of those who experience problems over the insufficiency of income is 31%. 25% report having occasional problems while 6% report they often have problems. 33% of women (26% sometimes, 7% frequently) report experiencing problems because of the insufficiency of income, this percentage falls to 29% (24% sometimes, 5% frequently) among men (Table 87).

Table 87. First Three Matters of Conflicts between Spouses by Gender, TAYA 2006-2011 (Sometimes & Often) (%)

	Men		Women	
	Sometimes	Often	Sometimes	Often
2006				
Responsibilities regarding the house and children	32.1	1.8	35.1	3.4
Expenditures	28.0	3.0	30.5	3.9
Insufficiency of his/her income	27.2	4.6	27.8	5.5
2011				
Responsibilities regarding the house and children	33.8	1.5	37.1	3.4
Expenditures	26.2	3.8	28.6	5.2
Insufficiency of his/her income	24.1	5.3	26.2	6.7

As the educational level rises, the incidence of experiencing problems about the home and responsibilities towards the children also increase. While in 2006, 29% of uneducated individuals reported problems on this issue, this percentage was 41% in graduates of high school or equivalent and it was 43% among university graduates and people with graduate degrees (Table 88).

On the issue of expenditures, as the educational level rises, the number of individuals who report problems on this issue also rises. 29% of uneducated individuals report having problems about expenditures, while this is 35% among high school or equivalent graduates and 36% among university graduates.

Although there is no significant differentiation among individuals from different educational levels on the subject of insufficiency of income, the group with the highest percentage is primary school graduates, the group with the lowest percentages

are university graduates and people with graduate degrees. When the problems caused by expenditures and the insufficiency of income are taken together, it becomes evident that although income becomes more sufficient with a rise in the educational level, there are still problems between spouses about who is going to spend money on what goods and services.

In 2011, a linear increase in problems experienced was observed between educational level and responsibilities around the home. There is no such linear relationship between education and expenditures. Experiencing problems because of the insufficiency of income declines linearly as the educational level rises. While 36% of uneducated individuals experience problems on this issue, this percentage falls to 31% among elementary school graduates, 26% among graduates of high school or equivalent and to 18% among associate degree holders and graduates of vocational schools, to 15% among people with undergraduate degrees and to 8% among indi-

Table 88. First Three Matters of Conflicts between Spouses by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (Sometimes & Often) (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/graduate)
2006					
Responsibilities about the house and children	29.4	36.0	37.0	40.9	43.0
Expenditures	28.8	32.7	32.6	35.4	35.8
Insufficiency of his/her income	30.3	35.6	30.6	30.4	22.6
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
Responsibilities about the house and children	33.9	36.9	38.9	40.9	40.9
Expenditures	31.1	33.1	32.0	32.4	27.6
Insufficiency of his/her income	35.2	35.2	31.6	26.9	15.8

viduals with graduate degrees.

4.5.12. Reactions to Conflict Between Spouses

There are two questions aimed at learning about the reactions to conflict in 2006 and 2011. While the first question is directed to learn more about the reaction of the interviewee in the face of conflict, the second one aims to learn about the reaction of the spouse. This question in 2006 was “how do you react when there is a conflict with your spouse that cannot be resolved through dialogue? (please answer keeping in mind your reactions in the last year)”. In the second question instead of “you”, the question asks about “your spouse”. This question has five options: I raise my voice; I shout, I get cross with him/her, I leave the room (house), I use force (physical violence) and remain silent/ endure in silence. In 2011, the question was “how do you react when there is a conflict with your spouse that cannot be resolved through dialogue or if a quarrel erupts? (please answer keeping in mind your reactions in the last year)”. In the second question instead of “you”, the question asks about “your spouse”.

The silent treatment, getting cross and raising voice are the most common reactions given to conflict between spouses in Türkiye. The percentage of indi-

viduals who keep silent is 75% (32% generally, 33% sometimes, 11% very rarely) (Table 89). While 70% of the men give this reaction, it rises to 80% among women (Table 90 & 91).

In 2006, 22% of interviewees reported that they usually raise their voices, 35% sometimes and 12% very rarely (Table 89). While 78% of men (28% generally, 38% sometimes, 23% very rarely) report raising their voices when confronted with a problem, this percentage is 61% for women (17% generally, 31% sometimes, 13% very rarely) (Table 90 & 91).

44% of the interviewees report that they get cross when experiencing a problem between spouses that could not be resolved through dialogue. 8% of those generally get cross, 25% sometimes and 11% very rarely (Table 89). While 52% of women, (11% generally, 29% sometimes, 12% very rarely) report getting cross, this is 37% among men (5% generally, 20% sometimes, 11% very rarely) (Table 90 & 91).

Among other reactions, leaving the room/house is 9% (2% generally, 4% sometimes, 3% very rarely) while the percentage of those that use force or physical violence is 5% (2% sometimes, 3% very rarely) (Table 89). Use of violence is 7% among men, 2% among women (Table 90 and 91).

Table 89. Reactions Given in Face of Conflict with the Spouse, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Generally	Sometimes	Very rarely	Never
2006				
I get cross	8.2	24.8	11.4	55.6
I raise my voice	22.2	34.9	12.2	30.7
I leave the room (house)	1.7	3.6	3.3	91.3
I use force/physical violence	0.4	1.7	2.6	95.2
I remain silent	31.9	32.5	10.5	25.1
	Generally	Sometimes	Never	
2011				
I get cross	5.5	33.3	61.2	
I raise my voice. I shout	7.6	51.9	40.6	
I reprimand my spouse	2.8	29.9	67.3	
I insult my spouse	0.7	5.1	94.2	
I leave the room	3.1	19.8	77.1	
I leave the house	0.7	3.5	95.8	
I destroy/smash the belongings	0.4	3.5	96.1	
I use force/physical violence	0.2	1.7	98.1	
I remain silent/ suffer in silence	16.5	40.4	43.1	
I separate bedrooms	0.8	4.4	94.8	

In 2011, the percentage of individuals who report they raise their voice and shout when there is a conflict that could not be solved by discussion is 60% (52% sometimes, 8% generally) (Table 89). This percentage is 65% among men (56% sometimes, 9% generally) and 54% among women (47% sometimes, 7% generally) (Table 90 and 91).

38% of interviewees react by getting cross with their spouse. While 33% of those who get cross report they sometimes do it, this percentage is 5% for

those who generally do it (Table 89). 31% of men (28% sometimes, 3% generally) get cross in the face of an unsolvable conflict, this percentage is 46% among women (39% sometimes, 7% generally) (Table 90 and 91).

In 2011 the percentage of those who remain silent or suffer in silence is 57% (17% generally, 4% sometimes). While the silent treatment is 52% among men, it is 62% for women. The percentage of resorting to force is 3% and 1% for women (Table 90 and 91).

Table 90. Reactions of Men in the Face of Conflict with the Spouse, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Generally	Sometimes	Very rarely	Never
2006				
I get cross	5.4	20.3	11.2	63.1
I raise my voice	27.5	38.4	11.6	22.4
I leave the room (house)	2.4	4.9	4.2	88.5
I use force/physical violence	0.6	2.9	3.9	92.7
I remain silent	22.4	34.9	12.9	29.9
	Generally	Sometimes	Never	
2011				
I get cross	3.4	27.7		68.9
I raise my voice. I shout	8.5	56.4		35.2
I reprimand my spouse	3.3	36.8		59.9
I insult my spouse	0.9	6.2		93.0
I leave the room	3.0	19.8		77.2
I leave the house	1.1	4.9		94.1
I destroy/smash belongings	0.5	4.6		94.9
I use force/physical violence	0.2	2.5		97.3
I remain silent/ suffer in silence	11.7	40.0		48.2
I separate bedrooms	0.5	3.7		95.7

Table 91. Reactions of Women in the Face of Conflict with the Spouse, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Generally	Sometimes	Very rarely	Never
2006				
I get cross	11.1	29.3	11.6	48.0
I raise my voice	16.8	31.4	12.7	39.1
I leave the room (house)	1.1	2.3	2.4	94.2
I use force/physical violence	0.2	0.6	1.3	97.8
I remain silent	41.4	30.0	8.1	20.4
	Generally	Sometimes	Never	
2011				
I get cross	7.6	39.0		53.4
I raise my voice. I shout	6.7	47.3		46.0
I reprimand my spouse	2.3	22.9		74.7
I insult my spouse	0.6	4.1		95.3
I leave the room	3.3	19.7		77.0
I leave the house	0.4	2.0		97.6
I destroy/smash belongings	0.2	2.4		97.4
I use force/physical violence	0.1	0.9		99.0
I remain silent/ suffer in silence	21.3	40.8		37.9
I separate bedrooms	1.0	5.2		93.8

In 2006, the percentage of interviewees who get cross with their spouses, who shout or leave the room or house increases with the educational level. A drop in the percentage of illiterate respondents who get cross when experiencing a problem with their spouse is observed compared to literate respondents with no schooling. However, for the remaining educational levels, it can be said that as the educational level rises, the percentage of those who react by getting cross increases. Similarly, the percentage of interviewees who raise their voices also rise with the educational level. While 56% of uneducated respondents react by raising voice, this percentage rises to 68% among primary school graduates, 78% among graduates of high school or equivalent and 79% among undergraduates and graduates. Among uneducated people the percentage of those who leave the house rises as the educational level increases (Table 92).

Similarly in 2011, even though it is not linear, the percentage of those who raise their voices in case of a conflict with the spouse increases. While the percentage of uneducated individuals who get cross with their spouses in case of a problem is 33%, this percentage rises to 58% among elementary school graduates, 66% among graduates of high school or equivalent and to 65% among university graduates and individuals with graduate degrees. As the educational level rises, the percentage of individuals who get cross with their spouses and those who leave the room when faced with a problem rises as the educational level rises. While 33% of uneducated individuals get cross with their spouses when faced with a conflict, this percentage is 37% among primary school graduates, 41% among elementary school graduates, 42% among graduates of high school or equivalent and 47% among university graduates.

Table 92. Reactions Given in the Face of Conflict with the Spouse by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (Generally & Sometimes) (%)

	Generally & sometimes & very rarely				
	No schooling (Illiterate/ literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/graduate)
2006					
I get cross	42.4	42.1	44.9	49.8	53.9
I raise my voice	56.1	68.4	76.6	77.7	79.4
I leave the room (house)	6.8	7.9	10.2	10.8	12.6
I use force/physical violence	4.7	4.9	4.9	5.0	3.4
I remain silent	77.0	74.5	74.0	74.7	73.7
	Generally & sometimes				
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
I get cross	32.8	36.8	40.6	42.4	46.5
I raise my voice. I shout	47.2	59.7	58.3	65.8	64.9
I reprimand my spouse	26.4	34.2	34.7	35.2	27.9
I insult my spouse	4.1	5.6	6.3	7.6	5.8
I leave the room	10.4	20.0	26.0	30.1	34.1
I leave the house	2.8	3.9	4.5	5.5	4.3
I destroy/smash belongings	1.9	3.4	5.6	4.9	4.0
I use force/physical violence	1.8	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.3
I remain silent/ suffer in silence	56.3	57.2	58.9	56.8	54.2
I separate bedrooms	3.8	5.0	5.4	6.3	6.1

In 2006, when the respondents were asked how their spouses reacted faced with a conflict unsolvable by discussion, the responses from men and women differ. While 54% of the men state that their spouses react by raising their voices, this rises to 74% among women. 37% of women state their spouses react by getting cross, while this percentage is 48% for men. Based on the statements of spouses, it can safely be said that more men react by raising their voices and more women react by getting cross. 80% of men state that when they have a problem, their spouses react by keeping silent, while 69% of women do so. 8% of women report use of force and 9% report that their spouse leaves the room (house) (Table 93 & 94).

In 2011, while 65% of women report that their spouses react by raising their voice and shouting, this percentage is 44% among men. As 39% of the

men say their spouses react by getting cross, this is 32% among women. The percentage of men who say their spouses react by keeping silent/suffering in silence is 55%. This percentage falls to 43% among women. 1% of men declare the use of force/physical violence on their spouses during a conflict, this rises to 4% among women (Table 93 & 94).

From these findings, it can be safely said that women show their reaction by getting cross and keeping silent, while men resort to raising their voices more, reprimanding or leaving the room or house, breaking belongings and using force or physical violence on their spouses compared to women. This can be explained by gender roles in the society. While silent reactions like keeping it inside or getting cross with the spouse are considered appropriate reactions for women, it is more socially acceptable for men to verbalize and lash out.

Table 93. Reactions Spouses Give When Confronted with a Problem According to Men, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Generally	Sometimes	Very rarely	Never
2006				
She gets cross	9.9	27.0	10.6	52.5
She raises her voice	14.0	27.9	12.4	45.7
She leaves the room (house)	0.7	1.9	2.3	95.1
She uses force/physical violence	0.3	0.7	1.7	97.3
She remains silent	39.5	32.1	8.5	19.9
	Generally	Sometimes	Very rarely	Never
2011				
She gets cross	6.1	32.7		61.1
She raises her voice	4.9	39.2		55.9
She reprimands me	1.4	17.4		81.1
She insults me	0.6	4.1		95.3
She leaves the room	1.7	14.3		84.0
She leaves the house	0.2	1.7		98.1
She destroys/smashes belongings	0.2	2.1		97.7
She uses force/physical violence	0.2	1.0		98.8
She remains silent/suffers in silence	16.3	38.8		44.9
She separates bedrooms	0.5	4.0		95.5

Table 94. Reactions Spouses Give When Confronted with a Problem According to Women, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Generally	Sometimes	Very rarely	Never
2006				
He gets cross	7.3	19.9	9.4	63.4
He raises her voice	31.3	34.9	9.6	24.2
He leaves the room (house)	1.9	3.7	3.9	90.5
He uses force/physical violence	0.9	3.2	3.6	92.2
He remains silent	22.0	33.6	13	31.3
	Generally	Sometimes	Very rarely	Never
2011				
He gets cross	5.0	26.8		68.2
He raises her voice	12.0	52.8		35.1
He reprimands me	5.9	35.5		58.5
He insults me	2.1	8.7		89.3
He leaves the room	2.8	14.9		82.3
He leaves the house	1.0	3.9		95.1
He destroys/smashes belongings	0.9	4.5		94.5
He uses force/physical violence	0.7	3.8		95.5
He remains silent/suffers in silence	9.0	34.2		56.8
He separates bedrooms	0.8	3.9		95.2

In 2006 when the respondents were asked the question how their spouses reacted when confronted by a problem, no significant relationship was found between educational level and raising voice. Howe-

ver, as the educational level of respondents rises, the incidence of spouses to get cross and keep silent also rises. It can also be said that as the educational level rises, resorting to force falls (Table 95).

In 2011, again when there is a problem between spouses, as the educational level of the respondents rise, the incidence of getting cross, leaving the room, keeping silent and separating beds rises. As the educational level rises, there is a drop in the percentage of those who react by reprimanding, insulting and using force. It is possible to say that as the educati-

onal level rises, individuals show reactions to freeze the relationship for a while. By doing this, individuals give themselves and their spouses time to reevaluate the situation. As the educational level falls, however, individuals show reactions that are prone to reflect and increase the tension.

Table 95. Reactions Spouses Give When Confronted with a Problem by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (Generally & Sometimes) (%)

Generally & sometimes & very rarely					
	No schooling (Illiterate/ literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
2006					
I get cross	36.9	38.6	45.5	52.6	53.3
I raise my voice	68.1	63.7	63.7	64.1	70.6
I leave the room (house)	8.0	6.6	6.7	7.8	8.9
I use force/physical violence	9.1	4.9	3.4	3.9	3.0
I remain silent	67.4	74.9	77.2	76.7	79.6
Generally & sometimes					
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
I get cross	26.6	32.9	35.2	41.0	46.8
I raise my voice. I shout	56.0	54.5	51.9	55.2	55.2
I reprimand my spouse	37.4	30.9	29.4	28.2	22.4
I insult my spouse	9.7	8.0	7.0	7.6	6.1
I leave the room	9.4	13.6	17.4	24.7	26.2
I leave the house	3.2	3.2	3.4	4.9	2.6
I destroy/smash belongings	3.1	3.9	3.9	4.6	3.3
I use force/physical violence	4.4	2.8	2.6	2.7	1.8
I remain silent/ suffer in silence	42.6	49.5	50.4	51.1	50.5
I separate bedrooms	3.6	4.2	4.3	5.9	6.0

4.5.13. Getting Support When Having Problems with the Spouse

The question “When you have a serious problem with your spouse, whom would you think to get help/support from?” asked in 2011 has ten answer options including the “other” option. The results show that 62% of the respondents do not want to get support from anybody or anywhere. The answers show that the highest percentage of looking for support is from family elders (23%). Elderly family members are followed by children. 6% of respondents think they can get help from their children.

This shows that in the face of a problem with the spouse, individuals either want to get help from the older population, family elders, or from the younger population, their children. The percentage of those who think they can get help from experts (psychologist, family or marriage counselor) is 3%. There is a similar percentage for getting help from siblings and relatives (2%). The percentage of those who think they can get help from friends is also similar (1.6%). The percentage of those who think they can get help from their neighbors is 4% while this percentage is 2% for religious officials (Table 96).

Table 96. Institutions or Individuals from Whom Support is Sought Upon Conflict Between Spouses, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye	Urban	Rural
Seniors of family members	23.1	24.1	20.7
Relatives	2.3	2.0	2.9
Siblings	2.2	2.6	1.2
Children	5.5	5.4	5.9
Expert individuals or institutions (Psychologist, family and marriage counsellor etc.)	2.7	3.6	0.6
Friends	1.6	2.0	0.7
Neighbors	0.4	0.4	0.5
Clergymen	0.2	0.2	0.2
No one	61.9	59.7	67.3
Other	1.4	1.4	1.2

Table 97. Institutions or Individuals from Whom Support is Sought Upon Conflict Between Spouses by Gender, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Men	Women
Seniors of family members	21.9	24.4
Relatives	2.2	2.3
Siblings	1.1	3.3
Children	4.4	6.6
Expert individuals or institutions (Psychologist, family and marriage counsellor etc.)	2.6	2.8
Friends	1.3	1.9
Neighbors	0.2	0.7
Clergymen	0.3	0.1
No one	65.6	58.2
Other	1.5	1.2

The answers for seeking support in case of a conflict with the spouse differ by gender on several important points. When having problems with their spouses, women predominantly seek support from elderly family members, their siblings and their children. The percentage of men (3%) and women (3%) who think to seek help from experts and institutions is very close. The percentage of those who think they will get help from no one among men is 66% while this percentage is 58% in women.

When we look into urban and rural differences, the percentage of individuals who think they can get help from elderly family members (24%) is higher in urban areas than rural areas (21%) (Table 96). The percentage of those who do not think they will get help from anyone is 67% in rural areas while it is 60% in urban areas. Another significant difference is, while the percentage of individuals who think they can get help from professionals and institutions is 4% in urban areas; this percentage is 1% in

rural areas.

The source of support sought when experiencing problems with the spouse varies from one region to the next. The percentage of those who think to get help from elderly family members is 15% in West Black Sea and 16% in West Marmara while this percentage is 36% in Northeast Anatolia. The percentage of those who think to get help from relatives is higher in Mideast Anatolia compared to other regions (6%). The percentage of people who think to get help from their children is higher in West Marmara (11%) and East Marmara (9%) compared to other regions. Across regions the percentage of people who think of getting help from experts and institutions is 2.5% in East Marmara, while it is 2% in West Anatolia and the Aegean regions. In West Black Sea (74%), Southeast Anatolia (73%) and Central Anatolia (72%) regions, the percentage of those who do not think they get help from anybody else is higher compared to other regions.

Table 98. Institutions or Individuals from Whom Support is Sought Upon Conflict Between Spouses by NUTS, TAYA 2011 (%)

	West Marmara	East Mar- mara	Aege- an	Mediterra- nean	West Anatolia	Central Anatolia	West Black Sea	East Black Sea	Northeast Anatolia	Mid-east Anatolia	Southeast Anatolia
Seniors of family members	15.7	24.4	22.2	23.3	22.5	17.5	15.1	20.5	35.9	22.6	18.8
Relatives	1.5	1.7	3.2	1.9	0.7	1.0	2.4	2.6	3.5	6.2	2.6
Siblings	2.1	3.5	2.5	1.4	2.7	1.5	1.6	1.6	0.3	0.9	1.5
Children	11.3	9.1	6.7	4.6	5.3	5.1	6.0	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.4
Expert individuals or institutions (Psychologist, family and marriage counsellor etc.)	1.7	2.5	2.2	1.4	2.3	1.3	0.8	1.0	0.3	0.7	0.7
Friends	1.7	1.5	2.4	1.4	2.5	1.0	0.8	1.3	0.3	0.8	1.2
Neighbors	0.7	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.0
Clergymen	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.2	1.0	0.2	0.1
No one	66.2	57.5	61.6	65.7	62.4	71.9	73.9	69.3	55.1	58.5	72.7
Other	1.0	0.7	1.4	0.2	1.8	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.9	7.7	0.5

In three major cities, the preferences of couples when problems are experienced with the spouse paint a different picture in Istanbul compared to the other two cities. The percentage of those who think they get help from nobody is lower than anywhere else in Türkiye. In Istanbul, the percentage of people who think they will get help from no one is 48%, while this is 61% in Izmir and 62% in Ankara.

Another important difference is while the percentage of those who think they can get help from experts and institutions is 8%, in both Ankara and Izmir this percentage is 3% for each city. The percentage of those who think to get help from friends is the highest in Izmir (4%); this percentage is 3% in Ankara and 2% in Istanbul (Table 99).

Table 99. Institutions or Individuals from Whom Support is Sought Upon Conflict Between Spouses by Three Major Cities, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Istanbul	Ankara	Izmir
Seniors of family members	31.1	22.5	22.1
Relatives	2.2	1.0	4.6
Siblings	2.9	2.3	3.8
Children	4.6	4.9	5.3
Expert individuals or institutions (Psychologist, family and marriage counsellor etc.)	8.0	2.6	3.1
Friends	1.9	2.9	3.5
Neighbors	0.3	0.9	1.1
Clergymen	0.1	0.0	0.1
No one	48.1	62.0	60.9
Other	1.8	2.0	1.5

When the preferred support is further examined by age, as expected, the percentage of individuals who think to get help from family elders decreases as age increases. Individuals above middle age lose this support system. Similarly, the percentage of in-

dividuals over 45 who think to get help from their children is higher than those of under 45. Another important point is that the percentage of those who do not think to get help from anybody increases with age.

Table 100. Institutions or Individuals from Whom Support is Sought Upon Conflict Between Spouses by Age, TAYA 2011 (%)

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Seniors of family members	42.4	34.8	26.2	17.4	7.9	4.5
Relatives	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.4	1.6	1.7
Siblings	2.1	3.1	3.1	1.4	0.9	0.5
Children	0.1	0.1	3.2	10.1	11.5	11.6
Expert individuals or institutions (Psychologist, family and marriage counsellor etc.)	2.1	3.6	3.5	2.2	1.8	0.7
Friends	1.7	2.4	2.3	0.9	0.7	0.4
Neighbors	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5
Clergymen	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2
No one	49.4	53.7	58.9	64.6	73.7	78.1
Other	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.5	1.8	2.0

The sources of support individuals think to get help from differentiates by household type, (nuclear, extended and broken). 22% of respondents from nuclear families think of getting help from the elderly of the family, this percentage rises to 27% among extended families and 28% among broken family members. The percentage of those who think to get help from relatives is the highest in nuclear families

while it is zero in broken families. In broken families, the percentage of those who think to get help from children is higher than the other two types (8%). Again, as the percentage of members who think to get help from experts or institutions when faced with problems between spouses is 3% in nuclear families, this falls to 2% in extended families. This percentage is 8% in broken families. While

11% of members from broken families think to get help from friends, this is 2% in nuclear families and 1% in extended families. One other important point is while the percentage of members of broken families who think to get help from no one is 44%;

this is 62% for both nuclear and extended families. It can be assumed that broken families have different help and support systems compared to other family types (Table 101).

Table 101. Institutions or Individuals from Whom Support is Sought Upon Conflict Between Spouses by Household Type, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Nuclear	Extended	Broken
Seniors of family members	22.4	26.6	28.7
Relatives	2.3	2.1	0.0
Siblings	2.4	1.2	0.0
Children	5.7	4.9	8.4
Expert individuals or institutions (Psychologist, family and marriage counsellor etc.)	2.9	1.5	8.1
Friends	1.8	0.5	10.7
Neighbors	0.5	0.2	0.0
Clergymen	0.2	0.3	0.0
No one	61.9	62.1	44.1
Other	1.3	1.6	0.0

When we look further into where the respondents think to get help when having problems with their spouses by the socioeconomic level, the most striking fact is the importance given to experts and institutions among the highest SES group. In the highest SES group, when individuals think of where to get help, the percentage of those who think to get help from experts and institutions is 10%. As the SES level decreases, so does the percentage of

individuals who think of seeking help from experts and institutions. If the elders of the family, relatives, siblings and children are all taken together as family members, while the percentage of individuals who think to get help from family members in the highest SES group is 29%, this rises to 34% in the upper middle group and to 35% in the lowest SES group (Table 102).

Table 102. Institutions or Individuals from Whom Support is Sought Upon Conflict Between Spouses by SES, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Higher upper class	Upper class	Upper middle class	Lower middle class	Lower class
Seniors of family members	18.6	23.2	22.2	23.0	26.8
Relatives	3.9	1.4	2.0	2.4	2.9
Siblings	4.2	3.0	2.4	1.9	1.9
Children	2.2	5.1	6.9	5.6	3.4
Expert individuals or institutions (Psychologist, family and marriage counsellor etc.)	9.7	5.9	3.8	1.5	0.6
Friends	8.1	3.2	1.9	1.0	0.8
Neighbors	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.8
Clergymen	0.0	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.1
No one	58.0	57.8	60.0	63.9	62.7
Other	1.9	1.6	1.5	1.2	0.8

As we look at where people think to get help in case of experiencing problems with their spouses by educational level, it is observed that as the level of education rises, so does the percentage of people who think of getting help from experts and institutions.

Among individuals who never finished any school this percentage is 3%, among primary school graduates it is 1.3%, elementary school graduates it is 4.5%, 4.1% among graduates of high school and equivalent and 6% among university graduates. Si-

Table 103. Institutions or Individuals from Whom Support is Sought Upon Conflict Between Spouses by Educational Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/secondary school	High school/equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/undergraduate/graduate)
Seniors of family members	16.9	21.2	29.5	27.0	23.5
Relatives	3.0	2.1	2.5	2.3	1.8
Siblings	1.2	2.1	2.1	2.9	2.7
Children	9.0	6.9	3.7	2.8	2.6
Expert individuals or institutions (Psychologist, family & marriage counsellor)	0.3	1.3	4.5	4.1	6.3
Friends	0.4	1.0	0.9	2.6	5.1
Neighbors	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.1
Clergymen	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.5
No one	68.5	64.2	56.2	58.1	58.9
Other	1.0	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.6

milarly, the percentage of individuals who think to get support from their friends increases as the educational level increases. While the percentage of people who think of getting help from friends among individuals who have not finished any school is 4%, this percentage is 1% each for primary, elementary school graduates, 3% for high school graduates and 5% for university graduates (Table 103).

4.5.14. Ideals About Marriage

Ideal Marriage Age

In 2006, In Türkiye, half, that is 50% of the answers to the question “In your opinion, what is the ideal age for marriage for men?”, stated the ideal age for marriage for men is between 25-29. Furthermore, 3% thought the ideal marriage age for men is between 15-19 and 11% thought that age to be between 35-39. With 37%, this age was found to be between 20-24. The other options of 40-45 and above 45 were not thought to be ideal ages for marriage for men (Table 104).

In 2011, this ideal age was declared to be between 25-29 for men by 50% across Türkiye. The ideal age ranges that follow are 20-24 by 27%, 30-34 by 19%. The percentage of those who think the ideal age for men to get married is the 15-19 range is 2%.

Again, 2% of individuals across Türkiye find 35-39 as the ideal age for men to get married. As in 2006, the options of between 40-45 and above 45 were not considered to be the ideal marriage age range for men across Türkiye. Comparing 2006 and 2011 results, we observe an interesting situation. Between these two years, while there is a 10% decrease in the percentage of individuals who put the ideal marriage age for men at 20-24, there is a 9% increase among those who think the ideal marriage age for men is 30-34. This can be interpreted as the presence of an rising trend on the ideal marriage age of men.

48% of respondents in 2006 chose 25-29 as the ideal marriage age for men. The age ranges that follows is the 20-24 age range with 39%. The lowest percentages are found in the 30-34 age range by 9% and 15-19 age range by 3%. 51% of female respondents found 25-29 as the ideal age range to get married for men as all other individuals across Türkiye and male respondents also did. 35% of women put the ideal age in the 20-24 age range. The lowest percentages are 30-34 by 11%, 15-19 by 2% and 35-39 by 1% (Table 104).

In 2011, 49% of male respondents found the ideal age of marriage for men at 25-29. For 32% of men, the ideal age range is 20-24, while this range is bet-

Table 104. Age of Marriage Deemed Appropriate for Men to Marry, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Türkiye	Male	Female
2006			
15-19	2.5	3.0	2.1
20-24	37.2	39.2	35.4
25-29	49.6	48.4	50.7
30-34	10.0	9.0	11.0
35-39	0.5	0.4	0.7
2011			
15-19	1.7	2.7	0.8
20-24	27.1	31.8	22.5
25-29	49.9	48.7	51.0
30-34	19.2	15.3	23.1
35-39	1.9	1.4	2.4

ween 30-34 for 15% of the respondents. While 3% of men consider 15-19 to be the ideal age for men, the percentage of those who put this age at 35-39 is 1%. When women were asked about the ideal marriage age for men, more than half (51%), put this age at 25-29. For 23% of women, the ideal age is between 20-24. Again, 23% of women put the ideal age for men to get married at 30-34. 1% of women think the ideal age is between 15-19, while 2% of women think 35-39 as the ideal range (Table 104).

When the relationship between educational level

of respondents and the age thought appropriate for men to marry is further explored, in 2006, with the exception of uneducated respondents ((illiterate and literate but no schooling), for all respondents from all educational levels (primary school, elementary school, high school and equivalent, university) the most appropriate age range for men to get married is 25-29. The most appropriate range for men to get married for the uneducated respondents is 20-24 by 57%. As the educational level rises, the propensity to put the ideal marriage age to the 30-34 range increases (Table 105).

Table 105. Age of Marriage Deemed Appropriate for Men to Marry by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/graduate)
2006					
15-19	6.5	2.3	1.7	1.1	0.4
20-24	56.6	41.7	35.2	21.5	13.3
25-29	32.7	48.7	51.4	61.2	59.5
30-34	4.1	6.9	11.1	15.2	25.2
35-39	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.9	1.5
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/ vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
15-19	3.3	1.7	1.3	1.6	0.8
20-24	42.9	32.4	27.8	17.5	10.8
25-29	42.0	49.7	52.3	53.1	50.0
30-34	11.0	14.8	16.9	25.0	33.9
35-39	0.8	1.2	1.6	2.6	4.4

As in 2006, in 2011 with the exception of uneducated respondents, all education levels put the ideal age for men to get married at 25-29. As the educational level rises, the tendency to see this ideal age within the 20-24 age range decreases and the percentage of putting this age at 30-34 range increases. To summarize, 40-44 age range for women and the over 45 age range for men are not considered to be ideal marriage ranges across Türkiye. While the highest percentages are found in the 20-24 age range, the lowest are between 15-19 and between 35-39. As the educational level of respondents increase, the inclination to find the 15-19 age range as the ideal range for men to get married falls (Table 105).

In 2006, the ideal marriage age for women was observed to be between the ranges of 20-24 in Türkiye by 61%. This is followed by the 25-29 age range. The percentage of individuals who find this age range as ideal for women is 24%. Across Türkiye, the percentage of people who see the ideal marriage age for women as between 15-19 is 13%. While the percentage for the 30-34 age range as ideal is 2%, the percentage is zero for the 35-39 age range. Both men and women show a similar bias on the appropriate age range for women. 62% of the male respondents and 60% of female respondents find 20-24 as the ideal age range for women. For 1% of the male respondents and

2% of the female respondents, 30-34 is the ideal marriage age range. As 15% of the males see the ideal marriage age range for women at 15-19, 11% of women find this age range ideal. For 27% of female respondents the ideal age for marriage for women is between 25-29, this age range is ideal for 22% of male respondents (Table 106).

In 2011, the percentage of those who thought under 19 as the ideal age for a woman to get married is 10%, the percentage of those who find the 20-24 range as ideal is 55% and the percentage for the 25-29 range is 32%. The percentage of those who think the ideal age for women to get married is between 35-39 in Türkiye is zero.

In 2011, while 53% of the female respondents thought the ideal age range for women to get married is 20-24, for 37% of women, this age range is between 25-29. For 7% of women the ideal age for a woman to get married is under 19. Only 3% of the women chose 30-34 as the ideal age range. Compared to women, the tendency of men to put the ideal marriage age for a woman at a later age is lower. 28% of men see the ideal marriage age for women to be between 25-29. 57% of men see the ideal age between the ranges of 20-24 (Table 106).

Table 106. Age of Marriage Deemed Appropriate for Women to Marry, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Türkiye	Male	Female
2006			
15-19	13.0	15.2	10.8
20-24	61.0	61.7	60.4
25-29	24.3	21.8	26.7
30-34	1.5	1.1	1.9
35-39	0.1	0.1	0.2
2011			
Below 19	10.3	13.4	7.2
20-24	54.7	56.7	52.7
25-29	32.1	27.6	36.6
30-34	2.8	2.1	3.4
35-39	0.1	0.1	0.2

In 2006, illiterate individuals, literate individuals with no schooling, primary school graduates and elementary school graduates rated the 20-24 age range as the ideal age for women to get married by 63%-66%. 55% of graduates of high school and equivalent and 42% of university graduates thought the ideal marriage age for women is between 20-24. Here, the interesting point is with the rise of the educational level, the percentage of those who think the ideal marriage age for women is below

19 decreases. While 26% of illiterate individuals see the ideal marriage age for women to be between 15-19, this is 3% among undergraduates and individuals with graduate degrees. As the educational level of respondents rise, the percentage of those who put this ideal age between 25-29 and 30-34 rises. Half of the university graduate respondents and individuals with graduate degrees (50%), put this ideal age at 25-29, for 5% of this group the ideal age is 30-34 (Table 107).

Table 107. Age of Marriage Deemed Appropriate for Women to Marry by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
2006					
15-19	26.3	13.5	11.3	5.5	2.8
20-24	62.4	66.4	62.6	55.1	41.8
25-29	10.8	19.0	24.9	36.7	50.1
30-34	0.5	1.0	1.2	2.5	4.8
35-39	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.5
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
15-19	18.9	11.9	9.4	6.6	3.8
20-24	63.3	61.2	59.2	45.9	35.4
25-29	16.6	25.1	29.6	43.7	52.5
30-34	1.1	1.5	1.7	3.7	8.1
35-39	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3

Table 108. Qualities Sought in a Future Spouse, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Very important	Important	Not important	I do not want it
His/her being handsome & beautiful	8.0	44.6	46.6	0.9
His/her being in love with you	35.2	55.1	9.4	0.3
His/her being better educated than you	5.2	23.1	63.7	8.0
His/her earning a higher income than you	6.3	26.1	58.8	8.8
His/her having a job	27.5	34.2	34.0	4.3
Working short hours even if this means a smaller income	4.5	27.6	62.6	5.3
His/her not being married before	52.0	31.2	16.2	0.6
Coming from similar family structures	32.9	50.6	16.0	0.5

Qualities Sought in a Future Spouse

To understand more about the qualities sought in a future spouse, in the 2006 questionnaire participants were asked “Which qualities below are important for you in a future spouse and how important are they?” This question has eight answer options that cover physical characteristics, love, education, income. These options were evaluated on the basis of “very important”, “important”, “not important” and “I am not interested in this quality”. In the 2011 questionnaire, two questions on this topic were asked. The first question was “in your opinion, is it important for a future spouse to have the social characteristics I will read to you”. This question had 11 options. In the second question qualities sought in a future spouse was probed with the statement “in your opinion is it important for a future spouse to have the personal characteristics I will read to you”. This question had 12 options. The answers for both questions were analyzed on the basis of “not important”, “does not matter” and “important”.

In 2006 the most sought after quality in a future spouse was that s/he would be in love with the respondent. The percentage of individuals who report that the future spouse has to be in love with the respondent is 90% (the sum of very important and important options). These results show that in

Türkiye, love is an important condition for marriage. It is interesting to note that the percentages of men and women who think this way are the same. Both men and women have accepted the norm of marrying for love. However, in our society, rather than emphasizing work, education, income and physical characteristics, respondents find a harmonious structure and relationship between two families as important (Table 108).

Besides the love component sought in a future spouse, others that follow are similar family structures (the sum of very important and important options) and the fact that it should be the first marriage for the future spouse by 83%. 61% of the respondents (the sum of very important and important options) think that the employment of the future spouse is important. To have similar family structures with the future spouse is found to be a facilitating factor for harmony between the couple. However, as what the respondents mean by similar family structures is not very clear, it is not possible to make a more detailed interpretation. For the respondent, similar family structures might mean coming from the same city, coming from the same region or from the same social class, same educational level or from the same religious denomination. Another important finding is that in our society, a divorced individual is not considered to be a good candidate for a future spouse.

Table 109. Qualities Sought in a Future Spouse, TAYA 2011 (%)

Social Qualities			
	Important	Does not matter	Not important
Good education	63	23	14
High income	37	38	26
Has a job	72	15	13
Has shorter work hours	50	33	17
First marriage	83	10	6
Similarity of family structures	78	15	7
Being religious	76	16	8
From the same religious sect	62	25	13
From the same hometown	39	38	24
From the same social circle	50	32	17
From the same ethnic origin	53	30	17
Personal Qualities			
	Important	Does not matter	Not important
In love	82	12	6
Beautiful/handsome	52	32	17
Taking care of herself/himself (paying attention to his/her personal hygiene)	92	6	2
Fidelity to partner	98	2	0
Enjoying to spend time with family	96	3	1
Being a reliable/not lying	98	1	0
Caring about his/her partner's feelings	98	2	0
Being thrifty	96	3	1
Generosity	96	4	1
Patience and tolerance	98	2	0
Protecting the partner against his/her own family	97	2	1
Behaving properly in society	98	1	0

When the social qualities sought in a future spouse in 2011 is further analyzed, the similarity of family structures is the highest reported quality (93%). This is followed by the religiousness of the future spouse (92%), having a job (87%) and coming from the same religious sect (87%). In 2011 respondents found all listed personal qualities important. Ho-

wever, the personal qualities found the least important compared to other qualities are the beauty or the handsomeness of the future spouse (83%) and the love for the respondent (94%). All other qualities were found to be important with similar percentages (Table 109).

In 2006 the social qualities found most important by women were the employment situation of the future spouse (95%), being in love (90%), the similarity of families (87%), first time marriage (80%) and the man's higher earned income (57%). For men this order changes to being in love (90%), first marriage (86%), similar family structures (81%), beauty of the future spouse (59%) and being employed (36%). As is obvious, the societal roles attributed to

men and women designate qualities sought in a future spouse. The fact that men are considered to be responsible for the support of the family causes women to place great importance on this quality, while for men the woman's love is the most important quality. Because of societal values and prejudices, it is important for men that this is a first marriage for the woman (Table 110).

Table 110. Qualities Sought in a Future Spouse by Gender, TAYA 2006 (%)

Qualities Sought in a Future Spouse for Men				
	Very important	Important	Not important	I do not want it
Beautiful/handsome	9.2	50.0	40.0	0.8
In love	35.2	55.0	9.7	0.1
Better educated than you	2.7	14.1	70.8	12.4
Earns higher income more than you	1.8	11.8	71.8	14.5
Has a job	6.6	29.5	56.9	7.0
Works shorter hours even if this means a smaller income	3.7	25.9	64.1	6.3
Not being married before	56.1	29.8	13.6	0.5
Coming from similar family structures	29.8	51.0	18.8	0.4
Qualities Sought in a Future Spouse for Women				
	Very important	Important	Not important	I do not want it
Beautiful/handsome	6.4	37.4	55.1	1.1
In love	35.2	55.2	9.0	0.5
Better educated than you	8.5	34.8	54.4	2.3
Earns higher income more than you	12.1	44.7	41.8	1.4
Has a job	54.9	40.2	4.0	0.8
Works shorter hours even if this means a smaller income	5.6	29.8	60.5	4.0
Not being married before	46.6	33.0	19.6	0.8
Coming from similar family structures	36.8	50.2	12.4	0.5

Table 111. Social Qualities Sought in a Future Spouse by Gender, TAYA 2011 (%)

Social Qualities Sought in a Future Spouse for Men			
	Not important	Does not matter	Important
Good education	16.7	24.9	58.5
High income	31.7	39.0	29.3
Has a job	22.9	24.5	52.7
Works shorter hours even if this means a smaller income	22.4	31.4	46.3
Not being married before	6.3	9.0	84.7
Similar family structures	8.4	16.4	75.3
Being religious	9.3	17.4	73.3
From the same religious sect	14.6	27.8	57.6
From the same hometown	25.4	38.5	36.1
From the same social circle	19.1	33.7	47.2
From the same ethnic origin	19.7	31.0	49.3
Social Qualities Sought in a Future Spouse for Women			
	Not important	Does not matter	Important
Good education	11.0	21.5	67.5
High income	18.9	36.2	44.8
Has a job	2.1	6.1	91.7
Works shorter hours even if this means a smaller income	11.6	34.5	53.9
Not being married before	6.1	10.5	83.4
Similar family structures	4.8	13.7	81.5
Being religious	6.3	14.4	79.3
From the same religious sect	10.2	22.0	67.8
From the same hometown	21.7	37.1	41.2
From the same social circle	15.0	31.9	53.0
From the same ethnic origin	14.8	28.8	56.4

The prominent social qualities of a future spouse are different for men and women in 2011. Women want their spouses to have a job (92%), to be married for the first time (83%), have similar family structures (82%), be religious (79%) and come from the same religious sect (68%). For men on the other hand, the most important quality is that this is the woman's first marriage (85%). This is followed by the similarity of family structures (75%), religiousness (73%), good education (59%), same sect (58%) and employment (53%). As is clearly seen, first time marriage, similarity in family structures, religiousness and belonging to the same sect are important for both men and women (Table 111).

In 2011 the personal qualities thought to be important among women were the patience and tolerance of the spouse, knowing how to act in society, reliability, paying attention and giving importance to the woman's emotions and protecting her from the pressures of either family. The percentages of these qualities are very close together. For men on the other hand, reliability, knowing how to act in society, fidelity, patience and tolerance and paying attention and giving importance to the spouse's emotions are important. The percentages of these qualities too are similar to each other (Table 112).

Table 112. Personal Qualities Sought in a Future Spouse by Gender, TAYA 2011 (%)

Personal Qualities Sought in a Future Spouse for Men			
	Not important	Does not matter	Important
In love	5.8	11.6	82.6
Beautiful/handsome	14.7	30.2	55.0
Taking care of herself/himself (paying attention to his/her personal hygiene)	2.5	6.2	91.4
Fidelity to her partner	0.4	1.5	98.1
Enjoying to spend time with family	0.8	3.1	96.1
Being reliable/not lying	0.3	1.4	98.3
Giving importance to his/her partner's feelings	0.3	1.9	97.8
Being thrifty	0.6	3.5	95.9
Generosity	0.8	4.2	95.0
Patience and tolerance	0.3	1.8	97.9
Protecting the partner against his/her own family	0.8	2.5	96.7
Behaving properly in society	0.3	1.5	98.3
Personal Qualities Sought in a Future Spouse for Women			
	Not important	Does not matter	Important
In love	6.0	13.0	81.1
Beautiful/handsome	18.9	33.1	48.0
Taking care of herself/himself (paying attention to his/her personal hygiene)	1.5	5.8	92.7
Fidelity to her partner	0.3	1.7	98.0
Enjoying to spend time with family	0.5	2.7	96.9
Being reliable/not lying	0.2	1.4	98.4
Giving importance to his/her partner's feelings	0.2	1.8	98.0
Being thrifty	0.6	3.4	95.9
Generosity	0.4	3.5	96.1
Patience and tolerance	0.2	1.3	98.5
Protecting the partner against his/her own family	0.3	1.7	98.0
Behaving properly in society	0.1	1.4	98.4

4.6. Results and Social Policy Recommendations

In this report where the attitudes on marriage, relationship with the spouse and ideals on marriage were analyzed in detail, the main findings are summarized. Türkiye is currently going through a transformation phase about attitudes towards marriage: The percentages of individuals who never married and divorced people are increasing; the age in first marriage is rising. The fact that love has become a necessary expectation and condition for marriage is a measure of this changing situation. Education and socioeconomic situation play important parts in this transformation. As the educational level rises, marriages are delayed. Among high SES and high education groups, the percentage of individuals who never married increases. As their SES and educational level increases, individuals perceive marriage more in terms of personal preferences. For this reason, instead of making marriages based on social and familial pressures, they give priority to realizing their own choices.

The second point is all through this transformation, traditional values and family are still important in Türkiye. The most sought after social feature in Türkiye is the similarity of family structures. In our society, the compatibility of families is found to be much more important than personal characteristics such as work, education, income and physical characteristics. Moreover, the emphasis on being religious of the future spouse and that they belong to the same religious sect shows the importance of religious belief in marriage. The emphasis on the compatibility of families is one of the reasons for the high incidence of marriages between relatives. One in every five marriages in Türkiye take place between relatives. With kinship marriages, individuals increase their chances of marrying people from similar social circles who have similar values and norms. Marrying a child of the paternal uncle is the most widespread type among kinship marriages in Türkiye. This finding also shows that some certain norms and traditions on marriage are still effective in our society. Similarly, the fact that 70% of marriages in Türkiye are made between individuals coming from the same hometown reveals the importance of the

preference of a social circle with familiar and shared values, habits and traditions. Moreover, traditions on marriage still keep their importance. Opposite of what was hoped for, traditional marriage ceremonies do not lose their importance and fade away, they take on new shape and continue their presence even more strongly. Lastly, the first source of support in the case of experiencing problems with the spouse are members of the family. Especially for broken families, it is important to get help from elderly family members. In other words, the family maintains its importance throughout the whole marriage process.

A third important point is that education, socioeconomic status and regional differences affect marriage practices, relationships between the spouses and ideals about marriage. There is a significant differentiation between the Western part of Türkiye and the Eastern part on marriage practices. Age at first marriage, the social circle where the spouse is met, type of marriage, wedding ceremonies and bride price show differences between the western and eastern regions of Türkiye. While the age at first marriage is increasing in the west and couples meet each other through secondary social circles of work and friends, individuals make their own decisions on marriage, in the east, the age at first marriage is lower, the social circles where couples meet each other is limited to family and neighbor circles, and the decision of the family on marriage takes precedence over the individual's own desires. Education, SES and regional differences not only affect marriage practices, but they also affect the relationship between spouses and their ideals on marriage.

The problems spouses experience in their relationship and their reactions to conflict also differ with education. Couples experience the most problems on three different topics: responsibilities around the house, expenditures and the insufficiency of income. As the educational level rises, so does the incidence of experiencing problems about the responsibilities around the house. The reason for this can be that as the educational level rises, couples start expecting a more equitable level of sharing responsibilities. As the educational level rises, income becomes more

adequate; however, there is still a debate on who will spend the money and on what goods and services. The rising educational level creating a fairer expectation of sharing between men and women may cause problems to be more visible. As the educational level rises, individuals were observed to react more in a manner to give both parties the time to cool off and provide opportunities to reevaluate the situation, instead of giving immediate responses. As the educational level falls, personal reactions seem to be expressed instantaneously in a more aggressive and violent manner.

Lastly, several points require the creation of immediate social policies. The most important topic being marriages made under the age of 18. For such marriages, causing discussions around the concept of “child brides” in Türkiye, the percentage of individuals getting married under the age of 18 is 28% in 2011. The percentage of men whose age at first marriage is under 18 is 6%. These findings are very important because while discussing early marriages, accepting the percentage of “child grooms” as a significant issue is important for planned social policies to be effective. On the other hand, asked about the ideal age for women to get married, 13% of the individuals in Türkiye put it at under 19. The percentage of those who see the same age as the ideal age for men to marry is 3%. From these findings, it is obvious that there is a need of transformation regarding prevalent values. Values and ideals can only transform in the presence of awareness. To create an awareness on the personal, familial and social ramifications of marrying male and female children in all levels of the society is necessary and important. Alongside creating this awareness, the importance of preventive measures is obvious. The related governmental institutions and NGOs working on the subject need to cooperate and fight this situation.

Another point to note is marriages where the individuals have no right of say. In 2011, the percentage of individuals who made arranged marriages by

family decision and were not allowed to offer their own opinion on the subject is 9%. The percentage of women who married in this manner is 12%, it is 6% for men. It is important to create an awareness of personal rights for both men and women on this subject. Marriage is an institution between two adults that requires serious responsibilities from both parties. The consent of both parties is necessary and important for the healthy formation of this relationship.

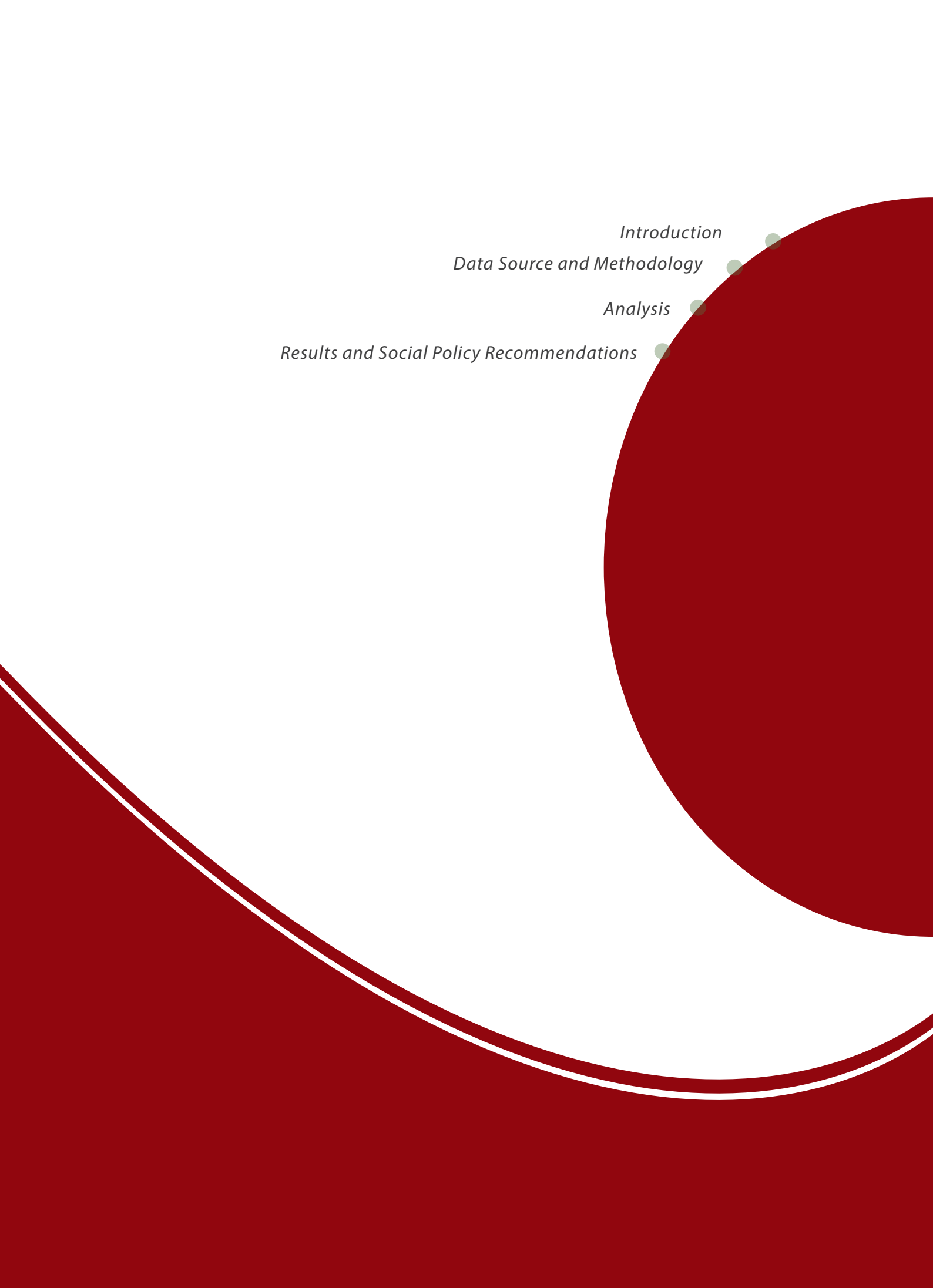
The percentage of individuals who think of getting professional or institutional support in the case of experiencing problems with the spouse is very low (3%). Differences on this topic come forward especially by education, SES and regions. The percentage of men who do not think of getting help from anyone is higher than women. Similarly, the percentage of individuals coming from lower SES groups with a lower educational level who do not think they will get support from anybody else, is higher compared to higher SES groups and educational levels. Similarly, as age advances, the percentage of individuals who think they will get help from no one also increases. Generally, in rural areas and in the eastern regions of Türkiye, the percentage of individuals who do not think they will get help from anybody is higher compared to other regions. In the light of all these findings, offering the services of professionals and institutions for these groups and providing information on the topic by the government are other actions that need to be taken.

The very serious social problem of violence against women is also present in this study. In 2006, 8% of the women, and in 2011 5% of the women reported physical violence from their spouses. Although there are social policies on this subject, the existing efforts need to define their priorities by the contributions of this study. As extensive efforts to fight violence against women exist across the society, the definition of primary regions and groups will further the effectiveness of these programs.

Section 5

CHANGES IN FERTILITY RATES
AND ITS PATTERN IN TÜRKİYE:
1968-2011

Prof. Dr. İsmet Koç



Introduction

Data Source and Methodology

Analysis

Results and Social Policy Recommendations

5.1. Introduction

The demographic features of Türkiye are changing rapidly in response to socioeconomic transformations. Turkish population which totaled less than 14 million during the early years of the republic has exceeded 75 million today. While three fourths of the population lived in rural areas until the 1950s, with time this trend changed direction and today, three fourths of the population live in urban areas. From the 1940s when 274 out of every 1,000 newborns died before their first birthday, until the 1980s, infant mortality rate continued at over 100%, and retreated to 17% today. While life expectancy at birth was 35 years in the early years of the republic, today, it rose to about 74 years. Until the latter half of the 1960s there were 6-7 births per woman, today, this fell to 2 births per woman allowing the population to just about renew itself (TurkStat, 1995; TIBA, 1999; HÜNEE, 2009; Koç et al., 2010; SPO, 2007). During this process, not only the level of birth rate but also the age structure, that is, its pattern has changed. Mother's age at first birth rose rapidly in Türkiye; the highest fertility age shifted from 20-24 age group to the 25-29 age group; the risk of the fertility duration has shortened. While the mother's age at first birth was below 18 in Türkiye in the 1960s, this rose to 22 today. The birth rate transformation, which is the frequently encountered face of demographic transformation, and the factors that affect this transformation will be discussed in this study, which has five main goals: (1) Discussing the fertility transformation in Türkiye and the transformation of the factors facilitating this change; (2) Identifying the macro variables affecting birth rates using the data sets from TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011; (3) Measuring the effect of demographic and biological factors that aided the transformation in birth rates on the change observed in birth rates by using the Bongaarts model; (4) Making future predictions on the level of birth rates and patterns; (5) Pointing out the opportunities and especially the risks that appear as the birth rates falls to below the renewal rate and offering suggestions that can be turned into concrete policies.

5.2. Data Source and Methodology

The data of the study comes from 2008 Population and Health Research Türkiye (TNSA 2008). TNSA 2008 aims to collect information on birth rates and birth trends, neonatal and infant mortality, family planning, mother and child health. The study is a nationwide sampling research. During selection, a weighted, multi phase and multi level set sampling approach was employed. In TNSA 2008, a "Household questionnaire" and a "Woman questionnaire", were used, some basic information collected on unmarried women were gathered in another module appended to the questionnaire. With the "Household questionnaire", information on 10525 households and 40054 members was collected; with the "Woman questionnaire", information on 7405 single women was gathered. With the "Never Married Woman Additional Information Module", information on the characteristics of 3,838 single women was collected. (HÜNEE, 2009).

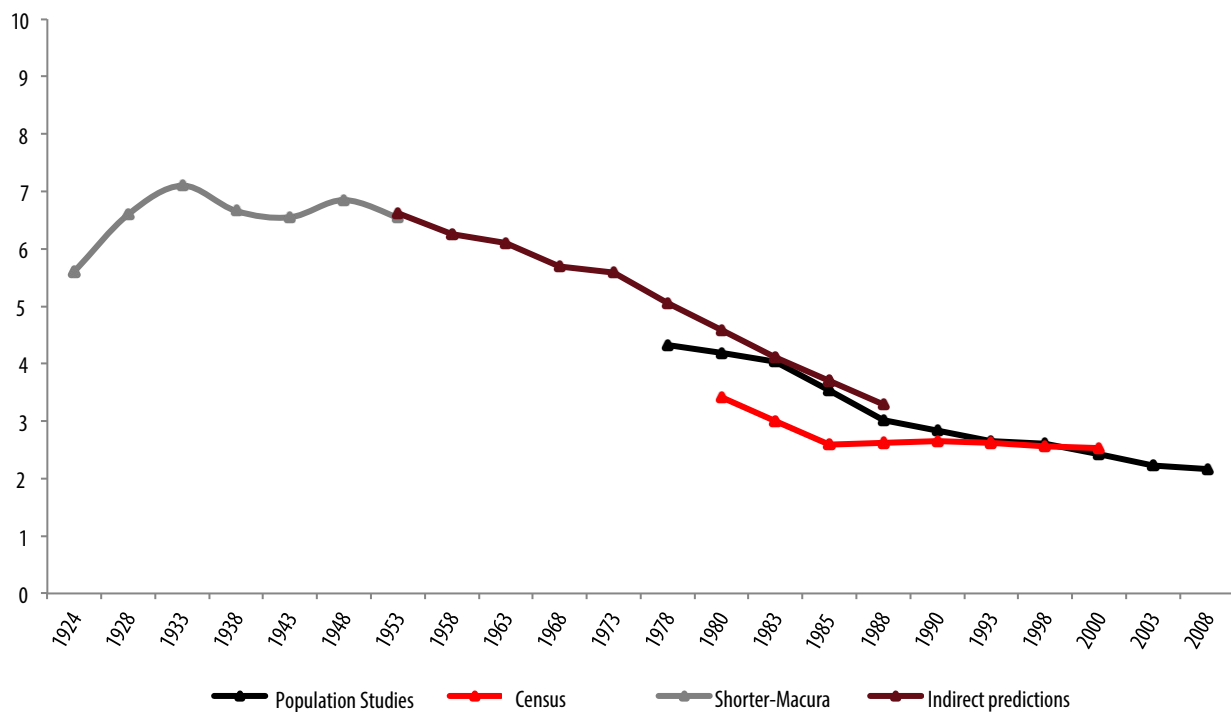
In the study, the birth rate data from demographic studies made before TNSA 2008 were used by deriving from secondary data sources (HÜNEE, 1987; 1989; 1994; 1999; 2004). Moreover, although they include very little information on birth rates, data from two studies, Research on Family Structure in Türkiye 2006 and 2011, conducted by the Directorate of Family and Social Services of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies were also used in the study. The research represents Türkiye by urban and rural areas, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir separately and Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS) Level 1. In TAYA 2006, 12,208 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 48,235 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 23,279 individuals over the age of 18. In TAYA 2011, 12,056 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 44,117 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 24,647 individuals over the age of 18. In the study, reference individuals from the households were given the list of individuals and household questionnaire and in-

dividuals over 18 were given the separate individual questionnaire. (TAYA 2006; TAYA, 2011). Because the main interest of this study lies in “birth rates” and the TNSA 2008 study used in comparative analyses only gathered information from women, here, from the data coming from 2006 and 2011 family research, only interviews with female individuals were taken into account. Because in TAYA 2006, the dependent variable of this study, the number of children, is represented in groupings, this data set cannot be used in the Poisson regression analyses of this study. Moreover, in this data set, the time span from the beginning of the first marriage, which is the control variable of the study, and the age variable, which is one of the independent variables, are also represented in groupings. As a result, the regression analyses of this study will be made by using the data

from TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011 only.

The analyses are made on the basis of common variables in both research sets such as age, region (NUTS Level1), area of residence (urban/rural), the prosperity level of the family, the level of education of the female individuals and working status. Women 15-49 who had at least one marriage were included in the study. In the study, first, the effect of these variables on birth rates were measured by Poisson regression analysis; later using the Bongaarts method, the data was analyzed using only the data from demographic studies and adding native language as another variable. Detailed information on the Poisson regression analysis and the Bongaarts method is given in the relevant section.

Figure 12. Changes in Total Fertility Rate, 1924-2008



Reference: TurkStat, 1995, 2010; HÜNEE, 1999, 2004, 2009

5.3. Analysis

5.3.1. Transformation of Fertility Rates in Türkiye

After the declaration of independence, with the help of incentives used to re-build the demographic structure, the total speed of birth rate per woman rose to 7 births until the mid 1930s. In later periods, the speed of total birth rate which stayed on the same level un-

til the 1950s, started to decline starting from the mid 1950s when internal migrations from rural areas into the cities began. The speed of total birth rates which regressed to 6 at the start of the 1960s fell to 5 at the end of the 1970s and to 3 at the end of 1980s. The level of birth rates which fell below 3 per woman at the beginning of the 2000s regressed to a point just below the birth rate renewal level (2.16) according to TNSA 2008 results (Figure 12).

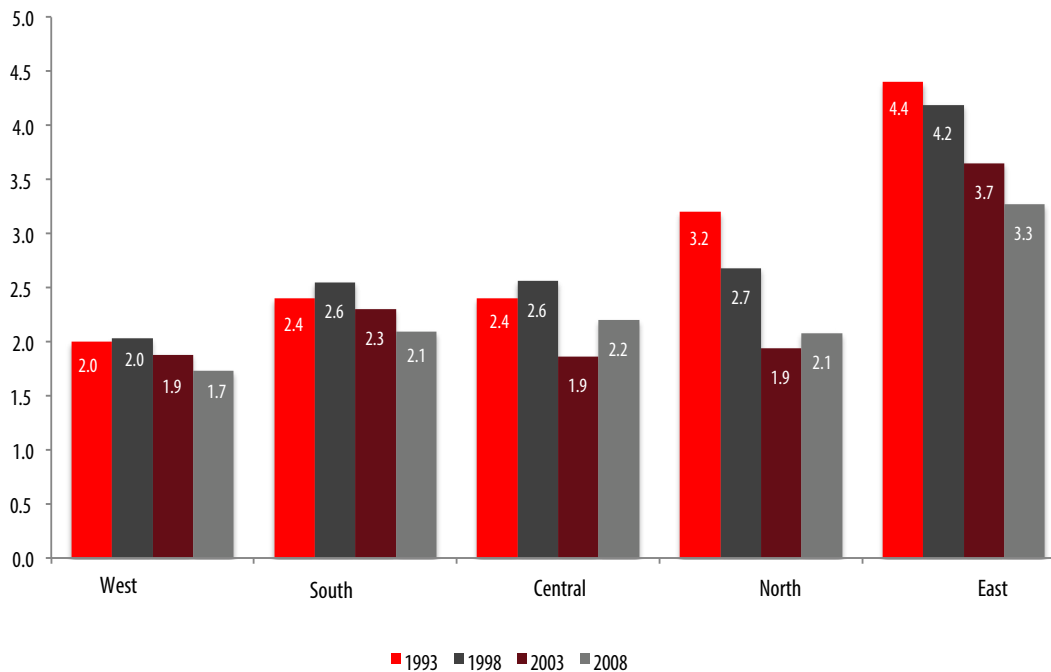
Information on the changes of birth rate level over time can go as far back as the last years of the Ottoman Empire. Behar (1995) and Behar and Duben (1998), report that at the end of the XIXth century, the speed of total birth rate for Istanbul and environs to be 3-4 children per woman. This finding shows that the fall in birth rates did not start with the republic, but started a long time ago with the help of forerunners like Istanbul. The reasons behind the sharp fall in birth rates especially from the mid 1950s, were macro level socioeconomic developments like the increase in educational level, the high speed of urbanization, rise in income and women starting to work in paying jobs and social determinants such as contraception methods, higher marriage age and induced abortions. In this period, significant developments took place in Türkiye especially in the marriage age and the prevalence of contraception methods. For this reason, the level of birth rates in Türkiye has inexorably regressed to the level of renewal rate.

The transformation of birth rate level in Türkiye is not homogenous but heterogeneous. While in the

West Anatolia region which includes large metropolitan areas like Istanbul, Izmir and Bursa, the speed of total birth rates fell to renewal rates by the beginning of the 1990s, it took 10 years for birth rates in Central Anatolia and Northeast Anatolia regions to fall to this level by the 2000s and Southeast Anatolia region lagged behind 20 years to fall to this level by the end of the 2000s. In the process of birth rate transformation, the Eastern Anatolia region on the other hand, is far behind Türkiye in general and other regions (Figure 13). The birth rate level the East Anatolia region has today shows similarities between the birth rates of Türkiye during the mid 1980s. This shows that the region is lagging 25 years behind the birth rate transformation of Türkiye and 50 years behind the West Anatolia region.

In Türkiye, not only the birth rate level, but as expected in the birth rate transformation process, the age pattern of births also changes (Figure 14). Demographic research done before TNSA 2008 show that in Türkiye the age group that traditionally manifests the highest age specific birth rate is the 20-24 age group. This is an expected outcome for this time

Figure 13. Changes in Total Fertility Rate by NUTS, 1993-2008

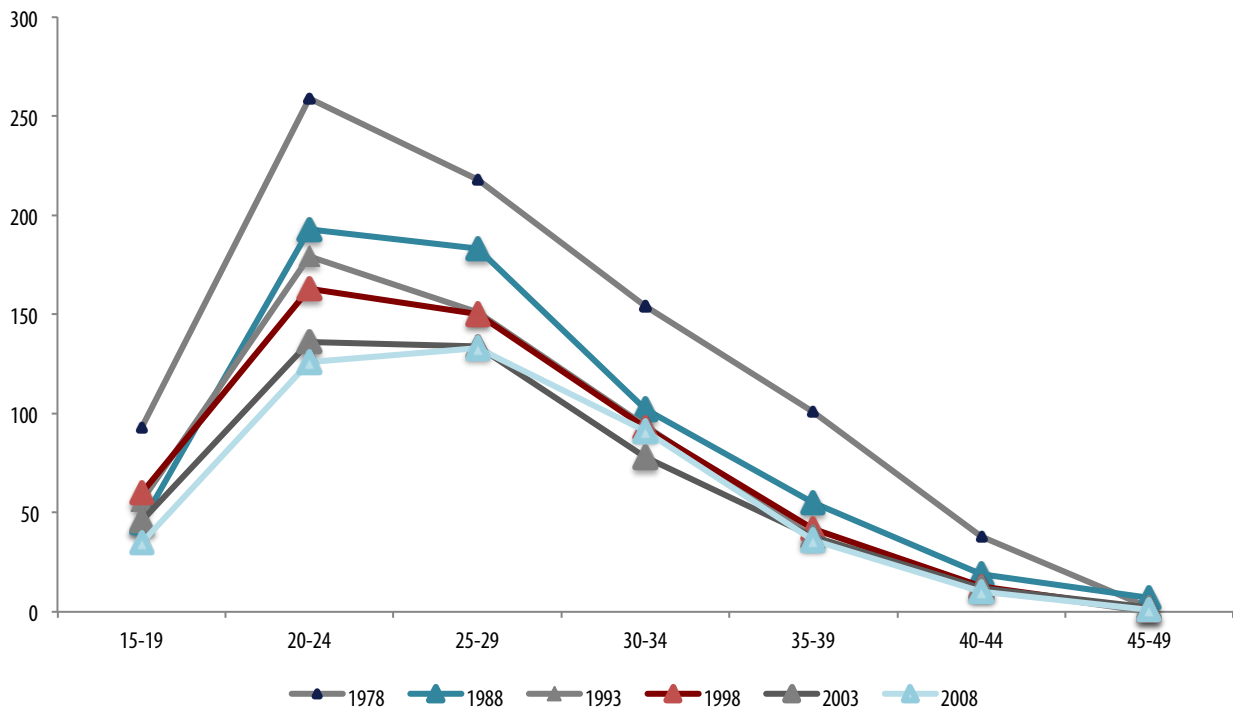


Reference: HÜNEE, 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009

when the first marriage age was just below 20 years and then just above 20 years. However, TNSA 2008 shows that the age specific birth rate has shifted from the 20-24 age group to the 25-29 age group in Türkiye. This is both a result of the rise in the age at first marriage, and the delay of pregnancy within the family by the utilization of contraception methods or by abortion. A situation similar to the regional differentiation noted in birth rate transformation can

also be seen in the transformation of the age pattern of birth rates. As is true for the country, with the exception of East Anatolia, in all other regions age specific birth rate is the highest in the 25-29 age group; only in East Anatolia this is 20-14. This shows that as in the general level of birth rates, East Anatolia has fallen far behind in the transformation of age patterns across Türkiye and other regions.

Figure 14. Changes in the Age Specific Fertility Rate, 1978-2008



Reference: HÜNEE, 2009

5.3.2. The Transformation of Factors Affecting Fertility Rate Level and Pattern in Türkiye

The changes in the level of birth rates and patterns takes place with the help of the level and pattern of demographic determinants (the age of first marriage, use of contraception methods, induced abortions, the period of breastfeeding, post-pregnancy temporary infertility) that directly affect birth rates and

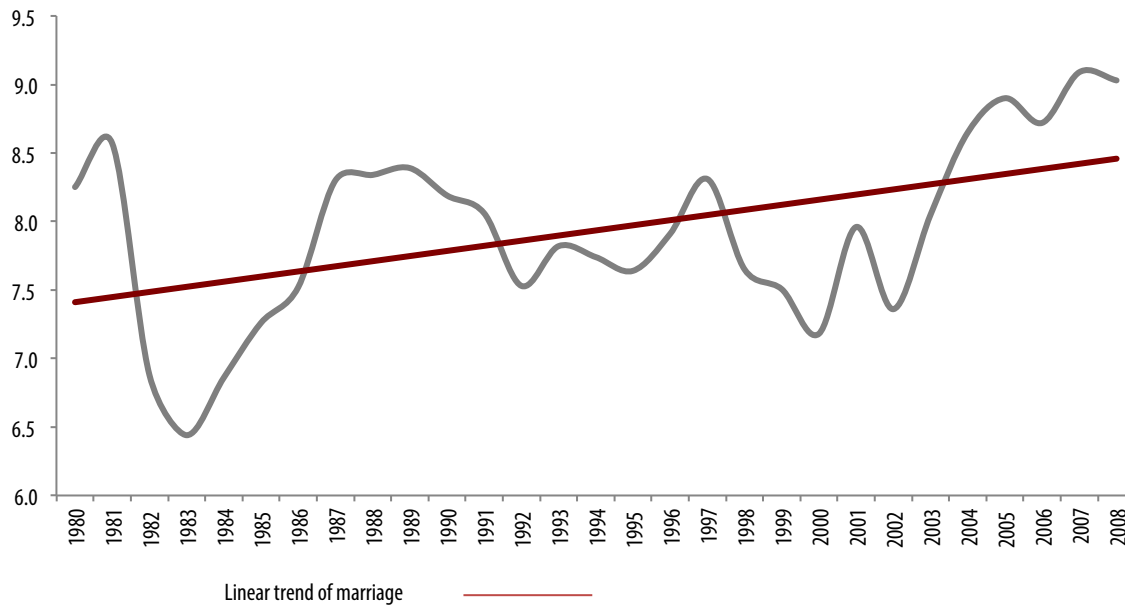
patterns. For this reason, in this section the changes in the demographic determinants (changes in the rate and age of marriage, changes in the use of contraception, changes in the rate of induced abortions, variations in temporary infertility) that directly affect the level of birth rates and patterns will be closely examined and the resulting birth rate levels and patterns that occur will be further clarified.

5.3.2.1. Changes in the Marriage Rate and Age

The demographic research done in Türkiye in the past 40 years show that almost all women get married by the end of their fertility. This demonstrates that in Türkiye marriage is an accepted universal phenomenon across all social groups. The fact that the divorce rate is below 1%, clearly illustrates that

for a woman, marriage is a lifelong institution. Because almost all births occur within the marriage indicates that for women there are close relationships between the age at first marriage, birth rates and patterns. The fact that the period between the age at first marriage and the age at first child stayed fixed without much change at 1.6 years in Türkiye, points to the development of a rigid demographic behavior.

Figure 15. Changes in Gross Marriage Rate, 1980-2008

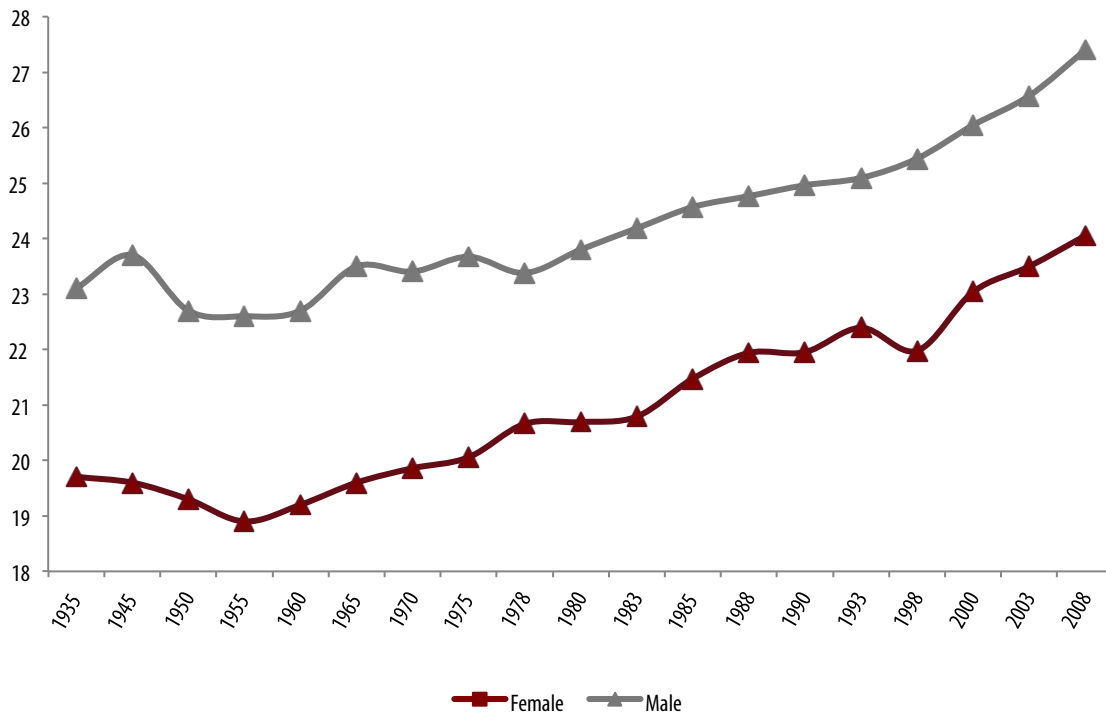


Kaynak: TÜİK, 2001, 2003, 2008, 2010

Because delayed marriages resulting from the conditions of war went through at a later date, a high rate of gross marriage rate was presumed in the early years of the republic. In this period, mechanisms to incentivize marriages were put into effect and the formation and maintenance of the family institution was supported. These developments partially caused a drop in the age of first marriage for both men and women. As was emphasized in the section before, urbanization gained speed after the 1950s. During this period, the share of industry and services organized in urban areas rose within the total production and to find jobs in these sectors, educational level of the workforce gained importance. This situation differentiated the process of the formation of the family in urban areas from those in rural areas. In forming families, education and real estate ownership increased in importance and as a re-

sult, the period of choosing a spouse got longer. Thus, especially in urban areas as a result of delayed marriages the age at first marriage rose rapidly (Cillov, 1974; Behar, 1995; Duben and Behar, 1998; Shorter and Macura, 1982; TurkStat, 1995).

When the changes in gross marriage rate over time are examined (Figure 15), although it showed great fluctuations during times of war and economic crises in the last 30 years, the gross marriage rate is generally inclined to rise. The constant increase in the share of adult population within the total population from the 1950s, has brought about an increase in the marriage age population and thus in the number of marriages. This process that emerged with the effect of population momentum, has resulted in an increase in the gross marriage rates in Türkiye, albeit quite slowly.

Figure 16. Changes in Average First Marriage Age, 1935-2008

References: Research data from TurkStat, 1937, 1944, 1949, 1954, 1961, 1964, 1969, 1973, 1982, 1984, 1989, 1993, 2003; TNSA 1988, TNSA 1993, TNSA 1998, TNSA 2003, TNSA 2008.

The Civil Code in effect before 2002 allowed women to get married at the minimum age of 15 in Türkiye. Based on social gender equality, with the amendments made to the 2002 Civil Code, the minimum marriage age for both men and women were changed to 17. In spite of these legal regulations, it is observed that women can get married before marriageable age by religious marriage. For instance, although the minimum marriage age was 15, according to TNSA 1993 findings, 1.2% of 14 year old women were married. Similarly, the findings of TNSA 2003 and TNSA 2008 studies show that after the minimum age of marriage was raised to 17 in 2002, respectively 3.4% and 3.8% of 16 year old women were married. These results point to the importance of sociodemographic factors such as religious marriage that affect the marriage age.

Age at the start of marriage which is a universal institution in Türkiye, is rising for both men and women in the 15-49 age group (Figure 16). The age at first marriage which was 23 for men and 19 for women at the beginning of 1940s, rose to 25 for men and 22 for women during the 1990s; today, it is 27 for men

and 24 for women. These results show that in the last 70 years, the age of first marriage rose by 4 years for both men and women.

5.3.2.2. The Changes in Contraception Usage

In Türkiye, where almost all births take place within the marriage, the use of contraception methods are extremely important in the process of delaying or aborting the pregnancy. It is well known that in the demographic transformation phase Western European countries went through, the widespread use of traditional and modern contraception methods were more important than delaying marriages and other demographic determinants (Behar and Duben, 1996; Van De Kaa, 1999).

In the restructuring phase that started with the declaration of the republic in Türkiye, legal limitations on contraception methods were employed as a result of pronatalist policies aimed to mend the demographic structure. With the 1930 Sanitation Law, the import, production, use and encouragement of contraception methods were forbidden. This obstacle

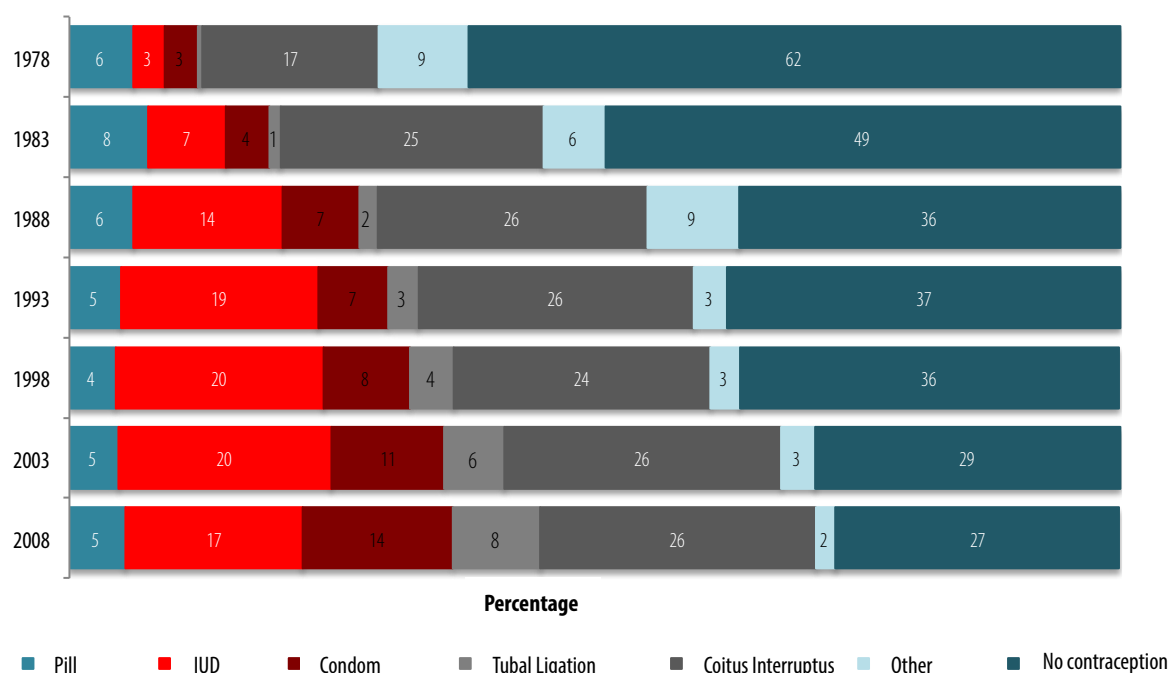
could only be left behind with the partly antinatalist population law passed in the middle of 1960s. As a result of this process, a series of regulations to support the use of intrauterine devices (IUD) for women were implemented in the First Five Year Development Plan covering the years between 1963-1967 (Franz, 1994; SPO, 1963).

Our knowledge on the use of contraception methods in Türkiye before 1960 is very limited. Duben and Behar (1998) emphasize that in the last years of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the republic, coitus interruptus and breast feeding were widely used as contraception methods in the greater Istanbul area. The first nationwide information we have on the use of contraception methods comes from the 1963 Census. According to the results of this research, 22% of women used some sort of contraception, the majority of which were traditional/folkloric methods (Fişek and Shorter, 1968; Fişek, 1974; Özbay, 1978). This finding is important because of the way it shows individuals employed contraception methods even before the 1965 Population Law. The findings produced later by the 1968 and 1973 censuses show that respectively 32% and 38% of women in Türkiye use some form of

contraception (Özbay, 1978).

In later years, as shown in Figure 6, with the impact of the 1983 Population Law, the percentage of women who use some sort of contraception rose to 50-60% levels, later, this percentage rose even further to 70% starting from the 2000s. In the last 30 years because of an intrauterine device (IUD) centered approach to population policies, the prevalence of IUDs and the use of modern contraception constantly increased (Koç and Eryurt, 2010). While the use of contraception pills stayed the same, the increase in the use of condoms and in methods such as tubal ligations is especially notable. The rise in the prevalence of modern contraception methods in Türkiye took place not by switching to modern methods from traditional methods, but because women who did not use contraception before started to use modern methods. The most important evidence of this is coitus interruptus, which by itself makes almost the whole body of traditional methods, the widespread usage of which showed great resistance and stayed fixed (25-26%) since the 1980s. TNSA 2008 findings also show that the most relevant contraception method in Türkiye is coitus interruptus by 26% (Figure 17).

Figure 17. Changes in Contraception Methods, 1978-2008 (%)



References: Ergöçmen, Koç, Yiğit, Senlet and Roman, 2001; HÜNEE 2009

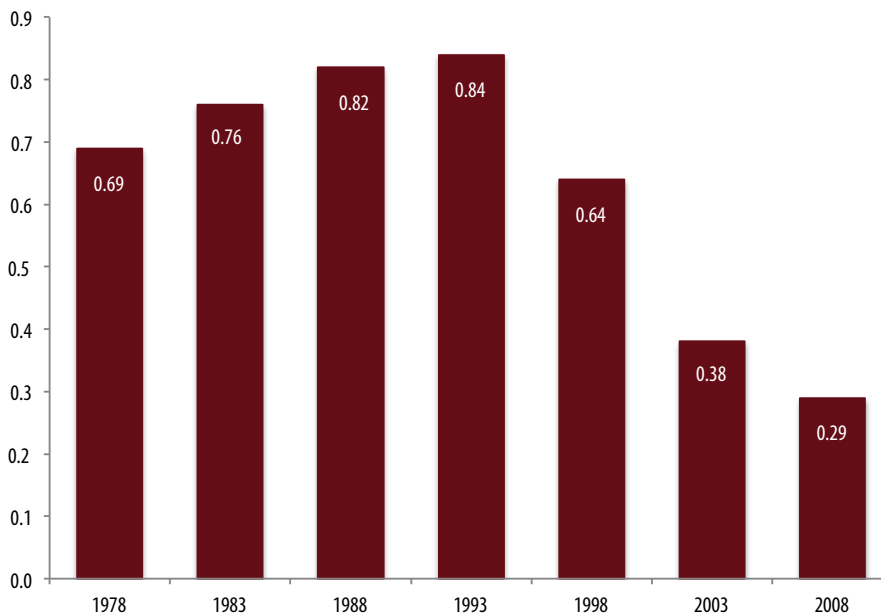
5.3.2.3. Changes in Induced Abortion Levels

In the years when pronatalist policies were in effect in Türkiye, induced abortions were widespread especially in large cities like Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara and Bursa even though there were harsh penal sanctions against it. In the report prepared by the commission formed by the Ministry of Health under the chairmanship of Dr. Z. Tahir Burak in 1958, the high level of induced abortions conducted under unhygienic conditions is emphasized and a link between induced abortions and mother deaths during birth was established (Franz, 1994). Induced abortions banned in Türkiye by the 1965 Population Law which only

allowed abortions when there was a threat against the mother or the baby, were legitimized by the 1983 Population Law which made it a voluntary procedure until the 10th week of the pregnancy. .

The information we have show that starting from 1978, with the effect of the 1983 Population Law, induced abortions per woman rose until 1993 in Türkiye (Figure 7). Later, especially with the pervasiveness and the increasing accessibility of contraception methods, the rate of abortions started to fall. TNSA 2008 findings tell us that number fell to one third of the original level found by TNSA 1993.

Figure 18. Changes in Total Rate of Induced Abortions, 1978-2008

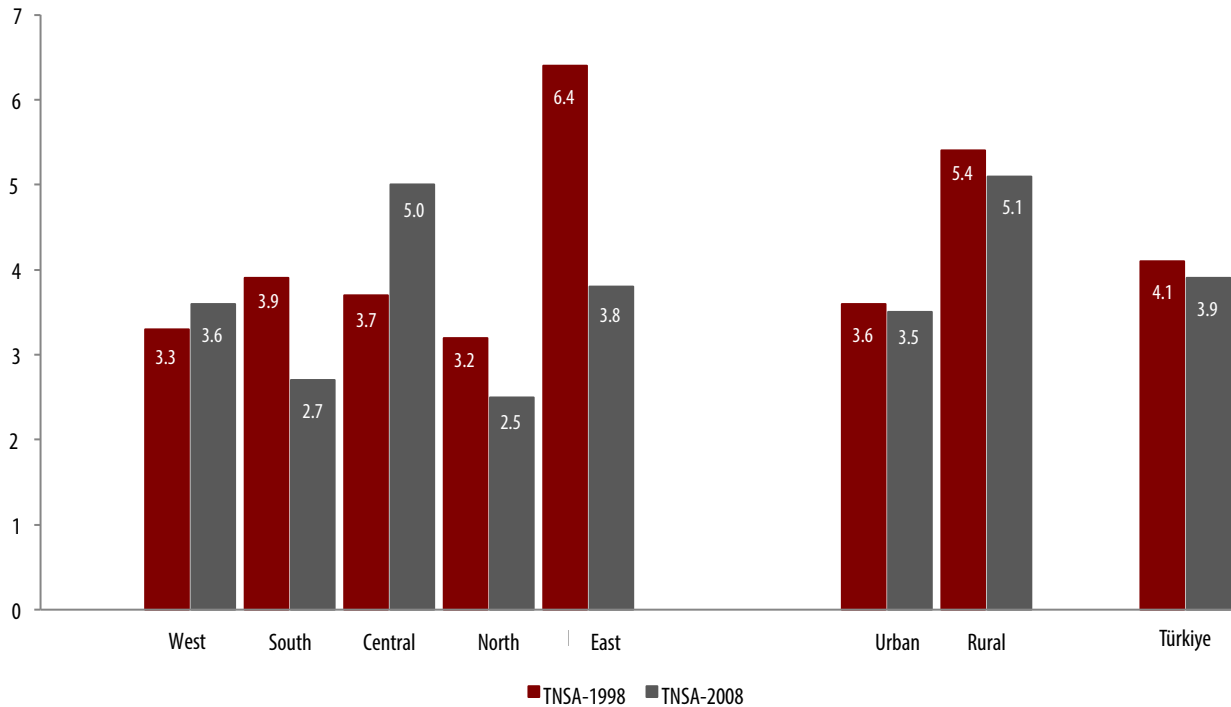


References: HÜNEE 1999, 2004, 2009; TDA-1978, TNSA 1983, TNSA 1988, TNSA 1993 research data.

5.3.2.4. Changes in Post-Pregnancy Temporary Infertility Levels

The post-pregnancy infertility that reduces the risk of another pregnancy is generally due to abstinence and breastfeeding. In Türkiye, this abstinence period usually covers the immediate 40 days after birth. All social groups conform to this time period (HÜNEE, 2009). The duration of breastfeeding on the other hand, depends on the sociodemographic and economic characteristics of the woman. For these reasons, the extent of post-pregnancy temporary

infertility has the traits of a variable that is not affected by the extent of abstinence but by the duration of the breastfeeding period. As can be seen from Figure 19, the post-pregnancy period of temporary infertility stayed static at four months in the ten years between 1998-2008. Because of the longer duration of the period of breastfeeding in rural areas, the post-pregnancy period of temporary infertility is longer by two years compared to urban areas. By regions, especially in East Anatolia, longer than six month post-pregnancy temporary infertility periods were observed.

Figure 19. The Change in Median Post-Pregnancy Temporary Infertility Period, TNSA 1998 and TNSA 2008 (%)

5.3.3. Factors Affecting Fertility Rate

Because the dependent variable used in this study (total number of children) is not a continuous but a discrete variable, instead of linear regression, Poisson Regression, often used for dependent variables of this type in literature, is also used in the study. Pois

son distribution is a natural statistical distribution used to define the number of random occurrences during a time period (t_i) with the rate of λ_i . λ_i is the natural logarithm of the rate of dependent variable modeled by Poisson regression. The equation used in this study is below:

$$E(y_i | x_i) = \lambda_i t_i = \mu_i = e^{\ln(t_i + B_0 + B_1 x_{1i} + B_2 x_{2i} + B_3 x_{3i} + B_4 x_{4i} + B_5 x_{5i} + B_6 x_{6i})}$$

Because the modeled $\lambda_i t_i$ is equal to rate multiplied by time, it is a numerical value. In this equation t_i represents the period of exposure; x_1 the age of the woman, x_2 the area of residence (urban/rural), x_3 the region, x_4 the level of education, x_5 work situation and x_6 the prosperity level of the household. The age variable in the model is continuous; all other independent variables are categorical variables. Because of this, categorical variables were used as dummy variables in the analysis. The interpretation of Poisson regression results is generally made on the velocity ratios, that is, one unit of change in the independent variable results in an increase times that of the calculated velocity ratio on the dependent variable. (Eryurt, Adalı and Şahin, 2010).

For both data sets used in the study (TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011) the unit of analysis is the woman. In all data sets women between 15-49 age group were taken into account. The dependent variable is the number of children. The period of exposure is the duration of time passed since the first marriage of the woman. There is no marriage history in TAYA 2011, however, there is information on the marriage age of the women. Although this variable was used in the model, because the age when women start to get exposed to fertility was thought to be as important as the period of fertility exposure of women, the age of the women were also controlled in the model. Both of these time-related variables were shown in years.

With regards to the social circle, in other words the structural-environmental factors, the variables of the region (NUTS 1) and area of residence the woman lives in were controlled. In the analysis, the household prosperity level controls the prosperity of the household the woman lives in. There is no household prosperity variable in TAYA 2011. However,

the household welfare variables needed to reach this variable are included in the variable set. Using household welfare in the variable set, the variable for the household prosperity variable was reached for TAYA 2011 by using factor analysis. Using education and work situation variables, the socioeconomic characteristics of the women were included in the analysis.

Table 113. The Number of Surviving Children by the Age of the Woman, TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011 (%)

	Number of Children											Average number of surviving children
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+	
TNSA 2008												
15 19	94.3	4.8	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.07
20 24	61.8	22.5	11.5	3.1	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.57
25 29	27.9	24.0	28.8	11.2	4.5	2.1	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.48
30 34	13.4	14.8	32.4	20.4	9.2	3.7	2.4	2.0	0.8	0.7	0.2	2.25
35 39	8.3	9.6	30.4	23.5	12.9	6.0	3.5	2.2	1.3	1.0	1.3	2.69
40 44	5.3	5.6	28.5	23.3	13.6	8.7	6.1	2.8	2.2	1.3	2.5	3.11
45 49	4.3	5.8	25.2	21.7	16.5	10.1	5.5	3.7	2.1	1.6	3.7	3.23
Türkiye	36.1	13.4	21.1	13.1	7.0	3.7	2.1	1.3	0.8	0.5	0.8	1.69
TAYA 2011												
15 19	89.3	8.0	2.2	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.14
20 24	67.6	19.8	10.5	1.8	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.48
25 29	31.3	26.1	30.1	8.8	2.5	0.6	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.29
30 34	14.6	21.0	38.5	16.3	5.6	2.8	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.1	1.93
35 39	9.4	13.0	39.0	22.7	9.0	2.7	2.6	0.9	0.4	0.2	0.2	2.37
40 44	6.6	12.3	37.8	25.1	8.4	4.0	2.2	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.2	2.59
45 49	7.4	12.5	32.4	25.1	11.1	4.1	3.2	1.3	1.0	1.3	0.8	2.74
Türkiye	28.7	17.4	29.0	14.8	5.3	2.1	1.3	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.2	1.71

Before regression analysis, from TAYA 2011 and TNSA 2008 findings, the number of children of the women was analyzed by the women's age. The findings tabulated in Table 113 show that the birth rate level also followed a similar course in the not too distant past that is between 2008-2011. The TNSA 2008 results demonstrate that the average number of surviving children of women in the 15-49 age group is 1.69; TAYA 2011 results on the other hand show this as 1.71. In the 45-49 age group where fertility is over, the decrease in the birth rate is clearly seen. While the average number of surviving children for this age group is 3.23 according to TNSA 2008 results, in TAYA 2011 this number decreased to 2.74 children. In age groups where the women's fertility is not yet over, the decrease in the birth rate between 2008-2011 is clear. The percentage of women 45-49

years of age with two or less surviving children rose to 52.3% from 35.3% in the period between 2008-2011, in other words this percentage rose by 30% (Table 113).

When the determinants of the total number of children were examined by Poisson regression model (Table 114), it was observed that the F value of the constructed model for both data sets was equal to 0.000. This shows that the independent variables used are compatible with the design of the model and that the general explanatory characteristics of the model is quite high. Moreover, the fact that the F value in at least one category of the independent variables is smaller than 5% shows that each independent variable contributes to explain the variations in the dependent variable.

When the effect of independent variable on the dependent variable, which is the number of total children, is examined, it was observed that a one unit increase in the age variable, included in the model as a continuous variable, increases the probability of having one more baby by 1.04 times according to TNSA 2008 and 1.03 times according to TAYA 2011. When Istanbul is taken as a reference category

and the regional differentiation in the birth rate level, the researchers found out that for both data sets, the birth rate level in Istanbul, West Marmara and the Aegean are not different from each other ($F > 0.05$); however, as we move towards the East, the birth rate level increases significantly compared to Istanbul. TNSA 2008 results show that the probability of having more children compared to Istanbul

Table 114. The Determinants of the Total Number of Children Women Have: The Results of Poisson Regression Analysis, TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011

	TNSA 2008		TAYA 2011	
	Rate	Reliability (P> t)	Rate	Reliability (P> t)
Age (15-49)	1.04	0.000	1.03	0.000
NUTS				
Istanbul (Reference category)	1.00	-	1.00	-
West Marmara	1.02	0.237	0.97	0.111
Aegean	1.03	0.212	0.89	0.142
East Marmara	1.05	0.003	1.11	0.001
West Anatolia	1.11	0.001	1.09	0.004
Mediterranean	1.09	0.003	1.21	0.000
Central Anatolia	1.15	0.000	1.27	0.000
West Black Sea	1.17	0.000	1.19	0.000
East Black Sea	1.22	0.000	1.31	0.000
Northeast Anatolia	1.26	0.000	1.89	0.000
Mideast Anatolia	1.41	0.000	2.01	0.000
Southeast Anatolia	2.02	0.000	2.27	0.000
RESIDENCE AREA				
Urban (Reference category)	1.00	-	1.00	-
Rural	1.12	0.004	1.19	0.000
EDUCATIONAL STATUS				
Illiterate/did not finish elementary school	1.29	0.000	1.41	0.000
Elementary school	1.17	0.031	1.27	0.000
Middle school	1.09	0.029	1.14	0.022
High school and above (Reference category)	1.00	-	1.00	-
WORK STATUS				
Not working	1.29	0.000	1.25	0.000
Wage/salary	1.03	0.072	0.99	0.246
Employer (Reference category)	1.00	-	1.00	-
For herself	1.22	0.000	1.25	0.000
PROSPERITY LEVEL OF THE HOUSEHOLD				
Lowest %20	2.09	0.000	2.21	0.000
Low %20	1.79	0.000	1.76	0.000
Middle %20	1.32	0.005	1.58	0.015
High %20	1.11	0.007	1.02	0.075
Highest %20 (Reference category)	1.00	-	1.00	-

For TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011 $Prob > F = 0.0000$.

is 2.02 times higher in Southeast Anatolia; according to TAYA 2011 results it is 2.27 times higher. ($F < 0.05$). When TAYA 2011 results that show the difference between the birth rate levels in Istanbul and the birth rate levels of eastern regions are compared to TNSA 2008 results, it is easier to see that this difference is noticeably higher (Table 114).

The Poisson regression results show that the residence area of the woman contributes to the number of children. TAYA 2011 results show that in rural areas, the percentage of having one more child is higher by 19% compared to urban areas; according to TNSA 2008 results this percentage is 12% higher ($F < 0.05$). Both the TNSA 2008 and TAYA 2011 results show that as the educational level drops under the control of other factors, the birth rate level rises ($F < 0.05$). The TNSA 2008 results demonstrate that uneducated women are 1.29 times more prone to having one more child compared to women with an education level of high school and above; TAYA 2011 results on the other hand, show that this is 1.41 times higher.

The regression model shown in Table 114, state that compared to female employers, the probability of having one more child among women working for a wage/salary does not show any differentiation ($F > 0.05$). However, again compared to female employers, the birth rate levels of women who are self employed and especially women who do not work, are significantly higher. TAYA 2011 results show that compared to female employers, the probability of having one more child among women who do not work is 1.25 times higher. Similarly, according to TNSA 2008 findings, compared to birth rates of female employers, the probability of women who work for themselves to have one more child is 1.22 times higher; that probability is 1.29 times higher among women who do not work.

Taking women living in the highest prosperity level households as the reference and examined by the level of prosperity of the household, the risk of having one more child rises rapidly as the prosperity lev-

el of the household decreases. According to TAYA 2011, the probability of women living in the lowest prosperity level households to have one more child is 2.21 times higher compared to women living in the highest prosperity households. In TNSA 2008, this relative risk is 2.09 times higher (Table 114).

5.3.4. Intermediary Variables Determining Birth Rates

The intermediary variable models developed in demography show that with the help of biological and behavioral factors, macro level social, economic and cultural factors are operational on birth rates and patterns. The biological and behavioral factors that directly influence birth rates and patterns are called "intermediary (mediating) variables" in demography literature (Bongaarts, 1978). The best example for the relationship between the macro level factors and intermediary variables is the relationship between the level of education and birth rates. Educational level, which is a structural variable, increases birth rates indirectly by increasing intermediary variables of age at first marriage and use of contraception. In short, socioeconomic factors have an indirect effect on birth rates while intermediary variables have a direct effect.

The intermediary variable concept was first developed by Kingsley Davis and Judith Blake in the mid 1950s (Davis and Blake, 1956). Davis and Blake used 11 intermediary variables in their study and classified them according to three main stages of birth rates, sexual intercourse, start of pregnancy and pregnancy-giving birth. However, because it contains too many variables and they are difficult to analyze, these variables have not been used extensively. Later, John Bongaarts (1978; 1982; 1985) simplified this model and developed a new intermediary variable model that explains the change in birth rates by using four main variables. Because it has fewer variables and easy to calculate, this model has been used frequently in many countries and comparisons between countries.

The Bongaarts model was first applied to the Turkish data by Özbay (1978). Özbay, in the study that used the data from the 1968 and 1973 demographic research, showed that post-pregnancy temporary infertility and breastfeeding were as effective in determining birth rates as contraception methods. Later, United Nations (1987), using the demographic data from research done in 1978 and Hacettepe University Population Studies Institute (1989) using data from demographic research of 1983 and 1988, demonstrated the effect of intermediary variables. After these studies, in another study using the data from demographic research done in the years 1978, 1983, 1988 and 1993 (Hancioğlu, 1997), the change in the effect of intermediary variables on birth rates over time was presented. In a later study, using the TNSA 1998 data, going beyond urban-rural and regional classifications, a study was conducted for the first time, where the effect of multiple socio-economic variables on birth rates were examined (Eryurt, 2002). Still later, the Bongaarts Model was applied to the data from TNSA 2003 and TNSA 2008 respectively by Eryurt (2008) and Eryurt, Adalı and Şahin (2010).

5.3.4.1. The Bongaarts Model

In the Bongaarts Model, there are four main intermediary variables made up of marriage rates, use of contraception methods, induced abortions and temporary post-pregnancy infertility that fluctuates by especially the duration of breastfeeding. Bongaarts, in his studies done by using the data from 36 countries, found out that these variables can explain 96% of the changes in birth rates (Bongaarts, 1978; 1982; 1985). In the Bongaarts model, the effect of intermediary variables on birth rates is calculated by four indices developed for the four intermediary variables mentioned before. These indices are the index of marriage (Cm), the index of contraception (Cc), index of induced abortion (Ca) and index of postpartum infecundability (Ci). These indices can be assigned values between 0 and 1. When the variable has no effect on decreasing birth rates, the index gets the value of “1” and if the variable has a total effect on birth rates it gets the value of “0”. According to Bongaarts, as a result of the decreasing effect of an intermediary

variable on birth rates, the speed of birth rates falls below their potential levels. The potential birth rate brought forth in the Bongaarts model, is defined as the total fecundity rate, (TF). Assuming that women of fertile age stay married during this period, and they do not use any form of contraception, did not have induced abortions and did not go through a phase of temporary infertility as a result of breastfeeding, the TF becomes approximately 15.3. The fecundity rate observed as a result of the decreasing effect of intermediary variables on birth rates, that is, when the age specific fecundity rates are valid for a certain amount of time, total fertility rate (TFR) emerges which means the average number of births per woman at the end of the fecundity period.

Other two important criteria used in the model are total marital fertility rate (TM) and total natural marital fertility rate (TN). TM is a criterion that shows the number of births for women who married at 15 and were exposed to age specific total marital fertility rate until they are 49. TN on the other hand, under conditions where contraception methods and induced abortions are absent, is equal to the total marital fertility rate (TM). In the Bongaarts model, first affected by index of postpartum infecundability (Ci), the level of birth rates fall to total natural marital fertility rate (TN) from the total fecundity rate (15.3).

$$TN = TF * Ci = 15.3 * Ci$$

Exposed to the use of contraception and elective induced abortion indices, the fertility rate which has regressed to TN level, further regresses to total marital fertility rate (TM) later.

$$TM = TN * Cc * Ca$$

Subsequently, with the effect of index of marriage (Cm), the birth rate that fell to TM level falls further to observed birth rate level, the level of total fecundity rate.

$$TDH = TM * Cm$$

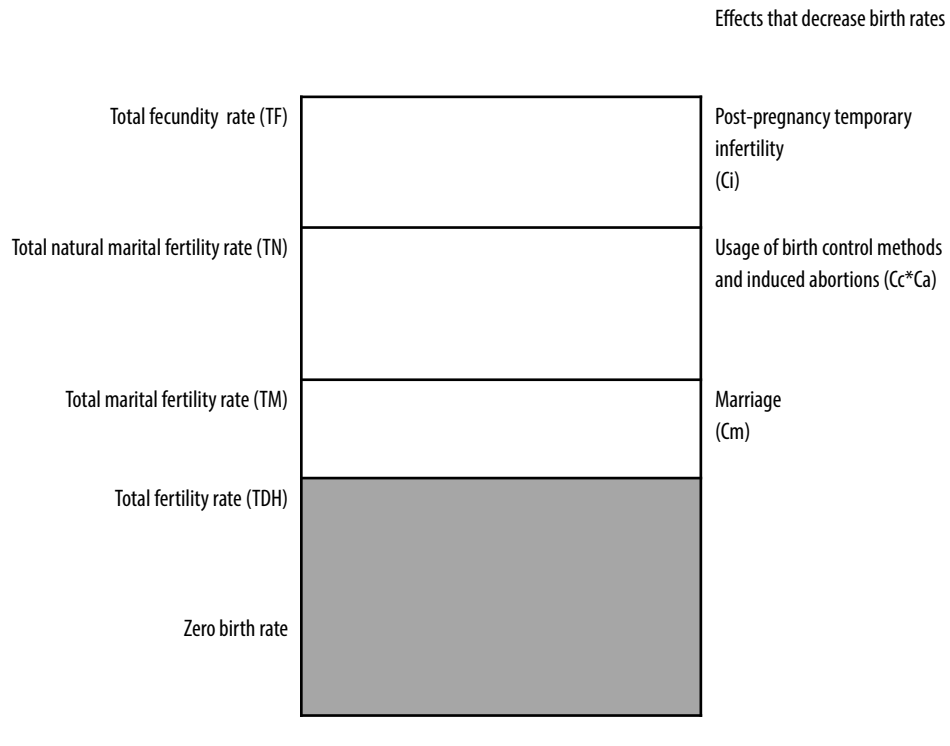
Starting from these equations, the main equation of the Bongaarts Model is found.

$$TDH = C_m * C_c * C_a * C_i * TF$$

As seen in Figure 20, when the effect of post-pregnancy temporary infertility is subtracted from the

total fecundity rate, total natural marital fertility rate (TN) is reached; when the effects of the use of contraception methods are subtracted from total natural marital fertility rate, total marital fertility rate (TM) is reached, finally, when the effect of marriages is subtracted from total marital fertility rate, total fertility rate (TFR) is reached.

Figure 20. Intermediary Variables in the Bongaarts Model



References: (Bongaarts, 1978; 1982; 1985); Eryurt, Adalı and Şahin, 2010

5.3.4.2. Intermediary Variable in the Bongaarts Model

Index of marriage (C_m), demonstrates whether the difference between total fertility rate and total marital fertility rate is significant or not. In case all women of fertile age are married, because the marriage rate will not have a decreasing effect on birth rates, the marriage ratio index will be equal to 1. Similar to this exceptional condition another exceptional one is that no women of fertile age are married. In this case, marriage ratio index will be equal to 0. But as a result, as the marriage ratio index moves towards 0,

total fertility rate will decrease. During the calculation of the marriage ratio index, the age distribution of women is also taken into account. For this reason, the marriage ratio index was formulated by using the age specific birth rates of fertile age married women and age specific marriage rates as shown below. g_a included in the equation provides (a) the fertility rate of women in the age group; m_a on the other hand, gives the (a) ratio of women who are still married within the age group. Here because the numerator is equal to total fertility rate (TFR) and the denominator is equal to the total marital fertility rate (TM), the equation can be rewritten as seen below.

$$C_m = \frac{\sum m_a g_a}{\sum g_a} \quad C_m = \frac{TFR}{TM}$$

Index of contraception (Cc) is calculated by taking the ratio of women who are under the risk of pregnancy, in other words, fertile and married women using contraception methods and the effectiveness of their preferred method by using the equation shown below. The “u” in the equation represents the ratio of married fertile women who use contraception methods; “e” represents the effectiveness of the used method. The constant 1.08, is the infertility correction factor created by Louis Henry using infertility rates by age (Bongaarts, 1978; 1982; 1985). With the inclusion of this constant, women who are not under the risk of pregnancy, in other words, infertile wives and women with infertile husbands are excluded from the index and as a result, the ratio of the use of contraception is corrected.

$$Cc = 1 - (1.08 * u * e)$$

Although data on contraception methods were gathered by demographic studies every five years since the 1968 study in Türkiye, the data on the effectiveness of the chosen method are being collected since TNSA 1993 with the addition of the calendar module into the research questionnaire. From the past research, from the question included only in TNSA 1988 on if any contraception method was being used when the pregnancy occurred, data was collected on the effectiveness of the chosen contraception methods although it is not thought to be very reliable (Kulu-Glasgow et al., 1991). The equation below is used to calculate the degree of effectiveness of the utilized method. In this equation “mF12”, indicates the annual net ineffectiveness rate of the method m, “f” the monthly probability of pregnancy (0.17) (Hammerslough, 1993).

$$e_m = 1 - [(1 - (1 - mF_{12})^{1/12}) / f]$$

Induced abortion index (Ca), aims to measure the effect of elective induced abortions on birth rates and the calculation is done using the equation below. In this equation “TFR” represents the total fertility rate; “u”, the usage ratio of contraception methods by fertile married women; and “TA” represents the number

of induced abortions married women whose fertility is over. When the TA is calculated, only induced abortions by married women are considered. In case a contraception method is not used after a induced abortion, with the assumption that every induced abortion prevents 0.40 births, the constant 0.40 is used in the equation.

$$Ca = \frac{\sum TFR}{\sum TFR + (0.4 * (1 + u) * TA)}$$

Index of postpartum infecundability (Ci), reflects the decreasing effect of avoidance of sexual contact after birth and the duration of breastfeeding. According to Bongaarts, in case of no sexual avoidance after birth and no breast feeding, the average time span between two births is 20 months. Bongaarts reached this by adding the 1.5 months after birth during which the woman does not ovulate, the waiting period of 7.5 months for the next pregnancy, the 2 months intra-uterine death probability and the 9 months of gestation. The Ci index value is calculated through the equation below. Here “i” is the period of post-pregnancy temporary infertility, in other words, it represents the average amount of time that passes without menstruation in months.

$$Ci = \frac{20}{18.5 + i}$$

5.3.4.3. The Contribution of Intermediary Variables on the Decrease of Fertility Rates

It is not always easy to understand the effect of index values of intermediary variables calculated through the Bongaarts Model on birth rates. The easiest and clearest way to see this effect is to look at the percentage contribution of each intermediary variable as the total fecundity rate falls down to the level of total fertility rate it is possible to calculate the percent effect each intermediary variable index has on the level of birth rate with the equation below. “Cx” used in this equation takes the values of Cm, Cc, Ca and Ci indices respectively (United Nations, 1987).

$$Contribution_x = 100 * \left(\frac{\log C_x}{\log C_m + \log C_c + \log C_a + \log C_i} \right)$$

Values calculated by the TNSA 2008 data (Table 115), show that the greatest contribution to the decrease in birth rates by 67% is the level of utilization of contraception methods. The decline in birth rates

is attributed 24% to delaying marriages and 5% and 4% respectively to post-pregnancy temporary infertility and induced abortion indices.

Table 115. The Percentage Contribution of Intermediary Variables on the Decrease of Birth Rate Levels, TNSA 2008

	Marriage (Pm)	Method usage (Pc)	Induced abortion (Pa)	Post-pregnancy temporary infertility (Pi)
REGION				
West	23	67	5	4
South	27	65	5	3
Central	21	69	3	7
North	20	74	4	2
East	29	62	2	7
RESIDENCE AREA				
Urban	24	67	5	4
Rural	22	66	3	9
WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL STATUS				
No education	26	63	2	9
Elementary school	15	76	4	5
Middle school	26	62	5	7
High school and above	28	63	5	4
WOMEN'S WORKING STATUS				
Does not work	21	69	4	6
Works, no social security	27	61	4	7
Works, with social security	33	59	6	2
HOUSEHOLD PROSPERITY LEVEL				
Lowest	25	66	3	6
Low	22	65	4	9
Middle	21	67	5	6
Upper	25	68	4	3
Highest	23	68	6	3
WOMEN'S NATIVE LANGUAGE				
Turkish	23	67	5	5
Kurdish	27	64	3	6
Other	36	51	6	7
Türkiye	24	67	4	5

The intermediary variable of the usage of birth control methods makes the greatest contribution to the decrease in birth rates in all population subgroups (Table 115). On a regional basis, the utilization of birth control methods has a percentage contribution of 74% on the decrease of birth rate in North Anatolia region. The greatest difference between urban and rural areas stems from the duration of post-pregnancy temporary infertility in rural areas. By the level of education, utilization of birth control methods account for three fourths of the drop in the birth rate of women who have finished primary school. Among these women, the decreasing effect of marriage rates is quite limited compared to other women at different educational levels. Work status shows that as women who have social security through their work are more integrated with society, delaying marriage is more effective in the drop in their birth rates more than any other group. By household prosperity level there is no substantial differentiation in the strategies to lower the birth rate. On the decrease of birth rates for women whose native language is Kurdish, marriage ratios have a lower impact while the utilization of birth control methods has a higher impact.

5.3.4.4. The Change in the Contribution of Intermediary Variables: 1968-2008

To reveal the effect of intermediary variables on the decrease of birth rates in the last 40 years in Türkiye, it will be easier to understand the probable changes in birth rates and patterns. Data from demographic studies done between the years of 1968-2008 reveal that the total fertility rate has dropped from 5.70 to 2.16 in the past 40 years (Table 116). The results of the first demographic research done by Hacettepe University Population Studies Institute in 1968 show that during this period, the greatest contribution to the decrease in birth rates came from the utilization of birth control methods by 39%. Another cause of the drop in birth rates is the duration of post-pregnancy temporary infertility by 33%. An interesting point is the fact that in 1968, the contribution of post-pregnancy temporary infertility was greater than the contribution of marriage rate. This seems to be related to the fact that 45 years ago women got married earlier and breastfed their babies for a longer period. The results of the 1973 research conducted five years later show that the most significant factor effective on the drop in birth rates is again the use of birth control methods

Table 116. The Change in the Index Values and Percentage Contributions of Intermediary Variables: 1968-2008

	1968	1973	1978	1983	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008
Marriage (Cm)	0.783	0.743	0.7403	0.6877	0.6261	0.6025	0.6758	0.5615	0.5983
Contraception usage(Cc)	0.687	0.622	0.6577	0.5174	0.4469	0.3807	0.3387	0.2673	0.2391
Induced abortion (Ca)	0.983	0.983	0.9317	0.9102	0.8746	0.8457	0.8689	0.8899	0.9150
Post-pregnancy temporary infertility (Ci)	0.727	0.752	0.8511	0.8633	0.8759	0.8889	0.8850	0.8969	0.8929
COMPOSITE INDEX VALUES									
$Cm * Cc * Ca * Ci$	0.384	0.342	0.386	0.280	0.214	0.172	0.176	0.120	0.117
PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTION									
Cm Contribution	26	28	32	29	30	29	23	27	24
Cc Contribution	39	44	44	52	52	55	62	62	67
Ca Contribution	2	2	7	7	9	10	8	5	4
Ci Contribution	33	27	17	12	9	7	7	5	5
TOTAL FERTILITY RATES									
TFR	5.70	5.59	4.33	4.04	3.02	2.65	2.61	2.23	2.16

References: Özbay, 1978; Hancıoğlu, 1997; Eryurt, 2002; 2008; Eryurt, Adalı and Şahin, 2010

by 44%. However, the most important change after 1973 is the fact that the contribution of marriage rates almost equaled the contribution of the duration of post-pregnancy temporary infertility (28% and 27% respectively).

In the later 1978 research, as the age at first marriage started to rise in Türkiye, the effect of marriage rates became secondary and as shown in later research, this structure remained the same. During 1968-2008, the percentage contribution of utiliza-

tion of birth control methods increased especially with the prevalence of modern birth control methods and with shorter durations of breastfeeding and the percentage contribution of breastfeeding decreased (Table 116). The TNSA 2008 results confirm this structure and show that 67% of the decrease of birth rates in Türkiye comes from the utilization of birth control methods, 24% come from the decreasing rates of marriage and the remaining 9% comes from induced abortions and the drop in post-pregnancy temporary infertility.

Table 117. Population of Türkiye and Age Distribution by Different Scenarios

Indicators	2010	2015	2020	2025	2030	2035	2040	2045	2050
MID LEVEL FERTILITY RATE									
TFR	2.15	2.02	1.91	1.82	1.76	1.71	1.69	1.68	1.69
<15 (%)	26	24	23	21	20	18	17	17	16
15-64 (%)	68	69	69	69	69	68	67	66	64
65+ (%)	6	7	8	9	11	13	15	17	20
Total population (Thousand)	72,752	77,003	80,753	83,984	86,665	88,770	90,302	91,251	91,617
HIGH FERTILITY RATE									
TFR	2.15	2.27	2.31	2.32	2.26	2.21	2.19	2.18	2.19
<15 (%)	26	25	25	24	23	22	21	21	20
15-64 (%)	68	68	67	67	66	66	65	64	62
65+ (%)	6	7	8	9	11	12	14	15	17
Total population (Thousand)	72,752	77,771	82,763	87,543	91,772	95,504	98,920	102,150	105,159
LOW FERTILITY RATE									
TFR	2.15	1.77	1.51	1.32	1.26	1.21	1.19	1.18	1.19
<15 (%)	26	24	21	18	16	14	13	12	11
15-64 (%)	68	69	71	72	72	72	70	68	66
65+ (%)	6	7	8	10	12	14	17	20	23
Total population (Thousand)	72,752	76,235	78,743	80,425	81,564	82,092	81,917	80,966	79,259
FIXED FERTILITY RATE									
TFR	2.15	2.15	2.15	2.15	2.15	2.15	2.15	2.15	2.15
<15 (%)	26	25	24	23	22	21	21	20	20
15-64 (%)	68	68	68	68	67	66	65	64	62
65+ (%)	6	7	8	9	11	13	14	16	18
Total population (Thousand)	72,752	77,398	81,877	86,102	89,985	93,515	96,701	99,528	101,972

Reference: United Nations, 2012

5.4. Results and Social Policy Recommendations

It is possible to examine the effect of the future change in birth rates on the extent of the population, age distribution and other demographic processes by four different scenarios based on population projections by the United Nations (Table 117). A mid-level birth rate scenario supposes that the total fertility rate (TFR) will drop to 1.69 by the year 2050. The high birth rate scenario postulates that the total fertility rate will be 0.5 children more than the mid level scenario while the low birth rate scenario supposes 0.5 children less. A fixed birth rate scenario on the other hand, predicts that the total fertility rate of 2.16 in the period between 2005-2010 will stay the same at 2.16 in the year 2050 (United Nations, 2012).

According to the high birth rate scenario which supposes a rise in birth rates and the fixed scenario which supposed the birth rates will stay the same, the population of Türkiye will exceed 100 million by the year 2050. According to the other two scenarios that postulate a drop in birth rates based on how far the fertility rate drops, the population of Türkiye will be between 79 million and 91 million.

The age composition of the population also shows significant differences according to different scenarios. While in 2010, 26% of the population belongs to the 0-14 age group, the share of this age group in total population will decrease by 2050 in all scenarios. So much so that the share of the young population will drop to 20% in fixed birth rate and high birth rate scenarios, will drop to 11% in scenarios that suppose a decrease in birth rate. The share of the working age population, which is 68% in the year 2010, does not present great fluctuations between scenarios and varies between 62% and 66%. By 2050, the share of the elderly (65 and over) generation which makes up 6% of the population today will increase to 17% according to the high birth rate scenario and to 23% according to the low birth rate scenario (Table 117).

Keeping the experiences of countries that under-

went these transformations before in mind, and supposing that the socioeconomic, demographic and mental transformations in Türkiye continue, the points below are identified to predict the scenario with the highest possibility of taking place:

1. In developed countries which have gone through the transformation process that Türkiye is now experiencing, the birth rates are between 1.6-1.7. Average birth rate in 21 EU member countries is 1.62; the total birth rate in 34 OECD member countries is 1.74. Among the EU members, South European countries that have the greatest socioeconomic and cultural similarities with Türkiye, Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece, the total birth rates are between 1.3-1.5 (Thévenon, 2011). It can be assumed that because Türkiye is predominantly Muslim, this sets Türkiye apart from these countries and as a result the change experienced in Türkiye will not correspond to the changes in those countries. However, it must be noted that the total birth rates in Arabic countries like Kuwait (2.32) and Tunisia (2.04) dropped to the renewal rate of 2.1 starting from the mid 2000s and in the Islamic Republic of Iran, it fell below the renewal rate to 1.77 (United Nations, 2012).

2. As underlined before, there is a very close relationship between birth rates and the prosperity level of a country. The main trend in this relationship is, as the level of prosperity rises there is a corresponding fall in birth rates. Keeping this in mind, it can be predicted that given the possibility that the upwards trend in the current economic development holds, the present decreasing trend in birth rates will continue.

3. The fall in birth rates in Türkiye has been an unbroken trend since the 1950s. TAYA 2011 results also show that this drop in birth rates endures. Assuming that this decreasing trend will continue in a linear fashion and modeled mathematically, it is possible that the total birth rate in Türkiye will fall to 1.8 in 2025 and 1.6 in 2050.

4. The TNSA 2008 results reveal that in urban are-

as, total birth rates among women with at least a middle school education are at the 1.5-1.6 level. With the rapid rise in the population of urban women with an educational level of middle school and above and also the fact that birth rates among the rest of the population converges towards the birth rates of this pioneer group, it can be inferred that across the country birth rates will fall below the 1.69 predicted in the mid level fertility scenario.

5. This transformational process in Türkiye was not experienced the same in different sociodemographic groups. Although there is a rapid convergence process, currently the birth rates and patterns in lower population groups show significant differences (Eryurt, Adalı and Şahin, 2010). In Türkiye, three fourths of women have a birth rate of below 3, one fourth has a rate of above 3. In this sense, the birth rates of uneducated Kurdish women living in East Anatolia in poor households have the potential to fall significantly further. With this convergence expected to take place during this transformational process, the birth rates across the country may fall to 1.6.

6. "Family with two children" has been quite strongly established as the norm across Türkiye. According to TNSA 2008 results, 51% of women reported the ideal number of children as two. This percentage rises to about 60% among women from the younger generation. Another norm that has recently established itself in Türkiye along with the "family with two children" is the "single child family" norm. In the past ten years, the percentage of women who report "0" or "1" child as the ideal number rose from 6% to 10%. This percentage rises to 18% among women with at least a middle school education living in constantly expanding urban areas. When the trends of the narrowing gap between the present number of children and the ideal number of children along with the rise in the percentage of women who want to have less than two children are taken into consideration together, it can be safely said that in Türkiye the natural course of current birth rates is towards decrease.

7. As a result of two basic factors, the rise in the usage of contraception methods and the rise in the age at first marriage, that caused the fall in birth rates and change in the patterns of births, women spend less time within the institution of marriage. The demographic studies carried out in Türkiye show that the increase in the usage of contraception methods, especially modern methods, will continue to rise. In Türkiye, the use of coitus interruptus which held its popularity for a very long time compared to the percentage of women who do not use any kind of birth control, has been decreasing in the past few years. This shows that in the near future, more women will start modern contraception methods to end their fertility or to widen the time span between births. The rise seen in age at first marriage also makes a significant contribution to the decrease in birth rates in Türkiye. The results of TNSA 2008 show that the marriage age among the 1970 and 1990 birth generations is three, meaning the age at first marriage rises very rapidly in Türkiye. When the results of demographic research and marriage statistics are taken together, it can be presumed that the marriage age in Türkiye will rise even further in the coming years. For these reasons, current birth rates in Türkiye will fall to the lowest of the low levels encountered in many Western European countries in 40 years.

When the projections above are evaluated, the most probable scenario to take effect seems to be the "mid level birth rate scenario" that predicts the birth rate will fall to 1.69 children by 2050.

This scenario (mid level birth rate scenario), the most probable one to take effect given the current trends and approaches in Türkiye continue, points to a demographic crisis beginning around the middle of this century, that will affect health, social security and labor sectors (Alper, Değer and Sayan, 2012). As the developed country experiences show, changing the course of events cannot only be done through population policies, but by implementing an integrated series of programs that cover all areas of life. Moreover, this process is very costly because it includes safeguards such as family assistance,

children's assistance, establishment of child welfare homes and maternity/paternity leaves. For this reason, Türkiye should take precautions to stop the further fall in birth rates and ensure that the birth rates stay at least at the renewal level if it wants to take protection against the demographic crisis that is waiting to happen. Those precautions that keep the birth rate at or just below the renewal level while ensuring the safety of both the mother and the child are proposed below:

1. *No numerical limits should be set on the number of children a family should have:* In the action plan (UN, 1994) of the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo, in which Türkiye was one of the signatories, it is emphasized that couples should freely decide on the number and timing of their children. In the past, this statement meant facilitating couples' access to birth control methods, however, today it means eliminating the conditions that deter couples to have the desired number of children. For this reason, especially after the Population Law that went into effect in 1983, numerical limitations like politician statements expressed through slogans as “*two children is enough*”; “*at least three children*” should not be used as an instrument of population policy. During the process, precautions to facilitate this process will contribute more to increased birth rates than setting numerical limits.

2. *The prevalence and accessibility of birth control methods should be high:* Again the ICPD Action Plan advocates that the state should remove obstacles in front of individuals to find and access the most suitable birth control method for themselves. For this reason, even if the state follows augmentation policies to increase birth rates, or policies to keep them at the same level, it is the duty of the state to create an environment where individuals who want to have fewer children or who want to delay having children or widen the time span between children can do so. The concept of “*procreational right*” which was brought up as a part of human rights in the ICPD Action Plan, which ensures the “*right not to procreate*” at the same time, emphasizes

this role of the state. Moreover, the availability and accessibility of birth control methods will reduce the number of unwanted pregnancies and will be instrumental in decreasing about 10% of induced abortions sometimes used as a family planning tool for ending unwanted pregnancies.

3. *Mother-child health services need to be strengthened even further:* There have been important improvements in mother-child health services in the past 20 years in Türkiye. The percentage of mothers-to-be that receive pre-birth care services rose from 50% to 90%. However, the quality of these services is still not at the desired level. To better understand if pre-birth care is sufficient or not, when we look at the percentage of mothers who received pre-birth care at least four times, who had their first health visit within the first three months of pregnancy and who gave birth with the help of health professionals, we see that this percentage is still around 65%. Moreover there are serious differences between the level of accessibility and quality of these services between regions. In East Anatolia, the percentage of mothers who receive adequate pre-birth care is below 40%. In Türkiye where there are approximately 1 million 600 thousand pregnancies, according to the Ministry of Health records, the number of pregnant women who receive pre-birth care is around 1 million 300 thousand in a year (Akdağ, 2009). The difference between these numbers is a measure of the inability to cover all pregnancies and the inability to give proper care to those who are covered. Another clue that suggests that mother-child health services are not adequate is the fact that about 12% of pregnancies in Türkiye end in miscarriages and stillborn births. If measures to prevent this situation which demonstrates the insufficiency of identifying and following pregnancies are taken, this will allow wanted but involuntarily terminated pregnancies to reach full-term, in turn making it possible to raise birth rates or keep them at the same level.

4. *The male-female difference in the formation of human capital should be eliminated:* It is observed that in Türkiye, compared to men, women are in a more

disadvantaged position in processes like health and education that play a pioneering role in the formation of human capital in Türkiye. The most important feature of countries like France and Finland, where pronatalist policies have been at least partially successful, is the support provided primarily to women, but also to families, children and the elderly and the high number of women in the workplace. In countries where birth rates have been successfully increased, there is a more egalitarian social structure between men and women. In Türkiye on the other hand, the low percentages of women in post-elementary schools and low frequency of using health services is well known. Women, who already are at a disadvantage in the process of the creation of human capital, are also disadvantaged during its consumption. The constant decrease in the employment rate of women since the 1950s to this day, resulting in the employment of only 25% of women today, is a direct result of this process (Koç et al., 2010). For the elimination of this paradoxical situation experienced when the educational level of women are on the rise, during the process of the creation and consumption of human capital, women should be supported by “*positive discrimination*” policies in education, in health and more importantly in employment.

5. *Measures need to be taken to promote social gender equality:* One of the most significant barriers in front of the disadvantaged women is the social gender roles widely accepted in society. The traditional roles of housewife and motherhood roles imposed on women forms a significant obstacle even for women who have completed their own creation of human capital process to go outside the family, join the workforce and stay there for a long time. This barrier makes it almost impossible for women who have undertaken the performance of almost all of the childcare and household chores to leave this environment and to join in social life. For this reason, as was emphasized in the report published by the General Directorate of the Status and Issues of Women, to eliminate the obstacles women face in almost all areas of life, Türkiye needs to undergo a “mental transformation” to establish social

gender equality. (KSGM, 2012). For this change to take place, adjustments need to be made first and foremost to the constitution, Civil Code, Criminal Code, Labor Code, Law of Civil Servants and other related laws to establish gender equality and to expand the programs on “*gender equality training*”, which are still being partially implemented, to include factions that have been historically resistant to such ideas and continue these programs through the media is needed.

6. *The state needs to take responsibility for child care through institutional measures:* As mentioned before, because of the roles imposed on women in Türkiye, women experience significant difficulties on reconciling private and work life. To increase the involvement of women in social life and workforce while encouraging higher birth rates necessitates a series of institutional regulations through which the state would take more responsibility on child care. The TNSA 2008 findings show that only 4% of the children of working women go to a day care center among women with children under five. Even in urban areas where women are predominantly wage earners, only 9% of their children can go to a day care center. For this reason, public day care centers for pre-school children operated by the state in places of the mothers’ employment, in urban centers or out-of-place areas to allow women to send their children even though they do not work, is going to be an important part of this new organization. In places where the state cannot reach, offering services through private enterprises receiving government subsidies that provide services for under the market rate or a to pay a reasonable amount to meet the expenses for institutional child care for women working under the child care allowance or for their spouses can be a part of this re-organization.

7. *The state needs to implement administrative/financial steps to encourage having children:* Along with institutional measures like starting day care centers to increase or maintain the birth rate, the state needs to take the necessary financial and administrative measures on child assistance allowance and the paid or unpaid leave for the mother or the father.

In this context, restructuring of the child assistance allowance paid to either one of the civil servant spouses to cover the needs of present conditions, also, increasing the duration and extent of especially the paid leave that is usually given to the mother before or after birth to include the father as well will be helpful. Increasing the child assistance allowance by stages according to the age of the child will contribute a lot to families to cover the increasing needs of their growing child. However, when the difficulties encountered in trying to determine if this allowance is actually spent on the child and the arguments that this allowance does not actually help to increase or maintain birth rates but causes pregnancies to occur earlier than they normally would, therefore having no real effect on birth rates are taken together, it would be safe to say that in increasing or maintaining birth rates, administrative measures will be more effective than financial measures.

8. Measures to increase or maintain birth rates should be timely: The experiences developed countries had during their period of demographic transformation show that to protect the demographic structure from a crisis, taking timely measures is imperative. Underlying the success in increasing birth rates from the 1.6-1.7 levels to 1.9-2.0 in France, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, is the fact that these countries not only successfully implemented these measures, but they also implemented them in a timely manner before birth rates dropped to or below 1.5 which is considered to be a very low birth rate. For this reason, starting from today, Türkiye needs to take the necessary and timely precautions to maintain today's birth rate calculated to be 2.1 when freed of the timing effect.

9. To execute population policy in coordination, a Population Policy Coordination Center needs to be established: To increase the birth rate or to keep it at a level just below the present level that allows for a more sustainable population size and structure, population policies and social policies need to be integrated. For this reason the establishment of "Population

Policy Coordination Center" will be advantageous to coordinate the efforts of primarily the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Justice, the Interior Ministry and the Ministry of Development and many other ministries and many other related institutions to reach the planned target. The aim of this center that could be established within the Ministry of Family and Social Policies or Ministry of Development, would be integrating population policies with other social policies and coordinating and executing regulations and measures. Along with sociologists, psychologists, economists and anthropologists, this center needs to employ demographers as well, which will contribute to the design of population policies, implementation and the evaluation of their effectiveness but maybe more importantly, their integration with other social policies.

The results of this study show that Türkiye has found many opportunities in bringing about services of quality instead of quantity for the problems in education, health, social security and labor arising from a rapid decrease in birth rate, however, the country is still facing important risks affecting these areas. The ageing of the population, the rise in dependency ratios, decrease in birth rates and the increase in death rates, especially the decrease in workforce and in general population due to the decrease in birth rates, shows the depth of the demographic crisis in Türkiye. This study has deliberated on the sociodemographic and economic regulations and measures that need to be taken to maintain the birth rate at its present level. Experiences of developed nations emphasize that population policy measures are not enough by themselves but population policy should be implemented in integration with social, economic, legal and social gender measures. In the 10th Development Plan that covers the period between 2014-2018, this demographic population crisis was described as "*The birth rate level which stood at 2.12 children in 2006, regressed to 2.08 children in 2012 thus falling below the renewal rate of 2.10 children*" and the report ad-

ded further that *“in this context, there is a need for the development of effective and timely population policies directed at increasing birth rates and the elderly population.”* In accordance with the suggestions of this study and about the policies that need to be implemented, the report further emphasizes that *“the young and dynamic population needs to be maintained*

and the rapid fall in birth rates need to be halted, to do this, practices that make it possible for women to reconcile their private and work lives and the development of maternity leaves and rights will be undertaken, also day care centers will be supported and flextime working opportunities will be created”.

Section 6

DIVORCE IN TÜRKİYE

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Alanur Çavlin



Introduction

Data Source and Methodology

Analysis

Results and Social Policy Recommendation

6. 1. Introduction

As in many other countries, in Türkiye marriage is an institution that first and foremost carries out the function of procreation under the aegis of the family union, then performs economic, social and demographic activities. In Türkiye, where almost all adult males and adult females have at least married once, divorce is not very prevalent; however, the recent increase in divorce rates have brought it to the attention of different areas of study. The official definition of divorce is dissolving a marriage that was legally made through legal means, freeing the man and woman to make another marriage by legal decree (TurkStat, 2002). Official statistics on divorce in Türkiye is based on the annual distribution of the divorce data collected through the General Directorate of Population and Citizenship Affairs (MERNIS- Central Population Administration System) by TurkStat. TurkStat has last made the divorce statistics for 2012 public. This data is based on the update of family registry following the dissolution of official marriages legitimately (TurkStat, 2013). According to these statistics, the divorce rate increased by 2.7% and rose to 1.64% in one year. 40% of divorces are realized in the first five years of marriage. Regional divorce rates are highest in the Aegean and lowest in Mideast Anatolia (2.3‰ and 0.58‰ respectively).

However, to reflect the true situation, in countries like Türkiye where religious marriages (popularly known as the imam marriage) are also accepted socially, it is necessary to go outside of the boundaries of official marriages. This is not only necessary to determine the divorce level. Although official statistics have data on the reasons for divorce, these data only show the officially offered reasons. Since official statistics take the reasons presented to the court as the basis, they are limited for obvious reasons. Starting from court verdicts, the main reason for divorce in Türkiye is stated as incompatibility, however, the real multidimensional reasons under the heading of incompatibility are not known. Thus, examining data from field research is very valuable. Moreover, to analyze individual attitudes on the subject of divorce, there is need for extra research data.

There are two studies on divorce conducted in Türkiye that are analyzed here. The first one is the Public Attitude Toward Divorce research (Arkan, 1996) done in the urban center of Ankara supported by Family Studies Institute, the second one is the Research on the Reasons for Divorce study supported by the General Directorate of Family and Social Research that collected data from one city chosen from each of the 12 different regions done by conducting interviews with divorced individuals (2009). Moreover, Population and Health Studies Türkiye (TNSA 2003 and TNSA 2008), have the sufficient design and questions for the socioeconomic and demographic analysis of fertile women who have divorced at least once. In this context, there is a current study based on research reports (HÜNEE, 2004; HÜNEE, 2009) and marriage history data from TNSA 2008 that offers analyses on the formation, dissolution and re-formation of marriage (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu et al., 2012).

6. 2. Data Source and Methodology

In this study, based on the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye 2006 and 2011, conducted by the Directorate of Family and Social Services of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies will be used to draw the outlines of the divorce level in Türkiye, the characteristics of marriages that end in divorce, the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of divorced individuals and the situations and attitudes that may lead to divorce.

The research represents Türkiye by urban and rural areas, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir separately and Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS) Level 1. In TAYA 2006, 12,208 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 48,235 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 23,279 individuals over the age of 18. In TAYA 2011, 12,056 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 44,117 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 24,647 individuals over the age of 18. In the study, reference individuals from the households were given the list of individuals and house-

hold questionnaire and individuals over 18 were given the separate individual questionnaire.

In this study, especially the change in the divorce rate in the five years between the two studies is going to be discussed. This time frame is undoubtedly very short to monitor the change in the marriage norm which is a very strongly entrenched norm in Türkiye. However, it is still useful to compare the data from these two studies to display this tendency. Literature on divorce stresses the fact that it is not sufficient to blame the dissolution of marriage only on the problems experienced during the marriage. Divorce, while a result of irreconcilable situations during marriage in one respect, on the other is an indicator of the means of married individuals to enable them to continue their lives outside of the marriage. If the individual characteristics of the people and/or the presence of the opportunity to end a marriage despite social conditions are excluded, we would have expected all couples to end their marriages when similar problems were experienced. For this reason, in analyses under the topic of divorce, information on the characteristics of divorced individuals, living conditions and their resources are included.

The questions on divorce in TAYA 2011 were directed at 1068 individuals who have had at least one divorce (5% of the study population). In TAYA 2006 similar questions were directed at 374 divorced individuals (2% of the study population). This difference will be reminded in tables and analyses whenever needed.

6.3. Analysis

6.3.1. Divorce Level in Türkiye

When TAYA 2006 and 2011 results are examined closely, at least over 80% of the individuals over the age of 18 interviewed in the study, were found to be married at least once (Table 118). Although it is not possible to compare the change in the percentage of individuals divorced at least once based on the results of these two studies, it is possible to compare the percentages of divorced at the time of the studies. This percentage increased by 7‰ during these five years and rose to 2.2% from 1.5% (Table 118). Moreover 6‰ of the population over 18 are separated from their spouses and living alone. Keeping in mind that some of those individuals will eventually divorce, it can be said that although divorce is not very common in Türkiye, it is on the rise.

Table 118. The Distribution of the Over 18 Population at the Time of the Research by Marital Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	2006	2011
Single	19.5	21.5
Married	74.0	69.8
Divorced	1.5	2.2
Widowed	5.1	5.9
Separated	-	0.6

**There is no separated category under marital status in the 2006 research.*

According to TAYA 2011, 4.4% of the over 18 population has at least divorced once (Table 119a). Divorce is rarer in first marriages. It is more prevalent in second or third marriages. Again, according to the results of the research, while 5% of first

marriages end in divorce, 12% of second marriages and 29% of third or later marriages end in divorce (Table 119b). It is worth to note that remarriages that can be considered together with divorce, is not widespread in Türkiye. To keep in mind the fact that

Table 119 a. Individuals Divorced At Least Once Among 18+ Population, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye
Divorced	4.4

only 4% of individuals over 18 has married at least twice and 0.3% has married at least three times will be beneficial in understanding the limited effect of

second and third divorces on indicators such as the rate of divorce (Table 119b).

Table 119b. The Status of the Marriage by the Number of Marriages, TAYA 2011 (%)

	First marriage	Second marriage	Third marriage and later marriages
Continuing	85.8	72.7	57.5
Spouse died	8.3	13.2	12.5
Divorced	5.3	11.7	29.2
Separated	0.6	2.5	0.8
Percentage within the 18+ population	80.3	3.5	0.3

However, examining the marriage count of individuals who have divorced at least once is also important. While second marriages are below 4% among the whole population, more than half of divorced

individuals have married more than once. This demonstrates that the marriage norm is strong even among divorced individuals (Table 120).

Table 120. The Number of Marriages among Individuals Divorced At Least Once (Including Religious Marriages and Polygamy), TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye
1	48.0
2	47.4
3	3.7
4	0.4
5	0.3
6	0.2

6.3.2. The Duration of the Marriage and Children

There is an inverse relationship between the duration of marriages and divorce. According to TAYA 2011 results, it was observed that the duration of the marriage of one in five divorced individuals was

2 years or less and two in five divorced individuals had marriage duration of 5 years or less. Half of the divorced individuals at the time of the study had duration of marriage of 8 years or less (Table 121). These rates verify the TurkStat 2012 divorce statistics (TÜİK, 2013).

Table 121. The Duration of Marriage of Divorced Individuals, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye
2 years or less	21.4
3 years or less	28.4
5 years or less	39.6
8 years or less	50.3

In the relationship between the duration of the marriage and divorce, the intervening variable is the number of children. Increasing duration of the marriage directly affects the probability of having a child. Having a child makes the divorce decision more difficult. In this section, keeping the relationship between having a child and divorce in mind, the distribution of the research population is examined by marital status and the number of surviving children. The total fertility rate in Türkiye is 2.16

(TNSA 2008). There is a significant differentiation found between married individuals at the time of the study and divorced individuals especially on the share of childless individuals and individuals with one child. According to the 2011 results, while only 8% of married couples do not have a child, 22% of divorced individuals are childless (Table 122). Similarly, while 17% of married couples have only one child, this percentage rises to 35% among divorced individuals. By the two children breakdown, 75% of

married individuals and 43% of divorced individuals have two or more children. This can be explained by the prevalence of divorces in the first years of the marriage causing the number of children of divorced individuals to be under the country average

and also by the fact that the decision for divorce is taken more frequently by individuals with a single child or a low number of children. Undoubtedly, for the strength of these causal analyses, there is a need for qualitative data on the subject.

Table 122. The Number of Children by Marital Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Married	Separated	Widowed	Divorced
0	8.1	8.8	3.8	21.7
1	16.7	34.3	8.2	35.4
2	33.2	29.7	20.3	24.2
3	20.3	16.1	21.8	10.2
4+	21.7	11.1	45.8	8.5

6.3.3. The Formation of Marriages that End up with Divorce

To examine the formation of ended marriages can illuminate two different types of questions about whether the manner of the formation of the marriage poses a risk of divorce and whether the manner of the formation of the marriage is effective on the option of ending the marriage. According to 2011 results, among first marriages, 94% of marriages have both civil and religious marriage ceremonies (Table 123a).

While only 3% of first marriages are formed through a civil marriage ceremony (Table 123a), 13% of these marriages ended in divorce (Table

123b). The divorce percentage is 15% in only religious marriages and 4.7% in marriages where both ceremonies were performed (majority of marriages) (Table 123b). This may point to the fact that having both civil and religious ties in marriage makes it more difficult to end a marriage. In marriages where there are either only civil or only religious ceremonies, the divorce rate is significantly higher. Another point to note is that the percentage of people who are separated is higher among religious marriages. This situation might also indicate the ambiguity of the transition from separation to divorce in religious marriages and also the possibility of the husband to have another wife bound by civil marriage.

Table 123a. Type of Marriage, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Only civil	Only religious	Both civil and religious
Türkiye	3.4	2.6	93.9

Table 123b. The Status of the First Marriage by Type of Marriage, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Only civil	Only religious	Both civil and religious
Married	78.1	66.4	86.7
Separated	0.5	1.9	0.6
Spouse died	8.3	17.0	8.0
Divorced	13.1	14.8	4.7

Another important topic from the point of view of the formation of the marriage other than the type of ceremony is the manner in which the marriage decision is taken (Table 124). While 5% of individuals who made their own decisions on marriage but got the approval of their families are divorced, this percentage rises to 12.2% among individuals who made their own decision and among those who had

an arranged marriage with their own decision. This percentage is 4% among those who made an arranged marriage without their consent. The scarcity of divorces in marriages made without the consent of the woman can be tied to the fact that the autonomy of these individuals are weaker to start with, therefore making involuntary marriages continue involuntarily.

Table 124. The Status of the Marriage by Decision of Marriage, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Own choice/own decision with family approval	Arranged marriage own decision	Arranged marriage without consent	Eloped, abducted	Bride exchange	Other
Married	89.1	78.6	86.5	70.5	84.5	*
Separated	0.6	1.2	0.5	0.9	0.7	*
Spouse died	4.9	7.9	9.0	20.6	7.2	*
Divorced	5.4	12.2	4.0	7.9	7.6	*

**When the observation count is low, no percentages are given.*

Another topic examined by the manner of the formation of the marriage and divorce practices, is the matter of marriage between relatives. As is well known, marriage between relatives is widespread in Türkiye and this percentage is maintained at the same level for a long time (around 20%). According to TAYA 2006 results, when the kinship status of divorced individuals are examined, it was found that this percentage was lower than married individuals and while 14% of divorced individuals had a relative as an ex-spouse, 23% of married couples

were related to each other (Table 125). To analyze the reasons behind the lower percentage of divorces among kinship marriages, some special data on the subject are needed. Still, it can be inferred that because of complications that are bound to arise in case of a divorce, it is more difficult to make the divorce decision in kinship marriages. However, according to TAYA 2011 results, this difference is not very distinct. Among divorced and still married individuals, the percentage of kinship marriages is 9% and 21% respectively (Table 125).

Table 125. Consanguineous Marriage by Marital Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Married a relative	Did not marry a relative
2006		
Married	23	77
Divorced	14	86
Separated*	-	-
Spouse died	22	80
2011		
Married	21	79
Divorced	9	91
Separated*	14	86
Spouse died	20	80

**In the 2006 study, there is no category for separated*

6.3.4. The Socioeconomic Characteristics of Divorced Individuals

It is important to present the socioeconomic characteristics of divorced individuals and to reveal their differences and/or similarities with individuals who are still married. First, whether urban and rural living conditions have an effect of on divorce was examined. According to TAYA 2011 findings, there is a 1 percent difference between the individuals from urban and rural areas who have di-

vorced once. While in urban areas, the percentage of individuals who have divorced at least once is 4.9%, the same rate is 3.8% in rural areas. When the same parameter is studied by regions, a more significant difference is found. The places where divorce rates are highest are the three major cities of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir and the percentages of individuals from those cities who have had at least one divorce is 5.2%, 6.3% and 6.6% respectively. On the other hand, whereas in Northeast Anatolia, East Black Sea, Southeast Anatolia and

Mideast Anatolia regions divorced individuals are rarer, the percentage of divorced individuals ranges between 1.5% and 2.8% in these regions. In the rest of the regions, this percentage is close to the Turkish average of around 4.5%. To have an idea about urban-rural and regional differentiations, the data from divorced individuals at the time of the research were studied in TAYA 2006. The percentage of divorced individuals is 1.9% in urban areas and 0.9% in rural areas. Although regional differences are more distinct, an independent calculation is only possible for Istanbul among the three major cities. The highest percentage of divorced individuals is in Istanbul by 2.2%. Istanbul is followed by the Aegean region by 2%. The regions with the lowest percentages are East Black Sea and Southeast

Anatolia regions by 5%.

To discuss the effect of educational status on divorce rates, the percentages of divorced and married men and women from different educational levels for each study year were examined. While the percentage of divorced males do not show a significant difference by different educational levels, for women, according to especially TAYA 2011 results, these percentages rise markedly as the educational level increases (Table 126). This difference in educational level is more determinant in explaining the differentiation in the women's social status compared to explaining the differentiation in the social status of men. This situation is reflected on the role of education on divorce rates.

Table 126. Divorce by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Male		Female	
	Married	Divorced	Married	Divorced
2006				
Did not finish any school	84.5	0.7	71.1	0.8
Primary school	82.0	1.2	69.4	1.6
Elementary education	88.1	0.9	83.9	2.1
Middle school	68.3	1.3	66.8	2.8
High school	55.5	0.9	52.2	2.3
Associate degree/vocational high school	70.4	0.8	54.8	4.3
Undergraduate degree	75.3	1.0	72.7	2.1
Graduate degree	84.5	0.7	71.1	0.8
Türkiye	82.0	1.2	69.4	1.6
2011				
Did not finish any school	79.0	1.8	65.5	2.0
Primary school	91.1	1.6	84.7	2.4
Elementary education	18.1	0.2	59.5	1.3
Middle school	87.8	2.6	80.2	3.7
High school	53.4	1.6	55.4	4.9
Associate degree/vocational high school	62.6	1.4	54.9	5.5
Undergraduate degree	69.8	2.2	60.1	6.4
Graduate degree	61.4	2.8	63.5	5.1
Türkiye	71.9	1.7	71.0	3.1

Note: Because the percentages of never married, widowed and separated individuals were not listed under Marital Status, the sum of educational level percentages is not 100%.

6.3.5. Reasons for Divorce

Information on reasons for divorce was collected by both studies. However, in the 2011 research, while individuals who have had at least one divorce were asked the reasons for their first divorce, in the 2006 research divorced individuals were asked about the reasons for their last divorce. In other words, the 2006 results do not cover the reasons for divorce of re-married individuals. Moreover, there are differen-

ces in the categories of reasons and in the 2011 study, a large percentage of 32% have chosen “other” as the reason for their divorce (Table 127). Still, to compare the more prominent divorce reasons, when the divorce reasons based on both studies were examined, irresponsibility and disinterest appears as one of the more distinct reasons for divorce in both studies. Reasons for divorce demonstrate significant differentiation by gender. For this purpose, the divorce reason from both studies was analyzed comparing

Table 127. Reasons for Divorce by Gender, TAYA 2006-2011

	Female	Male
2006*		
Alcoholism and gambling	11.7	3.9
Beating/maltreatment	17.2	0.0
Failing to financially provide for the family	1.3	1.6
Cheating	20.5	28.7
Being cheated on	10.7	4.6
Domestic sexual harassment	-	-
Irresponsible and Indifferent attitude	21.1	17.8
Abandonment/being abandoned	9.6	24.0
Failing to have a baby	1.5	0.5
Maltreatment of kids in the family	0.3	1.5
Disrespectful attitude towards spouses' families	3.9	16.0
In-law interference to the family matters	0.7	0.0
The spouse's suffering from a refractory disease	0.3	0.5
Infamous crime (robbery, fraud, seizure, harassment etc.)	1.1	1.0
2011**		
Alcoholism and gambling	14.1	1.2
Beating/maltreatment	12.3	0.5
Failing to financially provide for the family	8.3	6.1
Cheating	9.6	4.8
Being cheated on	-	-
Domestic sexual harassment	0.6	0.0
Irresponsible and Indifferent attitude	14.7	18.4
Abandonment/being abandoned	4.0	4.9
Failing to have a baby	2.2	1.5
Maltreatment of kids in the family	0.2	0.6
Disrespectful attitude towards spouses' families	4.6	10.2
In-law interference to the family matters	4.7	5.8
The spouse's suffering from a refractory disease	1.3	1.6
Infamous crime (robbery, fraud, seizure, harassment etc.)	0.7	0.5
Other	22.6	43.9

*The reason for divorce in the first marriage that ended in divorce

**The last divorce reason for divorced individuals at the time of the study

the responses from both men and women. When findings are examined by gender, it was observed that irresponsibility and disinterest is an important reason for both men and women. However, it is obvious that some reasons for divorce are distinctly differentiated on the basis of gender. Women end their marriages for the reasons of alcohol and gambling, violence and abuse. On the contrary, the most significant reason for divorce among men is abandonment and abandonment and cheating. Again for men only, reasons pertaining to their family, especially disrespect towards their family is another significant and widespread divorce reason (Table 127).

6.3.6. The Attitude against Situations and Behaviors that May End in Divorce

Divorce is a decision usually taken as a result of interlocking reasons. In both of the Research on Family Structure studies, some prominent divorce reasons were listed and individuals were asked whether they could be stand alone reasons for divorce (Table 128). Those thought to be stand alone reasons were cheating, infamous crimes, violence and alcohol/gambling habits. The reported reasons are considered to be stand alone reasons for divorce by 85%

and 94%. The second reason for divorce that comes after cheating is irresponsibility and disinterest. In questioning attitudes, it was expected to receive more frequent socially acceptable responses than questions on behaviors. Although it is very important in Türkiye from the point of view of marriage relationships, the non-performance of social gender norms (the woman's not carrying out household chores properly, the man's inability to support the family) and reasons like problems spouses experience with each other's families, are considered to be stand alone reasons for divorce by one third or less of the research population. Rather than considering stand alone reasons as unimportant, this may stem from the view that marriages end not for standalone reasons only, but after the combination of several reasons. A surprising finding is while almost all married couples have children in Türkiye, only one in ten individuals consider the infertility of the husband or wife as a standalone reason for divorce. Again, in the responses given to attitude questions, it should be remembered that individuals tend to give realistic answers for situations they think can experience, but revert to normative answers when the situation is about a rare experience they will probably not have (like the inability to have children).

Table 128. Situations That Can Be Stand Alone Reasons for Divorce, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Yes	No	No idea
The wife's cheating on his husband (even once)	94.0	3.4	2.6
The husband's cheating on his husband (even once)	90.7	6.1	3.2
The woman's committing an infamous crime (robbery, fraud, seizure, etc.)	87.9	8.1	4.0
The man's committing an infamous crime (robbery, fraud, seizure, etc.)	88.4	7.7	3.9
Woman's maltreatment of the husband (beating, insulting etc.)	87.7	9.8	2.5
Man's maltreatment of the wife (beating, insulting etc.)	87.7	9.9	2.4
Woman's bad habits (such as alcoholism & gambling)	84.9	11.3	3.8
Man's bad habits (such as alcoholism & gambling)	84.8	11.6	3.6
Woman's irresponsible and disrespectful attitude towards the kids and the husband	71.4	23.1	5.5
Man's irresponsible and disrespectful attitude towards the kids and the wife	71.4	23.2	5.4
The woman's failing at properly performing chores	19.2	76.0	4.8
The man's failing at financially providing for the household	43.2	52.5	4.4
Woman's family's interference into family matters	34.6	60.1	5.3
Man's family's interference into family matters	33.8	60.9	5.3
Woman's not getting along with husband's family	24.2	69.4	6.4
Man's not getting along with husband's family	23.9	69.7	6.3
Woman's infertility (inability to conceive a baby)	12.4	83.9	3.6
Man's infertility	11.0	84.8	4.1
The woman's suffering from a refractory disease	6.0	91.8	2.2
The man's suffering from a refractory disease	6.2	91.9	1.9

6. 4. Results and Social Policy Recommendations

Both TAYA 2006 and 2011 findings reveal that although divorce rates are low in Türkiye, in the five year period between the two studies, divorce rates have gone up by 1%. Divorces are concentrated around the first years of marriages. As with the length of marriages, an increase in the number of children also lowers the possibility of a divorce.

It is expected that the decrease in the number of traditional ties makes divorces more likely. In accordance with this expectation, divorce rates among individuals who only had a civil marriage ceremony, among those who chose the person and made the decision to marry on their own and when there is no kinship between spouses, divorce rates show a small increase.

The highest divorce rates are in large cities like Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. There is a differentiation of 1% between rural and urban areas. The effect of education on the differentiation on divorce rates is more prominent among women. As the educational level of women rise, so do divorce rates.

When the reasons for divorce are examined more closely, with the exception of cheating/being cheated on in 2006, there are no significant differences. The inability to fulfill responsibilities and clashing with the spouse's family are among the most important reasons for divorce. Among attitudes that might constitute a reason for divorce, cheating, infamous crimes, violence and alcoholism/gambling habits come at the top of the list.

Divorce rates in Türkiye are low; however, the rise experienced in the past few years is expected to continue. For this reason, even though divorce is not a situation generalized throughout the society, it is a social problem that increases in importance because of the manner it affects the daily and social lives of the children of these individuals and other family members.

There are parallels between divorce reasons and the problems couples experience in their marriage. The presence of divorce as an option in case problems experienced cannot be solved, offers individuals and other members of the family, primarily the children and the chance to rebuild their individual and family lives. When social policies are developed on the topic of divorce, it should be kept in mind that the divorced couple has not only ended their family union, but beyond that, they have formed a new and different family dynamic for themselves and their children if any, and they need legal, psychosocial and economic support at the same time. To reduce the negative effects of divorce, mechanisms that will allow the couple to make the decision to dissolve their marriage peacefully protecting their and their children's interests are needed. In the case of divorce, these mechanisms need to be shaped to support both women and men to safeguard parenting rights. Children usually live with the mother, therefore policies to preserve the tie between the father and children need to be instituted. The results of studies on single parent households also support this view (ASAGEM, 2011).

The rights and regulations accorded by the Civil Code on guardianship, child support and division of property and the measures mentioned in the Protection of the Family and Prevention of Violence Against Women Law number 6284 to facilitate the dissolution of marriages where the woman faces abuse, are important steps especially from the point of view of the protection of women and children.

Again, starting from 2002, the establishment of Family Courts lifting barriers in front of undisputed divorces has proven to be functional in reducing some negative results of the divorce process. However, remembering that as the decision for marriage, the decision for divorce will have a determining effect on the lives of individuals or their children if any, the awareness of both parties on their rights and responsibilities need to be raised and divorce agreements should only come after this awareness is established. The financial support of the guardian parent after the divorce, the maintenance and strengthening of the relationship between the parent living apart and children is necessary. It is not the divorce itself that causes problems, but the fact that relationships after the divorce are not rebuilt considering the needs of all parties.

From the point of view of divorced individuals and their children, it is important that divorce is not considered a social taboo and the prevention of discrimination against divorced individuals and their children is imperative. In this respect, legal professionals like judges, district attorneys and lawyers divorced individuals and their children are primarily in contact with, mental health professionals and social workers employed in family courts, school administrators and teachers all have important responsibilities. As in developed and other developing countries, in Türkiye, the traditional extended family and nuclear family types are no longer the norm, different family types are becoming more widespread. Today, in Türkiye there are family structures made up of divorced individuals, individuals that live alone and divorced individuals living with their children in single parent households, the percentage of these families are expected to increase in the near future. To prevent problems arising from divorce, the social inclusion of divorced individuals and their families need to be supported throughout social life, education and work life and in kinship and neighbor relationships.

Section 7

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Dr. Ayşe İdil Aybars



Introduction

Data Source and Methodology

Conceptual Framework

Analysis

Results and Social Policy Recommendations

7. 1. Introduction

This study is mainly based upon the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (TAYA) conducted in 2006 and 2011. The purpose of the study is to analyze the data on the relationship between parents and children and make inferences on the subject. In the study, which will focus on the main characteristics, dynamics and transformation of the parent-child relationship, the effects of the family structure transformation process on the relationships between the mother, father and children will be discussed in detail.

It is obvious that the relationship of parents and children within the family is a multidimensional and multilevel subject that necessitates the priorities of different institutional mechanisms and policies. A comprehensive analysis on this topic should focus on the values about children, the dynamics of problem solving, the practices of spending time together, the dynamics of decision making between the parents and children and division of labor. The relationship between parents and children is an extremely important determinant of the socialization process of children starting with the family, leading to their development of independent decision making skills, finding different areas of interest, the development of their social, cognitive and emotional skills, in other words, this relationship is very important because of its contribution to the individual development of children. In this context, the question of how much the family can support the children's involvement in opportunities and rights such as education, health, sports and other social activities is another important measure. How limiting or liberating this relationship is, whether the family is able to instill independence, self-sufficiency and tolerance skills in the children are other topics needed for a more comprehensive analysis of the issue.

There are a limited number of interactive, detailed and systematic studies in Türkiye on the subject of the relationship between parents and children. The completed studies generally examine the conflict between generations and focus on the struggle between young people and their parents (Kandiyoti, 1979; Kağıtçıbaşı and Kansu, 1976, 1977; Tezcan, 1981).

According to Kağıtçıbaşı, who defines the parent-child relationship as “vertical interaction axis”, the position of the child in the family defines the family dynamic. In this context, especially the appreciation of the child and expectations from the child is important data determining the functionality of the family (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2012).

The study conducted by Kağıtçıbaşı called The Value of the Child, which examines the transformation of values and perceptions about the child in the last 30 years, offers many important findings. The study, which offers a comparison between the 1970s and 2000s, three types of values were specified: economic, psychological and social values (Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2005; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2013). The economic-utilitarian values focus on the tangible benefits the child provides the family starting from when they were very young into their teenage years and into adulthood. The contribution to the household economy when they are young and the later security they provide their elderly parents are good examples. On the other hand, the psychological value of the child focuses on the fun, friendship, joy, pride and the sense of success brought about by having a child. Lastly, the social value of the child focuses on the dimension of the social acceptance of people with children. The values usually focusing on the male child for the perpetuation of the last name and the continuation of family traditions are important to understand the social value of the child.

According to a research started in 1975 and repeated in 2003 conducted in nine different countries, with the improvement in the socioeconomic level and especially with the rise of educational level in Türkiye, the economic value of children went down and their psychological value increased sharply. For instance while 84% of Turkish families in the 1970s saw a male child as the security of old age, in the 2000s and especially in urban areas, this percentage fell to 41%. On the other hand, psychological components of the joy, the pleasure and love associated with having a child became more important in the 2000s. The research shows that consequently, the financial benefits of children as security in old age and the desire for male children are becoming less important.

The research which points to the important social transformation process brought about by economical growth, urbanization and the rise in educational level in the past 30 years in Türkiye is important because it demonstrates that the value of children in the family and society also changes correspondingly. For instance, the increasing urban population and urban lifestyle can be expected to produce social security and elderly security options as an alternative to the support of the adult child. Moreover, the fact that instead of financially contributing to the family and spending a longer time within the educational system, children may place extra economical burden on the family thus diminishing the economical value attributed to children. The gender preferences of families show that in the 1970s the preference for female children was 16%, this percentage rose to 59% among especially urban mothers in the 2000s.

The results of the research demonstrate that starting from the 2000s; the financial “Dependent Family Model” is being replaced by the psychological and emotional “Interconnected Family Model”. This model is a different synthesis unlike the “Independent Family Model” of western cultures and the “Dependent Family Model” of traditional agricultural societies. In this transformational process, instead of the “individualization-dissociation” process found in western societies, close and committed relationships and a loving environment endures in the family. Children growing up in such a family model, develop self-reliant-relational personalities (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2013).

Before looking at the related questions from TAYA 2006 and 2011 surveys, it is a better idea to look at the questions from The Value of the Child research first. There are 12 statements under the heading “Reasons to want a child” to measure the economic, social and psychological values mentioned above: (1) The joy of watching children grow up; (2) The fun of having little children around; (3) To have somebody to love and care for; (4) To maintain the last name; (5) To bring spouses closer; (6) Getting help from children in old age; (7) To have a daughter; (8) To be successful in business; (9) To keep the company of children; (10) To have a son; (11) To

get help from the child for household chores; and (12) To provide economical support for the family.

Under the light of these discussions, as will be examined in more detail below, there is a different approach to relationships within the nuclear family and especially towards children in TAYA 2006 and 2011. For instance in TAYA 2006, the approach to children are evaluated on the basis of agreeing with these nine statements: (1) Only a son can assure the continuation of the bloodline; (2) Each family should have kids depending on their economic standing; (3) A kid has a negative impact on mother’s social/educational and professional life; (4) A kid has a negative impact on father’s social/educational and professional life; (5) A woman who has a kid is more respectable than a woman who does not have a kid; (6) A son makes mother more respectable; (7) A kid makes the couple closer; (8) Once having grown up, the kid should financially support the parent and (9) The kid should take care of the parent once they get old.

From the statements above, it is clear that even though it is possible to arrive at the economic, and to a limited degree the social value of children in Türkiye, it is unlikely to do the same on the psychological value of children. Moreover, from a more basic divergence point, the fact that these values are defined from a negative point of view offer limited information about how children are regarded in this society.

As a different example, in the Research on Family Values, although the subjects discussed under “Outlook on Children” are fewer in number than TAYA, it offers a more extensive and detailed perspective. The outlook on children is evaluated under six different statements in the Research on Family Values: (1) Children should be raised to be self-reliant; (2) An eighteen year old man should be able to make his own decisions; (3) An eighteen year old woman should be able to make her own decisions; (4) Children should be able to choose the person they are going to marry; (5) To have a son means more standing in life; and (6) Beating can be used in the education of children.

As can be seen from the statements above, here, there are also statements similar to TAYA 2006 and 2011, however, (especially the 5th and 6th statements) the self-sufficiency of children and personal decision making capabilities become important to measure the views towards children. As will be clearer in the section below, the statements used in TAYA 2006 and 2011 to measure the views on children seem to be starting from a conservative and ideological stance.

7. 2. Data Source and Methodology

The analyses made in the context of this study are based on the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye 2006 and 2011, conducted by the Directorate of Family and Social Services of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. In the study, were used. The research represents Türkiye by urban and rural areas, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir separately and Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS) Level 1. In TAYA 2006, 12.208 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 48.235 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 23.279 individuals over the age of 18. In TAYA 2011, 12.056 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 44.117 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 24.647 individuals over the age of 18. In the study, reference individuals from the households were given the list of individuals and household questionnaire and individuals over 18 were given the separate individual questionnaire. The 2006 and 2011 researches are not based on the same questionnaires. As a result, the quality of the questions used in the surveys can be limited by the representative value of the sampling and the accessibility of the data. In TAYA 2006 and 2011, there are detailed questions on the relationship between parents and children, these questions focus on the perceptions and expectations of parents from their children, main problems and problem areas faced in the relationship and punishments given to the children and the reasons for spanking children in general. In the 2011 study, supplementary questions of who primarily provides care for children during

the day, whether children have their own rooms and who the principal decision maker on the issues about children is, were added.

7. 3. Conceptual Framework

Even though it allows a limited analysis on the relationship between parents and children, the conceptual framework created by these questions clearly does not permit a detailed examination on the different dimensions of this relationship. The point to be emphasized here is the fact that the questions are more focused on problem areas and punishment of children rather than covering other aspects of the relationship.

Both TAYA 2006 and 2011 cannot provide sufficient data on whether a definite transformational process was experienced in the family structure or in the family relationships during these five years. Although the 2011 survey form has been updated and adapted to changing conditions, the fact that some new questions are added and some from the 2006 survey have been eliminated prevents a comparative data analysis on important subjects. Additionally, there are difficulties stemming from the different manner in which the questions were asked and the dissimilarity of answer options in both studies.

It does not seem possible to make comprehensive inferences on the relationship between parents and children from the data obtained from TAYA 2006 and 2011 studies. Therefore one of the most important topics to highlight here is to include questions in future studies that will make it possible to focus on those other dimensions of the parent-child relationship.

Departing from these mentioned limitations, this study shapes the main findings about the relationship between parents and children on the three dimensions of views on and expectations from children, problems encountered and punishments used. It is expected that each one of the three dimensions mentioned show differences by gender, age, education and socioeconomic level. However, on the topic of relationships between parents and children as

displayed by the different dimensions included in TAYA 2006 and 2011 surveys, it is observed that different variable or variables are determinant by subject. Consequently, this study focuses on the question of which variable or variables are more determinant on the discussed dimensions.

7.4. Analysis

7.4.1. Views About Children

Primarily views about children will be discussed in this section. Statements about children are important because they demonstrate the modern or conservative views and attitudes of individuals about children. In TAYA 2006, some views about children are listed and participants were asked if they agreed with these statements. Among the options, those nine statements are listed:

1. Only a son can assure the continuation of the bloodline,
2. Each family should have kids depending on their economic standing,
3. A kid has a negative impact on mother's social/educational and professional life,
4. A kid has a negative impact on father's social/educational and professional life,
5. A woman who has a kid is more respectable than a woman who does not have a kid,
6. A son makes mother more respectable,
7. A kid makes the couple closer,
8. Once having grown up, the kid should financially support the parent,
9. The kid should take care of the parents once they get old.

In TAYA 2011, the number of statements was reduced to six, while the statements 1, 6, 7, 8 and 9 were kept the same, the statement "Daughters are closer to the family" was added to the list.

By 2006 data, a significant percentage of 88% agree with the statement "The kid should take care of the parent once they get old". Although this percentage falls to 80% in 2011, it is obvious that it is still important. This is an important finding conflicting with the data that show that the economic value of

children has dropped.

In the 2006 survey, this was followed by "Each family should have kids depending on their economic standing" with 85%, with %84 "A kid makes the couple closer" and "Once having grown up, the kid should financially support the parent" by 77%. With the elimination of option number 2 in the 2011 survey, a significant percentage or 87% of individuals were found to agree with the statement "A kid makes the couple closer" moving this statement to the top. The second statement from the top in 2011 is "Daughters are closer to the family" by 82%. The following two statements are the ones mentioned above, "The kid should take care of the parent once they get old" with 80% and "Once having grown up, the kid should financially support the parent" with 74% (Table 129).

Starting from these findings, the first issue to highlight is rather than being a valuable individual on their own, children in Türkiye are still regarded as an economic contributor, support at old age and a bringer of closeness between spouses thus shaping expectations from children along these lines. When this combines with the views that daughters are closer to the family, it creates the impression that rather than individuals, children are regarded by their role in the family and are evaluated by their contributions to the family.

These data show that views on children extensively display a conservative attitude. The fact that about 90% of the society thinks that children should care for their parents in their old age and 80% of individuals think that they should financially contribute to their parents shows that children are seen as security for the future and that for Turkish families children are still regarded on the merits of their economic/utilitarian value.

On closer examination of the statements offering information on the social value of children, it was found that while the percentage of individuals who thought that having a child impacts the mother's social/educational/work life negatively is 46% in 2006, the percentage of those who think the same for the father remain at 22%. The percentage of

individuals who think that a woman with a child has better standing is 34%, the percentage of those who think a son will increase her standing is 32% at a relatively lower rate, however, what both of these point to is an important percentage. In 2011 findings on the other hand, agreement with the statement that a son raises the standing of the mother is 56%. Similarly, according to the 2006 findings, while agreement with the statement that the bloodline of the family is only maintained through the male child is 41%, this percentage rises to 47% in 2011. These findings are important not only because they show that the increasing transformation of the family is taking on more conservative characteristics, but they also show that the social value of children are lower than their economic value.

The very high percentage of individuals agreeing with the statement that each family should have only the number of children they can support shows the determining power of economic condi-

tions in Türkiye. The three, four, five children policies of official speeches have different reflections by the economic conditions of families and families have to consider these conditions when they decide on the number of their children. The exclusion of this option in the 2011 survey prevents the presentation of a comparative finding on the subject and constitutes an important deficiency.

Although it seems important to examine the answers to the question from a social gender variable point of view, it is not possible to present very distinct findings. Whereas a great gap between the answers of men and women is not observed, it is interesting that the percentage of women who agree with the statement that the bloodline is only maintained through the son is less than men by 10%. According to 2011 data, although this percentage rose to 41% among women and 52% among men, the over 10% difference still existing between men and women is interesting (Table 129).

Table 129. Perceptions Regarding Children throughout Türkiye, and by Gender, TAYA 2006-2011 (Yes) (%)

	Türkiye	Male	Female
2006			
Only a son can assure the continuation of the bloodline	40.5	44.6	36.4
Each family should have kids depending on their economic standing	84.9	84.0	85.9
A kid has a negative impact on mother's social/educational and professional life	45.8	47.7	44.0
A kid has a negative impact on father's social/educational and professional life	21.6	21.9	21.2
A woman who has a kid is more respectable than a woman who does not have a kid	33.7	33.8	33.6
A son makes mother more respectable	32.0	32.6	31.3
A kid makes the couple closer	84.1	87.0	81.4
Once having grown up, the kid should financially support the parent	76.6	75.8	77.4
The kid should take care of the parent once they get old	88.3	89.3	87.4
2011			
Only a son can assure the continuation of the bloodline	46.7	52.3	41.1
Daughters are closer to the family	81.6	78.3	84.8
A son makes mother more respectable	55.6	58.9	52.3
A kid makes the couple closer	86.7	90.0	83.4
Once having grown up, the kid financially supports the parent	74.2	74.7	73.6
The kid takes care of the parent once they get old	79.7	81.1	78.4

On the other hand, when the agreement with statements about children is examined on the basis of age group, some interesting results are found. For

instance agreement with the “Only a son can assure the continuation of the bloodline” statement rises with age and younger generations show a more modern attitude towards this statement. The 15%

difference between the 25-34 age group and over 65 group is interesting in this sense (Table 130). The same tendency was observed in the 2011 data, this time the younger age group agrees with this statement by 44% and the over 65 group demonstrates a 60% agreement rate showing a rise of 16% in the difference between these groups. This situation, as was mentioned above, demonstrates that the economic value of the child is relatively lower for the new generation parents.

Agreement with the “Each family should have kids depending on their economic standing”, “A kid has a negative impact on mother’s social/educational and professional life”, “A kid has a negative impact on father’s social/educational and professional life”, “A kid makes the couple closer” and “The kid should take care of the parent once they get old ” statements does not show a distinct differentiation by age (Table 130).

On the other hand, individuals who agree with the statement that a son increases the mother’s standing change greatly by age group. Speaking about a linear relationship is possible here: As age increases, agreement with this statement increases distinctly and a 16-17% difference is observed between the

youngest and oldest age groups. Likewise, agreement with this statement rises similarly according to 2011 data and from 52% agreement in the 18-24 age group, it increases to 67% in the above 65 age group. Again, according to 2011 data, the percentage of individuals who think that daughters are closer to the family, directly increase with age and while it is 73% in the youngest age group, it rises to 86% among the over 65 age group (Table 130). These findings are also important as they demonstrate that the social and especially economic value attributed to children by the new generation of relatively young parents is lower. Here the absence of questions on the psychological dimension prevents inferences on whether psychological values have replaced the social and economic values attributed to children

A similar difference is true for the statement “Once having grown up, the kid should financially support the parent”. Here, although a direct relationship has not been found, it is observed that agreement with the statement is 8% less among the younger generation. These findings show that conservative attitudes and values towards children is more prevalent in advanced age groups and that younger generations display a more liberal attitude towards children.

Table 130. Perceptions Regarding Children by Age, TAYA 2006-2011 (Yes) (%)

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	Over 65
2006						
Only a son can assure the continuation of the bloodline	38.9	36.3	39.2	40.8	47.0	51.4
Each family should have kids depending on their economic standing	88.2	85.7	84.0	83.1	84.8	81.9
A kid has a negative impact on mother’s social/educational and professional life	43.3	46.6	46.5	44.6	49.6	44.6
A kid has a negative impact on father’s social/educational and professional life	20.6	19.4	22.1	21.9	25.2	24.3
A woman who has a kid is more respectable than a woman who does not have a kid	27.3	28.9	34.0	36.1	43.3	45.5
A son makes mother more respectable	27.5	26.7	31.0	34.5	41.4	44.3
A kid makes the couple closer	82.0	84.1	84.6	85.1	86.4	82.8
Once having grown up, the kid should financially support the parent	77.4	71.0	75.7	77.5	83.6	85.6
2011						
Only a son can assure the continuation of the bloodline	44.1	42.3	45	46.8	50.9	59.7
Daughters are closer to the family	72.6	79.4	83.7	85.4	86.1	86
A son makes mother more respectable	52.1	50	52.8	58.5	63.1	66.6
A kid makes the couple closer	86.1	84.9	86.4	87.7	88.6	88.8
Once having grown up, the kid financially supports the parent	77.3	68.1	71.3	76.5	78.4	80.5
The kid takes care of the parent once they get old	83.6	76	77.1	80.3	82.9	83

If views on children reflect conservative-modern attitudes and tendencies, education should be expected to be an important determinant. Looking at the answers by the education variable, some interesting findings are found. In the 2006 and 2011 research, as almost all statements directly change with education, especially the statements that bloodlines are only maintained through the male child, a son makes the mother gain more respect and when they grow up children should support their parents financially are the ones that demonstrate the greatest difference between the lowest and highest educational groups (Table 131). In both the 2006 and 2011 data, there is close to a 32% difference between the lowest and highest educational levels on the statement that the bloodline of the family is only maintained through the male child. It is interesting to note that there is an over 40% difference between the lowest and highest educational groups on agreement with the statement that a son makes a mother gain more respect. These data are important because they demonstrate the prevalence of conservative values and attitudes among the lower educational groups. The 42% difference in 2006 between the lowest and highest educational groups in agreement with the statement that when they grow up children should financially contribute to their parents has fallen to 30% in 2011. The closing of this gap does not support the aforementioned finding that the economic value of children has been losing importance lately.

On the other hand, although not as distinctive as the one above, the tendency to agree with the statement that children should take care of their parents in their old age falls linearly as the educational level rises (Table 131). The difference between the lowest and highest educational groups stay at a steady 17-18%. On the other hand, in both 2006 and 2011, a decrease of 6-9% was observed in agreement with this statement across all educational levels. There is a difference of 17% between the lowest and highest educational groups in agreement with the question that was only included in the 2011 survey "Daughters are closer to the family".

While in the 2011 results, agreement with all statements was found to be related to educational lev-

el, the same observation is not valid for the 2006 statements. For instance those that agree with the statement that having a child negatively effects the mother's social/educational/work life are clustered around middle education levels and agreement with this statement is more or less the same between the lowest and highest educational groups (Table 131). The fact that in lower educational levels the percentage of participation in work life is also low among women, the lower agreement with this statement can be understandable. On the other hand, keeping in mind the fact that women from higher educational levels work in higher paying jobs, it can be inferred that high educational level families have the income to spend on child care therefore the negative effects of having a child is felt less.

Although there is no significant difference in agreement with the statement that every family should have the number of children they can support, while the percentage of agreement with this statement is steady by above 80% among all educational groups, it is higher by 5% among high educational levels. This finding is also interesting in the way that it demonstrates that the awareness on this subject rises relatively with educational level (Table 131).

Although the percentage of individuals who agree with the statement that a child brings the couple together was between the 76% and 87% interval in 2006 and between 82% and 89% in 2011, agreement with this statement is relatively lower in higher education levels and the gap was found to be wider in 2011. This is an important finding because it shows that the individual emphasis on the child is stronger in higher educational groups.

Another important variable related to the subject is the socioeconomic status which is also considered to be related to the level of education. According to the SES variable in the 2006 data, it is possible to find similar results on the views about children. Again, in addition to agreement with the statements that only a son can assure the continuation of the bloodline, a woman who has a kid is more respectable than a woman who does not have a kid, a son makes the mother more respectable and once having grown up, the kid should financially support

Table 131. Perceptions Regarding Children by Educational Level, TAYA 2006-2011 (Yes) (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/ literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
2006					
Only a son can assure the continuation of the bloodline	55.8	40.8	39.3	33.9	24.3
Each family should have kids depending on their economic standing	80.9	84.9	86.4	87.4	85.8
A kid has a negative impact on mother's social/educational and professional life	45.0	48.3	47.5	42.4	40.2
A kid has a negative impact on father's social/educational and professional life	25.3	22.4	20.6	18.5	18.0
A woman who has a kid is more respectable than a woman who does not have a kid	49.3	37.5	28.5	21.4	16.7
A son makes mother more respectable	48.8	36.0	27.5	19.0	11.8
A kid makes the couple closer	84.3	86.7	84.4	81.3	76.4
Once having grown up, the kid should financially support the parent	89.4	82.8	74.7	64.9	47.3
The kid should take care of the parent once they get old	92.2	91.0	86.8	85.4	74.1
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University
2011					
Only a son can assure the continuation of the bloodline	62.5	50.2	46.9	40.3	30.6
Daughters are closer to the family	88.2	86.4	81.4	75.0	71.8
A son makes mother more respectable	72.8	62.2	59.2	44.3	32.4
A kid makes the couple closer	89.2	88.9	87.2	83.6	82.2
Once having grown up, the kid financially supports the parent	84.8	80.3	76.0	67.7	54.0
The kid takes care of the parent once they get old	85.2	83.1	80.8	76.4	68.6

the parent; the percentage of agreement with the statement that a kid should take care of the parent once they get old decreases directly as the SES rises (Table 132). The difference between the percentages of individuals from lower and higher SES groups who agree with the statement that a son raises the standing of the mother is 32%; the difference between the percentages of individuals from the lower and higher SES groups who agree with the statement that having children raises the mother's standing is 29% and the difference is 26% among lower and higher SES groups who agree with the statement that the bloodline of the family is only secured through the male child.

The tendency to agree with the statements that a child should support the parents financially when they grow up and children should take care of their

parents in their old age markedly decreases directly by SES groups than by educational level (Table 132). The difference of 14% between upper and lower SES groups in agreement with the statement that a child should take care of elderly parents and the 34% difference between upper and lower SES groups in the agreement with the statement that when they grow up children should support their parents is noteworthy. These data are important to show that especially in the lower SES groups children are considered an investment and security for the future and as economic conditions get better, this tendency decreases.

On the other hand, agreement with the statements that each family should have the number of children they can support and having a child negatively affects the social/educational/work life of the mother

or the father does not show significant difference by SES level (Table 132). Individuals who think that a child brings the parents closer are clustered around the lower and middle SES groups while this per-

centage is relatively lower in the upper SES groups. These findings, as the ones above, are important to show that as the SES level rises, the tendency to see children as having a value of their own increases.

Table 132. Perceptions Regarding Children by SES, TAYA 2006 (Yes) (%)

	Upper class	Middle class	Lower class
Only a son can assure the continuation of the bloodline	28.9	40.1	54.5
A kid has a negative impact on mother's social/educational and professional life	40.0	46.7	44.9
A kid has a negative impact on father's social/educational and professional life	17.6	21.6	25.3
A woman who has a kid is more respectable than a woman who does not have a kid	18.4	33.8	47.4
A son makes mother more respectable	16.4	31.8	47.9
A kid makes the couple closer	77.4	85.1	83.8
Once having grown up, the kid should financially support the parent	53.8	78.1	88.1
The kid should take care of the parent once they get old	77.3	89.4	91.2
Each family should have kids depending on their economic standing	86.8	85.4	79.8

7. 4. 2. Main Conflict Areas between Parents and Children

In this section, the pervasive problems between parents and children will be discussed and other findings on other problem areas will be disclosed. In the TAYA 2006 survey, the question on the subject was "Do you have conflicts with your child /your parents in the matters listed below", in TAYA 2011, it was worded as "Are there any conflicts between parents and the child in your household?", similarly 12 options for the 2006 and 16 options for the 2011 questions were listed. For these options offered, the three answer choices were "never", "sometimes" and "often". For ease of comparison, the "Irrelevant" option from the 2011 questionnaire was excluded from the analysis.

In the 2006 research, these problem areas were defined as "clothing", "choice of friends", "entertainment", "choice of school and profession", "political views", "religious views /practices", "commitment to traditions", "views on marriage and family life", "habits pertaining to diet and house order", "spending and consumption habits", "relations with relatives" and "interfamilial relations". This list was kept the same in the 2011 research, however, the options of "the use of internet / computer game", "the use of mobile phone", "having friends from the opposite sex" and "smoking" were added. Updating the

questions in the 2011 survey makes it possible to make a more comprehensive analysis.

When the "often" and "sometimes" options are taken together, as can be seen in Table 133, the deepest problem areas between the parents and children in 2006 are ordered as spending and consumption habits (30%), choice of friends (28%), clothing (24%) and habits pertaining to diet and house order (22%). By 2011 data, again when the "often" and "sometimes" options are taken together, the most important problem areas are spending and consumption habits by 32%, choice of friends by 31%, clothing by 28% and habits pertaining to diet and house order by 24%. The fact that between the years of 2006 and 2011 this order remained more or less the same shows that in Türkiye the main problem areas between parents and children are concentrated around these four areas. As a result, it can be inferred that the most important conflict between generations is experienced in these areas.

On the other hand, disagreements over political views are the last on the list for both years by 8% and 5% respectively. This is followed by disagreement over religious practices and views (12% in 2006 and 10% in 2011). These data show that there are no significant problems between generations on the subjects of politics and religion.

When the four topics newly added in 2011 are examined, the percentage of those who found the questions “irrelevant” constitutes a significant ratio. 24% of individuals replied irrelevant to the question about

smoking habits, 11% for Internet usage and 5% for having friends from the opposite sex. Although widespread, the response on especially Internet usage displays the limits of internet usage (Table 133).

Table 133. Problems Experienced between Parents and Children throughout Türkiye, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Often & sometimes	Never	
2006			
Spending and consumption habits	29.7	70.3	
Choice of friends	27.9	72.1	
Clothing	24.3	75.7	
Habits pertaining to diet and house order	21.6	78.4	
Entertainment	20.1	79.9	
Interfamilial relations	17.8	82.2	
Views on marriage and family life	16.1	83.9	
Choice of school and profession	15.1	84.9	
Commitment to traditions	14.6	85.4	
Relations with relatives	13.9	86.1	
Religious views /practices	11.5	88.5	
Political views	7.7	92.3	
	Often & sometimes	Never	Irrelevant
2011			
Spending and consumption habits	31.6	68.2	0.2
Choice of friends	31.2	68.5	0.3
Clothing	28.1	71.7	0.2
Habits pertaining to diet and house order	24.2	75.5	0.3
The use of Internet / computer games	20.2	68.7	11.1
Entertainment	19.2	79.3	1.5
The use of mobile phone	16.7	78.7	4.6
Choice of school and profession	15.7	82.6	1.7
Interfamilial relations	14.3	85.5	0.3
Smoking	12.6	63.7	23.7
Commitment to traditions	12.1	87.5	0.4
Relations with relatives	12.1	87.6	0.4
Having friends from the opposite sex	11.9	83.3	4.7
Views on marriage and family life	10.5	84.7	4.8
Religious views /practices	10.0	89.2	0.8
Political views	5.3	90.7	4.0

Gender does not constitute an important variable acting on the problems between parents and children. There are very small differences of at most 1-2% in 2006 and 3% in 2011 between the answers coming from men and women. The only exceptional topic in this context is the style of dressing and by 2006 findings, while 22% of men declare this as a problem area, this percentage rises to 27% among

women. Similarly, according to the 2011 findings, while the percentage of women who report problems in this area is 31%, it is 25% among men (Table 134). If the intensity of the mother-child relationship is taken into account, it would be possible to say that this is a problem area between mothers and especially daughters.

Table 134. Conflicts Experienced between Parents and Children by Gender, TAYA 2006-2011 (Often & Sometimes) (%)

	Male	Female
2006		
Spending and consumption habits	30.8	28.5
Choice of friends	28.5	27.2
Clothing	21.8	27.0
Habits pertaining to diet and house order	21.6	21.6
Entertainment	19.9	20.3
Interfamilial relations	18.2	17.3
Views on marriage and family life	15.4	16.9
Choice of school and profession	14.8	15.5
Commitment to traditions	15.1	14.1
Relations with relatives	14.5	13.4
Religious views /practices	11.2	11.7
Political views	7.9	7.5
2011		
Spending and consumption habits	31.9	31.3
Choice of friends	29.9	32.6
Clothing	25.0	31.3
Habits pertaining to diet and house order	22.6	25.9
The use of Internet / computer games	19.8	20.6
Entertainment	18.9	19.4
The use of mobile phone	15.9	17.5
Choice of school and profession	15.0	16.5
Interfamilial relations	13.3	15.3
Smoking	13.6	11.5
Commitment to traditions	12.1	12.0
Relations with relatives	11.9	12.2
Having friends from the opposite sex	10.6	13.3
Views on marriage and family life	9.5	10.5
Religious views /practices	10.0	11.1
Political views	5.4	5.2

It is possible to talk about some important findings by age group. According to 2006 and 2011 data, in almost all areas, the percentage of those who report problems decrease with age. The percentage of those who report having no problems ranges between 85-95% among the oldest age group. The only exception to this is the spending and consumption habits and a percentage of 21% in 2006 and 18% in 2011 report having problems in this area often or sometimes (Table 135).

The problems experienced on the style of dressing and choice of friends is mostly clustered around the

35-44 and 45-54 age groups as can be seen from Table 135. If we remember that these age groups have adolescent and teenager children, this finding is not surprising. Interference of parents especially on the clothing and friend choices of their young children is prevalent in Turkish society, making them the areas where the most intense conflicts are experienced. Moreover, the fact that there is not a significant difference on this subject by educational level is an important finding that points out to the fact that this situation is valid for the whole of society.

Table 135. Conflicts Experienced between Parents and Children by Age, TAYA 2006-2011 (Often & Sometimes) (%)

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	Over 65 V
2006						
Clothing	22.9	19.4	31.5	25.3	18.4	13.8
Choice of friends	26.0	17.5	36.3	30.9	19.9	13.1
Entertainment	22.2	15.1	21.3	19.1	13.5	15.2
Choice of school and profession	14.5	13.6	17.4	16.3	11.2	13.4
Political views	8.3	8.2	7.1	7.5	6.8	4.9
Religious views /practices	10.7	9.5	13.3	11.9	11.9	9.6
Commitment to traditions	15.3	11.3	15.0	14.2	14.3	11.4
Views on marriage and family life	17.1	21.6	14.2	15.3	13.2	13.2
Habits pertaining to diet and house order	24.0	20.8	23.0	19.8	12.7	13.8
Spending and consumption habits	32.0	26.7	32.0	28.0	21.3	21.0
Relations with relatives	14.2	13.0	14.0	14.2	12.1	13.6
Interfamilial relations	20.0	13.3	17.1	16.3	15.9	15.2
2011						
Clothing	24.9	26.9	34.3	27.8	19.1	13.5
Choice of friends	26.1	30.9	38.5	31.2	24	11.6
Entertainment	22.0	14.6	21.5	17.3	12.5	2.8
Choice of school and profession	13.8	13.7	19.7	15.5	11.3	2.5
Political views	7.8	5.7	4.1	4.9	2.8	1.6
Religious views /practices	10.9	9.0	9.8	9.6	9.9	5.4
Commitment to traditions	13.8	11.1	11.8	11.5	10.5	7.2
Views on marriage and family life	15.2	8.9	8.0	9.4	9.1	6.6
Habits pertaining to diet and house order	25.6	25.8	27.9	21.6	14.8	9.1
Spending and consumption habits	34.6	29.9	33.6	29.8	22.7	17.7
Relations with relatives	16.6	13.3	10.6	10.1	8.5	3.7
Interfamilial relations	16.8	16.3	14.6	12.3	10.4	4.9
The use of Internet / computer games	17.2	20.2	27.3	18.6	11.4	5.4
The use of mobile phone	15.2	14.5	20.9	16.4	9.9	8.3
Having friends from the opposite sex	15.2	10	11.8	10.9	6.6	6.0
Smoking	14.7	7.8	9.6	14.5	14.9	6.4

When these data is examined by educational level, it is not possible to point out a significant difference. There are two exceptions here. The problems experienced on habits pertaining to diet and house order and spending and consumption habits is directly proportional to the educational level and are more frequently mentioned by upper educational levels. According to the 2006 data, a percentage of 34% in the highest educational group voices concerns over spending and consumption habits and a percentage of 28% have problems about habits pertaining to diet and house order. The decrease seen in these percentages to 23% and 17% respectively

among the lowest educational levels show that as the educational level rises, the emphasis put on the habits of order and discipline also rises (Table 136).

The 2011 data also show similar tendencies. While a significant difference is not observed about other problem areas, 33% of university graduates and individuals with graduate degrees report they often or sometimes have problems in the area of habits pertaining to diet and house order. In lower educational groups, these percentages range between 17-28%. Although a direct relationship was not observed on spending and consumption habits, es-

pecially the higher educational group experiences relatively more problems on this subject. Among university graduates and individuals with graduate

degrees, 34% report having problems in this area, while this percentage ranges between 28% and 35% among lower educational groups (Table 136).

Table 136. Problems Experienced between Parents and Children by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (Often & Sometimes) (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
2006					
Clothing	21.8	23.2	24.4	26.2	26.4
Choice of friends	23.3	27.5	29.4	30.2	26.8
Entertainment	14.4	17.7	20.3	25.8	20.3
Choice of school and profession	13.2	14.5	16.0	16.8	14.5
Political views	6.9	6.6	8.0	9.0	8.9
Religious views /practices	12.6	12.4	11.8	9.8	10.7
Commitment to traditions	12.2	12.4	14.6	16.9	20.8
Views on marriage and family life	14.7	15.0	14.9	17.9	18.7
Habits pertaining to diet and house order	16.8	18.4	21.2	26.4	28.2
Spending and consumption habits	23.1	26.6	29.9	35.8	33.6
Relations with relatives	12.6	11.7	13.0	16.9	17.4
Interfamilial relations	17.4	15.1	17.3	21.4	18.8
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
Clothing	25.0	28.8	30	27.7	25.8
Choice of friends	26.2	33.6	31.9	30.5	27.7
Entertainment	13.4	17.1	20	23.5	21.5
Choice of school and profession	15.1	16.1	15.1	15.8	15.9
Political views	4.0	4.1	6.4	7.1	5.0
Religious views /practices	9.2	9.5	11.4	9.5	10.7
Commitment to traditions	9.9	10.8	13.1	12.9	15.4
Views on marriage and family life	10	8.2	10.4	13.1	13.8
Habits pertaining to diet and house order	16.5	21.4	25.2	27.9	32.8
Spending and consumption habits	27.2	29.8	35.2	32.4	34.3
Relations with relatives	7.9	8.4	13.3	16.1	18.4
Interfamilial relations	10.2	12.5	15.7	15.9	18.3
The use of Internet / computer games	8.7	19.1	20.4	23.6	28.6
The use of mobile phone	8.9	15.6	16.6	19.8	22.4
Having friends from the opposite sex	8.6	10.8	14.1	13.8	10.8
Smoking	11.3	12.1	14.1	13.0	12.0

On the other hand, examined by the SES level, an orderly distribution is not found. No significant differences in problem areas between SES levels were observed. However, it is apparent that some problems are experienced more heavily in families from upper SES groups. For instance, according to the 2006 data, upper SES families experience more problems with clothing choices than lower SES

groups by 9%. While 25% of individuals from the upper SES groups have problems on this issue often or sometimes, this percentage falls to 16% in the lower SES group. Similarly, while the percentage of people who have problems with their children on the choice of friends is 27% in the upper SES group, this falls to 21% in the lower SES group (Table 137).

Table 137. Problems Experienced between Parents and Children by SES, TAYA 2006-2011 (Often & Sometimes) (%)

	Upper class	Middle class	Lower class
Clothing	24.7	24.7	16.2
Choice of friends	26.9	28.5	20.5
Entertainment	21.9	20.4	9.2
Choice of school and profession	14.2	15.6	10.2
Political views	8.1	7.5	10.4
Religious views /practices	9.7	11.7	12.2
Commitment to traditions	16.2	14.6	10.7
Views on marriage and family	15.1	16.3	14.9
Habits pertaining to diet and house order	26.4	21.3	13.8
Spending and consumption habits	32.7	29.7	21.3
Relations with relatives	16.9	13.5	13.2
Interfamilial relations	17.1	17.9	18.4

7.4.3. Punishments Given to Children

In TAYA 2006 and 2011, questions directed to punishment methods used on children cover a large portion of the study. In 2006 research, “What punishment/punishments did you give your children in the last year?” and in 2011 “How often did you use the punishments I will read to you on your children in the past year?” questions were used. In 2006 the options of this question were “often”, “sometimes”, “rarely” and “never” and in 2011 these options were changed to “never”, “sometimes”, “often” and “irrelevant”. As a result, for the purposes of comparing the two years, the “sometimes” and “rarely” options from 2006 will be taken together.

In the 2006 research, nine categories of punishments for children were defined and twelve categories were defined for 2011. The 2006 categories were defined as “locked him/her in a room”, “banned him/her from playing games”, “did not give him/her pocket money”, “banned him/her from watching TV”, “reprimanded him/her”, “did not talk to him/her for a while”, “did not buy what s/he likes for a while”, “did not let him/her see his/her friends”

and “beat him/her up”. In 2011, this list was kept the same but three additions of “slapped in him/her the face”, “banned him from using internet/computer” and “banned him from using mobile phone” were added.

The first thing to highlight here is when punishments given to children in the past year are observed generally, many similarities are found between 2006 and 2011 (Table 138). In issues like locking children in their rooms, banning them from play, not giving his/her pocket money, stopping speaking to them, not letting them seeing friends for a while, the percentages from each of the years are almost the same. On the other hand, the most frequent punishments in both years seem to be reprimanding children by 77% in 2006 and by 56% in 2011. This is followed by banning them from watching TV by 34% in 2006 and by 36% in 2011 and banning them playing games by 31% in both years.

On the other hand the least frequent punishment is locking children in their room by 9% in 2006 and 8% in 2011. By 2011 data, this is followed by banning their cell phone use with 9% while an import-

ant majority of the respondents chose the “irrelevant” option for this question (Table 138).

While 27% of individuals in 2006 report “some-

times” beating their children up”, in 2011 the fall in this percentage to 16% is interesting. The percentage of those who report that they often beat up their children is 2% in 2006 and 1% in 2011 (Table 138).

Table 138. Punishments Given to Children in the Last Year throughout Türkiye, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Often	Sometimes and rarely	Never	
2006				
Reprimanded	0.5	8.2	91.4	
Banned him/her watching TV	1.7	28.6	69.7	
Did not buy what they wanted for a while	0.7	14.9	84.3	
Banned him/her playing games	3.0	30.8	66.2	
Beat him/her up	17.7	59.3	23.0	
Did not talk for a while	1.8	19.6	78.6	
Did not let him/her see his/her friends	2.3	28.5	69.2	
Did not give him/her pocket money	1.3	18.9	79.8	
Locked in room	1.5	27.3	71.3	
	Often	Sometimes	Never	Irrelevant
2011				
Locked in room	0.2	7.9	91.2	0.7
Banned him/her playing games	1.6	29.2	68.6	0.6
Did not give him/her pocket money	0.8	14.3	83.4	1.5
Banned him/her watching TV	3.2	32.4	63.9	0.5
Reprimanded	6.4	49.3	44.0	0.3
Did not talk for a while	1.2	18.4	79.9	0.5
Did not buy what they wanted for a while	1.1	24.6	73.9	0.4
Did not let him/her see his/her friends	1.0	15.0	83.5	0.6
Beat him/her up	0.7	15.8	82.9	0.6
Slapped their face	0.9	24.6	74.1	0.5
Banned the Internet	3.9	17.7	59.8	18.6
Banned cell phone	1.4	7.7	66.4	24.5

Although significant differences are not found on the basis of gender in this question, some findings need to be reiterated. First of all, all punishments are given out more by women than men. This verifies that the relationship with children is mainly established by women and is largely under their responsibility. Here, men take a relatively less visible role and relationships are mainly shaped through women.

There is a 2-4% difference between men and women who report that they locked the child in his/her room, not giving pocket money and banned TV. On the other hand, women give the punishment of banning play game 5% more than men and stopping speaking to the child by 9% more. The 13% difference in beating up children between men and women is also noteworthy (Table 139).

Table 139. Punishments Given to Children by Parents in the Last Year, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Male	Female
2006		
Reprimanded	59.5	59.1
Banned him/her watching TV	29.3	32.2
Did not buy what they wanted for a while	26.9	30.1
Banned him/her playing games	26.5	30.7
Beat him/her up	20.8	33.7
Did not talk for a while	15.7	23.4
Didn't let him/her see his/her friends	15.9	21.9
Did not give him/her pocket money	13.5	16.4
Locked in room	6.7	9.7
	Male	Female
2011		
Locked in room	5.8	9.8
Banned him/her playing games	26.5	31.7
Did not give him/her pocket money	13.5	15.2
Banned him/her watching TV	30.3	34.4
Reprimanded	46.3	52.2
Did not talk for a while	13.6	23.0
Did not buy what they wanted for a while	21.5	27.5
Didn't let him/her see his/her friends	12.2	17.5
Beat him/her up	11.8	19.6
Slapped their face	20.3	28.5
Banned the Internet	16.8	18.6
Banned cell phone	7.4	8.1

Note: The results were evaluated on the basis of "sometimes" and "rarely" options from 2006 and the "sometimes" option from 2011.

On the other hand, on the basis of age group, punishments used on children reveal important findings. Almost all punishments are concentrated around the younger age groups. Especially the fact

that 25-34 and 35-44 age groups generally tend to have young children can explain the rise in this trend. The results are tabulated in Table 140 by age groups.

Table 140. Punishments Given to Children by Parents in the Last Year by Age, TAYA 2006 (%)

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	Over 65
Reprimanded	55.2	61.4	60.0	55.2	50.3	48.8
Banned him/her watching TV	23.1	33.7	32.8	22.4	18.7	17.7
Did not buy what they wanted for a while	24.9	32.3	29.3	21.0	16.9	18.0
Banned him/her playing games	26.3	35.4	28.9	17.0	9.4	16.7
Beat him/her up	34.7	34.8	26.1	14.6	15.9	26.6
Did not talk for a while	18.5	20.3	20.4	17.2	13.1	15.8
Didn't let him/her see his/her friends	13.7	19.0	20.4	15.9	14.2	20.9
Did not give him/her pocket money	9.0	14.7	16.9	11.6	9.8	21.2
Locked in room	11.8	11.8	6.9	3.6	5.4	8.9

Note: In the 2006 percentages the "sometimes" and "rarely" options were taken together.

It is important to look at this question on the basis of educational level. Although it was not possible to find an orderly relationship between the educational level and punishments given to children, it is possible to see that as the educational level rises the propensity of punishing children also rises directly (Table 141).

On the other hand, two areas constitute exceptions

to this finding, the observation is that in these two areas, as the educational level rises, the tendency to punish children this way decreases. The first one of these areas is beating up the child, the second one is banning time spent with friends. The absence of these two punishment areas among individuals with a higher educational level is an important indicator of their awareness on the subject.

Table 141. Punishments Given to Children by Parents in the Last Year by Educational Level, TAYA 2006 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
Reprimanded	54.2	57.8	62.9	62.3	67.3
Banned him/her watching TV	22.5	28.8	36.2	36.9	38.4
Did not buy what they wanted for a while	19.8	26.6	31.3	35.1	39.1
Banned him/her playing games	20.6	27.9	32.2	33.9	30.8
Beat him/her up	33.2	29.9	21.8	21.6	17.3
Did not talk for a while	16.2	17.5	21.4	22.8	31.7
Did not let him/her see his/her friends	19.3	19.3	18.6	18.8	15.2
Did not give him/her pocket money	12.5	15.6	13.4	15.1	15.2
Locked in room	6.2	7.7	7.2	10.3	12.0

Note: In the 2006 percentages the “sometimes” and “rarely” options are taken together.

The question from the 2006 research “For what reasons did you beat up your child mostly?” yields a high result of 37% for “disrespect towards the elderly”. This is followed by the options of “lying” by 26%, “neglecting his/her education” by 25%, “being violent towards siblings and friends” by 22% and “neglecting duties like personal hygiene, cleaning up his/her room” by 13% (Table 142). In Table 14, the reasons to spank children are examined on the gender basis. According to this, among the top five

options, neglecting his/her education and lying are mostly used as reasons to spank children by men and violence towards siblings and friends, neglecting personal care and not tidying up his/her room and disrespect towards the elderly are mostly used as reasons to beat children by women. Here it is again clearly seen that women are more active in intra family relationships and punish children as a protective measure to preserve these relationships.

Table 142. Reasons to Beat Up Children by Gender across Türkiye, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Türkiye	Male	Female
Disrespect towards elders	36.4	35.6	36.8
Lying	26.3	32.9	22.4
Neglecting studies (not doing homework etc.)	24.9	28.9	22.5
Violence towards siblings, friends	22.1	18.7	24.2
Neglecting personal care, not tidying up his/her room	13.0	11.0	14.3

Note: The first five reasons are presented

In the 2011 study, this question was replaced by “For what reason did you punish your child the most?” It is interesting to note that 38% of individuals report that they never punish their child. On the other hand, the highest reason for punishment is “neglecting studies” by 39%. This is followed by

“lying” by 15%, “disrespecting elders” by 12%, “neglecting duties like personal care and tidying up his/her room” by 11% and “violence toward siblings and friends” by 8%. The new option added in 2011 “playing too many games on the Internet” is another reason to punish children by 7% (Table 143).

Table 143. The Most Frequent Reasons to Punish Children throughout Türkiye, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye
Never punish him/her	38,1
Neglecting studies	39,6
Lying	15,0
Disrespectful attitude towards the elders	12,1
Failing to perform duties such as personal care/ ordering his/her room	11,3
Being violent towards his/her siblings and friends	7,8
Spending too much time playing on internet	7,0
Making friends to wrong people	4,3
Other	2,9
Committing a theft	2,5
Not assisting to chores	2,1
Smoking	1,6
Excessive spending habits	1,4
His/ her clothing style	1,3
Not performing his religious duties	0,8
Using alcohol	0,4
Dating	0,4
Using drugs	0,2

Another important question added to the 2011 research is “When you have a serious problem with your children, from whom/where would you think to get help/support?” A significant percentage of 72% of respondents answer “from my spouse” and 15% report not getting this help from anyone. While 6% report getting help from the elderly members of the family, the percentage of people who report

getting help from professionals like psychologists and school counselors and from institutions is a low 7%. As expected, this percentage rises to 11-14% in educational levels of middle school and above. This is an important finding showing the limitations of institutional support and awareness on this subject in our society (Table 144).

Table 144. Getting Help and Support for Experiencing Problems with Children across Türkiye, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye
My spouse	71.9
No one	15.3
Experts & institutions (From a psychologist & counselor etc.)	6.6
Elderly family members	5.9
My siblings	0.8
My friends	0.6
My relatives	0.6
Other	0.5
My neighbors	0.1

7. 5. Results and Social Policy Recommendations

In this study, the relationships between parent and children were evaluated within the framework of the transforming family structure in Türkiye. The study which is based on TAYA 2006 and 2011 data assesses the relationship between parents and children based on the values accorded to children and expectations from children, also on problems experienced with children and the punishments given. As was emphasized in the introduction section, it is obvious that such an approach is not adequate to comprehensively study an important subject like the relationship between parents and children and it is also clear that to do so different data are needed on the subject.

Related to the value accorded to children, although they partially verify the findings from The Value of the Child research mentioned before, TAYA 2006 and 2011 results do not fully reflect those findings. Although the economic value attributed to children is relatively lower in new generation parents, in TAYA 2006 and 2011, this was still high for all groups. That said, the social value attributed to children is relatively higher and because of the lack of questions on the psychological value of the children, it is impossible to make inferences on the subject.

Other than those, on the subject of expectations from children and the relationship with children, there are no significant transformations in the five

years between TAYA surveys conducted in 2006 and 2011, the data is mostly similar or even if they have differentiated between those years, they still reflect similar attitudes. Here, although points like the representativeness of the data and the style and content of the questions in the survey gain importance, there is the possibility that a collection of data on the past two-three years during which this transformation has accelerated, may yield different results.

An analysis on the relationship between the parents and children and policies to be developed is closely related to how the family is viewed and conceptualized. Parallel to the social transformation processes mentioned above, there is a tendency to move towards a nuclear family made up of parents and children. Within the framework of this transforming family, how the family is conceptualized, the importance attributed to the family, the given roles and intra family relationships are prioritized in official policies will be important to develop policy suggestions derived from this study.

Especially starting from the 1980s, an attitude to consider the family as the cornerstone of society and as an institution to be protected and preserved becomes dominant in official circles. The 5th Five Year Development Plan covering the years between 1985-1989, especially emphasizes that the family “is going to be regarded as the institution to raise the effectiveness of wealth distribution and social programs” (p. 190). The 6th Five Year Development

Plan that covers the years between 1990-1994, the emphasis of “The main element in protecting and enhancing national and moral values and also reinforcing national unity and solidarity as a result, the institution of the family needs to be strengthened in every aspect and proper assistance needs to be provided to guide the family to adapt to the transformations experienced in the economic and social structure resulting from development, and similarly the share the family gets from social wealth is going to be assured” (p. 287). Therefore, in the official discourse the family has a special place as both the basis of social transformation and as an institution to be protected and strengthened.

Starting from the 1990s, the issue of the need for institutional mechanisms to support the family has been raised. In this context, a special emphasis is placed on the subject of raising children. The 7th Five Year Development Plan that covers the years 1996-2000, emphasizes that “the need for the services of some institutions that have taken over some of the functions of the family is increasing”. According to this, “to provide adequate services in health, education, social security, social services and aid, and to develop the institutional structure for families to apply in times of crisis or when necessary” is still needed (p.13). In the Seventh Plan, “the protection and support of the family which is the cornerstone of society” has been adopted as its basic principle. In this context, besides providing the family with continuity of income, health services and social security, it was decided that educational support would also be provided for families in raising their children (p. 38).

Long Term Strategy and 8th Five Year Development Plan that covers the years 2001-2005, continues to underline the institutional support directed at the family. The Plan, which emphasizes the fact that the family and society is undergoing an important transformational process, assigns a certain social security function to the family: “the importance of carrying out institutional services in support of the family which has a strong social security function is increasing because of the rapid transformation

in the society” (p. 18). In this context, “the restructuring of the institutions that provide services for the family, meeting their organizational, staffing and regulation needs and securing coordination between institutions” is considered important (p. 112). In the 8th Plan, while measures “to help the family to adapt to the social and economic transformation” will be taken is highlighted, it is also emphasized that policies to develop and encourage the commitment and the solidarity between the family members will be established. Here, it is indicated that families will be given training on raising children again (p. 112).

The transformation of the family structure was also increasingly emphasized by the 9th and 10th Five Year Development Plans and its effect on the family is discussed. The 9th Five Year Development Plan covering the years between 2007-2013, stresses the fact that this accelerating transformational process “negatively impacts the cultural and social relationships within the family and society”. Here while problems such as the educational system and the proliferation of mass communication tools are listed, “the inability to go beyond the traditional means of communication within the family” is also considered to be a problem area especially among children and teenagers and underlines the fact that this heightens the feelings of hopelessness and the lack of self-confidence and results in an increased tendency for violence (p.45). In this context, “measures to ensure healthy communication between young people, their families and the society, to develop their sense of self-confidence, increase their sense of belonging and sensitivity towards the society they live in and to provide the means to participate in decision making processes” are declared (p. 91). Moreover, “the number of educational programs aimed at the family which provides the ideal environment to care for and raise the child will be increased” is also emphasized (p. 89).

The last Five Year Development Plan, the 10th Plan, covering the years between 2014-2018, underlines “the transition from extended family towards nuclear family in our country and the change in the

relations among the family members and the main goal is described as “protecting the family institution, raising its status and strengthening social unity” (p. 43). Again, the fact that especially “measures to lessen the negative effects of audio, visual and social media and the Internet on the family” will be taken and that educational programs about communication and interaction in the family will be increased in number, was also strongly emphasized (p. 44). As can also be seen here, the inclusion of especially the Internet and media among the factors that most strongly affect the communication in the family and the call for measures directed at those is noteworthy.

As stressed by official discourse, the first policy suggestion is **to develop the institutional mechanisms to support the family in all aspects, but especially from a psychological angle**. While undergoing this rapid transformation, the development of support mechanisms for the family, which is still the main unit of the society and the source of solidarity and security, to which the family can apply in times of crisis and need and receive the help it needs is very important. Such institutions and programs are also present in other countries.

For instance, the popularization of institutional structures like the Family Consultation Centers (p. 233) suggested in the 2nd Five Year Development Plan (1968-1972) to eliminate adaptation failures and to guide families to solve social problems encountered in the face of rapid urbanization, will be an important step to reach the goal of “developing the institutional structure families will apply in times of crisis or need”.

At the same time, the collaboration and coordination between institutions and programs that support the family on many different levels is also very important. The development of institutions that support the social prosperity level of the family focusing on the improvement of health and education along with psychological support mechanisms and the offering of these social services alongside other public services, will enable an integrated policy ap-

proach and allow the family to cope better with this rapid transformation process.

As emphasized by official policies, another important point is the development and popularization of **educational and counseling programs directed at parents on the subject of child raising** and bringing these services to the disadvantaged sections of the society. As seen from above, the punishments given to children can be severe especially in families from a lower educational background and in this respect, the development of a healthy parental attitude to support the development of the child is very important. Such educational and counseling programs are seen to be important to raise the awareness and knowledge level on the subject. However, the importance of offering these educational programs in a comprehensive, standard and effective manner should be kept in mind.

As emphasized lately, another policy priority is the development of policy measures especially directed at children and teenagers, for healthier communication with their families and the society, developing their self-esteem and their involvement in decision making processes. Again, education and counseling programs have great importance here. However, the improvement and popularization of **education and counseling services in schools**, adding curricula to especially promote individual development and other programs aimed at developing self-esteem and supporting these programs with cultural, art, sports and cognitive activities will be an important step.

In this respect, keeping the current conditions in mind, the emphasis on the negative effects of visual, audio and social media and the Internet on the family as supported by official discourse and policies, should be evaluated with a positive and constructive approach. In the **knowledge age** we currently live in, studies show that the use of mass communication tools and the Internet help socialization and personal development, in many cases online relationships support and strengthen close relationships like the family, relatives and friends

(Castells, 2001). As a result, it should be remembered that such technological innovations are important for especially children and if supported by the right policies, this will be a factor that improves family relationships.

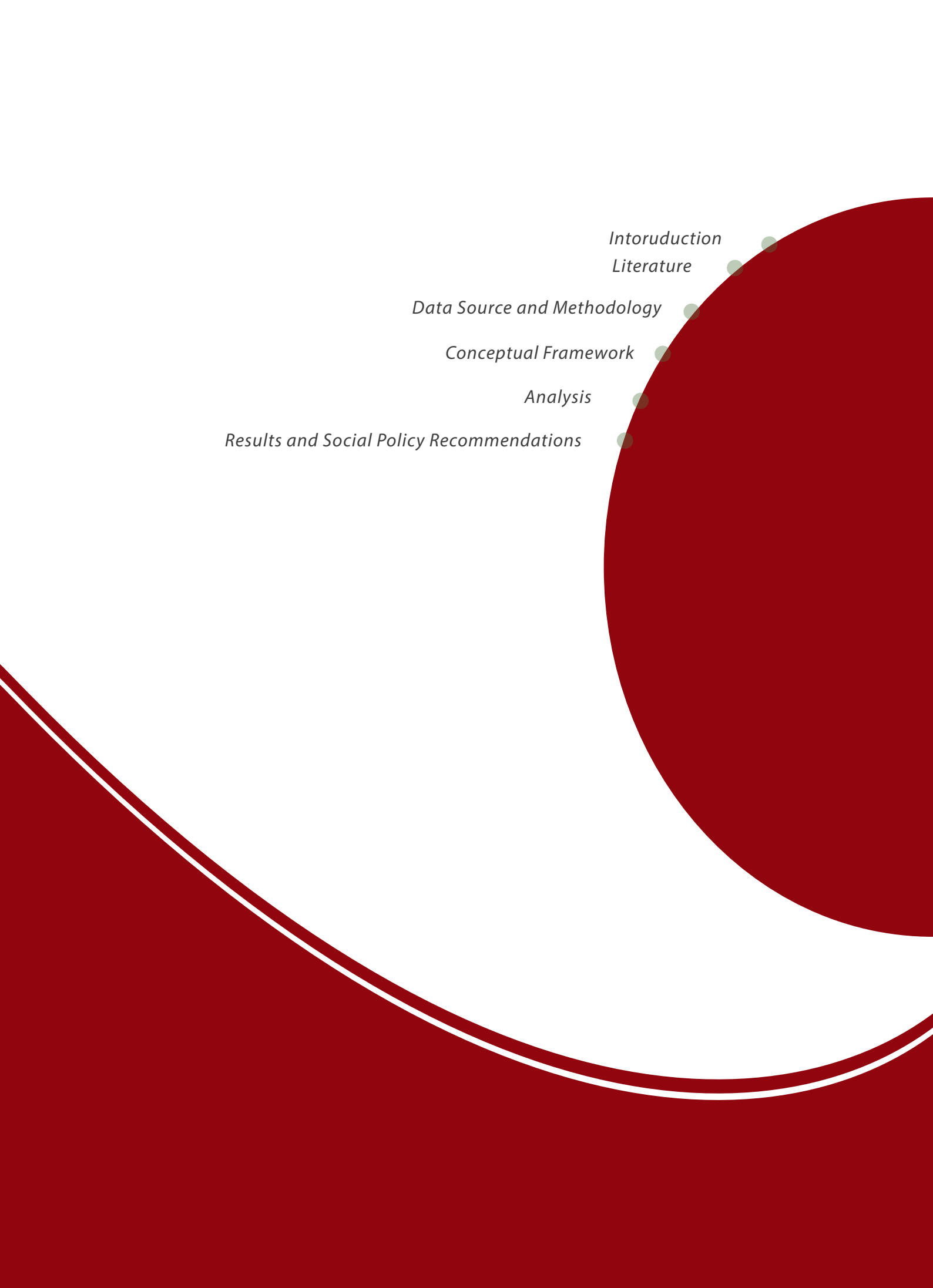
As emphasized in different sections of this study, another factor to be underlined is instead of only

focusing on the negative aspects of the family relationship such as problem areas and types of punishment, frequent **scientific research** and studies should also focus on the problem solving dynamics in the family, the empowering dimensions of the family relationship and the value of the children for parents and these studies should collect regular data on the subject.

Section 8

GENDER AND FAMILY

Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar



*Intoruduction
Literature*

Data Source and Methodology

Conceptual Framework

Analysis

Results and Social Policy Recommendations

8. 1. Introduction

Türkiye is a society which experiences rapid transformations in its family structures and dynamics. It is known that family structures and family relations in Türkiye varies by region, socioeconomic level, education and other variables. Understanding the family dynamics provides important clues for understanding this societal transformation. Understanding how the family is affected by societal change is important to figure out other institutions in society such as finance and politics.

Studies on family are a prominent part of the social sciences literature in Türkiye. However studies that evaluate the family from a gender perspective are quite few in number. The few studies that exist rely on qualitative methods and are thus cannot be representative. This study is important in this regard. That is to say that this study, based on the 2006 and 2011 studies titled Research on Family Structure in Türkiye, analyzes the gender roles and gender dynamics in Türkiye. In other words, this report is based on the representative Family Structure in Türkiye (TAYA) study is important for grasping specific characteristics of Türkiye's different groups and regions, as well as for understanding attitudes across Türkiye. That this study was repeated in 2006 and 2011 also allows an opportunity to understand the transformation between those years. That is to say this report based on a study that is representative of gender dynamics in the family and provides an opportunity for a chronological comparison of Türkiye in the 2000s will be an important resource for family studies. The analysis takes as its basis the hypothetical debates from within the framework of sociology and especially from the fields of gender, women's studies and family sociology.

The study will first discuss the definition of gender, then touch briefly on studies that analyze family structure and dynamics with regard to the dimension of gender in Türkiye. Right after this short conceptual framework there will be a short discussion on the method used. Another short discussion in the analysis section will be followed by the conclusion section.

8. 2. Literature

This section features a short assessment of the concept of gender in international literature, and discussions on family studies done from a perspective of gender in Türkiye.

8.2.1. Concept of Gender in International Literature

The concept of gender gained importance in international literature as of the 1970s and in Turkish social sciences theory as of the 1990s. The concept is predicated on the idea that gender is created and constructed by society. Hence, the concept of gender takes the inequality between men and women not as a result of biological differences, but rather a consequence of a social construct (Hurtig, Kail and Rouch, 1991). This concept doesn't just focus on the different experiences between men and women, it also implies the role of societal structures and institutions in the differences between these experiences.

By corresponding to gender roles that have been determined culturally and socially, gender differs from biological sex. Gender roles are related to that particular society's societal constructs regarding masculinity and femininity. In other words, taking the context of time and geography in consideration, gender is related to the society's expectations of men and women, their behavioral patterns, the family and its responsibilities in social life, experiences, resources, responsibilities and obstacles. In this regard, gender is as much about the accessible resources for men and women and/or the hardships and obstacles they have experienced as it is about determining the expected duties and responsibilities.

Societal constructs and the expectations that stem from them are the most defining characteristic of gender practices and dynamics. It is known that societal constructs and expectations are by many different social phenomena. Cultural and societal structures and institutions are directly related to gender mechanisms. In different cultural settings institutions such as the family, education, politics,

economic structure and religion gives rise to different gender constructs and experiences.

The concept of gender has not just remained an academic vehicle of analysis, but has proven its maturity in the field of societal projects and social policies beginning in the 1980s with the United Nations' Nairobi (1985), Cairo (1994) and Beijing (1995) conferences. Factoring in the gender dimension for studies on health, education, employment and social and political participation, allows for the important differences between men and women to be taken into consideration when evaluating societal structures and dynamics. Thus, an analysis of gender would be socially beneficial when developing and evaluating international, national and local social policies as well as societal projects. Even though the academic debate over the concept is still going on (Scott, 1986; Deutsch, 2007; MacKay et al., 2010; Baldez, 2010), it is important to underline the analytical power of the concept.

8.2.2. Research on Family and Gender in International Literature

In family studies, especially in international literature, research that takes gender dynamics into consideration or focuses on these dynamics has been around for a long time. As the concept of gender has become more common in social sciences literature over the past forty years, the number of family studies that take gender into consideration in their analysis have also increased (Stoianovich, 1981; Jennings and Waller, 1990; Moller Okin, 1996; Litton Fox and McBride Murry, 2000; Max Ferree, 2010). One of the latest studies, the work of Max Ferree (2010) is important in that it presents a short overview of the family studies present in the literature. The author refers to the increasing number of empirical studies from a gender perspective in the field of family studies, in his own words, as "the glass being half full." He explains that "the other half being empty" is about how studies from a perspective of gender are still considered "marginal" in family literature.

Studies that emphasize the importance of the fam-

ily in the socialization of the parents and children in particular tend to focus on the importance of the institution of the family in the transfer and restructuring of gender roles. Children start learning their roles and what society expects of them from the family and this learning continues during the socialization period with other institutions (Simons, 1992; Crouter et al., 1995; McHale et al. 1999; Amato and Fowler, 2002; McHale et al. 2006). These studies emphasize the importance of the behavior of the mother and father in the passing on of gender roles in the family. Most of these studies are based on the quantitative method. When we take the results into consideration some differences stand out. For example Simons (1992) indicates that the gender of the parent does not play very serious a role in socialization practices, and that the main factor involved stems from whether the parents are married or single. On the other hand Croute et al. (1995) indicate that having siblings of the opposite gender and girls spending more time with their mothers and boys with their fathers plays a significant role in the adoption of gender roles. McHale et al. (1999) say that the actions of the father make a greater difference than the actions of the mother during the period where the children are developing their gender roles.

It is difficult to analyze relations, division of labor and distribution of roles between spouses in a family without the gender perspective. The family is an institution where power relations are not equal; the inequalities of gender and age are first experienced and learned with the family before any other institution. These unequal power relations and dynamics correspond with the dynamics in other institutions. As such, the difficulties the woman faces in education and employment, the obstacles she encounters are sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly related to the gender roles established in the family. When we look at studies on the division of labor in the household, we see that some of them focus on many different models - like egalitarian, traditional - and on the social and personal effects of these models. For instance, Cunningham (2001) indicates that the most important factor in how adults divide labor in the household is their experience with how their

parents divided labor in their household. Those who prefer a more egalitarian division generally come from families where work is divided equally. Men who witnessed an egalitarian division between their parents during their childhood and women whose mothers worked during childhood results in these two groups engaging in more egalitarian practices as they grow older. Additionally studies that focus on the results of division of labor between spouses is also present in the literature. In another study, Kluver et al. (1997) examine the relationship between division of labor between spouses and their level of dissatisfaction. While relationships where the woman prefers a more egalitarian division but the man does not are the most contentious, women who accept more traditional gender roles and women married to spouses who accept more traditional gender roles might not be happy with the unequal division of labor but their dissatisfaction is ignored rather than cause for conflict. On the other hand, when Blackburn et al. (2002) examine the differentiation of gender, they claim the divergence of gender in the workforce diminishes as the woman gains prominence. According to this study, as the woman becomes stronger within the family and other societal institutions then the differentiation of gender in work life decreases.

8.2.3. Research in Türkiye that Approaches the Family from a Gender Perspective

The number of studies that take gender dynamics into consideration when analyzing the family have increased in Türkiye as well over the past decade (Delaney, 1987; Kandiyoti, 1988; Çınar, 1994; White, 1994; Eraydın and Erendil, 1996; Bolak, 1997; Aytaç, 1998; Dedeoğlu, 2000; Beşpınar, 2010). These studies examine the woman's standing and roles in the family and other societal institutions such the workforce while taking into consideration the patriarchal structure and practices in Türkiye.

The first set of studies suggests that gender roles are shaped by traditional understanding rather than a basis of equality. Meaning that while women are responsible for tasks such as care and the organiza-

tion/cleaning of the house, men are seen as responsible for providing for the household. The woman's status in the family is shaped within this framework. When women perform the roles that are traditionally expected of them they gain status within the family and respect in society. In the study that indicates that being married gives a woman status and respect in society, Delaney (1987) points out that this societal respect given to women also brings with it control and restriction. Similarly Kandiyoti (1988) indicates that women are part of patriarchal bargaining mechanisms and that they try to earn certain gains in exchange for control and restrictions within the family. Kandiyoti (1988) adds that aging is an experience that increases a woman's status in the family and in society.

This article is an important contribution that shows that the establishment of gender roles is in a constant state of negotiation. Discussing the division of labor within the household in terms of elderly care, Aytaç (1998) indicates that men, especially married men, do not provide care for the elderly members of the family. Aytaç's study is important in that it examines the relationship between regional development, urbanization, education, traditional values and piety with caring for the elderly. The division of labor regarding caregiving is directly related to all these factors.

White's study (1994) that also delves into the tension between the bride and the mother-in-law relationship, puts forward how gender roles and division of labor practices are shaped within the family. The brides are responsible for a significant workload in the family and do not have the right to object. Another consequence of adopting traditional societal roles in the family is the man's objection to the woman joining the workforce. The father and husband restrict the woman's basic role to fulfilling her responsibilities at home and oppose her working a wage-earning job outside the house. Çınar (1994) and Eraydın and Erendil (1996) put forward the impossibility of a women's entrance to work life without the consent of her husband. Dedeoğlu (2000) emphasizes how family dynamics and composition are particularly related

to what kinds of work a woman can engage in and for whom and her options and practices regarding whether or not she will join the labor market. Other points emphasized in the article are how the woman is not allowed to work without permission from her husband and father and how her workload doubles with the housework. The study by Beşpınar (2010) shows the importance of family relations in whether women join the labor market or not. Beşpınar (2010) explains how women of different social classes are constantly assessing participation in the labor market through various strategies. Marital status, number of children and social class are determining factors in whether women will/will not participate in the labor market or how they will participate. Family dynamics and the roles attributed to the woman play a major role in this process.

Bolak's (1997) study explores how dynamics within the family are shaped when women adopt practices outside traditional roles. Bolak (1997) examines how the division of labor at home is defined by different dynamics and bargaining frameworks when the woman takes on providing for the household. Bolak shows that cultural constructs, marriage dynamics and extended family relationships are determining factors in the division of labor at home. When examined from this angle, the study shows how the cultural norms and expectations of femininity and masculinity are redefined when a woman gains economic strength.

8.3. Data Source and Methodology

This report is based on an analysis of the questions on gender roles and gender dynamics asked in the Research on Family Structures in Türkiye studies conducted in 2006 and 2011 by the Directorate of Family and Social Services of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. The research represents Türkiye by urban and rural areas, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir separately and First Level Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS). In TAYA 2006, 12,208 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 48,235 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 23,279

individuals over the age of 18. In TAYA 2011, 12,056 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 44,117 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 24,647 individuals over the age of 18. In the study, reference individuals from the households were given the list of individuals and household questionnaire and individuals over 18 were given the separate individual questionnaire. The 2006 and 2011 studies are not based on the same questionnaires. Therefore, a comparison between 2006 and 2011 can prove to be difficult especially due to the alteration of some questions and/or the exclusion or inclusion of some questions in the questionnaire. It would not be wrong to say that this analysis is limited to common questions in both studies. Another issue to highlight is that even if the analysis were based on repeated questions in both studies, the roots of the questions or the given choices can show differences between 2006 and 2011. This causes some problems during interpretation. When such questions are analyzed, the change in the question between 2006-2011 is specified. During analysis, along with descriptive statistics, t-test, chi-square and ANOVA methods are used. In all analyses, statistical meaningfulness was tested in the 95% reliability span. The analyses were completed using MS Office Excel and IBM SPSS programs.

8.4. Conceptual Framework

8.4.1. Division of Labor and Decision Making, Workforce Participation and Ownership in the Family

The evaluation in this report goes forward in two main axes. The first one is attitudes towards gender roles. This section examines the practices of caregiving at home, how housekeeping responsibilities are divided, the employment status of the women, property ownership and decision-making in the family. The attitudes of each family member along these various dimensions are responsible for many of the dynamics related to gender roles. In the second section on the other hand, the woman's employment situation and general views related to

the woman's employment will be addressed. Third, the woman's property ownership will be examined. These three sections interact with one another. In other words, views on gender roles interact with attitudes within the family.

8.4.2. Variables

Demographic characteristics such as gender, age,

education and marital status were used as independent variables in the study. Also, type of family, the number of children, socioeconomic status, and area of residence are as well important independent variables used in the analysis. Lastly, religious belief was also included as an important independent variable. The dependent variables for 2006 and 2011 are shown in the table below in the table below with their variable numbers.

Table 145. Independent Variables Analyzed from TAYA 2006 and 2011 Data Set

1. Attitudes towards gender in the family		
1.a. Attitudes towards division of labor in the family		
	2006	2011
Caregiving at home	HH7 (caregiving for little children) H11 (are there elderly in need of care in the household)	H10 (caregiving for little children) H11, H12, H13 (are there elderly, sick or disabled people in need of care in the household? If so who gives it?)
Division of household chores	H8 (which person or people are responsible for household chores?)	H17 (which person or people are responsible for household chores?)
1.b. Decision-making dynamics in the family		
	H9 (who makes certain decisions in the family?)	H18 (who makes certain decisions in the family?)
2. The woman's employment status and views on the subject		
2.a. The woman's employment status		
	No question asked	F21 The employment status of all females over 18 years of age
2.b. Views on female employment		
	BB31 (Is it appropriate for the woman to work?) B32 (If a woman shouldn't work, why?)	B24 (Is it appropriate for the woman to work?) B25 (If a woman shouldn't work, why?)
3. Property ownership in the family		
Property ownership in the family	B3	B70

8.5. Analysis: Attitudes Towards Gender Roles

8.5.1. Attitudes Towards Division of Labor in the Family

The attitudes towards gender roles in the family are discussed over two themes: caregiving responsibilities at home and the division of household chores.

8.5.1.1. Caregiving in the Family

In order to examine attitudes towards caretaking responsibilities at home, questions were asked regarding care of little children, the elderly, the ill and disabled. In 2006 questions were asked only about little children and elderly in need of care, yet two more questions about the ill and the disabled were added in 2011.

Childcare in the Household

In 2006 when asked who was responsible for the daycare of little children 92% responded with "the mother." It is known that mothers are responsible for most of the childcare in Türkiye, and that this situation is the greatest obstacle to women's participation in the workforce¹. Those who provide care besides the mother are, in order, paternal grandmothers (2%), maternal grandmothers (2%), nannies (1%), nursery/kindergarten (1%) and close relatives (1%) (Table 146).

In 2011 most childcare was performed by the mother (88%). Next after the mother is the paternal grandmother (5%) and maternal grandmother (4%). The percentage of those getting daycare from nurseries at only 3% gives an idea of how little institutionalized childcare services are utilized in Türkiye. The percentage of families where the child gets daycare from the father is (2%), while those that get it from a nanny is around (1%). These rates show that the mother takes the dominant role in daycare for the children, followed by the paternal grandmother, maternal grandmother and nannies. Another point that should be highlighted is that utilizing institutionalized care service in Türkiye is very low.

When the rates of these two years are compared, the most important change appears to be the change in the rate of families that get childcare from maternal-paternal grandmothers. Whereas 3% receive childcare from maternal and paternal grandmothers in 2006, that percentage rose to 9% in 2011 (Table 147). This is a very significant increase and one that is difficult to explain. Such an increase in daycare by maternal and paternal grandmothers over five years cannot be explained with just the increase in workforce participation by mothers. In any case the care provided by mothers did not decrease by the same percentage. Plus since societal values cannot be expected to change in such a short period of time it needs to be evaluated with caution.

Table 146. Childcare in the Household across Türkiye and by Residence Area, TAVA 2006-2011 (%)

	Mother	Father	Older Sister	Maternal Grandmother	Paternal Grandmother	Close Relatives	Nanny	Nursery or Kindergarten	Other	-	-
2006											
Türkiye	92.1	0.5	0.3	1.5	1.8	0.6	1.4	0.9	0.9		
RESIDENCE AREA											
Urban	91.3	0.4	0.1	1.8	2.0	0.7	1.6	1.2	0.9		
Rural	93.9	0.8	0.7	0.7	1.3	0.4	1.1	0.2	1.0		
2011											
Türkiye	88.3	1.6	0.9	3.9	5.3	0.5	1.4	2.8	0.3	0.1	0.0
RESIDENCE AREA											
Urban	86.9	1.5	0.8	4.7	5.0	0.5	1.6	2.9	0.4	0.1	0.1
Rural	92.4	1.8	1.4	1.5	6.3	0.3	0.9	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0

¹ http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/documents/130910_egge_out_of_school_en.pdf

Table 147. Childcare in the Household throughout Türkiye and by Residence Area (Maternal or Paternal Grandmother), TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye	Urban	Rural
Maternal or paternal grandmother	8.5	9.2	6.6
Others	91.5	90.8	93.4

The chi-square analysis results for 2006 indicate there is a meaningful divergence between rural and urban areas when it comes to daycare for little children. However there is no significant difference in the role of the mother in childcare between urban and rural households. While 91% of urban mothers are responsible for daycare of their children, this rises to 94% for rural mothers. The fact that greatest divergence between urban and rural areas is in the older sister category is an important point. While 1% of older sisters are responsible for childcare in rural households, this percentage drops to 1‰ in urban ones. It is known that older sisters being responsible for their younger siblings care has significant negative consequences especially for the older sisters. Providing childcare for their siblings cuts the older sister off from her education. We can also say that the urban and rural divide is more pronounced when it comes to nannies and nursery or kindergartens. Even though the number of families across Türkiye who get daycare services from nannies, nurseries or kindergartens are quite low, there is a divergence between urban and rural families. While the percentage of urban dwellers that get daycare services from a nanny is 1.6%, the percentage drops to 1.1% for rural dwellers. There is also divergence in the percentages of urban and rural families when it comes to getting daycare services from nurseries and kindergartens. While this is 1.2% for urban dwellers, the percentage drops to 2‰ for rural areas. This difference is affected by the difficulty in reaching institutional daycare services in rural communities. Institutions that provide daycare services in rural communities are much fewer than in urban settings. However in urban settings, especially in major cities where there are institutionalized daycare services, the fact that very few families utilize this service is a topic that needs to be studied. This might be because of the difficulty of finding high quality and cheap daycare services. While the percentage of families in urban households who get daycare services from paternal grandmothers and

those who get them from maternal grandmothers is quite close, it is important to note that the percentage of rural households who get such services from the paternal grandmother is nearly twice that of those who get them from the maternal grandmother (1.3%, 7‰ respectively). The main reason behind this difference might be that extended families that proceed from the father's line are more common in rural communities. This situation might be explained either by the prevalence of extended families living with the male's family or that even if they do not live in the same household, the father's parents tend to be more involved with the nuclear family (Tablo 146).

The chi-square analysis results for 2011 also indicate there is a meaningful divergence between rural and urban when it comes to daycare for little children. While the percentage of rural mothers who provide daycare is 92%, it drops to 87% for urban mothers. The percentage of older sisters who provide daycare in the same year was 1.4% for rural households and 8‰ for urban ones. Another remarkable point is the difference in daycare by the maternal grandmother in rural and urban households. While the maternal grandmother provides daycare 2% of the time in rural communities, that percentages increases to 5% in urban settings. Paternal grandmothers on the other had provided daycare for 6% of rural households and 5% of urban ones. When we evaluate the percentage of maternal and paternal grandmother involvement in daycare, we can say that the rural family type is organized in such a way as to be closer to the father's family (as in living together or having very close relations), while there are fewer such families in urban households relative to rural ones. Even though the percentage of families who get daycare from the maternal grandmother is higher in urban settings, the percentage of urban households who get daycare from the paternal grandmother is still higher. The percentage of families that get daycare from a nan-

ny are 9% in rural settings and 1.6% in urban ones. The percentage of families that get daycare from a nursery doesn't differ significantly between rural (2.6%) and urban (2.9%) households. The reason the percentage is so close between rural and urban settings might be due to the major rise of nursery services in rural communities.

While the percentage of rural households where the mother cares for the child didn't change much between 2006 and 2011 (94% in 2006, 92% in 2011), when these two years are compared for urban households the 91% for 2006 drops to 87% in 2011. We can say that the divergence between urban and rural households is more pronounced when it comes to nannies and nurseries or kindergartens. One point that needs to be highlighted when the response to this question is compared between the two years one point that needs to be highlighted is that while the percentage of families that utilize nursery and kindergarten daycare services in 2006 was 2% for rural households and 1.2% for urban ones, in 2011 these numbers rose to 2.6% for rural households and 2.9% for urban ones. When these percentages are examined, they show that there was a significant increase in the availability and use of nursery services in rural communities. This situation can be explained with the regulations encouraging kindergarten and nursery attendance within the framework of the pre-school education policies enacted after 2006 yielding results in 2011. Still it is difficult to explain the increase seen in rural communities, and so these numbers should be approached with caution especially for rural households. Another comparison between 2006 and 2011 is the rising role of maternal and paternal grandmothers in childcare (Tablo 146).

The chi-square analysis results for 2006 indicate there is a meaningful divergence between education levels when it comes to daycare for little children. As the education level of the reference individual of the household increases, the rate at which the mother provides daycare for the child significantly decreases. While 95% of households where the reference individual is not educated has the mother providing daycare, this percentage goes up slightly for primary school graduates (96%), 94% for elementary education graduates, 90% for high school or equivalent

graduates and 77% for the highest education level of those with undergraduate and graduate degrees. This can be attributed to the direct relationship between education and the woman's active participation in the labor market. Another point that should be highlighted is that when the relationship between education and hiring a nanny for daycare services are compared, only 1% of primary and secondary school graduates hire a nanny, which rises to 2% for graduates of high school or its equivalent and rises even further to 7% for those with higher education. A similar distribution is seen with regards to nursery and kindergarten daycare. While 1% of high school and equivalent graduates get daycare from nurseries and kindergartens, this percentage rises to 6% for those with higher education (Tablo 148).

The results for 2011 show that respondents of different educational levels exhibit different attitudes towards daycare for little children. In 92% of households where the reference individual who filled out the household questionnaire has no education the mothers are responsible for daycare. In households where the reference individual has no education, daycare is provided by the paternal grandmother 4% of the time, by the maternal grandmother 3% of the time and by the older sister 3% of the time. Households where the reference individual is a primary school or primary/secondary school graduate have similar leanings when it comes to daycare for little children. The mother is responsible for daycare in 90% of households where the reference individual is a high school graduate, whereas in 2% daycare is provided by the father, 1% by the older sister, 3% by the maternal grandmother, 5% by the paternal grandmother, 1% by a nanny and 4% by a nursery. The mother is responsible for daycare in 90% of households where the reference individual is a graduate of higher education. In 11% of these households daycare is provided by the maternal grandmother, 10% by a nursery, 8% by a paternal grandmother and 7% by a nanny. As the education of the reference individual rises the percentage that get daycare from the older sister decreases. As the education of the reference individual rises the percentage that get daycare from nurseries or kindergartens increases (Tablo 148).

Table 148. Household Childcare by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
2006					
Mother	94.6	95.7	94.2	89.6	76.5
Father	0.8	0.3	1.6	0.4	0.4
Older sister	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0
Older brother	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Maternal grandmother	1.7	0.6	0.0	3.3	3.6
Paternal grandmother	1.3	1.6	2.2	1.5	3.1
Close relatives	0.0	0.2	0.2	1.7	1.1
Nanny	0.0	0.2	0.9	2.4	7.2
Nursery/kindergarten	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	6.4
Other	1.1	1.0	0.6	0.2	1.7
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
Mother	91.7	93.9	93.3	89.3	66.7
Father	1.4	1.2	1.1	2.4	1.8
Older sister	2.7	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.0
Older brother	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Grandfather	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.8	0.3
Maternal grandmother	3.1	1.9	3.3	3.4	10.5
Paternal grandmother	4.0	5.7	3.0	5.1	7.7
Close relative	1.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	1.3
Nanny	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.7	6.7
Neighbor	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0
Nursery	0.0	0.9	0.7	3.6	10.0
Other	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	1.2

Care for the Ill and Disabled

The 2006 study did not feature questions on who was responsible in caring for the ill and disabled. In 2006 5% of households were home to elderly in need of care. This percentage was 8% in rural households, 4% in urban ones (Table 149). Regard-

ing adult care, the 2006 study only asked whether the man or the woman was responsible for caring for the elderly. In 94% of households elderly care was provided by the woman, with men providing it in only 6% of households. It wouldn't be wrong to conclude that women in Türkiye aren't just responsible for childcare but also for elderly care.

Table 149. Households in Need of Elderly Care throughout Türkiye and by Residence Area, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Yes	No
2006		
Türkiye	5.3	94.7
RESIDENCE AREA		
Urban	3.8	96.2
Rural	8.0	92.0
2011		
Türkiye	5.9	94.1
RESIDENCE AREA		
Urban	4.9	95.1
Rural	8.6	91.4

In 2011, 6% of households across Türkiye have elderly in need of care (Table 149). While the number is 9% in rural communities, it is 5% in urban ones. That same year 8% of households across Türkiye have ill members in need of care. While the number is 11% in rural communities, it is 7% in urban ones (Table 150).

When the person was responsible for the care of the ill members of the household was asked in 2011, spouse (36%) was followed by daughter-in-law (16%) (Table 151). While this situation shows that women are responsible for the care of the ill, the fact that the daughter (14%) is less likely than the daughter-in-law to provide caregiving for the ill can be considered an interesting result. The fundamental reason for this is the difficulty that may arise between husband and wife when the adult daughter of someone who needs care provides that care to her parent within her own nuclear family. The man looking after his parent in need of care

generally involves having his wife provide the care. Additionally, it is difficult to know the degree of the daughter-in-law's involvement even for those who responded to the question saying their "son" provided care. This might also be why the percentage of those who said that their "son" provided care was higher than who said their "daughter" did. However since we do not know how many of those men who provide care for the ill are actually married, it might be misleading to add the responses of those who say their son provides care with those who say their daughter-in-law provides it. Another interesting point is that those cared for by their son-in-law is only 2%. Comparing the difference in attitudes between sons-in-law and daughters-in-law when it comes to providing care for their spouse's ill parents provides important clues on gender roles in Türkiye. Aytaç's (1998) research reveals similar results. When care is provided to parents in Türkiye that care is provided by women.

Table 150. Households with Ill in Need of Care throughout Türkiye and by Residence Area, TAYA 2011 (%)

	No	Yes
Türkiye	92.8	7.9
RESIDENCE AREA		
Urban	94.1	6.6
Rural	89.2	11.4

Table 151. Care for the Ill throughout Türkiye and by Residence Area (%)

	Türkiye	Urban	Rural
Spouse	35.7	34.8	37.2
Daughter-in-law	15.8	13.4	19.5
Mother	14.7	15.8	13.1
Son	13.8	13.4	14.5
Daughter	13.5	17.6	7.1
Father	3.3	2.4	4.7
Grandchild	2.3	2.3	2.3
Sibling	2.1	2.0	2.3
Other female relatives	1.2	1.1	1.3
Other male relatives	1.0	1.2	0.6
Caretaker	1.0	1.6	0.0
Paternal grandmother	0.6	0.5	0.7
Neighbor	0.4	0.4	0.5
Son-in-law	0.2	0.1	0.3
Grandfather	0.1	0.2	0.0

The 2011 study revealed that disabled care was provided by, in order, the spouse (28%), the mother (27%), the son (14%), the daughter (11%), and the daughter-in-law (8%). Unlike ill patients in need of care, since disabilities start at birth or from a young age it is most often the mother that provides care. When comparing the attitudes towards disabled care between sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, re-

sults that give some ideas about gender roles and patriarchal practices emerge. While providing care for the spouse's parent is considered the responsibility of the woman, the man bears no such responsibility. Thus it is known that extended families compositions which include the man's parents are encountered more often than ones that include the woman's parents (Table 154).

Table 152. Households with Disabled in Need of Care throughout Türkiye and By Residence Area, TAYA 2011 (%)

	No	Yes
Türkiye	95.2	5.3
RESIDENCE AREA		
Urban	95.9	4.5
Rural	93.2	7.6

Table 153. Care for the Disabled across Türkiye and by Residence Area (Spouse, Father, Son, Father or Son), TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye	Urban	Rural
Care for elderly/disabled/ill in household	Spouse	32.5	29.9
	Other	67.5	70.1
Care for elderly/disabled/ill in household	Father	3.3	2.4
	Other	96.7	97.6
Care for elderly/disabled/ill in household	Son	19.0	20.1
	Other	81.0	79.9
Care for elderly/disabled/ill in household	Father or son	22.1	22.3
	Other	77.9	77.7

Table 154. Care for the Disabled throughout Türkiye and by Residence Area, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye	Urban	Rural
Spouse	28.4	24.5	35.0
Mother	27.2	27.2	27.1
Father	5.2	4.3	6.9
Son	14.4	18.1	8.1
Daughter	10.8	13.1	6.9
Bride	7.8	6.0	11.0
Sibling	6.2	5.1	8.1
Grandchild	1.8	1.8	1.8
Other female relatives	0.8	0.8	0.8
Other male relatives	0.8	0.8	0.7
Grandfather	0.6	1.0	0
Neighbor	0.4	0.6	0
Paternal grandmother	0.3	0.5	0
Care taker	0.2	0.3	0
Maternal grandmother	0.1	0.2	0
Other	4.6	4.0	5.5

When comparing the responses to the single question about adult care asked in 2006 and the three detailed questions asked in 2011 the total percentage of those who chose father or son is 22% (Table 153). Men might be included among the spouse responses as well. However since this situation is ambiguous no such assertion can be made on this topic. Since the percentage of men who provide care in 2006 is 6% (the men included in the spouse response aren't counted), that this percentage increased to 22% can be interpreted in three ways. The first is that there has been a dramatic increase in the number of men providing care between these years. However it is not possible for such a sociological transformation to occur in such a short period of time. And so the other two options might be more explanatory. That is to say they might have given the socially preferred/accepted response by claiming to be the one responsible for care, or some of the sons might have regarded their wives' care as if they were the ones performing it.

Division of Chores at Home

Two different questions were asked for TAYA 2006 and 2011 regarding how chores were divided among family members. Even if there is not a significant difference in the root question, there are differences in the answer choices. In TAYA 2011 "the

weekly-monthly cleaning of the house" was added as a housework category. But an even more important change: in 2006 the choices for family member were man, woman, household members together, a relative outside the household, someone outside the family in return for a fee and not done at our home, while in 2011 it had been changed to man/father, woman/mother, girl child, boy child, a relative outside the household, another person in return for a fee, not done in our house. The reason the household members together answer was removed from the 2011 study is because that response might be obscuring who is primarily responsible for these chores. Changing the male and female options in the 2006 questionnaire to mother/daughter, father/son for 2011 has made the response clearer. Again in 2006 while only one response could be chosen, in 2011 multiple responses were allowed. Another difference between the two years was the addition of weekly-monthly cleaning of the house option to the 2011 questionnaire. All these differences make comparisons between the two years difficult.

The topics of cooking, daily ordering and cleaning the house, paying monthly bills, basic maintenance and repair will be the ones focused on for this analysis. After presenting the overall trend in gender roles for all chores, there will be a deeper analysis of each of the household chores listed above.

In 2006 chores such as cooking (87%), ironing (84%), laundry (89%), dishes (87%) and basic needlework (89%) were fundamentally the responsibility of the woman. If we look at the percentage of all these chores performed by women individually, each one (except ironing) is over 85%. Looking at other chores the women were responsible for: serving tea in the evening (80%), laying and cleaning of the table (74%), daily tidying and cleaning of the house (80%). These percentages show that these chores are mostly performed by the woman. However chores that could be considered lighter housework such as the laying and cleaning of the table can be performed by other family members. Men are mostly responsible for paying monthly bills and basic maintenance and repair. The fact that paying monthly bills (69%) and basic maintenance and repair (68%) are mostly done by men is another important piece of information. Shopping is a chore shared by men and women. While men are responsible for daily shopping for food and beverage in 33% of households, women are responsible for this chore in 38% of them. The same chore is performed

by family members together in 27% of households. When we examine the overall trends regarding the division of labor in the family, it is possible to conclude that the division of labor between men and women follow very traditional lines. While men are mostly responsible for chores such as the paying of bills and repairs, nearly all other chores are mostly the responsibility of women (Table 155).

When we examine the responses to the same question in 2011, the percentage of households where the woman/mother cooked was 95% while the other chores performed by the woman/mother were as follows: ironing (89%), laundry (94%), sewing (93%), serving tea in the evening (90%), the laying and cleaning of the table (92%), tidying the house (93%), weekly cleaning (91%). When 2006 and 2011 are compared within the framework of these data, the fact that the 2011 question allowed the selection of multiple responses increased the percentage of woman/mother answers. While women are responsible for the daily shopping of food and beverage in 74% of households, the percentage

Table 155. Individual Responsible for Household Chores, TAYA 2006 -2011 (%)

	Cooking	Ironing	Laundry (even if machine available)	Dishes (even if dishwasher available)	Basic needle-work (sewing, buttons, etc.)	Serving tea in the evenings	Laying and cleaning the table
2006							
Man	2.0	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.4
Woman	87.1	84.3	88.7	87.2	88.9	80.1	74.1
Household members together	9.5	9.5	7.7	9.4	7.1	15.6	22.6
A relative outside the household	0.8	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.6
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	0.4	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.2
Not done at our home	0.2	2.2	0.2	0.2	0.7	1.2	0.1
2011							
Man/father	5.0	3.7	2.6	3.3	2.2	7.4	9.7
Woman/mother	95.1	89.0	94.3	93.5	93.4	89.9	91.7
Girl child	11.0	12.9	11.2	12.7	10.0	16.5	18.1
Boy child	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5	1.7	2.7
A relative outside the household	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	0.4	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.3

of households where the men are responsible for that chore is 42%. While in 2006 the percentage of households where the man shopped was quite close to the percentage of women, the fact that women perform that chore more in 2011 is a result that needs interpretation. The 2011 result could be said to be more realistic. That is to say, when multiple responses were allowed in 2011 and respondents could not select both men and women, they answered in a way that also included women's shopping duties. On the other hand, by glossing over women's shopping responsibilities household chores were roughly distributed among family members. Paying of the bills and repairs were seen as the man's responsibility. Since the payment of bills is a task that is performed in the public sphere, the percentage of households where the man/father paid the monthly bills was 74% in 2011. Maintenance and repair chores were performed by the man/father 70% of the time. The change to the 2011 questionnaire was no longer limited to just how the chores were divided between the mother and father, but also provides information on how chores are divided between sons and daughters

as well. This data is particularly important in presenting how socialization takes place in line with traditional gender roles within the family. While daughters perform the same household chores that are usually performed by the mother, sons very rarely participate in these tasks. The percentage of households where the daughters also perform the chores that are seen as "woman's work" according to traditional values varies between 12% and 20%. The percentage of households where sons do these chores never exceeds 3% (laying the table). The household chores that male children more actively participate in are the monthly payment of bills (7%), basic maintenance and repairs (6%) and painting the house (5%). The percentage of households where male children contribute to other cooking, cleaning, household organizing and tidying chores is very low. Additionally, the male child's participation in these chores is tied to the father's participation in them. Looking at all these percentages, it wouldn't be wrong to assert that there will be a traditional division of labor between males and females in the next generation as well (Table 155).

	Tidying up the house	Daily shopping for food and beverage	Paying monthly bills	Basic maintenance and repair	Painting the house	-
2006						
Man	2.3	33.3	69.1	68.4	37.7	
Woman	80.2	37.7	17.0	6.7	10.0	
Household members together	16.1	26.8	10.2	6.4	13.3	
A relative outside the household	0.7	1.3	2.8	4.0	4.4	
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	0.5	0.3	0.4	13.5	32.9	
Not done at our home	0.3	0.6	0.5	1.2	1.7	
	Daily ordering/cleaning the house	Weekly cleaning of the house	Daily shopping for food and beverage	Paying monthly bills	Basic maintenance and repair	Painting the house
2011						
Man/father	4.4	4.6	41.6	74.2	70.3	46.9
Woman/mother	92.8	91.0	74.0	26.3	11.6	13.7
Girl child	15.2	15.2	8.6	3.6	1.4	1.7
Boy child	1.1	0.9	4.3	6.6	6.4	5.3
A relative outside the household	1.2	1.5	0.7	1.0	2.3	3.2
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	0.8	3.1	0.3	0.4	15.8	38.4

Rather than evaluate each chore one by one, this analysis will look into three chores in great detail. These chores are cooking, daily shopping for food and beverage and basic maintenance and repair. When selecting these tasks cooking was chosen because it is done every day and is traditionally seen as a woman's job. Shopping was selected as the second chore to be analyzed in depth because it is performed outside the house and is not seen as women's work (like cleaning and organizing) as far as male-female role distribution is concerned. The third chore is maintenance and repair because according to the understanding that divides labor according to traditional gender roles it is considered a man's job. When household members who perform these tasks in 2006 and 2011 is examined in detail the following conclusions emerge.

In the 2006 questionnaire where only one response was given, 87% of households said the chore of cooking was performed by the woman. This response is followed by "household members together." In 10% of households cooking was done by family members together. The percentage of house-

holds where men cook was only 2%. The other three possible responses, "a relative outside the household," "someone outside the family in return for a fee" and "not done at our home," total 1% (Table 156).

When we examine who in the household performed the chore of cooking in 2011, the greater variety of responses and the allowance of choosing more than one response increase the woman/mother response. In 95% of households the woman/mother is the individual who is responsible for cooking. In 11% of households it is the daughter who cooks. The percentage of households where the son also cooks is only 1%. The percentage of households where the man/father cooks has increased since 2006. This is due to the allowing of multiple responses for each question, meaning men who occasionally cooked were also included. There was an increase in "relatives outside the household" since 2006 as well. The percentages of the last two responses, "Someone outside the family in return for a fee" and "Not done at our home," are very low and similar to 2006 (Table 156).

Table 156. Individual Responsible for Cooking in the Household, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

Türkiye	
2006	
Man	2.0
Woman	87.1
Household members together	9.5
A relative outside the household	0.8
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	0.4
Not done at our home	0.2
2011	
Man/father	5.0
Woman/mother	95.1
Girl child	11.0
Boy child	0.6
A relative outside the household	1.3
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	0.4
Not done at our home	0.1

When we examine which individuals in the household are responsible for shopping, it is apparent that the percentage of households where the man shops and those where the woman shops are close to one another. In 2006 the percentage of households where the men were responsible for daily food and beverage shopping was 33%, while the percentage where the woman was responsible was 38%. The percentage where family members shopped together was 27% (Table 157).

When the individual responsible for shopping in the household was asked in 2011, the percentage of households with the woman/mother response rose to 74%. The percentage where the man was responsible remained at 42%. The reason for this discrepancy when compared to 2006, as indicated above, is the allowance of multiple responses. The difference between sons and daughters is important. The percentage of households where the daughter shops is 9%, while ones where the son is responsible is 4% (Table 157).

Table 157. Individual Responsible for Shopping in the Household, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

Türkiye	
2006	
Man	33.3
Woman	37.7
Household members together	26.8
A relative outside the household	1.3
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	0.3
Not done at our home	0.6
2011	
Man/father	41.6
Woman/mother	74.0
Girl child	8.6
Boy child	4.3
A relative outside the household	0.7
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	0.3
Not done at our home	0.4

When you examine the individuals responsible for basic maintenance and repairs in the household in 2006, the percentage of families where the man performs this chore is 68%, the percentage that hire someone outside the family in return for a fee is 14%. This chore is usually the responsibility of the man. Purchasing repair services from someone outside the household is a second alternative. The percentage of households where the members perform maintenance and repair together is 6%. The percentage where the woman is responsible for this chore is 7% (Table 158).

When the individual responsible for basic maintenance and repair chores is examined, there is not

significant change in comparison with 2006. The two categories that received the most responses are the same between the two years: the man (70%) and someone outside the family in return for a fee (16%). Differing from 2006, the woman/mother response has exhibited a notable increase. While 7% of households in 2006 had women responsible for this chore, the percentage increases to 12% for 2011. Exploring the categories of boy child and girl child newly added in 2011, 1% of households had the girl child responsible for this chore, with 6% having the boy child responsible (Table 158).

Table 158. Individual Responsible for Basic Maintenance and Repair in the Households throughout Türkiye, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

Türkiye	
2006	
Man	68.4
Woman	6.7
Household members together	6.4
A relative outside the household	4.0
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	13.5
Not done at our home	1.2
2011	
Man/father	70.3
Woman/mother	11.6
Girl child	1.4
Boy child	6.4
A relative outside the household	2.3
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	15.8
Not done at our home	0.7

Another point that should be mentioned regarding the division of labor in the household, as the educational level of the reference individual answering the household questionnaire increased, the percentage of households where the woman/mother performed chores deemed "woman's work" decreased while the percentage of such chores being performed by the man/father increased. However it should be noted that this change occurs at a very low rate. Education doesn't eliminate the traditional male and female roles in the division of labor, however it does lead to change even though it is very limited. It is observed that as education level rises the percentage of women responsible for simple chores such as tea service and laying the table drops by a greater percentage than for other chores. All of these indicate that an increase in education, while not enough to completely eliminate traditional gender roles when it comes to the division of simple chores, still results in a small transformation. Once again as the educational level of the reference individual of the household rises, the rate of having all family members perform these chores together increases.

A similar situation took place in 2006 for chores performed by men such as paying monthly bills and basic maintenance and repair. There is a bell-curve based on educational level when it comes to men being responsible for paying monthly bills; in households where the reference individual has primary school

(71%), primary and secondary school (74%) or high school or equivalent (71%) education the man is more likely to be responsible for the payment of monthly bills than ones where the reference individual has no schooling (60%) or has a higher education (65%). This percentage is lower in the lowest educational level relative to the other educational groups. In 22% of households where the reference individual is uneducated the woman is responsible for the payment of monthly bills, in households where the reference individual has a higher education graduate this percentage is 16%. A bell curve based on educational level when it comes to men being responsible for maintenance and repairs (Table 159 and 160).

On the other hand in 2011 as the educational level of the reference individual rises the payment of monthly bills becomes increasingly the responsibility of the man. In 58% of households where the reference individual is uneducated the man is responsible for the bills while they are responsible for them in 81% of the households where the reference individuals have completed higher education. There is a bell curve based on educational level when it comes to repairs; in households where the reference individual has primary school (72%), primary and secondary school (75%) or high school or equivalent (73%) education the man is more likely to be responsible for these chores than ones where the reference individual has no schooling (48%) or higher education (70%). This

Table 159. Individual Responsible for Payment of Monthly Bills by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/graduate)
2006					
Man	60.3	70.8	74.2	70.9	64.7
Woman	21.8	17.0	14.4	15.4	15.8
Household members together	8.5	9.5	9.3	11.2	15.5
A relative outside the household	8.2	2.2	1.5	1.6	0.9
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.6	1.2
Not done at our home	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.4	1.8
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
Man/father	57.7	73.9	76.3	76.8	80.9
Woman/mother	27	25.7	24.9	27.9	27.6
Girl child	8.6	3.6	2.4	2.3	2.9
Boy child	14.0	6.5	6.5	5.1	4.0
A relative outside the household	3.0	1.0	0.6	0.9	0.4
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.8
Not done at our home	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.6	1.3

Table 160. Individual Responsible for Basic Maintenance and Repair by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/graduate)
2006					
Man	52.6	71.6	73.5	72.2	63.7
Woman	10.8	6.1	4.8	6.4	5.8
Household members together	7.4	6.5	5.6	5.6	6.2
A relative outside the household	10.5	3.4	3.3	1.6	1.9
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	15.5	11.4	12.2	14.1	21.3
Not done at our home	3.1	1.0	0.7	0.2	1.2
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
Man/father	48.3	72.3	74.7	73.3	70.1
Woman/mother	15.9	11.4	10.9	10.7	11.1
Girl child	4.7	1.3	0.7	1.0	0.8
Boy child	13.9	6.9	5.2	4.2	3.8
A relative outside the household	6.2	2.0	1.9	2.2	1.4
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	18.3	14.0	13.6	16.9	20.9
Not done at our home	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.5

percentage is lower in the lowest educational group relative to other educational groups. As the reference individual's educational level increases, the percentage of households where the male child is responsible for repairs decreases (Table 159 and 160).

Another important point, the participation of children in household chores decreases as the educational level of the reference individual increases. Again

as the educational level of the reference individual increases, the percentage of households who hire someone outside the family in return for a fee also increases. For example in 4% of households where the reference individual is a high school graduate, 16% of households where they hold an undergraduate degree and in 37% of households where they hold a graduate degree someone is hired in return for a fee to perform weekly - monthly cleaning.

Table 161. Individual Responsible for Weekly/Monthly Cleaning of the House by Educational Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
Man/father	2.6	3.4	3.4	5.3	10.2
Woman/mother	79.0	92.8	94.1	93.9	86.4
Girl child	26.5	18.5	12.8	9.2	6.8
Boy child	1.8	0.8	0.6	0.9	1.0
A relative outside the household	3.3	1.9	0.7	0.7	0.8
Someone outside the family in return for a fee	0.6	0.8	1.2	3.8	13.9
Not done at our home	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0

If we summarize the points discussed in this section, we can say that household chores in Türkiye are divided among family members very much along traditional gender role lines. Chores like cleaning, cooking and tidying are generally performed by the woman. Chores like payment of bills, which is also related to the control of money, and maintenance/repair are performed by the man. Daily shopping is performed by both men and women. With the updated 2011 questionnaire this question also provides some insight into the future. Sons and daughters will divide chores in their own homes along traditional gender roles just like their mothers and fathers. While male children are practically exempt from housework, female children contribute to household chores. This situation, combined with taking the family's socialization function into consideration, suggests there will not be any major changes to the division of housework in the future. However as education levels rise, there is a some small change observed in the division of labor by these traditional gender roles. Additionally more educated families have a lower incidence of children participating in household chores.

8.5.2. Decision Making Dynamics in the Family

In both 2006 and 2011 there was a question each

about decision-making dynamics in the family. The 2006 question regarding the decision mechanisms is as follows: "Who in the family makes the final decisions on matters below?" There is also an additional note, "The younger couple was taken into account in case of more than one married couple in the household." The topics covered by the decision making process are regarding the selection of the house/apartment, the general order of the house, matters regarding the kids, matters regarding the children, shopping, relationship with relatives, the relationship with neighbors and holidays and entertainment. Responses to who makes the decision are the man, the woman and family members together.

When examining who makes the decisions regarding the family in 2006, the topics men are more active than women are in the selection of house, relations with relatives and holidays and entertainment. While men are more active than women in matters regarding shopping, the difference is quite small. The percentage of households where the woman is responsible for the general order of the house, matters regarding children and relationship with neighbors exceeds that of households where the man is active in these topics. This situation is closely related to the division of labor of traditional gender roles where the

woman is seen as responsible for the organization of the house. The very high percentage of households where the woman is responsible for the cleaning, organizing and cooking suggests that women are the decision-makers when it comes to the organization of the house. In a society where 59% of women are housewives, it is a surprising that the percentage of households where women are the decision makers regarding household organization are limited to just 45%. The large majority of women being housewives results in the percentage of households where they are the decision makers regarding relations with neighbors are greater than the percentage of households where the man makes such decisions. Having family members make all decisions together is more widespread than having either the man or woman make decisions by themselves. The issue with the highest percentage of family members making the decision together is in vacations and entertainment, while the lowest is in household organization.

If we look at the topics one by one, while in 29% of households the man is responsible for the selection of the house, women are responsible in 17% of households in 2006. More than half of families (54%) make this decision together with their family members. While in 45% of households decisions regarding household organization are made by the woman, in 14% it is by the man and in 43% it is by household members together. In 16% of households matters regarding children are decided on by the man, in 20% it is made by the woman and in 64% it is made by household members together. Men are decision makers on matters regarding shopping in 20% of households, a figure that is quite close to the percentage of households where women make such decisions (23%). In 18% of households the men make the decisions regarding the relationship with relatives, while in 16% they are made by the woman.

On this topic the large majority (67%) of households make this decision together. When examining the relationship with neighbors, in 16% of households it is the man making such decisions while in 20% it is the woman. On relationship with neighbors 63% of households make decisions together. In 19% of households men make the decisions on vacations and entertainment, women make them in 12%. In 70% of households this decision is made together. Another interesting point is that the percentages coming out of Istanbul is notable for how close they are to nationwide figures (Table 162).

Examining how the decision maker in the family varies by region reveals several interesting conclusions. When examining who is responsible for decision-making regarding the selection of the house, the percentage of households in the Mideast, Northeast and Southeast Anatolia regions where the man is the sole decision maker exceeds the percentage of households where all family members makes the decision together. In Northeast Anatolia men make the decisions regarding home selection in 43% of households. The percentage of households where the family makes the decision together is 38%, while those where the woman makes the decision are 19%. Similarly, in the Mideast Anatolia region the percentage of households where the man is responsible for the decision-making is 38%, 17% where the woman makes the decision and 45% where the family makes the decision together. The Southeast Anatolia region has the highest percentage of households in Türkiye where the man is the decision maker. The men are responsible for the selection of the home in 47% of the households in the Southeast Anatolia Region. In 44% of households the family members make that decision together and in 10% the woman is the decision maker regarding home selection. In West Anatolia, East Black Sea and East Marmara regions the percentages of households that

Table 162. Decision Maker in the Household throughout Türkiye, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Man	Woman	Household members together
Selection of house	29.1	17.2	53.8
General order of house	13.5	44.8	41.7
Matters regarding children	14.8	19.2	61.4
Shopping	20.1	22.7	57.3
Relationship with relatives	17.9	15.5	66.7
Relationship with neighbors	15.7	21.0	63.2
Holidays and entertainment	18.6	12.1	69.3

Table 163. Decision Maker for the Selection of the House, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Man	Woman	Household members together
Istanbul	26.9	19.7	53.4
West Marmara	27.8	19.2	53.0
Aegean	29.3	17.8	52.9
East Marmara	22.5	15.7	61.8
West Anatolia	21.6	17.3	61.1
Mediterranean	33.7	15.1	51.2
Central Anatolia	26.8	22.1	51.1
West Black Sea	23.8	16.4	59.8
East Black Sea	20.0	17.3	62.7
Northeast Anatolia	43.1	19.4	37.5
Mideast Anatolia	38.2	17.1	44.7
Southeast Anatolia	46.5	9.6	43.9

make that decision together are over 60% (Table 163).

When the person responsible for decision-making regarding the general order of the house is examined, the percentage of households in the Mideast Anatolia, Central Anatolia and Istanbul where women are the decision makers is relatively higher than in other regions. In order, in the Mideast Anatolia region women are the decision makers in 62% of households, the men are the decision makers in 12%, and the percentage of households where the family members make the decision together is 25%. In Central Anatolia 49% of households have the woman making such decisions, 39% of households have family members deciding together and in 12% it is the solely the man's decision. Istanbul has very similar rates to the Central Anatolia region. The percentages of two other regions are especially

worthy of a discussion: Northeast and Southeast Anatolia. In these two regions the percentage of households where the man is the decision-maker regarding the general order of the house is 23% and 24% respectively. It is remarkable how these two regions, which have a higher incidence of households where women do the housework than other regions, also have such high percentages of households where men make decisions regarding the order of the house. In a large majority of households where the woman performs most household chores, it is not the woman but the man that makes decisions about the order of the house. Another point that needs to be highlighted is that the expression "decision making regarding the general order of the house" is not a very clear one. It might have been understood as the individual laying down the rules organizing household relationships, such as who

Table 164. Decision Maker for the General Order of the House, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Man	Woman	Household members together
Istanbul	9.5	49.3	41.2
West Marmara	14.5	45.5	40.0
Aegean	16.0	41.7	42.2
East Marmara	10.6	41.2	48.2
West Anatolia	9.5	44.1	46.4
Mediterranean	14.8	45.4	39.8
Central Anatolia	11.5	49.1	39.4
West Black Sea	15.7	33.8	50.5
East Black Sea	9.4	43.6	47.0
Northeast Anatolia	23.4	44.0	32.7
Mideast Anatolia	12.4	62.3	25.3
Southeast Anatolia	24.0	40.9	35.0

needs to be home after a certain hour (Table 164).

When we examine the household decision maker regarding matters related to children, the two regions with the highest percentage of men making such decisions is once again the Northeast and Southeast Anatolia regions. While the percentage of households in the Northeast Anatolia region where the man makes decisions regarding children

is 26%, it is 27% in Southeast Anatolia. These two regions are followed by the Aegean and West Black Sea regions; households where the man makes decisions regarding the children is 19% in the Aegean, 18% in the West Black Sea region. The regions where the percentage of households with the family making such decisions together is highest in East Black Sea (72%), Istanbul (72%) and West Black Sea region (67%) (Table 165).

Table 165. Decision Maker for Matters Regarding the Children, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Man	Woman	Household members together
Istanbul	7.8	20.6	71.6
West Marmara	16.0	19.0	65.0
Aegean	18.7	19.5	61.8
East Marmara	14.2	15.7	70.0
West Anatolia	11.3	22.2	66.5
Mediterranean	17.1	21.7	61.3
Central Anatolia	11.7	26.3	62.0
West Black Sea	17.9	15.5	66.6
East Black Sea	11.7	16.5	71.8
Northeast Anatolia	26.4	17.7	55.9
Mideast Anatolia	17.4	23.9	58.7
Southeast Anatolia	26.5	19.9	53.6

A different question root was used for the 2011 study. A new instruction "more than one option can be marked" was added to the question "Who is the decision maker in your family for the topics below?" While the question in 2006 was about the final decision and only offered a single choice, the addition of "generally" to the question root and the allowance of more than one response makes it very difficult to compare these two years while focused on this question. Additionally, there are different options for who is making the decisions. In the 2006 questionnaire the options available were man, woman and household members together, while in 2011 they were man/father, woman/mother, the kids and the elderly.

In 2011 while the percentage of households which said the man is generally the decision maker regarding the selection of the house was 76%, the percentage where the woman was the decision maker was 74%. In 11% of households the kids were generally the decision maker, which drops to 2% for households where the elderly members generally make

the decisions. When we evaluate these percentages, the conclusion is that men generally make the decisions of the household more often than the woman, the kids or the elderly. When who generally makes decisions regarding the general order of the house was asked, it was revealed that the woman/mother has a greater role. The percentage of households where the woman generally makes the decisions on the order of the house is 90%. The percentage of households where it is the men is 48%, those where it is the children are 10% and those where it is the elderly are 1% (Table 166).

The 2011 research reveals that decisions regarding the children are generally made by the woman/mother. In 86% of households respondents said it was the woman/mother who generally made decisions regarding the children while the man/father was the decision maker in 70%. The percentage of households where kids indicated that they generally made decisions about themselves and/or their siblings was 7%. The percentage where the elderly generally made such decisions was 1%. Decisions

regarding shopping were generally made by the woman/mother (83%). The percentage of households where the man generally makes the shopping decisions was 70%. The percentage of households where children generally decided was 10%, and ones where the elderly generally did was 1%. The woman/mother is generally the decision maker regarding the relationship with relatives (84%). The percentage of respondents who say the man/father is generally responsible for such decisions is 77%, with the kids being responsible in 8% of households and the elderly in 2%. The woman/mother is generally the decision maker regarding the relationship with relatives (86%) as well. The percentage of households where the man/father is generally responsible for such decisions is 72%. The percentage of households where the kids (8%) and the elderly (2%) are generally responsible for such decision is quite low. The decision maker when it comes to vacations and

entertainment is generally the man/father (80%). The percentage of households where the woman/mother was listed as the one who generally decides is 76%. The children of the house have greater impact in these decisions than they do in others; the percentage where they are generally the decision makers is 14%. The percentage where the elderly are the main decision makers is 2%. Hence, it is understood that the man/father is generally the decision maker when it comes to the selection of house and vacations and entertainment. In other topics it is generally the woman/mother. The percentage of respondents who say it is generally the kids who make decisions in their household is around 10%. The children have more influence on the topic of vacations and entertainment. The percentage of respondents who said that the elderly generally made decisions in the household was very low (1-2%) (Table 166).

Tablo 166. Decision Maker in the Households throughout Türkiye, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Man/father	Woman/mother	The kids	The elderly
Home choice	75.8	74.4	10.7	1.8
Order of home	47.8	89.6	10.0	1.1
Children related matters	69.8	86.3	7.3	1.1
Shopping	70.0	83.1	9.5	1.0
Relations with relative	77.0	83.7	7.8	1.7
Relations with neighbors	71.5	86.2	7.6	1.6
Holidays and entertaining	80.0	76.3	14.0	1.5

If we compare the regions, those with the highest percentages of households where the man/father generally makes decisions regarding home selection are West Marmara (85%), Mideast Anatolia (83%) and Southeast Anatolia (81%). This percentage

drops to 67% in Istanbul, while it doesn't change in the East Black Sea (73%) and Northeast Anatolia (73%) regions. The region with the highest percentage of households where the woman/mother generally decides on the selection of the house is

Table 167. Decision Maker for Matters Regarding the Selection of House by NUTS, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Man/father	Woman/mother	The kids	The elderly
Istanbul	67.3	74.8	12.7	2.6
West Marmara	84.7	80.5	8.3	1.7
East Marmara	80.0	74.8	11.4	1.9
Aegean	75.8	80.1	8.8	2.1
Mediterranean	76.4	78.5	12.2	2.0
West Anatolia	76.6	80.0	11.3	.9
Central Anatolia	74.2	70.6	6.9	.9
West Black Sea	74.8	69.5	8.8	2.5
East Black Sea	72.9	84.3	11.7	1.5
Northeast Anatolia	73.0	71.7	9.7	0.9
Mideast Anatolia	83.3	70.9	16.9	2.1
Southeast Anatolia	81.1	51.4	6.1	1.3

West Marmara (81%). In the Southeast Anatolia region on the other hand the percentage of households where the woman/mother generally decides on home selection drops to 51%. The region with the highest percentage of children who generally make the decisions on home selection is Mideast Anatolia. Respondents from this region indicated that in 17% of households children generally made decisions on the selection of the house. The region with the lowest percentage of households with children generally making such a decision was Southeast Anatolia (6%). Relative to other regions, the regions with the highest percentage of households where the elderly generally made the decisions regarding home selection was Istanbul (3%) and West Black Sea (3%).

Regarding the general order of the house, the regions with the highest percentage of households where the man/husband generally makes decisions are West Marmara (57%), Aegean (57%) and Northeast Anatolia (56%). This percentage is lowest in Istanbul (35%) and West Black Sea (37%). The percentage of households where the woman/mother is generally responsible for the order of the house is quite close in all regions except Southeast Anatolia. This percentage drops to 80% in Southeast Anatolia. The regions with the highest percentage of households where the kids generally make decisions on the order of the house are Mideast Anatolia (17%), Northeast Anatolia (13%) and Istanbul (12%) (Table 168).

Table 168. Decision Maker for Matters Regarding the General Order of the House by NUTS, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Man/father	Woman/mother	The kids	The elderly
Istanbul	35.2	90.8	11.7	1.6
West Marmara	57.3	93.6	6.3	1.1
East Marmara	52.1	91.8	8.4	1.9
Aegean	56.8	89.0	9.6	1.0
Mediterranean	54.8	90.6	9.1	0.8
West Anatolia	47.9	92.0	11.1	1.0
Central Anatolia	46.9	82.6	9.0	0.2
West Black Sea	37.3	92.0	9.3	0.9
East Black Sea	53.4	90.1	10.2	1.0
Northeast Anatolia	55.6	87.7	12.9	0.8
Mideast Anatolia	40.3	91.1	17.1	1.2
Southeast Anatolia	45.7	79.8	7.6	0.5

The regions with the highest percentage of households where the man/father is the decision maker in matters regarding the children is East (78%)

and West (78%) Marmara. The regions where this percentage is lowest are Istanbul (58%), Northeast Anatolia (68%), Southeast Anatolia (68%) and the

Table 169. Decision Maker for Matters Regarding Kids by NUTS, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Man/father	Woman/mother	The kids	The elderly
Istanbul	57.8	86.9	6.9	1.7
West Marmara	77.5	91.8	11.4	1.1
East Marmara	78.2	90.4	5.1	1.6
Aegean	72.0	87.1	6.6	1.0
Mediterranean	68.3	90.4	7.0	1.1
West Anatolia	74.8	88.7	9.5	0.8
Central Anatolia	75.4	80.2	4.6	0.3
West Black Sea	75.4	88.9	6.5	0.7
East Black Sea	70.8	88.1	11.8	0.9
Northeast Anatolia	67.7	83.8	4.9	0.6
Mideast Anatolia	70.7	82.7	15.1	2.7
Southeast Anatolia	68.0	68.6	5.1	0.4

Mediterranean region (68%). The region with the relatively lowest percentage of households where the woman/mother generally makes the decision regarding the kids is Southeast Anatolia (69%). The regions with the highest percentage of households where the woman/mother is the decision maker in these matters are West Marmara (92%), East Marmara (90%) and the Mediterranean region (90%). The regions with the highest percentage of households where the children generally make such decisions are Mideast Anatolia (15%), East Black Sea (12%) and West Marmara (11%) (Table 169).

While the region with the highest percentage of households where the man/father is the decision maker in matters regarding shopping is Central

Anatolia (80%), the lowest is Istanbul (55%). The regions with the lowest percentage of households where the woman/mother is generally the decision maker in these matters are Northeast Anatolia (60%) and Southeast Anatolia (60%). The regions with the highest percentage of households where the woman/mother generally makes these decisions are West Marmara (91%), East Marmara (88%), Mediterranean (88%) and West Anatolia (87%). In Istanbul the percentage of households where women generally make shopping related decisions is 86%. In some regions the involvement of kids in such decision making is higher than in others. The percentage of households where the kids make decisions regarding shopping are 14% in Mideast Anatolia and 13% in West Anatolia (Table 170).

Table 170. Decision Maker for Matters Regarding Shopping by NUTS, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Man/father	Woman/mother	The kids	The elderly
Istanbul	54.5	86.4	10.0	1.6
West Marmara	79.2	90.6	10.2	1.1
East Marmara	72.9	88.3	7.6	1.6
Aegean	73.8	85.3	8.3	1.0
Mediterranean	68.7	87.6	8.8	0.5
West Anatolia	73.6	87.3	13.2	0.9
Central Anatolia	80.0	72.2	6.5	0.4
West Black Sea	74.9	85.2	10.8	0.6
East Black Sea	70.1	87.1	10.6	0.7
Northeast Anatolia	75.7	59.8	8.4	0.8
Mideast Anatolia	78.6	75.0	14.0	1.3
Southeast Anatolia	71.6	59.9	7.3	0.8

While the region with the lowest percentage of households where the man/father is generally the decision maker in relationships with relatives is Istanbul (66%), the regions with the highest percentage are Central Anatolia (85%), West Marmara (83%) and East Marmara (82%). The regions with the lowest percentage of households where the man/father is generally the decision maker in these matters are Istanbul (66%), Mediterranean (75%) and Southeast Anatolia (75%). While West Marmara (92%) and East Marmara (90%) are the regions with the highest percentage of households where the woman/mother generally makes such decisions, this percentage is lowest in the Southeast Anatolia (60%) and Northeast Anatolia

(57%) regions. The percentage of households where the children generally make decisions regarding the relationship with relatives is highest in Mideast Anatolia (13%) and West Anatolia (10%). The percentage of households where the elderly generally make such decisions is higher for this topic than for the other ones; this percentage gets to 3% in Istanbul and Mideast Anatolia (Table 171).

While the region with the lowest percentage of households where the man/father is generally the decision maker in relationships with neighbors is Istanbul (57%), the regions with the highest percentage are Central Anatolia (81%), West Mar-

Table 171. Decision Maker Regarding Relationship with Relatives, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Man/father	Woman/mother	The kids	The elderly
Istanbul	65.9	82.4	8.0	2.7
West Marmara	82.5	92.1	7.6	1.4
East Marmara	82.2	90.0	6.7	2.0
Aegean	78.1	87.7	7.4	1.4
Mediterranean	74.9	88.2	7.6	0.9
West Anatolia	81.1	88.6	9.5	1.9
Central Anatolia	85.4	78.5	4.8	0.9
West Black Sea	82.1	86.3	9.1	1.6
East Black Sea	78.5	87.4	8.3	1.3
Northeast Anatolia	81.4	56.7	5.7	0.8
Mideast Anatolia	81.3	79.5	12.8	2.6
Southeast Anatolia	75.1	60.3	5.9	1.3

mara (79%) and East Marmara (78%). The regions with the lowest percentage of households where the man/father is generally the decision maker in these matters are Istanbul (57%) and Southeast Anatolia (67%). While West Marmara (94%) and East Marmara (92%) are the regions with the highest percentage of households where the woman/mother generally makes such decisions, this percentage is lowest in

the Southeast Anatolia (67%) and Northeast Anatolia (61%) regions. The percentage of households where the kids generally make decisions regarding the relationship with neighbors is highest in Mideast Anatolia (15%). The percentages for decision making regarding neighbors by a household closely resembles the percentages for decision making regarding relatives (Table 172).

Table 172. Decision Maker Regarding Relationship with Neighbors, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Man/father	Woman/mother	The kids	The elderly
Istanbul	56.9	85.4	7.2	2.6
West Marmara	79.2	94.2	7.0	1.4
East Marmara	77.7	92.2	6.5	2.0
Aegean	75.2	88.0	7.5	1.4
Mediterranean	70.8	90.5	7.7	0.9
West Anatolia	74.1	90.1	9.3	1.6
Central Anatolia	80.6	81.3	5.1	1.0
West Black Sea	76.9	90.3	9.0	1.2
East Black Sea	77.6	89.0	8.4	1.3
Northeast Anatolia	75.6	60.5	4.8	0.8
Mideast Anatolia	77.2	83.9	14.5	2.4
Southeast Anatolia	66.7	66.8	5.5	0.9

While the region with the highest percentage of households where the man/father generally makes the decisions regarding vacations and entertainment West Marmara (87%) and Central Anatolia (85%), the regions with the lowest percentage are Istanbul (69%), Northeast Anatolia (78%) and the Mediterranean region (78%). The region with the highest percentage of households where the woman/mother generally makes the decisions regarding vacations and entertainment West Marmara (89%), East Black

Sea (85%) and East Marmara (85%). The regions with the lowest percentages are the Southeast (47%) and Northeast Anatolia (49%) regions. The percentage of households where the kids generally make decisions regarding vacations and entertainment is higher than for other issues. The regions with the highest percentages of children making such decisions are West Anatolia (19%), Istanbul (18%) and Mideast Anatolia (17%) (Table 173).

Table 173. Decision Maker Regarding Holidays and Entertainment, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Man/father	Woman/mother	The kids	The elderly
Istanbul	69.2	72.1	17.8	2.5
West Marmara	86.5	88.6	11.7	1.5
East Marmara	82.6	84.5	12.9	1.8
Aegean	83.4	82.6	12.8	1.4
Mediterranean	78.3	80.6	12.3	1.0
West Anatolia	82.9	83.7	18.8	1.3
Central Anatolia	85.1	67.8	13.7	0.8
West Black Sea	84.3	82.5	14.6	1.0
East Black Sea	80.3	85.0	12.6	0.9
Northeast Anatolia	77.7	48.5	9.3	0.7
Mideast Anatolia	83.0	71.0	16.7	2.5
Southeast Anatolia	83.9	46.8	5.9	0.6

When we examine the decision making practices for certain topics within the family by regions in 2011, the percentages of households where women generally make decisions is higher in western regions than in other ones, while they are relatively lower in the Southeast Anatolia and Northeast Anatolia regions. The Mideast Anatolia region stands out as the one with the highest percentage of kids making decisions. The percentage of children who are generally decision makers is relatively highest on the issues of consumption such as shopping, vacations and entertainment across all regions. The percentage of elderly members of the household who are generally decision makers is between 1-2% in all regions, but regarding relations with relatives and

neighbors the percentage of elderly who generally make decisions can rise to 3% in certain regions.

When we compare the relationship between decision making dynamics in 2011 and socioeconomic level, as the SES increases the percentage where the woman/mother and the kids are the decision makers increases for every topic. Except from the topics of house order and matters regarding children, a decrease in SES levels results in a decline in the percentage of households where the man/father generally makes decisions. As SES declines the percentage of elderly who generally make decisions increases (Table 174).

Table 174. Decision Maker by SES, TAYA 2011 (%)

	High upper class	Upper class	Upper middle class	Lower middle class	Lower class
Decision Maker for the Selection of the House					
Man/father	75.9	75.8	76.5	78.1	80.0
Woman/mother	88.5	84.4	78.5	70.5	65.8
The kids	11.3	14.7	13.1	8.7	5.3
The elderly	0.3	1.3	1.7	1.8	2.0
Decision Maker for the General Order of the House					
Man/father	50.7	52.3	46.4	49.0	48.3
Woman/mother	96.4	94.2	93.0	88.2	84.7
The kids	7.9	11.0	11.6	8.7	6.1
The elderly	0.0	0.8	0.9	1.2	1.3
Decision Maker for Matters Regarding Kids					
Man/father	73.3	74.9	71.1	71.3	70.3
Woman/mother	94.6	91.6	88.9	84.4	80.7
The kids	9.4	6.9	8.0	6.4	4.8
The elderly	0.0	0.6	0.8	1.3	1.3
Decision Maker for Matters Regarding Shopping					
Man/father	71.5	72.0	69.7	72.2	72.5
Woman/mother	92.6	92.2	88.4	80.3	73.2
The kids	8.6	11.7	10.6	8.2	4.0
The elderly	0.3	0.6	0.8	1.2	1.6
Decision Maker Regarding Relationships with Relatives					
Man/father	79.9	79.1	77.6	79.2	79.2
Woman/mother	91.5	91.1	88.3	81.3	73.8
The kids	7.5	9.7	8.0	6.9	3.1
The elderly	0.3	1.2	1.2	2.0	2.4
Decision Maker Regarding Relationships with Neighbors					
Man/father	72.4	74.6	70.7	73.6	74.9
Woman/mother	94.4	93.2	90.8	84.3	76.0
The kids	7.0	9.7	8.0	6.7	3.1
The elderly	0.3	1.0	1.2	1.8	2.2
Decision Maker Regarding Holidays and Entertainment					
Man/father	82.1	81.6	81.7	82.0	82.5
Woman/mother	86.3	87.0	80.4	73.6	63.9
The kids	18.0	21.2	17.3	10.9	5.6
The elderly	0.0	1.0	0.9	1.7	2.4

8.5.3. The Occupation of the Woman and Views Towards Female Employment

8.5.3.1. Occupation of the Woman

The fact that no such direct question was asked in 2006 unfortunately makes it impossible to analyze the employment status of women for this period. In 2011 on the other hand, there was such a question. So the analysis in this section will be limited to just the year 2011. When respondents were asked as to

their work status in the last week, even if only for 1 hour, the responses indicate that of all the women in the household over the age of 12, 13% "worked," 1% selected "did not work but affiliated with somewhere (holiday, illness, etc.)" and 0.2% chose "seasonal worker (not the season)." Meaning that the percentage of women over the age of 12 who work is 15%. The percentage who is unemployed but looking for a job was 2%. Of all women in the household over the age of 18, 59% were housewives 5% of women were retired (Table 175).

Table 175. Work Status of Household Members of 12 Years Old and Above, TAYA 2011 (%)

	12 +Man	12 +Woman	12 + Population
Worked	53.6	13.3	33.4
Did not work but affiliated with somewhere (Holiday, illness, etc.)	0.8	1.1	1.0
Seasonal worker (Not the season)	1.0	0.2	0.6
Unemployed/looking for a job	5.3	1.7	3.5
Unemployed/is not looking for a job	1.3	0.9	1.1
Housewife	0.0	59.4	29.7
Student	17.7	16.0	16.9
Retired	15.3	5.0	10.1
Doing military service	1.8	0.0	0.9
Ineligible to work (Ill, disabled, old etc.)	2.7	2.2	2.4
Have side income	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other	0.3	0.2	0.3

When examining household members over the age of 15 in 2011, the percentage of employment among women ("worked," "did not work but affiliated with somewhere (holiday, illness, etc.)" and "seasonal worker but not the season") rose to 15%. It should be noted that when calculating this

percentage women who were not in the workforce were included in the female population over the age of 15. Among men this percentage ("worked," "did not work but affiliated with somewhere (holiday, illness, etc.)" and "seasonal worker but not the season") rose to 60% (Table 176).

Table 176. Work Status of Household Members of 15 Years Old and Above, TAYA 2011 (%)

	15 +Man	15 +Woman	15 + Population
Worked	57.5	13.8	35.3
Did not work but affiliated with somewhere (Holiday, illness, etc.)	0.9	1.2	1.0
Seasonal worker (Not the season)	1.1	0.2	0.6
Unemployed/looking for a job	5.6	1.7	3.6
Unemployed/is not looking for a job	1.4	0.9	1.2
Housewoman	0.0	61.9	31.4
Student	12.0	12.6	12.3
Retired	16.4	5.2	10.7
Doing military service	1.9	0.0	0.9
Ineligible to work (Ill, disabled, old etc.)	2.9	2.2	2.5
Have side income	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other	0.3	0.2	0.3

When the percentage of men and women in the workforce is examined, while 61% of men are employed, this percentage is 15% for women. 1% of women did not work in the past week for reasons such as vacation, illness, etc. but were still affiliated

with somewhere. 67% of women over the age of 18 were housewives. 6% of women were retired. The percentage of men who were unemployed but looking for a job was 6%, the percentage of women was 2% (Table 177).

Table 177. Work Status of Household Members over 18 y.o., TAYA 2011 (%)

	18 +Man	18 +Woman	18 + Population
Worked	60.8	14.9	37.8
Did not work but affiliated with somewhere (Holiday, illness, etc.)	0.9	1.3	1.1
Seasonal worker (Not the season)	1.1	0.2	0.6
Unemployed/looking for a job	5.5	1.7	3.6
Unemployed/is not looking for a job	1.3	0.9	1.1
Housewife	0.0	66.6	33.4
Student	7.1	6.0	6.6
Retired	17.6	5.7	11.6
Doing military service	2.0	0.0	1.0
Ineligible to work (Ill, disabled, old etc.)	3.0	2.4	2.7
Have side income	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other	0.3	0.2	0.3

All these percentages illustrate how low workforce participation is among women in Türkiye. The gender-based division of labor in the household that was mentioned in the previous section should be analyzed with this in mind (Table 178).

Examining women's work status by their educational level, as women's educational level increases so do their rates of employment. 8% of primary school graduates, 12% of elementary education graduates, 20% of high school and equivalent graduates and 58% of graduates of higher education are employed.

79% of women who had no schooling are housewives and only 4% of this group work ("worked," "did not work but affiliated with somewhere (holiday, illness, etc.)" and "seasonal worker but not the

season"). The percentage of housewives among high school graduates is 43%, among graduates of higher education it is 16% (Table 178).

Table 178. Work Status of Women over 18 y.o. by Educational Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
Worked	3.2	8.4	11.8	20.1	58.1
Did not work but affiliated with somewhere (holiday, illness, etc.)	0.2	2.1	0.9	0.7	1.8
Seasonal worker (not the season)	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
Unemployed/looking for a job	0.3	0.5	2.3	2.9	6.3
Unemployed/is not looking for a job	0.7	0.7	1.3	1.1	1.6
Housewife	79.4	81.7	74.1	43.0	15.7
Student	0.1	0.1	4.5	26.3	6.3
Retired	6.1	4.9	4.6	5.3	9.8
Doing military service	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ineligible to work (Ill, disabled, old etc.)	9.3	1.1	0.2	0.1	0.2
Have side income	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.1

When examining men's work status by their educational level, 17% of those with no schooling and are over the age of 12 work, and this number goes up to 31% for those over 18. This percentage rises to 61% for primary school graduates over 18, 65% for elementary education graduates, 58% for high school and equivalent graduates and 74% for graduates of higher education. When comparing the work sta-

tus of men and women by educational status, even though the woman's employment increases with greater education, the percentage of employed men is higher than that of women with the same level of education. For example while 74% of men who graduated from higher education are employed, this percentage is 58% for women (Table 179).

Table 179. Work Status of Men over 18 y.o. by Educational Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
Worked	31.0	60.8	65.2	57.8	73.8
Did not work but affiliated with somewhere (Holiday, illness etc.)	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.9	1.0
Seasonal worker (Not the season)	2.8	1.9	1.1	0.2	0.1
Unemployed/looking for a job	6.3	4.7	8.3	4.7	4.9
Unemployed/is not looking for a job	2.3	1.0	1.7	1.3	1.0
Housewife	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Student	0.4	0.0	3.8	23.0	4.8
Retired	30.2	26.9	12.5	9.0	11.6
Doing military service	1.3	0.0	5.1	2.5	2.4
Ineligible to work (Ill, disabled, old etc.)	23.3	3.3	0.9	0.4	0.1
Have side income	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.1
Other	0.8	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.3

When the marital status of men over 18 is compared to their work status, we see that it is not a

man's marital status but his age that plays a greater role (Table 180).

Table 180. Work Status of Men over 18 by Marital Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Never married	Married	Separated/ Live Apart	Spouse has died	Divorced
Worked	46.2	67.3	63.8	13.8	61.6
Did not work but affiliated with somewhere (Holiday, illness, etc.)	0.9	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Seasonal worker (Not the season)	0.6	1.3	2.7	0.0	0.0
Unemployed/looking for a job	10.7	3.6	13.1	2.3	8.9
Unemployed/is not looking for a job	2.6	0.8	0.0	3.0	2.4
Housewife	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Student	27.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Retired	0.5	22.9	14.6	56.5	20.1
Doing military service	7.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ineligible to work (Ill, disabled, old etc.)	3.1	2.4	5.8	24.2	5.5
Have side income	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0
Other	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0

When the marital status of women over 18 is compared to their work status, we see that those that are married are employed significantly less than those who never married, were separated or divorced. The

employment rate among divorcees (39%), those that are separated (29%) and those that never married (27%) are much higher than those that are married (13%) (Table 181).

Table 181. Working Condition of Women over 18 y.o. by Marital Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Never married	Married	Separated/ Live Apart	Spouse has died	Divorced
Worked	26.9	12.5	29.0	2.9	38.9
Did not work but affiliated with somewhere (Holiday, illness, etc.)	0.6	1.5	2.5	0.7	0.8
Seasonal worker (Not the season)	0.3	0.1	0.7	0.1	0.1
Unemployed/looking for a job	6.4	0.6	5.2	0.1	5.2
Unemployed/is not looking for a job	2.5	0.6	0.0	0.8	1.6
Housewoman	25.3	79.6	53.8	57.1	36.6
Student	34.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.5
Retired	1.1	4.1	6.3	22.5	12.1
Doing military service	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ineligible to work (Ill. disabled, old etc.)	2.4	0.7	2.6	14.0	3.6
Have side income	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.1
Other	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.3

When we examine women's work status by region, we see that women work the most in Istanbul (20%), Aegean (19%), West Marmara (18%) and West Anatolia (17%) regions, and lowest in North-east Anatolia (5%) and Mideast Anatolia (6%) (Table 182).

When the occupations of women over 18 for 2011 are examined, 18% of women are unqualified laborers, 12% are teachers, 10% are low and average qualified blue collar workers, 10% are middle level state officers /intermediate staff, 10% are once again low and average qualified white collar workers and 7% are daily waged temporary workers (Table 183).

Table 182. Working Condition of Women over 18 by NUTS, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Istanbul	West Marmara	East Marmara	Aegean	Mediterranean	West Anatolia
Worked	20.2	17.6	16.4	18.7	15.9	16.8
Did not work but affiliated with somewhere (Holiday, illness, etc.)	1.9	1.4	0.9	1.2	1.0	2.3
Seasonal worker (Not the season)	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.0
Unemployed/looking for a job	3.5	2.0	1.3	1.8	1.1	1.5
Unemployed/is not looking for a job	1.2	0.9	0.8	0.4	2.5	0.5
Housewoman	57.9	60.7	64.9	61.1	63.7	64.2
Student	5.9	4.7	6.5	6.6	6.2	6.9
Retired	7.1	10.4	5.8	8.1	6.5	6.2
Doing military service	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ineligible to work (Ill, disabled, old etc.)	1.4	1.6	3.0	2.0	2.7	1.5
Have side income	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	0.8	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0

In light of all these findings, social policies need to be developed that encourage female employment, especially those who are married and with children,

in eastern regions who are at a low educational and socioeconomic level.

Table 183. Occupations throughout Türkiye and by Gender, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye	Male	Female
State officer, waged (Manager/professional)	2.8	2.4	4.1
State officer, waged (Middle level officer; intermediate staff)	6.3	5.4	10.0
State officer, waged (Service staff)	2.0	1.9	2.6
State officer (Professional army staff)	0.5	0.7	0.1
State officer, waged (Teacher)	5.1	3.3	12.1
Worker, regular, waged, white collar (Manager, professional)	4.1	2.9	8.8
Worker, regular, waged, white collar (Low, average qualified)	6.7	5.8	10.0
Worker, regular, waged, blue collar (Low, average qualified)	16.1	17.7	10.2
Worker, regular, waged, blue collar (Unqualified)	19.1	19.5	17.5
Small scale employer (With 1-10 worker/s)	3.7	4.1	2.2
Middle scale employer (With 10-50 workers)	0.5	0.6	0.1
Large scale employer (With more than 50 workers)	0.3	0.3	0.3
Small scale trading on one's own account	6.0	7.3	1.1
Large scale trading on one's own account	0.2	0.3	0.1
Craftsman on one's account	2.0	2.3	0.9
Professional on one's account	1.0	1.1	0.9
Marginal professions on one's account	2.3	2.7	0.7
Daily-waged /temporary worker	9.1	9.8	6.7
Home office professions	0.6	0.2	2.1
Farmer	7.6	8.8	2.9
Seasonal agriculture worker	2.1	1.8	3.3
Unpaid family worker	1.2	0.8	2.8
Other	0.4	0.5	0.4

	Central Anatolia	West Black Sea	East Black Sea	Northeast Anatolia	Mideast Anatolia	Southeast Anatolia
Worked	10.4	8.1	11.0	4.7	6.1	8.1
Did not work but affiliated with somewhere (Holiday, illness, etc.)	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.7	1.1	0.70
Seasonal worker (Not the season)	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.6
Unemployed/looking for a job	0.7	1.5	0.5	1.7	2.0	0.6
Unemployed/is not looking for a job	0.1	0.8	0.4	0.0	1.9	0.2
Housewoman	78.5	74.2	75.4	84.7	76.9	78.9
Student	5.5	5.9	4.7	3.6	6.5	5.3
Retired	2.2	4.4	4.1	0.9	1.6	1.4
Doing military service	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ineligible to work (Ill, disabled, old etc.)	1.7	4.2	3.0	3.5	3.0	4.0
Have side income	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.1
Other	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

8.5.3.2. Views on Women in the Workforce

The views on women in the workforce were evaluated on two similar questions from 2006 and 2011. In the 2006 questionnaire the 43rd question was “Do you think it is appropriate for women to work as paid/salaried?” in the 2011 version 32nd question asked about the same view by “Do you think it is appropriate for a woman to work?”. The basic difference between the bodies of these two questions is the emphasis made in the 2006 question on paid/salaried work. It is obvious that this question is clearer when asked in this manner. Women have the experience of working in unpaid jobs in the family business, as shown by the data from TurkStat 2013, around one third of women work as unpaid family workers. Therefore these two questions might not measure the same issue. Another difference between these two

questions asked in different years is in the answer options. In the 2006 questionnaire there are three answer options for this question, “yes”, “depends on the job” and “no”. These options were limited to “yes” and “no” in the 2011 version.

To make a comparison between 2006 and 2011, when this modification in the questionnaire is excluded, we arrive at this picture: While the percentage of those who thought this statement was acceptable was 84%, it fell to 82% in 2011. In 2006, the percentage of men who found women working in paid/salaried jobs appropriate was 77%, this is 90% among women. While the percentage of individuals who thought it is appropriate for women to work fell to 74% among men, this percentage rose to 91% among women (Table 184).

Table 184. Attitudes towards Women in the Workforce throughout Türkiye and by Gender, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Yes	No
2006		
Türkiye	83.6	16.4
GENDER		
Man	77.0	23.0
Woman	90.0	10.0
2011		
Türkiye	82.2	17.8
GENDER		
Man	73.7	26.3
Woman	90.5	9.5

When the responses were evaluated by age, while 86% of the 18-24 age group found it appropriate for women to work, if the 45-54 age group is excluded, this percentage falls as age advances. Younger age groups were found to choose more egalitarian statements on gender roles compared to older age groups. However, the 45-54 age group constitutes an exception. In this age group the percentage of those who think women could work in paid/salaried jobs is 85%. This group is the one that has the highest percentage after the 18-24 age group. This situation can be interpreted as such: The 45-54 age range is the range where the effects of non-working women are felt the most. That is, the negative economic and social results of women staying out of the workforce, and especially the concerns about the lack of social security at more advanced ages is felt among this group the most. In

2011 a similar result by age group was observed. The groups that thought women could work outside the home by a high percentage were the 18-24 and 55-64 groups. This was 84% for both age groups. In 2011, the age group with the lowest percentage of individuals who thought it was appropriate for a woman to work outside the home was the 35-44 range (81%). A comparison of these two years reveals a decrease in this percentage across all age groups in 2011 compared to 2006 (Table 185).

Evaluated on marital status, in 2006, 93% of divorced individuals thought women working at jobs was appropriate. This group was followed by singles (87%). Among widowed individuals this was 85%. The lowest percentage was found to be among married people compared to other groups (82%). These percentages

show that marital status plays an important role on whether women working outside the home are found appropriate. This can have several reasons: First, compared to married individuals, single, widowed or divorced women experience the economic importance of working. These groups feel financial hardship more than married individuals. Another explanation may be that single and divorced women are already more egalitarian in their views on gender roles and relationships than married individuals. That is, among people who have traditional views on the social role of women, the possibility of being single or especially being divorced is lower. For single individuals the age factor may also play an important role, in other words, these percentages become clearer once we take into account that the percentage of single people who agree with this statement is higher than other groups and singles are bound to be younger than other age groups. In

2011, a “separated” category was added to the answer options. When we look at the same question for 2011 in more detail, we see that 92% of divorced individuals find it appropriate for women to work. This is followed by separated individuals and single people; 88% of separated individuals and 87% of single individuals find it appropriate for women to work. Here, again the explanations for 2006 results can be helpful to illuminate this situation. Especially as both economic living conditions and values may be different for this group compared to others. Again, the percentage of individuals who think it is appropriate for women to work is lower among married individuals (80%). This group is followed by widowed individuals (84%). As widowed individuals belong to more advanced age groups, it can explain why individuals think that women working outside are inappropriate (Table 185).

Table 185. Attitudes towards Women in the Workforce by Marital Status and Age, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Yes	No
2006		
MARITAL STATUS		
Never married	87.2	12.8
Married	82.4	17.6
Divorced	92.7	7.3
Widow	85.3	14.7
AGE		
18-24	85.7	14.3
25-34	83.0	17.0
35-44	82.9	17.1
45-54	84.8	15.2
55-64	82.8	17.2
65+	82.0	18.0
2011		
MARITAL STATUS		
Never married	86.8	13.2
Married	80.4	19.6
Separated	87.8	12.2
Widow	84.3	15.7
Divorced	91.5	8.5
AGE		
18-24	83.8	16.2
25-34	82.2	17.8
35-44	80.5	19.5
45-54	82.6	17.4
55-64	84.4	15.6
65+	79.3	20.7

In 2006 and 2011 while respectively 84% and 82% of respondents coming from nuclear families thought it was appropriate for women to work, this percentage was 79% and 76% among extended families respectively and 90% and 91% respectively among broken families. These percentages demon-

strate that while broken families experience financial hardship and have different values about gender roles, these percentages are highest, it is lower in extended families because of the prevalence of conservative and traditional values (Table 186).

Table 186. Attitudes towards Women in the Workforce by Household Type, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Yes	No
2006		
Nuclear	84.1	15.9
Extended	79.4	20.6
Broken	89.9	10.1
2011		
Nuclear	82.1	17.9
Extended	76.3	23.7
Broken	90.9	9.1

Living in urban or rural areas also plays a determinant role on this question. In 2006 while the percentage of rural respondents thought it appropriate for women to work was 81%, this percentage was 85% in urban areas. In 2011, 78% of rural individ-

uals agreed with this statement while in urban areas this percentage rose to 84%. The reason for this finding is, in rural areas the perception on gender roles is more traditional compared to urban areas (Table 187).

Table 187. Attitudes towards Women in the Workforce by Residence Area, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Yes	No
2006		
Urban	84.9	15.1
Rural	81.4	18.6
2011		
Urban	83.9	16.1
Rural	77.8	22.2

When the same question is evaluated on the basis of regions, the highest percentages of individuals who thought it was appropriate for women to work in paid/salaried jobs were found in West Marmara (94%), West Black Sea (88%), East Marmara (88%) and the Aegean (88%). The regions with the lowest percentages are Southeast Anatolia (63%) and Northeast Anatolia (76%). In 2011, the highest percentages were found in West Marmara (92%), East Marmara (87%) and the Aegean regions (87%).

Those with the lowest percentages are Northeast Anatolia (61%) and Southeast Anatolia (64%). Between 2006-2011 the decrease in the percentage of people who agreed with this statement in Northeast Anatolia region is significant. Among three major cities, the percentages are 84% in Istanbul, 90% in Ankara and 91% in Izmir in 2006. The 2011 percentages for Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir are 86%, 90% and 91% respectively. (Table 188).

Table 188. Attitudes towards Women in the Workforce by NUTS, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Yes	No
	2006	2011
THREE MAJOR CITIES		
Istanbul	84.1	86.4
Ankara	89.1	90.1
İzmir	90.7	90.5
NUTS		
Istanbul	84.1	86.4
West Marmara	94.2	92.3
East Marmara	87.8	87.0
Aegean	87.9	87.3
Mediterranean	84.3	81.8
West Anatolia	84.5	84.8
Central Anatolia	81.7	76.2
West Black Sea	88.2	80.8
East Black Sea	87.4	81.9
Northeast Anatolia	75.7	60.7
Mideast Anatolia	78.1	77.3
Southeast Anatolia	62.8	64.0

In 2006 and 2011, as the educational level rises, so does the percentage of individuals who think it appropriate for women to work at jobs. Among individuals who did not finish any school, the percentage of individuals who thought it was appropriate for women to have outside jobs was 77%, while this percentage rose to 94% among university graduates and above. Similarly, while this percentage in

2011 was 73% among people who never finished any school, it was 94% among higher educational levels. Compared to 2006 in 2011, there is a decrease throughout all categories among people who find it appropriate for women to work, but especially among people who have never finished school (Table 189).

Table 189. Attitudes towards Women in the Workforce by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/graduate)
2006					
Yes	76.5	82.2	82.9	88.9	94.0
2011					
Yes	73.2	79.9	78.5	87.6	93.8

By socioeconomic status, in 2006, the percentage of those who thought that this was appropriate was 73% in lower SES groups, 84% in middle SES groups and 94% in upper SES groups. In the five categories of SES classification in 2011, the highest percentage was found in the highest SES group, fell

to 87% in the upper middle group and 66% among the lowest SES group. In both years as the SES rises, the percentage of people who think it is appropriate for women to work outside the home also rises (Table 190).

Table 190. Attitudes towards Women in the Workforce by SES, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Yes
2006	
Upper class	94.3
Middle class	83.6
Lower class	73.4
2011	
High upper class	97.8
Upper class	93.1
Upper middle class	87.4
Lower middle class	78.7
Lower class	65.8

Individuals who thought it was inappropriate for women to work in paid jobs were asked about the reason. In 2006 the statement those individuals who thought it inappropriate for women to work chose “the primary duty of women is motherhood and taking care of the house” as the reason. This statement was chosen by 62% across Türkiye, while it was 59% in rural areas, this percentage was 67% in urban areas. 61% of men and 65% of women think that the woman’s primary duty is childcare and looking after the house, therefore a woman should only work either in compatible jobs or not at all. The reason that follows this, is work environments are not safe places for women to work across Türkiye (14%). The percentage of those who agree with this statement is 16% in rural areas and 12% in urban areas. While 17% of men see this as the reason why women should not work (or work in compatible jobs) the

percentage of women who see this statement as the reason is 10%. The second highest reason among women was that women working outside the house are against traditions and customs. This statement was chosen by 12% of men. This statement was the third most popular statement across Türkiye (13%). There are no significant differences between individuals who think it is against “traditions and customs”, the percentage of rural individuals who agree with this statement is 12% and it is 13% in urban areas. In 2006, the percentage of those who thought that the woman’s “children will suffer” if she works is 7% across Türkiye, 9% in rural areas and 5% in urban areas. Again, this percentage is 7% among men and 8% among women. In short, while women emphasize the traditional and customary roles of the women, men emphasize the safety of the workplace (Table 191).

Table 191. Reasons why a Woman Should Not Work throughout Türkiye and by Gender, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Türkiye	Urban	Rural	Man	Woman
2006					
Work environments are not safe for women	14.3	16.1	11.7	16.5	9.5
A woman’s primary duties are household management and childbearing	61.9	58.5	66.7	60.7	64.7
Against our traditions and customs	12.6	12.4	12.9	12	14.1
Working women’s kids are aggrieved	7.3	8.7	5.3	7	7.8
A paid work wears the woman down	2.2	2.1	2.3	2	2.5
Other	1.7	2.1	1.1	1.8	1.4
2011					
Work environments are not safe for women	20.3	22.2	15.7	20.9	18.5
A woman’s primary duties are household management and childbearing	56.0	54.7	59.4	55.7	57.0
Against our traditions and customs	9.1	7.6	12.2	8.9	9.5
Working women’s kids are aggrieved	8.3	9.2	7.0	8.2	8.5
A paid work wears the woman down	3.0	2.7	3.3	2.8	3.6
Other	3.3	3.7	2.5	3.5	2.8

In 2011, the statement that the primary duty of women is childcare and housework was chosen to be the most important reason for women not to work. While the percentage of individuals who agree with this statement is 56% across Türkiye, this percentage rises to 60% in rural areas and falls to 54% in urban areas. Among men, this percentage is 56% and 57% among women. The second highest reason was the statement that workplaces are unsafe environments for women as was in 2006. The percentage of individuals who agree with this statement is 20% across Türkiye, 16% in rural areas and 22% in urban areas. The percentage of men who agree with this statement is 21% and this percentage is 19% for women. The third highest reason was as in 2006, women working outside the home are against traditions and customs. The percentage of people who agree with this statement is 9% across Türkiye, it is 12% among rural individuals and 8% in urban areas. 9% of the men and 10% of the women agree with this statement. In 2011, agreement with the

statement “the children of working women suffer” was 8% across Türkiye, 8% among men and 9% among women. (Table 191).

As the educational level rises, in 2006 and 2011, the percentage of those who think a woman's primary duty is childcare and housework decreases. Similarly, the percentage of those that think women working outside the house is against traditions and customs also decrease as the educational level increases. Again, as the educational level increases, the percentage of individuals who agree with the statement that workplaces are unsafe environments for women to work increases. This shows that as the educational level increases, instead of traditional values and traditional gender roles, the safety of workplaces are seen as the issue. The percentage of individuals who agree with the statement that the children of the working woman suffer increases as the educational level increases (Table 192).

Table 192. Reasons why a Woman Should Not Work by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
2006					
Work environments are not safe for women	10.6	13.6	18.4	19.8	18.5
A woman's primary duties are household management and childbearing	65.6	63.6	56.4	57.6	42.9
Against our traditions and customs	16.7	12.1	11.2	9.8	6.8
Working women's kids are aggrieved	4.2	7.0	9.7	8.3	23.8
A paid work wears the woman down	2.2	2.0	1.5	2.8	4.3
Other	0.7	1.8	2.9	1.7	3.7
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2011					
Work environments are not safe for women	14.5	17.7	25.1	25.7	23.1
A woman's primary duties are household management and childbearing	60.3	59.2	53.6	50.0	44.8
Against our traditions and customs	13.1	10.1	6.7	6.2	3.9
Working women's kids are aggrieved	6.4	7.7	6.8	11.7	20.4
A paid work wears the woman down	2.3	2.8	3.6	3.2	2.1
Other	3.5	2.4	4.2	3.2	5.7

Table 193. Reasons why a Woman Should Not Work by SES, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Work environments are not safe for women	A woman's primary duties are household management and childbearing	Against our traditions and customs	Working women's kids are aggrieved	A paid work wears the woman down	Other
2006						
Upper class	12.4	60.5	19.5	4.0	3.0	0.5
Middle class	14.9	62.5	11.5	7.4	2.0	1.8
Lower class	11.7	56.8	3.7	21.0	2.2	4.7
2011						
High upper class	27.7	40.0	6.2	10.2	14.0	1.9
Upper class	22.7	51.1	8.0	12.2	2.2	3.7
Upper middle class	22.2	53.5	6.6	10.8	3.5	3.4
Lower middle class	20.7	55.8	9.2	7.4	3.5	3.4
Lower class	15.4	63.0	11.8	6.2	1.3	2.4

When the statements that prevent women from joining the workforce are examined by socioeconomic status, while the percentage of individuals from the upper SES group who think that the primary duty of a woman is childcare and housework is 61% in 2006, this percentage rises to 63% in the middle SES group and falls to 57% in the lower SES group (Table 193).

In 2011, the percentage of individuals who think a woman's primary duty is childcare and housework falls as the SES rises. Again, as the SES increases, the percentage of those who think it is against traditions and customs decreases. With the rise in the SES level, the percentages of those who think workplaces are unsafe environments for women increase. Another interesting point is that in the highest SES level, the statement "working wears out a woman" was chosen as the third highest reason. The percentage of those at the highest SES that agreed with this statement is 14%. As the SES rises, the tendency to replace traditions, customs and traditional gender roles with work status increases.

8.5.3.3. Property Ownership in the Family

When we look at the relationship between property ownership and gender, there is only one question on this subject in 2006 and 2011. In 2006 this question was "Are there any property/vehicles in your name? If so, did you buy them after you are married?"

While in 2006 51% of males reported they had no real estate under their name, this percentage rose to 83% among women. In other words, that means only 17% of women own any real estate. Only 12% of women are homeowners, 5% own land or lots, 2% own a car and 1% own a workplace (Table 194).

In 2011 the question was changed to: "Please indicate whether you own the vehicles and assets I will read to you. (Including the house you live in) (Indicate only those you personally own)." In 2011 whether the real estate/vehicle was bought

before or after marriage was not asked. Another change in the question is found among the answer options. To the 2006 options, “commercial vehicles (bus, van, truck etc.)”, “Agricultural vehicles (tractors, combine harvesters etc)”, “cattle, sheep, goats” options were added in 2011.

25% of the women own a detached house/flat, 9% have their own car, 8% have building lot, field or vineyard, 2% own a workplace and cattle and smaller farm animals and 1% own agricultural vehicles such as tractors and combine harvesters and com-

mercial vehicles (bus, van, truck etc.).

When the property ownership of women between the years of 2006 and 2011 are compared, a significant increase in the property ownership of women was observed. While only 12% of women had a house in 2006, this percentage rose to 25% in 2011. Also, building lot ownership (from 5% to 8%), vehicle ownership (from 2% to 9%) and workspace ownership (from 1% to 2%) increased. Between these five years, especially the increase in property ownership such as home and vehicle is noteworthy (Table 194).

Table 194. Property Ownership throughout Türkiye and by Gender, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Man	Woman
2006		
No ownership	50.5	82.8
House/ flat	36.1	11.9
Land, farm, vineyard, garden, etc.	16.8	5.4
Car (For private use)	18.4	2.2
Workplace (Office, shop)	4.0	0.8
Other	1.8	0.3
2011		
Single-family detached house/ flat	43.7	24.7
Workplace (Office, shop)	6.4	2.3
Car (For private use)	26.6	9.3
Commercial vehicles (Bus, minibus, truck, etc.)	3.5	0.9
Land, field, vineyard, garden etc.	18.2	8.2
Agricultural vehicles such as tractors and combine harvester	4.9	1.2
Bovine animals & small cattle breeds	5.6	1.9

If we go into more detail for the year 2011 and look at the relationship between the educational level of women and property ownership, there is a U shaped relationship between the detached house or flat ownership of uneducated women and education. The lowest percentages of detached house/flat ownership are found among primary and middle school and high school graduates. Individuals with

no education (27%) and university graduates (31%) have higher percentages. Ownership of workplace, office and vehicle rises with the educational level of women. Building lot, field, vineyard, garden, tractor, cattle and smaller farm animal ownership is highest among women with no education. The reason for this is that these kinds of properties are usually more widespread in rural areas (Table 195).

Table 195. Property Ownership of Women by Educational Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

		No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/ vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
Single-family detached house/ flat	No	72.6	73.5	84.6	77.9	69.1
	Yes	27.4	26.5	15.4	22.1	30.9
Workplace (Office, shop)	No	99.2	97.8	98.2	96.1	95.7
	Yes	0.8	2.2	1.8	3.9	4.3
Car (For private use)	No	97.3	91.7	93.8	86.9	75.0
	Yes	2.7	8.3	6.2	13.1	25.0
Commercial vehicles (Bus, minibus, truck, etc.)	No	99.3	98.9	99.3	98.8	99.3
	Yes	0.7	1.1	0.7	1.2	0.7
Land, field, vineyard, garden etc	No	88.9	90.5	95.9	94.2	92.2
	Yes	11.1	9.5	4.1	5.8	7.8
Agricultural vehicles such as tractors and combine harvester	No	98.6	98.1	99.3	99.5	99.7
	Yes	1.4	1.9	0.7	0.5	0.3
Bovine animals & small cattle breeds	No	97.2	97.2	99.3	99.5	99.6
	Yes	2.8	2.8	0.7	0.5	0.4

While the highest percentages of detached house/flat ownership is found among widowed women (53%), this is followed by divorced women (31%) and married women (23%). This shows that women can own property through inheritance or as a divorce settlement. It is similar in building lot, field, vineyard, garden, tractor, combine harvester and cattle and smaller farm animal ownership. In property ownership through inheritance the group

of widowed women has become significant (Table 196).

Ownership of detached house/flat, building lot, field, vineyard, garden, tractor, combine harvester and cattle and smaller farm animals increases directly with the number of children. Vehicle ownership on the other hand, decreases as the number of children increase (Table 197).

Table 196. Property Ownership of Women by Marital Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

		Never married	Married	Separated	Widowed	Divorced
Single-family detached house/ flat	No	87.8	76.9	81.3	46.6	68.9
	Yes	12.2	23.1	18.7	53.4	31.1
Workplace (Office, shop)	No	98.5	97.3	96.6	98.9	97.1
	Yes	1.5	2.7	3.4	1.1	2.9
Car (For private use)	No	93.8	89.1	94.2	97.0	90.6
	Yes	6.2	10.9	5.8	3.0	9.4
Commercial vehicles (Bus, minibus, truck, etc.)	No	99.6	98.9	99.1	99.5	99.9
	Yes	0.4	1.1	0.9	0.5	0.1
Land, field, vineyard, garden etc	No	96.3	91.5	95.0	85.9	94.8
	Yes	3.7	8.5	5.0	14.1	5.2
Agricultural vehicles such as tractors and combine harvester	No	99.4	98.7	99.1	98.1	99.9
	Yes	0.6	1.3	0.9	1.9	0.1
Bovine animals & small cattle breeds	No	98.8	98.0	98.1	97.2	99.9
	Yes	1.2	2.0	1.9	2.8	0.1

Table 197. Property Ownership of Women by Number of Children, TAYA 2011 (%)

		0	1	2	3	4	5	6+
Single-family detached house/ flat	No	79.8	76.6	71.7	70.5	71.0	69.2	76.6
	Yes	20.2	23.4	28.3	29.5	29.0	30.8	23.4
Workplace (Office, shop)	No	97.4	97.4	97.0	96.9	98.6	99.1	99.3
	Yes	2.6	2.6	3.0	3.1	1.4	0.9	0.7
Car (For private use)	No	87.6	88.3	87.7	89.3	94.9	96.2	98.1
	Yes	12.4	11.7	12.3	10.7	5.1	3.8	1.9
Commercial vehicles (Bus, minibus, truck, etc.)	No	98.6	99.5	98.7	98.8	99.4	99.2	99.3
	Yes	1.4	0.5	1.3	1.2	0.6	0.8	0.7
Land, field, vineyard, garden etc	No	94.2	93.2	92.0	88.9	89.8	85.1	89.7
	Yes	5.8	6.8	8.0	11.1	10.2	14.9	10.3
Agricultural vehicles such as tractors and combine harvester	No	99.1	99.5	98.9	98.1	98.7	97.2	97.8
	Yes	0.9	0.5	1.1	1.9	1.3	2.8	2.2
Bovine animals & small cattle breeds	No	98.8	99.1	98.4	97.8	97.5	95.3	96.3
	Yes	1.2	0.9	1.6	2.2	2.5	4.7	3.7

The ownership of detached house/flat among women is highest in East Anatolia (33%) and West Anatolia (31%), these percentages are lowest in Mideast Anatolia (9%) and Southeast Anatolia (10%). While the highest percentages of vehicle

ownership are found in West Anatolia (14%), the lowest percentage is in Southeast Anatolia (2%). Building lot ownership is the highest in East Black Sea (18%) and lowest in Mideast Anatolia (3%) and Southeast Anatolia (3%) (Table 198).

Table 198. Property Ownership of Women by Region, TAYA 2011 (%)

		Istanbul	West Marmara	East Marmara	Aegean	Mediterranean	West Anatolia
Single-family detached house/ flat	No	71.8	72.7	76.1	72.5	73.5	69.4
	Yes	28.2	27.3	23.9	27.5	26.5	30.6
Workplace (Office, shop)	No	95.9	98.3	97.9	97.1	97.6	97.5
	Yes	4.1	1.7	2.1	2.9	2.4	2.5
Car (For private use)	No	88.4	92.4	89.8	89.1	89.6	85.7
	Yes	11.6	7.6	10.2	10.9	10.4	14.3
Commercial vehicles (Bus, minibus, truck, etc.)	No	98.4	99.9	99.0	98.8	99.1	99.3
	Yes	1.6	0.1	1.0	1.2	0.9	0.7
Land, field, vineyard, garden etc	No	93.8	89.8	91.0	89.1	90.9	90.6
	Yes	6.2	10.2	9.0	10.9	9.1	9.4
Agricultural vehicles such as tractors and combine harvester	No	99.6	99.4	98.8	98.6	98.1	98.2
	Yes	0.4	0.6	1.2	1.4	1.9	1.8
Bovine animals & small cattle breeds	No	99.4	97.5	98.8	98.1	98.3	97.2
	Yes	0.6	2.5	1.2	1.9	1.7	2.8

8.6. Results and Social Policy Recommendations

In this section where the division of labor in the house, decisions, the work status of the woman, views on women working outside the home and property ownership is discussed, it is observed that all these subjects are arranged around traditional gender roles. In division of labor in the house, women provide almost all of the child and adult care. Most of the decisions at the home are taken by men. The participation of women in the workforce is minimal. In 2011, around one individual out of five does not think that a woman working outside of the home is appropriate. At the top of reasons for this line of thinking are the values that organize family and social life around traditional gender roles. Less than one in five women own property.

All of these topics are related to one another. In families and/or societies where gender roles are perceived through the lens of traditional values, the care giving responsibilities of women, especially motherhood and responsibilities of housework preclude women from roles they can fulfill in public life. This situation results in the low participation levels of women in labor markets. In 2011, 15% of women over 15 (those that work, those that still

have an interest in their jobs while on leave and seasonal workers) and 16% of women over 18 work in paying jobs. When the jobs women over 18 usually have is examined, it was observed that a large percentage of women (about 40%) work as low or mid-level civil servants and as workers.

The low percentages of women in the labor market also affect their roles in the decision making mechanisms at home. Men are more predominant in the choice of the house, relationships with relatives, holidays and entertainment decisions. Men also prevail more on shopping decisions than women. The percentage of households where women have a say on the order of the house, subjects pertaining to children and relationships with neighbors, is higher than the percentage of households where men are more predominant on these decisions. The division of labor in households based on traditional gender roles where women are considered to be responsible for the order of the house, also affects the decision dynamics in the family. An interesting point is that in a society where 59% of women are housewives, the percentage of households where the woman is the decision maker on subjects such as the order of the house is limited to 45%. Even when women become housewives, they may not be the decision maker on household issues. This reflection of con-

		Central Anatolia	West Black Sea	East Black Sea	Northeast Anatolia	Mideast Anatolia	Southeast Anatolia
Single-family detached house/ flat	No	78.8	77.9	66.6	72.3	91.1	89.9
	Yes	21.2	22.1	33.4	27.7	8.9	10.1
Workplace (Office, shop)	No	98.2	98.2	98.9	98.7	99.0	99.7
	Yes	1.8	1.8	1.1	1.3	1.0	0.3
Car (For private use)	No	92.5	93.8	92.1	92.3	97.6	98.2
	Yes	7.5	6.2	7.9	7.7	2.4	1.8
Commercial vehicles (Bus, minibus, truck, etc.)	No	99.5	99.5	99.4	98.9	99.4	99.7
	Yes	0.5	0.5	0.6	1.1	0.6	0.3
Land, field, vineyard, garden etc	No	94.0	89.8	82.0	94.6	97.0	97.2
	Yes	6.0	10.2	18.0	5.4	3.0	2.8
Agricultural vehicles such as tractors and combine harvester	No	98.2	98.3	99.0	96.4	99.3	99.7
	Yes	1.8	1.7	1.0	3.6	0.7	0.3
Bovine animals & small cattle breeds	No	99.0	98.3	93.1	94.2	97.5	98.8
	Yes	1.0	1.7	6.9	5.8	2.5	1.2

sidering motherhood to be the primary duty and the main social role of a woman puts women in a more predominant role on issues pertaining to children than men. The fact that the majority of the women are housewives also plays a role in this situation. Again, this situation causes the percentage of households where the woman is the main decision-maker about relationships with neighbors, to be higher than households where the man is the main decision-maker on this subject. Related to these dimensions, the property ownership of women is a lot lower than men. As a result, it is possible to say that the majority of women are economically dependent on men.

All the dimensions discussed here change positively for women as the educational and SES levels rise. Educated women participate in the workforce more, live in households with more egalitarian division of labor and make more decisions on subjects pertaining to the family. Compared to low SES households, high SES households are similarly places where there is a more egalitarian division of labor and decision making. Regional differences are another important point to discuss. Family values and attitudes are shaped more along the lines of traditional gender roles and conservative values in the eastern and northeastern regions of Türkiye

whereas in western regions more egalitarian values and attitudes prevail.

Starting from the 6th Five Year Development Plan, future plans on the equality of men and women are made from the concept of empowering women (p. 287, article 766 and 767). The need for raising the social status of women, the need to develop education, health and employment policies directed at women are highly recommended. The aim is to involve women in all aspects of social life as equal individuals (p. 38). The 9th Five Year Development Plan also mentions goals (p.89, article 621, 622) to empower women. Similarly, it (p.43, article 259-260-261) touches upon the issue of equality in empowering women. In the 10th Five Year Development Plan (p: 10), important points are made in the section where the changes in demographic structure are discussed. It is emphasized that with the empowerment of women the development level of the country will rise (article 45). In the section on The Analysis of Family and the Status of Women (p.43), the report says "In the context of social gender equality, strengthening the role of women in social, cultural and economic life, protecting and raising the status of the family and strengthening social unity is the main goal".

Related to the same topic, the 10th Five Year Development Plan (p. 44) reports that “Through the programs to empower women, the participation of women in the workforce and the effectiveness of women on decision making processes have increased, an article of affirmative action towards women was added to the constitution, arrangements to stop violence towards women were finalized and the Male-Female Equal Opportunity commission was established within the parliament”. The report further adds that “On the topic of male-female equal opportunity, the need to primarily solve the issues of employment and promoting more active participation in decision making mechanisms, ending violence against women, continuing reformation in education and health and increasing their effectiveness in execution” is a persisting need.

To reach the goals of the 10th Development Plan, policy areas need to be defined for the near future. The supportive role of free/low cost quality child care services is a well-known draw for the participation of women in the workforce. In Türkiye, increasingly more services on this issue are offered. However, individuals cannot fully make productive use of these services. Their primary consumers are families living in the center of large cities. These services should be easily accessible and free to meet the needs of the disadvantaged lower SES groups. To raise the awareness on the services currently offered and to restructure them to meet the needs of especially the disadvantaged segments of the society is necessary. To use the funds earmarked for social aid to support childcare would be a step in the right direction. Offering different childcare services to different need groups will also play an encouraging role on the participation of women in the labor market. Accessible, free and quality childcare needs to be diversified according to the different needs of children, families and regions, other than that, keeping the quality standards at the same level through a central monitoring system will benefit the whole approach.

Another method to increase employment is vocational training for women. Before anything else,

vocational education aimed at women needs to be restructured and implemented. The range and diversity of programs women can enroll in as part of vocational training, needs to be increased. These courses also need to be enlarged to cover areas outside the ones determined by traditional gender roles like child/elderly care and handiwork courses. Offering different courses that allow women to gain necessary skills quickly, to help their re-adaptation to work, programs that answer the needs of women who are on a break because of a new baby, as well as certificate career programs will help women to tackle the various problems and barriers they face in work life.

Extending flex time jobs with social security coverage will help women to find more time to spend with their children. Another important point is that educational opportunities, solutions that let women keep their earned social security rights and those that offer self-development opportunities will keep the routes open for a smoother transition into full-time work.

Lately, paid leaves became more and more flexible. It is important to support family-friendly workplace practices. The job security of women after birth and breastfeeding leaves and offering work re-adaptation programs also need to become a social policy. Extending the current duration of the parent leave for fathers after a new baby will help the equality of gender roles.

To change the mindset is important not only for all segments of society but also for authorities working for institutions charged with developing social policies along with local executors. Awareness campaigns about the meaning and benefits of female employment for the individual and the family need to be implemented starting from the local level and spreading through all levels of society. Another aim of these campaigns is about raising the awareness on working rights, reconciliation of work and family life and sensitivity towards gender roles. With the support of the media, the visibility of these issues and awareness should be raised.

The approach that child care and financial support the family is valid for both men and women should be internalized by every kind of service and policy. Starting from elementary education, intense awareness campaigns covering different professions in places where men are mostly concentrated like mosques, coffee houses and during military service are also needed.

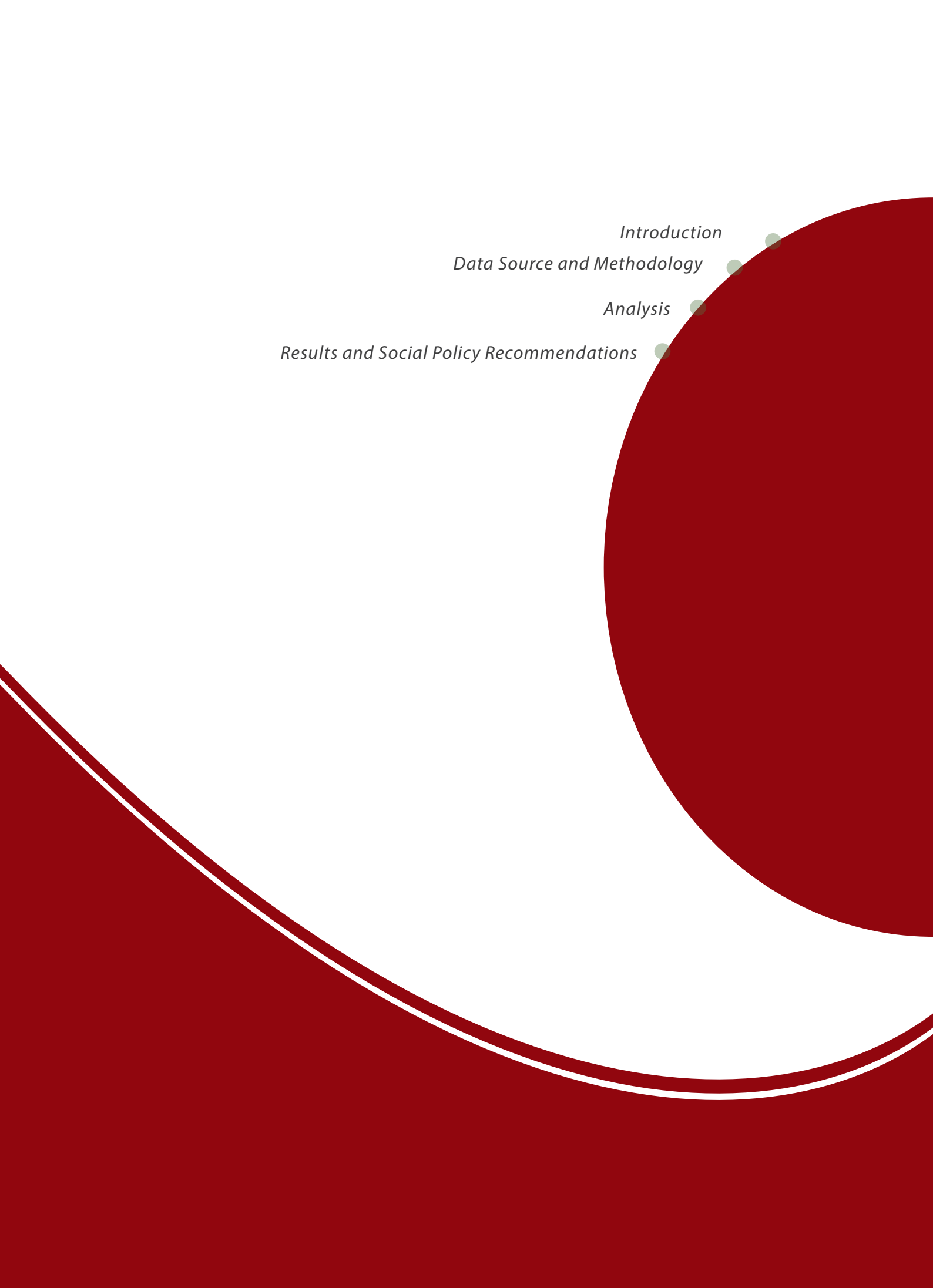
To arrive at a family model in which the man and

the woman take equal roles in the home, in the family, in housework, responsibilities towards the children and decision making can only be possible through the development of realistic social policies that take the needs of different segments of the society into account. As shown in this study, low education and low SES levels and the eastern regions of Türkiye should be prioritized when services and policies are developed.

Section 9

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE FAMILY

Dr. Ayşe İdil Aybars



Introduction

Data Source and Methodology

Analysis

Results and Social Policy Recommendations

9. 1. Introduction

This study focuses on social and leisure time activities and socializing practices in the family based on the findings of Research on Family Structure Türkiye (TAYA) done in 2006 and 2011. The subject of social activities in the family was analyzed through the two components of individual and family activities under the two main topics below:

1. Individual leisure time activities (watching television, views about television, how often social activities are performed, internet usage);
2. Family activities performed together (the people with whom the leisure activities are shared with, how vacations and holidays are spent).

A third dimension excluded from this study is evaluating the relationship of individuals with larger social circles outside the family and the practices of socialization and examining both to reach the more general social relationships to complete the other two dimensions. In reality, when these three components are taken together, it is possible to create a comprehensive analysis of social activities and socialization. There are two main reasons to exclude this third dimension from this study. First of all, one of the most important components of the phenomenon of socialization beyond the social network and family is the relationship between people close to each other, relatives and neighbors. Although this subject is narrowly touched upon in this study, the topic of the immediate social circle of the individual and relationships with relatives is the subject of another report within this study. Therefore, the full data and findings will be approached through another report.

The second main reason is the fact that another important component of the socialization process outside of the family is the presence of individuals' relationships with civil society. For instance, participation in non-governmental organizations such as associations and foundations and labor unions, volunteer activities within social responsibility projects, locals and clubs to spend leisure time can be assessed under this scope. However, in either one

of TAYA 2006 and 2011 questionnaires, there are either no questions to assess these relationships and if there are, they are very limited. For instance in TAYA 2006 survey, there is a question on whether the individual has visited places like locals, clubs and associations, however, information on the frequency of visits, the content, extent or quality were not probed in depth. This is another reason why the discussion in this study excludes the component of socialization beyond the family. In case the survey is repeated in the future, including questions on the relationships of individuals with civil society will be useful.

When the two dimensions mentioned above as individual and family activities are taken together, it will be possible to arrive at comprehensive interpretations of the socialization practices of the family and their social activities. Individual leisure time activities are important because of their propensity to promote the development, independence and interest areas of individuals in the family. At the same time, leisure time activities of individuals provide us with important findings on the involvement of individuals in social life. In this respect, the cognitive (reading books-newspapers), cultural (going to the movies-theatre), social (going to cafes, restaurants, coffee houses etc.) and athletic activities the individual indulges in, allows us to offer important findings on the quality of the individual's involvement in social life as the result of their social and cultural standing as well as their economic status. The activities performed together with the family not only provide us with findings on the importance of family in our society, but they also offer us a glimpse of the relationship of family members with each other and demonstrate that social activities done together as a family is an element that holds the family together.

However, beyond all these, the subject of social activities in the family gives us important answers on income inequality and social inequality in general. It is a known fact that economic inequality affects the consumption of goods and services in the family (both in a qualitative and quantitative sense), and this results in social inequality. As economically

impoverished individuals find it hard to meet their most basic needs of shelter, food and heating, finding the resources to spend on additional expenses is almost impossible. On the other hand, high income households and individuals have many more resources to spend on non-essential needs such as vacations, entertainment, eating out and other leisure time activities (Eurostat, 2010).

As a result, the data is expected to provide important findings on income inequality in Türkiye and the accompanying social inequalities. The concept of social exclusion, which examines inequality beyond the terms of economics but rather as a multi-dimensional and multi-level process that is brought about by the lack of social involvement, gains more importance here. The concept of social exclusion is also important as it draws attention to the opportunities of low income individuals and households to reach various services such as education, health and shelter along with the diminishing of social relationships and activities.

To summarize, social exclusion is a process that includes elements such as income poverty, unemployment, access to services (education, health, information etc.), living conditions and social involvement. In this study, the subject of social activities will be discussed especially keeping the dimension of social involvement in mind with attention drawn to inequalities in this respect. Here, social involvement will be examined in its broadest sense as the involvement of individuals in social activities and relationship networks.

9. 2. Data Source and Methodology

The study examines these two dimensions especially by gender, age, education level, socioeconomic status and by marital status and rural-urban areas where necessary. It is expected that the two dimensions mentioned above will display significant differences especially over the variables of gender, age, education and socioeconomic status. However, according to the subject matter, the different dimen-

sions of individual and family activities as they are approached by TAYA 2006 and 2011, are affected by different variable or variables. As a result, the study focuses on which variable or variables are more determinant in the in the subject matter.

For the study, the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye 2006 and 2011, conducted by the Directorate of Family and Social Services of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies were used. The research represents Türkiye by urban and rural areas, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir separately and Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS) Level 1. In TAYA 2006, 12.208 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 48.235 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 23.279 individuals over the age of 18. In TAYA 2011, 12.056 households were interviewed, the demographic information of 44.117 individuals belonging to these households was collected and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 24.647 individuals over the age of 18. In the study, reference individuals from the households were given the list of individuals and household questionnaire and individuals over 18 were given the separate individual questionnaire. The 2006 and 2011 researches are not based on the same questionnaires. Therefore, in some situations the quality of the questions in the survey can be limited because of factors like the representative quality of the sampling and accessibility of the data. The fact that the questions on social activities in the 2006 and 2011 surveys are not the same, that they focus on different subjects in many instances and aim to extract different data, makes it harder to understand the transformation over time and cannot provide continuity. In addition to these, problems with the way the questions were asked, the comprehensiveness and quality of the pre-defined answer options, questions that fail to get exact information on the subject and issues stemming from missing areas are pointed out where necessary and suggestions that would be beneficial in case the surveys are repeated are made.

9.3. Analysis

9.3.1. Individual Leisure Time Activities

The first important point in the evaluation of the subject of social activities in the family is to look at individual leisure activities to gain insight on the personal development of the individual, their participation in the areas of self development, culture, arts and sports and generally make inferences about their social involvement. In this context, this section focuses on the television watching practices, views on television and social activities from TAYA 2006 and 2011 surveys. In addition, the results of internet usage from the 2011 survey will also be evaluated.

On the other hand, it is vital to point out a topic that was not covered especially by the 2006 survey and covered only partially in the 2011 study which did not yield comprehensive data. Today, questions only aimed at television do not provide enough data on individual or family leisure time activities. In this regard, the need to include questions on the usage of computers and mobile communication tools is obvious. Taking into consideration the significant role of the Internet in our daily leisure activities, at least as important as that of television questions that need to be asked include which tool are used for social media (desktop computer or laptop, tablet, smartphone etc.), the preferred websites, the purpose these sites are used for, the daily hours individuals spend on these sites and whether the relationships formed over the social media replace social relationships or supplements interaction, need to be asked remembering the huge place the Internet occupies in our daily leisure activities, it is at least as important as television. Such questions are important not only from the point of view of the leisure activities of individuals but also because they provide data on the transformation of social relationships.

However it should also be noted that the increase in mass communication tools brought about by government policies, especially the negative effect of the Internet on intra family relationships are also emphasized. The Ninth Development Plan cover-

ing the years 2007-2013 underlines that the accelerating transformation process “negatively affects intra-family and social relationships“. Here the proliferation of mass communication tools is treated as a problem area all by itself is treated as a factor creating and heightening feelings of hopelessness and lack of self-confidence especially among children and teenagers resulting in an increase in the propensity for violence (p.45).

The Tenth Development Plan which is the last plan covering 2014-2018, underlines that “measures to counter the negative effects of audio, visual and social media and the Internet on the family will be taken” (p.44) and Internet addiction taken together with bad habits such as smoking, alcohol and drug usage is defined as “an important risk factor for children and teenagers” (p.45). Therefore, contrary to many studies, such internalized official speech and policies is far from emphasizing the positive aspects of mass communication tools and new technologies like the Internet.

9.3.1.1. Television Viewership and Thoughts about Television

As is well known, watching television is an important activity in the lives of individuals not only in Türkiye but all around the world. Even though time spent watching television seems to decrease with the introduction of new digital technologies such as the Internet, social media and mobile communications, because during all these other digital activities the television is always on and watched at least from out of the corner of the eye, it is a tool for many individuals that they spend most of their time watching. Many studies demonstrate that mass communication tools in general, and television in particular is an important conduit for the socialization of the individual, an important source of social meaning and takes up most of the leisure time (Devereux, 2007). The effectiveness of television on shaping the world views (Morgan, Shanahan and Signorelli, 2009), attitudes and behavior of especially younger individuals (Oliver and Krakowiak, 2009) is kept in mind, the importance of television regarding social relationships is revealed. Due to all these factors, it is obvious that television makes up

an important part of social activities and television watching practices are an important component of social activities in the family.

Television Watching Practices

According to TAYA 2006 results, about 75% of individuals across Türkiye report watching television for 1-4 hours every day. In the 2011 survey, the percentage of television watching was calculated as an average and the study found 3 hours of television watching on average. For this reason, the analysis on this topic is based on the 2006 survey results. According to this, the percentage of individuals who watch more than 7 hours of television is 7%, the percentage of those who report they do not watch television is 3% (Table 199). This data shows that television holds an important place in the everyday activities of the Turkish society.

Examined by gender, on the daily hours spent

Table 199. Hours Spent Watching Television throughout Türkiye, and by Gender (%)

	Türkiye	Urban	Rural	Male	Female
Not watching TV	3.4	2.2	5.4	2.6	4.1
0 - 1	16.8	13.4	22.7	15.5	18.0
2-3	46.2	45.8	46.9	49.4	43.1
4-6	30.2	33.0	25.2	29.5	30.8
7+	6.9	7.9	5.1	5.6	8.1

ability of women to spend 5 hours or more in front of the television is important because it indicates women spend most of their day at home.

However, as there are no questions about the time of day when watching television is highest during the day in the 2006 survey, the 2011 survey will have to

watching television, at first glance no significant difference between men and women were found. 3% of the men and 4% of the women report they never watch television. In return, 6% of the men and 8% of the women report watching television for about 7 hours every day. These data show that women are represented a little bit more among individuals who never watch television and those who watch television for about 7 hours daily.

While 66% of men report 2-4 hours of daily watching, this percentage is 58% among women. On the other hand, 19% of men watch television for 5 hours or more, this percentage rises to 24% among women (Table 199).

There are two important conclusions derived from this data: The fact that two out of every three men spend 2-4 hours watching television creates the impression that men usually watch television at night after they come home from work. The higher prob-

provide the data on this topic. Table 200 seems to verify the finding mentioned above. According to 2011 data, evening hours seem to be the time when people watch television the most. This data, analyzed by gender shows that 86% of men watch television during the evening the most, this percentage falls to 73% among women. Conversely, 12% of women re-

Table 200. Time of Day for Watching Television throughout Türkiye and by Gender, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye	Male	Female
Morning	2.2	1.2	3.2
Afternoon	7.1	2.7	11.6
Evening	79.4	85.9	73.0
Night	5.2	6.8	3.5
Whole day	6.0	3.4	8.7

port watching television during the afternoon, this falls to 3% for men. Moreover, 3% of men watch television for the whole day while this percentage interestingly rises to 9% among women (Table 200).

According to 2006 data, when the frequency of television watching is analyzed on the urban-rural basis, while the percentage of those who declare they never watch television is only 2% in urban ar-

areas, this rises to 5% in rural areas (Table 199). On the other hand, while 8% of urban individuals report they watch television for more than 7 hours during the day, this falls to 5% in rural areas. This data show that television is more of a part of daily life in urban areas; however, in rural areas other activities take precedence. The fact that more leisure time is spent with relatives and neighbors in rural areas is an explaining factor of this situation (this will be discussed in greater detail later).

According to 2011 data, the fact that three individuals out of four express watching television with the other members of the family, is an important finding that shows that television watching is more than an individual leisure time activity but is an important part of family life in Türkiye¹. As a result, television watching provides many clues on the leisure time activities of the family. There is not much remarkable differentiation by gender, education, socioeconomic level, age, region or area of residence and it is observed that 75% of individuals watch television together with the other members of the family and close to 25% watch television by themselves.²

In the 2011 survey, the question of “Who mostly decides on the channel or program to watch?” not only provides data on television viewership practices, but also gives us data on intra-familial relationships and decision making mechanisms. Across Türkiye, either the father of the family or the man

in the family decides on what program or channel to watch by 57%. This is followed by “mother/woman” by 19%, “male child” by 9%, “other” by 8% and “female child” by 7%.

Therefore, the adult male of the house decides by a wide margin which channel or program will be watched by the family. However, when this data is examined on the basis of the education level variable, it is again observed that as the education level rises, this decision is more evenly made by either the woman or the man. Table 201 shows that as the educational level rises, the difference between the spouses closes linearly. In all education levels the man/father mainly makes the decision, the difference between the mother and father that reaches 49% in the lowest education level, falls to 23% in the highest level. This data is important because it

Table 201. Decision Maker on Channels and Programs to Watch by Educational Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/ vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
Mother/woman	18.9	14.6	17.4	18.9	20.9	24.3
Father/man	56.8	63.3	62.0	56.3	49.2	47.9
Female child	7.1	8.3	6.5	7.5	7.8	6.1
Male child	8.6	8.3	7.4	10.3	9.3	9.1
Grandfather	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.1
Grandmother	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
Other	8.2	5.0	6.4	6.4	12.6	12.2

¹ In the 2006 survey, participants were asked if they watched television as a family, similar to 2011 results, 70% of the participants replied positively while 30% responded negatively.

² The exceptional situations regarding this are that 40% of individuals over 65 watch television by themselves while this percentage falls to 16% among individuals for the 35–44 age group, also this percentage rises to 35% among respondents with graduate degrees. Moreover, there is a differentiation on the basis of marital status, however, this provides an expected data.

shows that as the education level rises, the propensity of joint decision making between the spouses also rises and that patriarchal values are beginning to soften relatively.

While questions on what time of day television was watched the most, how decisions on television are made in the family and what reactions are displayed towards violence and sexuality on television were asked in the 2011 survey, the fact that these questions were not included in the 2006 survey makes it harder to offer more comprehensive findings on the subject. Moreover the exclusion of questions on the kind of programs watched by the family in both surveys creates an important drawback. For instance, there are important differences with respect to supporting individual development between watching knowledge intensive programs like news, history, politics, economic programs, discussion programs and documentaries and watching high entertainment content programs like soap operas, morning women's programs, talent shows, marriage, fashion and cooking programs and "reality shows". To find such differences and to examine them by variables such as gender, education level and socioeconomic status is very important not only because it provides insight into how individuals spend their leisure time, but also on the general level of taste and tendencies in the society.

Views on Television

When the place television occupies in modern life is taken into account, opinions and views on television are important because they reflect the perceptions about a mass communication tool in the center of social activities of individuals. In this respect, TAYA 2006 and 2011 surveys have questions aimed at understanding the views towards television. Some of those questions will be examined in this section. However, whether individuals experience problems with other members of the family on the choice of program or whether they have ever filed complaints about television broadcasts are left outside of the scope of this study which focuses on the intra family social activities. Before the related questions are approached in this section, some aspects that limit analyses made within this study should be noted.

First of all, the questions aiming to reflect views on television in TAYA 2006 and 2011 are different from each other. In this respect, a comparative analysis of whether these perceptions and views have changed over this five year period cannot be made. Therefore this section which focuses on the views of television analyzes them under the two topics of views of television in intra family relationships and views on violence and sexual content in television.

It can be seen that in TAYA 2006 survey, the questions are aimed more to understand the effects of television on intra family relationships. However, it can be said that these questions create problems in and of themselves. It is clear that questions like "Do you think that television prevents you from sparing time for yourself and for your family?", "Do you think that children could watch any program they like on television?" and "Do you think television has a negative impact on family relations?" reflect a negative approach to the effects of television. It is again clear that the guiding nature of these questions can affect the independent evaluations of the respondent. Wording these questions differently, such as "In your opinion how does television affect your daily use of time?", "In your opinion how does television affect your social relationships?" or "In your opinion how does television affect your family relationships?" may result in less guided responses. Moreover, not only how television affects intra-familial relationships, but also how it affects social relationships and the social activities of the individual in general is an important factor and asking questions directed at this subject will be helpful in arriving at a more comprehensive analysis.

Instead of these questions, in the 2011 survey, questions aimed to understand the views on violence and sexual content on television were asked. The questions of "How would you react when you come across sexually explicit scenes when you are watching television with other household members?", "How would you react when you come across scenes of violence when you are watching television with other household members?" and "What disturbs you most in television programs?" are designed to probe deeper into views about the content of television programs. However, here most of the questions

display a negative attitude towards television. As important as it is to understand what disturbs individuals most in television programs, understanding what makes them happy, entertain them and help them have a good time is also important to understand the major place television holds in the lives of individuals.

In addition, in future repeated surveys, finding out the degree with which television is preferred as a source of news and entertainment, will play an important part in making sense of the advancing role of social media in the lives of the new generation. Future additional questions will be important to provide data on the alternative sources of news and entertainment individuals seek for their leisure time and the use of these sources by individuals.

Views on the Effects of Television on Intra Family Relationships

According to TAYA 2006 findings, while generally 30% of individuals across Türkiye think television prevents them from spending time with their families or on themselves, an important percentage of 71% does not think so. There is no great differentiation between men and women on the responses to this question. However, there are major differences by age group. Among individuals 18-44, who are considered young adults, the percentage of individuals who think that television prevents them from spending time with their families or on themselves rises to 33%. As age increases, a drop in this view is observed. 84% of individuals over 65 think that television does not prevent them from spending time with their families or on themselves (Table 202).

This data illustrate that television replaces social life as individuals move away from an active life, retire from work life and their productivity drops. For advanced age groups television becomes one of the basic activities as a result, these individuals do not feel that they do not spend enough time with their families or on themselves. However, in younger age groups the percentage of individuals who think television does not prevent them from spending enough time with their families or on themselves is quite high at 70%. These data, as would be expected from the guiding

nature of the questions, show that individuals do not generally consider television as a factor that prevents them from other activities and intra family relationships. As a result, television is not perceived as a tool that negatively affects social relationships at the expected level.

However, when these responses are analyzed by education level, some striking results emerge. As the education level rises, the perception that television prevents individuals from spending enough time with their families or on themselves increases. For instance, while 20% of illiterate individuals think television is a negative influence on their leisure time with family or themselves, this percentage doubles for university graduates and individuals with graduate degrees. Therefore, as the education level rises, the awareness level on the subject also increases and the tendency of individuals to see television as a deterrent for other relationships and activities rises.

Examined by socioeconomic status, a very similar picture emerges. The percentage of those who think television prevents them from spending enough time with their families or on themselves increases with the SES level. The fact that the difference between the lower and upper SES groups is also important as it also points to the direct relationship between educational and SES levels. Therefore, the fact that individuals from a higher education level belong to higher SES groups and that these individuals have a greater awareness on this subject is found to be another important outcome.

On the other hand, the 10% difference between urban and rural populations on whether television prevents individuals from spending more time with their families or on themselves is interesting to note. While 23% of rural individuals thought television prevented time with family, this percentage rises to 33% among urban individuals. Therefore it would not be wrong to arrive at the conclusion that television is at the core of social activities in rural areas and takes up more time than is spent on other activities while in urban areas because of the diversity of available activities, individuals approach television more cautiously.

Tablo 202. Perception on Effects of Watching TV throughout Türkiye, by Residence Area, Three Major Cities, NUTS, Gender, Age, Educational Status, and SES, TAYA 2006 (Yes) (%)

	Does television prevents you from spending time with your family or on yourself?	Does television affect intra-familial relationships negatively?
Türkiye	29.4	61.1
RESIDENCE AREA		
Urban	32.9	63.8
Rural	23.2	56.5
THREE MAJOR CITIES		
İstanbul	34.0	65.1
Ankara	35.6	58.2
İzmir	40.3	68.6
NUTS		
Istanbul	34.0	65.1
West Marmara	25.5	45.6
Aegean	28.0	65.0
East Marmara	34.5	61.8
West Anatolia	33.9	60.6
Mediterranean	23.6	53.9
Central Anatolia	26.4	58.2
West Black Sea	22.2	65.2
East Black Sea	25.3	63.1
Northeast Anatolia	30.1	53.2
Mideast Anatolia	34.8	68.5
Southeast Anatolia	28.7	62.6
GENDER		
Male	28.9	62.2
Female	29.8	60.1
AGE		
18-24	32.6	58.2
25-34	32.7	63.6
35-44	33.8	64.6
45-54	27.2	59.1
55-64	20.5	60.5
65+	15.8	55.2
EDUCATIONAL STATUS		
Illiterate	19.8	54.5
Illiterate individuals with no schooling	24.0	57.1
Primary school	26.9	60.7
Elementary/secondary school	30.7	64.4
High school/equivalent	37.0	63.2
University (Undergraduate/graduate)	39.6	66.1
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS		
Lower class	20.0	54.9
Middle class	29.7	61.7
Upper class	36.4	63.0

On the other hand, in the responses to the question “In your opinion does television affect intra family relationships negatively?” expected to yield similar results, there was a striking reversal of percentages. An important percentage of 61% across Türkiye thinks that television affects relationships within the family negatively. Although there are no significant differences between men and women, these views are more widespread (around 2%) among men than women (Table 202).

When examined by age group, the view that television affects family relationships negatively rises to 64-65% especially among the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups while it falls down to 55% among the over 65 age group. The group that can be called the young adults, that is the relatively newlywed 25-44 age group with young children, emphasizes the negative effects of television on family relationships showing that at that stage in life, individuals care about family relationships and the togetherness of the family. Again, as above, as age progresses, television replaces social life and the perception that television has negative effects on family relationships becomes lower (Table 202).

Analyzed by education level, similarly, as the education level rises, awareness on the subject also rises. It is interesting to note that in the lowest educational group, while the yes and no responses to the question were almost half and half, among university graduates and individuals with graduate degrees two out of three individuals view television as a detrimental influence on family relationships. However, contrary to the tendency above, the perception of television affecting family relationships negatively does not show a linear increase by income level. As other groups show 61-64% accordance with this view, the lowest income group has a relatively low percentage of 57% and the middle income group has the highest percentage of 64% in support of this view. Therefore the perception that television affects family relationships negatively is higher in the middle income group. As higher income groups have access to diverse activities and as a result spend less time in front of the television, the relatively low perception of the detrimental effects of television in this group can be expected.

Finally, another interesting finding is the perception that television affects family relationships negatively is more prevalent in urban areas than in rural areas. Although it is not as striking as the responses to the question above, while around 64% of urban dwellers have this perception, it falls to 57% in rural areas. This finding also supports the emphasis on the limited nature of social activities in rural areas as pointed out above (Table 202).

Views on Violence and Sexuality on Television

In TAYA 2011, instead of questions aimed to learn about the detrimental effect of television on family relationships, questions are geared towards views about violence and sexuality on television. Shortly, these questions are, “What disturbs you the most in television programs?”, “How would you react when you come across sexually explicit scenes when you are watching television with other household members?” and “How would you react when you come across scenes of violence when you are watching television with the other household members?”

Across Türkiye, the most disturbing element on television is sexuality by 46%. In other words, almost one out of every two individuals reports feeling uncomfortable with sexuality. This is followed by violence by 16%, profanity and insulting language by 15%, biased news reports and discussion programs by 10% and commercials by 9%. Although not a determining factor on its own, the fact that almost one of every two individuals is disturbed by sexuality on television but a relatively much lesser number is disturbed by violence is worth noting. Similar research in developed countries shows that because of their effect on especially the children, individuals are more bothered by violence on television by 70%. This situation of being less bothered by violence in comparison to sexuality, and the fact that the sexuality option is the primary one with 30%, is important because it points out to the conservative nature of the Turkish society and families (Table 203).

Here some interesting findings need more attention. While 12% of men declare being bothered by violence on television the most, this percentage rises

Tablo 203. Most Disturbing Content on Television throughout Türkiye, by Gender, Age, and Educational Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Sexuality	Violence	Profanity and insulting language	Biased news reports and discussion programs	Commercials	Other
Türkiye	45.7	15.4	14.6	10.3	9.2	4.9
GENDER						
Male	43.0	11.6	14.0	14.4	11.8	5.2
Female	48.4	19.2	15.2	6.2	6.6	4.5
AGE						
18-24	40.2	11.5	14.2	14.0	15.4	4.7
25-34	43.1	15.5	14.9	12.3	9.4	4.8
35-44	47.9	15.9	15.7	8.7	7.4	4.4
45-54	47.6	15.5	15.0	9.0	7.2	5.7
55-64	48.1	18.0	13.1	9.4	7.1	4.3
65+	50.6	17.4	13.2	5.3	7.7	5.8
EDUCATIONAL STATUS						
No schooling	55.5	16.0	13.4	3.2	6.2	5.8
Primary school	51.8	16.4	14.1	5.3	7.5	4.9
Elementary/secondary school	45.3	13.8	15.6	8.9	11.1	5.3
High school/equivalent	38.6	14.1	14.8	15.5	12.3	4.6
University	30.8	15.9	15.5	24.9	9.2	3.8

to 19% among women. This is an important finding that reflects that male viewers are less sensitive to violence on television. Moreover, while 14% of men complain about biased news reports and discussion programs by 14%, this percentage falls to 6% among women. This finding creates the impression that men watch news programs more than women. Examined by age group, the percentage of individuals who are bothered by sexuality and violence rises with age, the percentage of being bothered by biased news and commercials drops with age.

Another important finding is that this order changes with education level. As the education level rises, the percentage of being bothered by sexually explicit content falls directly so much so that there is a 25% difference between the highest education level and the lowest (those who did not go to school). Among individuals with associate degrees and above, the percentage of primarily being disturbed by sexually explicit content falls to 30%. Similarly, as the

education level rises the percentage of dissatisfaction primarily with biased news reports and discussion programs exhibits a linear rise. Here, the difference between the highest and the lowest education level is 21%, it rises from 3% in the lowest group to 25% in the highest education level. Among individuals with graduate degrees the elements found most disturbing on television are sexuality by 30%, biased news reports and discussion programs by 25% and violence by 16% (Table 203).

In this respect, although there is no question on the type of programs preferred in the study, it would be safe to say that people with a higher education level watch news programs more. Moreover, the fact that individuals with a higher education level are significantly less bothered by sexuality on television is important because it shows that as the education level rises, conservative values and attitudes lose their strength.

In response to the question “how would you react when you come across sexually explicit scenes when you are watching television with other household members?”, 81% report that they would “feel disturbed and change the channel”, however, asked the same question about violence on television this percentage falls to 70%. While a percentage of 13% reported that they would not feel bothered and keep watching violence, this percentage falls to 7% in sexually explicit scenes (Table 204 & 205). When these two questions are further examined by education level, the radical rise in the percentage of those who say “I would not feel disturbed I would continue to watch” is interesting to note. The percentage of those who report that they are not bothered by sexually explicit scenes on television is 2-3% among individuals from the lowest education level while this percentage rises to 40% among individuals with graduate degrees. These findings support other findings that as the education level rises, conservative values and attitudes lose their power (Table 206 & 207).

As seen in Table 208, the propensity to be disturbed

by sexually explicit scenes on television and changing the channel rises with age. While this percentage is 76% among the youngest age group, it is close to 90% for individuals of 65 and above. While the percentage of individuals not disturbed by these scenes rise to 11% among younger age groups, this falls to 5% as the age increases. On the other hand, as would be expected, those who said “I would feel disturbed and try to distract the younger members (kids & youngsters) of the family” are individuals from the 25-34 and 35-44 age group who probably have young children.

On the other hand, when we look at the reactions given to violence while watching television with the other members of the family, a similar tendency is observed. In Table 209, it is clear that as age increases, being bothered by violent scenes on television also increases. While in younger age groups the percentage of those who say they are not disturbed but violent scenes and continue to watch is around 25%, this falls to 8% among the age group 65 and over.

Tablo 204. Reactions Shown to Sexually Explicit Content on Television by Educational Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye
I would not be disturbed, I would continue to watch	6.6
I would feel disturbed and try to distract the younger members (kids & youngsters) of the family	12.6
I would feel disturbed and change the channel	80.8

Tablo 205. Reactions Shown to Violence on Television by Educational Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Türkiye
I would not be disturbed, I would continue to watch	12..7
I would feel disturbed and try to distract the younger members (kids & youngsters) of the family	17.2
I would feel disturbed and change the channel	70.1

Several conclusions can be reached from these findings. First, conservative tendencies are observed to rise with age. However, in the violence example, it is rather difficult to explain the situation by growing conservatism. Behind the reason why violence is more easily accepted by younger age groups lies the fact that these young people grew up with television and they are used to see sexuality and violence from this communication tool more so than older groups, in other words, it can be interpreted as the “desensitization” effect of television on younger age groups. Similarly, television, more effective in shaping the world views of younger age groups, causes

insensitivity especially toward violence, and the fact that these people exposed to such context and messages lose their sensitivity and do not feel bothered any more is verified by various other studies (Morgan, Shanahan and Signorelli, 2009).

Children and Television

Another dimension that needs to be examined in more detail from TAYA 2006 views on television, is the perceptions on the relationship of children with television. Many studies that reveal the negative effect of television on children argue that

Table 206. Reactions Shown to Sexually Explicit Content on Television by Educational Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
I would not be disturbed, I would continue to watch	2.1	3.2	5.3	11	15.9
I would feel disturbed and try to distract the younger members (kids & youngsters) of the family	9.8	11	11.8	14.1	18.6
I would feel disturbed and change the channel	88.1	85.9	82.9	74.8	65.5

Table 207. Reactions Shown to Violence on Television by Educational Status, TAYA 2011 (%)

	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
I would not be disturbed, I would continue to watch	6.8	7.8	14.7	19.9	18.8
I would feel disturbed and try to distract the younger members (kids & youngsters) of the family	13.2	15.6	15.7	20.0	23.6
I would feel disturbed and change the channel	80.0	76.6	69.7	60.1	57.6

Table 208. Reactions Shown to Sexually Explicit Content on Television by Age, TAYA 2011 (%)

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
I would not be disturbed, I would continue to watch	10.6	6.9	4.9	5.5	6.4	4.9
I would feel disturbed and try to distract the younger members (kids & youngsters) of the family	13.3	15.6	15.6	10.0	7.7	5.9
I would feel disturbed and change the channel	76.1	77.5	79.5	84.5	85.9	89.2

Table 209. Reactions Shown to Violence on Television by Age, TAYA 2011 (%)

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
I would not be disturbed, I would continue to watch	25.2	13.2	8.7	10.6	9.1	7.5
I would feel disturbed and try to distract the younger members (kids & youngsters) of the family	16.8	21.2	22.0	14.0	10.4	8.4
I would feel disturbed and change the channel	58.0	65.6	69.3	75.3	80.5	84.0

children need to be protected from especially some violent and sexual content. From this point of view, the only 2006 survey question “Do you think children should be able to watch whatever they want on television?” is not sufficient. Other questions on program content and types need to be added to this question to reveal more on the thoughts and perceptions about the effect of television on children. This issue is partially resolved in the 2011 research by the addition of questions on violence and sexual content, however, is still limited because of the lack of questions directly related to children.

When the answers to the 2006 survey question “Do you think children should be able to watch whatever

they want on television?” are more closely examined across Türkiye, it was observed that an important majority of 84% of individuals do not think children should be able to watch everything they want on television. This view is more prevalent among women by about 3%. By age groups, interestingly, a smaller percentage of 45 and above age groups thinks so. While 87% of the individuals from the 25-34 age group think children should not be able to watch anything they want, this percentage falls to 80% among the age groups over 45. Therefore, it can be deduced that especially relatively younger age groups with young children or teenagers are more sensitive about this topic, while this sensitivity diminishes with age (Table 210).

In this question factors of education level and rural and urban areas were thought would be influential. By education level, a direct relationship is instantly observed. While the percentage of individuals who think children should not be able to watch anything they want on television is 77% among illiterates, this percentage constantly rises with the education level and reaches 87% among graduates of high school and equivalent and to 92% among university graduates and graduate degree holders. This finding is important because it reflects a heightening awareness and sensitivity by education level. Individuals from a higher education level steer their children towards activities directed at personal development such as sports, art and science and they are more careful about television in daily life.

By income level, again a somewhat direct relationship was found. As the income level of the individ-

uals rises, the perception that children should not be able to watch whatever they want on television increases proportionately. While the percentage of individuals who answer negatively to this question is 80% among the lowest income group, the fact that this percentage rises to 87% in the highest income group is noteworthy.

When the answers were analyzed on the basis of urban-rural areas, about 6% more urban individuals replied negatively to this question compared to rural individuals. 86% of urban individuals and 80% of rural individuals think that children should not be able to watch whatever they want on television. This finding also reflects that individuals from urban areas are more aware of the topic of the effects of television on children and that they are more sensitive (Table 210).

Tablo 210. Approaches Towards Children's Watching TV throughout Türkiye, by Residence Area, Three Major Cities, and NUTS, TAYA 2006 (Yes) (%)

Do you think children should be able to watch whatever they want on television?	
Türkiye	16.4
RESIDENCE AREA	
Urban	14.2
Rural	20.3
GENDER	
Male	17.7
Female	15.1
AGE	
18-24	16.2
25-34	12.8
35-44	14.6
45-54	20.9
55-64	20.3
65+	20.2
EDUCATIONAL STATUS	
Illiterate	22.6
Illiterate individuals with no schooling	21.4
Primary school	17.7
Elementary/secondary school	14.1
High school/equivalent	13.0
University (Undergraduate/graduate)	8.5
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS	
Lower class	21.6
Middle class	16.2
Upper class	12.7

9.3.1.2. Social Activities Boundaries of the Study

The 2006 and 2011 surveys differ from one another on the subject of social activities. At first, the 2006 survey asks about “activities performed in the last year” and evaluates the nine different activities on the basis of “yes, frequently”, “yes, rarely” and “no” answers. The 2011 survey on the other hand, starts from the question “How often do you perform social activities?” and defines 12 areas related to the question. The frequency of taking part in these 12 activities is evaluated on the basis of “never”, “sometimes” and “frequently” responses. Therefore these two questions differ by both the manner the question is asked and the number of response categories. However, keeping this limitation in mind, it seems possible to make an evaluation on whether tendencies on social activities have changed over five years. It is reasoned that the fact that the question was asked differently in the two surveys will not affect the categories greatly.

The social activities from the 2006 survey are listed as (1) reading books, (2) reading newspapers, (3) going to the movies, (4) going to the theater, (5) going to locals, clubs, associations etc., (6) going to bars, night clubs etc., (7) going to the coffee houses, (8) working out, (9) doing crafts.

In the 2011 survey these were (1) reading books, (2) reading newspapers, (3) going to movies/theater, (4) going to locals, clubs, associations etc., (6) going to bars, night clubs etc., (6) going to coffee houses, (7) working out, (8) doing crafts (sewing, carpentry, repairs etc.), (9) watching TV/VCD/DVD, (10) eating out in restaurants, pastry shops, cafes, (11) going to watch sports games and (12) playing card and tile games or games like backgammon or computer games at home. As a result, the 2011 survey taking the list in 2006 as the basis combined the separate questions of going to the movies and theater and added new activities.

Before starting the evaluation, there are points that need attention on social activities defined in this manner. First of all, although extended in the 2011 survey, the fact that the areas listed in both surveys

are far from covering all social life activities, in other words, the exclusion of other activities that form an important part of social life causes this study to be limited for a comprehensive analysis of leisure time activities and social activities in Türkiye. For instance, the use of areas such as parks, squares, shopping malls, urban-neighborhood centers make up an important part of the social life of many. Additionally, cultural and art activities such as museums, historical sites, concerts carry a lot of weight to observe the cultural differences that form in this context in society. Moreover, as mentioned above, the use of social media and Internet during leisure time for the purposes of reaching close and distant social networks, communicating, organizing activities and sharing information, forms an important part of our social lives today and should definitely be researched in this context. Therefore, to create a comprehensive framework for social and leisure time activities, the inclusion of such questions in future studies is imperative.

Among the subjects that were not covered in the 2006 survey but included in the 2011 questionnaire is the presence of questions on going to such places as restaurants, cafes. Such activities constitute an important part of urban life today and with the development of the service sector, they are fast becoming frequent activities for individuals. However, here limiting the question to “eating out” excludes individuals who go to such places to have coffee, for afternoon tea or just to meet friends. If we keep in mind that such places offer significant opportunities for individuals to socialize besides offering a chance to “eat out”, it is important that this question is expanded to cover these aspects in future studies.

Again, one of the topics included in the 2011 survey, “watching “TV/VCD/DVD” option is also problematic. First of all, as mentioned above, if we keep in mind that watching television is an important activity that takes up a large portion of leisure time in the lives of individuals, asking about television along with watching VCD and DVD prevents the acquisition of comprehensive data on these two and will focus responses on television only. However, if we remember that going to the movies is

an expensive activity, getting information on DVD watching, which is a relatively cheaper activity, is important to deduce how much time individuals spend on cultural activities. In its present state, the question does not provide information on the subject; moreover, it causes the repetition of the television topic examined independently from different angles throughout the study.

Outside of these, the option of going to watch sporting events, just as the option of going to coffee houses, is mostly gender based and is clearly a question that holds a larger place in the lives of male individuals. Equivalent to those questions, asking questions about the activities attended mainly by women (going to all-women visits, entertaining guests etc.) is important to draw a more comprehensive picture.

Lastly, the question asked in the 2011 survey, "Playing cards and tile games, backgammon, computer games at home" puts computer games and other computer related activities which hold a major place in the everyday lives of individuals in the category of games played at home, preventing a comprehensive interpretation. As mentioned above, separate questions on especially computer and social media usage holds great importance.

The second issue to be emphasized is although the activities mentioned above may seem comprehensive, the questions do not provide information on the quality of such activities. For instance, the frequency with which these activities are performed such as how many times a week, how many times a month is important to make an analysis on the frequency of these activities. Additionally, it is also important to learn about who these activities are shared with because it will complete the information about the individual and provide information on the social activities in the family and society in general. Moreover, if we keep in mind that the effect of these variables on such variables as gender, age, educational and income levels, questions on book and newspaper preferences, where individuals work out (public spaces like parks, gardens, street or at home, gym etc.), the type of crafts done will be

very helpful in providing a comprehensive analysis.

Social Activities

When the frequency of social activities is further analyzed accompanied by the limitations mentioned before, an interesting picture emerges. According to the 2006 data, when analyzed on the basis of frequently and rarely responses, the most frequent activity in Türkiye is reading newspapers by 69% (Table 211). This is followed by crafts by 53%. On the other hand, the activities least frequently performed are, going to bars and nightclubs by 7% and going to the theater by 11%. When the number of state theaters is examined by cities, this percentage is not very surprising. According to the data, only 22 cities have a state theater. By 2012 data, the total number of theaters in Turkey is 606, 169 of which are in Istanbul, 65 in Izmir and 29 in Ankara (TurkStat, 2012). In other words, almost half of all theaters in Turkey are concentrated in the three largest cities. A 46% across Türkiye reports frequent or seldom book readership, 30% report they are involved in sports and 26% report going to coffee houses. Apart from these, the percentage of individuals who go to movies is 22%, and those who go to locals, clubs or associations is 12%.

When the number of cinemas is examined, a similar situation to the number of theaters is observed although the numbers for cinemas are higher. According to the data, 665 of the total of 1,998 cinemas are in Istanbul, 166 are in Ankara, 105 are in Izmir, that is to say, they are concentrated in three largest cities. While there are over 40 cinemas in cities like Bursa, Antalya, Kocaeli, Konya, this number is below 10 in 36 cities. By 2012 data, Şırnak, Kilis, Iğdır have 3 cinemas (TurkStat, 2012), (Cultural Statistics, 2012) (Ankara: Turkish Statistical Institute Social activities in the Family 297). There are no cinemas in Ardahan, Bayburt, Gümüşhane and Sinop. These data is important because they illustrate the fact that cultural services are not offered in a balanced manner and individuals in Turkey do not have equal opportunities to access these services. The insufficiency of such services is especially more prominent in cities in Southeastern and Eastern Anatolia.

Table 211. Activities Done in the Last Year throughout Türkiye, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Yes, often & seldom	No
Did you read a book?	46.1	53.9
Did you read newspapers?	68.8	31.2
Did you go to the movies?	21.7	78.3
Did you go to the theater?	10.9	89.0
Did you go to locals, clubs and associations?	11.5	88.5
Did you go to bars or nightclubs?	7.3	92.7
Did you go to coffee houses?	25.6	74.4
Did you do sports?	29.5	70.5
Did you do crafts? (sewing, carpentry, repairs etc.)	52.5	47.5

The fact that the order and percentages of those nine categories listed in the 2011 survey stayed more or less the same is a noteworthy aspect. According to the 2011 data, 70% of individuals in Türkiye report they frequently or sometimes read newspapers and 53% report doing crafts. Conversely, the percentage of those who reported going to bars and nightclubs is 8%. If the going to the movies and going to the

theater questions are taken together, 30% of individuals report participating in these activities frequently or sometimes – this is very close to the 33% in the 2006 survey calculated by adding movie and theater goers. The percentage of those who go to locals, clubs and associations stay the same at 12% (Table 212).

Table 212. How Often Do You Perform Social Activities, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Yes, often & seldom	No
Do you read books?	59.0	41.0
Do you read newspapers?	70.3	29.7
Do you go to movies/theater?	29.8	70.2
Do you go to locals, clubs and associations?	12.2	87.8
Do you go to bars or nightclubs?	7.8	92.2
Do you go to coffee houses?	21.1	78.9
Do you do sports?	35.0	65.0
Do you do crafts? (sewing, carpentry, repairs etc.)	52.7	47.3
Do you watch TV, VCD DVD?	91.8	8.2
Do you go to restaurants, pastry shops, and cafes to eat?	50.3	49.7
Do you go to watch sporting events?	23.8	49.7
Do you play card or tile games, backgammon, computer games at home?	22.6	76.2

By 21%, the percentage of those who report going to coffee houses is 5% behind the percentage found in 2006, conversely, the percentage of those who report participating in sports rise by 5% to 35%. This percentage can be interpreted as the reflection of commercials and awareness campaigns to raise

public consciousness in sports and healthy living. Providing public spaces such as parks and gardens with sports equipment and the announcements of the benefits of 30 minute workouts through all media channels are effective in raising public awareness.

An interesting finding here is that the percentage of individuals who report reading books rose from 46% in 2006, to 59% in 2011 thus making reading books one of the most frequent activities. While in five years other options stood more or less the same, or changed by a few percentage points, the rise seen in reading books can be stemming from the manner in which the question was asked. That is, it is only natural that the response to the questions of whether the individual read any books in the last year or how often did they read books will be different. Moreover, here there is a chance that participants will choose the sometimes option not to seem as they do not read any books.

As a result, it can be said that the percentages and ordering of the categories in 2006 stayed more or less the same in 2011. On the other hand, when we look at the four new activities added to the 2011 survey, it is possible to see some interesting results. First of all, the problematic question mentioned above, the category of TV/VCD/DVD was overwhelmingly ranked highest, that is, it is the most frequent activity in Türkiye. When the sometimes and frequently responses are taken together, watching TV/VCD/DVD is an activity done by 92%, almost all of the participants, as the leading activity. If a deviation in favor of television is present in these responses, watching television becomes the foremost social activity done by individuals in Türkiye (Table 212).

Additionally, one out of every two individuals report going out to eat at restaurants, cafes and pastry shops. As a result, this activity is among the most frequently performed activities with 50%. About one in every four individuals go to watch sporting events, and about 23% of individual play cards, tile games, backgammon and computer games at home. Here, it would not be wrong to assume that asking about computer games as a different category will greatly change the responses.

2006 and 2011 findings are important because they reflect the limitations of participation of individuals in leisure time activities and social life in Türkiye. This should be explained in both economic and social and cultural terms. The fact that newspapers are

among the cheapest activities and that a newspaper is sold at or under 1 TL, or the fact that it is given away is the main reason why reading newspapers is a relatively widespread activity. Conversely, participating in activities such as going to the movies, to the theatre, bars and nightclubs can be just beyond the economic reach of individuals. On the other hand, the fact that eating out is such a widespread activity points to the limits of explanations based on economic conditions. When these questions are analyzed by income level, this picture will get clearer.

Another important factor expected to be important is the heightened awareness raised by education and culture affected by education. Because the general education level in Türkiye is not very high, the low frequency of reading books and going to the movies or the theater can be understood. Another important factor is the fact cultural activities are not taken very seriously by the society and are not supported by public funding. As a result, the low frequency of attending the cinema or theater and the high frequency of going out to eat, beyond economic conditions suggest the determinacy of education level and cultural awareness.

For comparison purposes, the EuroStat data that provides information on social activities performed in the last year in 25 EU countries can be used. According to these findings, close to half (46%) of the populations of 25 EU countries in 2007, reported going to the movies at least once in the last year, 43% reported watching a live performance or visited a cultural venue, close to 30% reported going to watch at least one sporting event (Eurostat, 2010: 91).

Social Activities Based on Gender

When the “frequently” and “sometimes/rarely” options from the 2006 and 2011 studies are taken together, with the exception of handicrafts, in Türkiye men are more active in doing crafts than women in all areas. Although it was pointed out that crafts included activities such as sewing, carpentry and repairs aimed at both genders, the percentage of men

Table 213. Social Activities by Gender, TAYA 2006-2011 (%)

	Often	Male Rarely	No	Often	Female Rarely	No
2006						
Did you read a book?	14.6	35.1	50.3	14.4	28.2	57.4
Did you read newspapers?	52.9	30.0	17.2	24.1	31.1	44.8
Did you go to the movies?	5.2	20.8	74.0	3.7	13.9	82.5
Did you go to the theater?	1.4	10.5	88.1	1.4	8.5	90.0
Did you go to locals, clubs and associations?	5.1	12.7	82.2	0.9	4.5	94.6
Did you go to bars or nightclubs?	1.5	8.7	89.8	0.4	4.0	95.6
Did you go to coffee houses?	21.1	28.5	50.4	0.4	2.0	97.6
Did you do sports?	14.2	24.0	61.8	6.3	14.7	79.0
Did you do crafts? (sewing, carpentry, repairs etc.)	10.8	31.1	58.1	32.3	30.4	37.2
2011						
Do you read books?	13.6	47.9	38.4	15.8	40.8	43.5
Do you read newspapers?	35.2	48.1	16.7	16.0	41.4	42.6
Do you go to movies/theater?	4.4	28.8	66.8	3.9	22.5	73.6
Do you go to locals, clubs and associations?	3.1	15.4	81.5	1.0	4.9	94.1
Do you go to bars or nightclubs?	2.0	9.5	88.5	0.5	3.6	95.9
Do you go to coffee houses?	8.5	32.6	58.9	0.3	1.0	98.7
Do you do sports?	8.9	34.5	56.6	3.6	23.1	73.3
Do you do crafts? (sewing, carpentry, repairs etc.)	7.3	36.0	56.7	17.7	44.2	38.1
Do you watch TV, VCD DVD?	50.9	42.0	7.1	50.6	40.1	9.3
Do you go to restaurants, pastry shops, and cafes to eat?	9.3	49.1	41.6	6.4	35.7	57.8
Do you go to watch sporting events?	10.3	29.6	60.2	1.2	6.8	92.1
Do you play card or tile games, backgammon, computer games at home?	6.0	23.1	70.9	2.6	13.5	83.9

reporting they did not do any handiwork in 2006 and 2011 studies comes close to 60%, this percentage is around 37-40% among women. These percentages did not change over time. The 20% difference can explain women are also relatively behind in other activities to an extent (Table 213).

As expected, the activities that display the greatest difference between men and women are going to the coffee house and to sporting events. According to 2006 findings, while half of Turkish men reported going to coffee houses either frequently or rarely, this percentage fell by 10% in 2011 although it is still a large percentage of 40%³. Among women in 2006 and 2011, this percentage is 2% and 1%

respectively. If the fact that coffee houses are generally the domain of males and especially in rural areas and the outskirts of cities men gather in these places to meet friends, converse, play games and discuss the political agenda is kept in mind, asking this question as going to restaurants, cafes and pastry houses in future studies will be important to understand the female tendencies on this matter.

On the other hand, there is a 32% difference in favor of men in going to sporting events in the responses to the 2011 survey. As mentioned above, these activities need to either be extended to include women or new categories need to be added to understand the tendencies of women.

³ This decrease can similarly be explained by the manner the question was asked.

Another area where the difference between men and women is more pronounced is reading newspapers. The 2006 and 2011 surveys show that 83% of men read newspapers either frequently or rarely, this percentage falls to 55% (TAYA 2006) and 57% (TAYA 2011) among women. In other words, about 45% of women in Türkiye reported they never read newspapers.

Another high difference area is sports. According to 2006 findings, 38% of men report they do sports frequently or rarely, this percentage falls to 21% among women. While these percentages rose to 43% for men and 27% for women, according to 2011 data the difference is practically the same with a difference of 17-18%. In the going to eat in restaurants cafes and pastry shops question asked in the 2011 survey, there is a difference of 17% between men and women.

This is followed by going to locals, clubs and associations. In the 2006 and 2011 surveys, there is a noteworthy difference of a constant 13% between men and women. Although in the five year period, the activity of going to associations rose by 1% for both men and women, the difference between them stays the same. While respectively 27% and 18% of men report that they go to associations frequently or rarely in 2006 and 2011, this percentage falls to 5% and 4% respectively for women.

According to 2006 findings, the only activity that has the lowest difference between men and women is going to the theatre by 1.9%. In 2011, on the other hand, with a 2% difference this activity is replaced by watching TV/VCD/DVD.

The fact that the majority of activities where men and women differentiate greatly are activities outside of the home can explain this differentiation. I would not be wrong to arrive at the conclusion that while women are seen most in doing activities like handiwork at home, men do find the time and opportunity to participate in outside activities. These percentages show how behind women are in participating in leisure time activities compared to men, in other words, this is an important finding that demonstrates

the limits of women's participation in social life.

Social Activities Based on Age

By age group, the incidence of almost all social activities decreases directly by age. According to 2006 findings, the greatest gap between the youngest and oldest age groups comes from newspaper readership by 47%, book readership by 44%, 40% by going to movies and doing sports by 36%. 2011 findings show the areas that demonstrate the greatest difference between the youngest and oldest age groups as going to the movies-theatre by 52%, going out to eat at restaurants-cafes by 49%, reading books by 47% and reading newspapers by 44%. These findings are not surprising if individuals tend to lose their physical and cognitive competence as they get older. These findings are interesting because the majority of these activities (going out to eat, going to the movies-theatre etc.) need leaving the house and having economical means as older people in Türkiye have limited means to spend on social activities therefore the social involvement of older people declines greatly (Table 214).

On the other hand, there are two exceptions to the finding that the frequency of participating in social activities declines directly with age. The first one is going to the coffee house. The individuals who report they go to such places often and rarely are clustered around the middle age group (This percentage is 29% in 2006 and 24% in 2011). This shows that the men in these age groups are physically strong and socially outgoing thus are more directed towards activities outside the home and nuclear family. Similarly, among those who report doing crafts often and rarely the highest percentage with 60%, according to 2006 findings is the 35-44 age group. A very close percentage (59%) is found in the 35-44 and 45-54 age groups in 2011. This finding needs to be interpreted separately for men and women. If the men in the mentioned age groups are stronger and if we add their responsibilities around the nuclear family, it is not surprising that the age when most crafts like repairs and carpentry are done around these ages. Women on the other hand, lead a more home centered life and responsibilities like caring

for children and older members of the family may be the main factors leading them to such crafts.

According to 2011 data, foremost among the activities that do not significantly decrease with age comes watching television. 94% of individuals between 18-24 report they watch television often or sometimes and this percentage falls by 1% with ev-

ery following age group. However, what is notable here is the fact that the over 65 age group reports never watching television more than other age groups by 10-14%. As a result, as all age groups in the society report watching television sometimes or often with a percentage of between 91-94%, this percentage falls to 82% among the over 65 age group (Table 214).

Table 214. Social Activities by Age, TAYA 2006-2011 (Often & Rarely/Often & Sometimes) (%)

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
2006						
Did you read a book?	65.0	52.5	44.3	39.1	32.7	21.1
Did you read newspapers?	80.6	77.1	72.1	66.3	53.8	33.8
Did you go to the movies?	43.2	27.5	17.3	13.1	8.0	3.1
Did you go to the theater?	19.5	12.4	9.2	9.0	6.0	3.0
Did you go to locals, clubs and associations?	13.8	12.1	12.0	12.8	9.4	3.9
Did you go to bars or nightclubs?	14.7	9.4	5.2	4.1	3.0	1.2
Did you go to coffee houses?	22.8	25.7	27.2	28.5	26.1	21.7
Did you do sports?	45.6	33.9	26.6	25.4	19.6	9.6
Did you do crafts? (sewing, carpentry, repairs etc.)	49.6	56.2	59.9	55.3	46.7	30.9
2011						
Do you read books?	77.9	66.6	61.2	51.5	47.6	31.0
Do you read newspapers?	81.6	78.2	76.1	67.1	60.0	38.2
Do you go to movies/theater?	56.8	40.7	26.8	16.9	12.1	5.2
Do you go to locals, clubs and associations?	18.1	14.4	11.2	11.1	8.9	4.7
Do you go to bars or nightclubs?	16.9	11.2	6.0	3.9	1.9	1.1
Do you go to coffee houses?	20.8	21.3	21.0	23.9	21.4	16.6
Do you do sports?	52.8	41.3	35.3	28.5	24.4	12.3
Do you do crafts? (sewing, carpentry, repairs etc.)	47.3	55.4	58.9	58.6	53.2	33.2
Do you watch TV, VCD DVD?	94.0	93.0	93.2	92.2	90.9	82.4
Do you go to restaurants, pastry shops, and cafes to eat?	68.6	61.9	51.4	42.5	34.7	20.2
Do you go to watch sporting events?	37.1	29	23.7	19.5	14.5	7.2
Do you play card or tile games, backgammon, computer games at home?	40.1	28.2	21.4	15.9	11.8	5.4

Social Activities Based on Education Level

Undoubtedly, one of the most determinant variables on social activities is the education level of individuals. Analyses based on the education level support this hypothesis to a degree. For instance according to 2006 findings, 90% of illiterate individuals reported that they had not participated in the listed activities and an even higher percent of over 99% reported that they had not done activities like reading books or newspapers, going to the movies or theatre, going to associations and night-

clubs in the past year. As the education level rises, the activities with the highest incidences are reading newspapers, reading books, going to the movies and doing sports. 98% of university graduates and individuals with graduate degrees report reading newspapers often or rarely, 87% report reading books, 65% go to the movies and 63% report doing sports. As such activities rise with cognitive skills and education, general culture, health and awareness on social subjects, and because these are gained through education, these results are not surprising (Table 215).

When this tendency is examined by the 2011 data, there are important differences. The frequency of participation in the majority of the listed activities rises directly with the education level. Especially, similar to 2006, in activities like reading books-newspapers, going to the movies-theatre, doing sports and going out to eat, the 75-90% difference is noteworthy. The difference of 38-43% found in going to locals, clubs and associations, going out at night, in games played at home and going to watch sporting events, although is lesser than the first group, still shows a significant differentiation. Therefore, the frequency of doing every activity list-

ed rises directly by education level. However, there are exceptions to this tendency. For instance, in addition to going to coffee houses from both studies, doing crafts and the newly added watching TV/VCD/DVD question, no direct relationship with education level was found (Table 215).

Among the exceptional activities, the highest frequency of the activity of going to the coffee house is mostly seen in individuals with a mid-level education. According to the 2006 findings, only 7% of illiterate individuals report going to coffee houses often or rarely. In 2011 on the other hand, this

Tablo 215. Social Activities by Educational Status, TAYA 2006-2011 (Often & Rarely/Often & Sometimes) (%)

	Illiterate	Literate with no schooling	Primary school	Elementary/secondary school	High school/equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/ undergraduate/ graduate)
2006						
Did you read a book?	0.0	24.6	40.2	53.6	71.3	87.3
Did you read newspapers?	0.0	37.8	69.8	87.1	93.7	97.9
Did you go to the movies?	1.0	4.3	8.5	25.9	48.6	64.6
Did you go to the theater?	0.9	2.1	4.1	10.2	23.1	39.8
Did you go to locals, clubs and associations?	0.7	2.6	6.6	13.6	20.4	34.9
Did you go to bars or nightclubs?	1.0	1.9	3.1	8.1	15.6	21.1
Did you go to coffee houses?	7.0	19.4	28.2	33.9	29.4	22.2
Did you do sports?	4.9	12.4	20.5	37.7	50.6	63.0
Did you do crafts? (sewing, carpentry, repairs etc.)	39.8	47.3	58.8	52.0	49.8	46.8
	No schooling (Never finished any school)	Primary school	Elementary/secondary school	High school/equivalent	University (Associate degree/vocational school/undergraduate/ graduate)	
2011						
Do you read books?	10.8	49.2	65.6	81.0	91.6	
Do you read newspapers?	12.2	65.7	79.3	92.0	95.0	
Do you go to movies/theater?	1.8	9.3	28	56.9	75.0	
Do you go to locals, clubs and associations?	0.8	5.4	11.1	20.4	31.5	
Do you go to bars or nightclubs?	0.5	2.0	6.4	15.4	21.7	
Do you go to coffee houses?	8.0	22.6	26.0	23.9	19.7	
Do you do sports?	6.9	21.9	36.0	55.0	67.3	
Do you do crafts? (sewing, carpentry, repairs etc.)	40.9	58.5	54.3	51.8	47.6	
Do you watch TV, VCD DVD?	81.9	92.1	92.8	94.4	95.7	
Do you go to restaurants, pastry shops, and cafes to eat?	11.6	34.5	53.9	76.2	88.0	
Do you go to watch sporting events?	2.8	13.3	27.0	39.7	45.7	
Do you play card or tile games, backgammon, computer games at home?	2.7	10.1	24.1	41.5	45.9	

percentage is 8% among people who never went to school. Because women make up most of the illiterate individuals in Türkiye, this is an understandable finding. On the other hand, according to the 2006 data, mid-level educational groups, that is individuals who are literate but never went to school, primary school graduates, middle school graduates and high school graduates report that they go to coffee houses often or rarely by 14% (TAYA 2006) and 12% (TAYA 2011). The 2011 findings also exhibit a similar tendency, mid-level education groups go to coffee houses often or rarely by 19 to 30%. This percentage drops again among university graduates and individuals with graduate degrees and remains at 10%. These findings show that the activity of going to coffee houses is generally preferred by mid-level education groups.

On the other hand, a different direction is found in the frequency of doing crafts. According to 2006 data illiterate individuals; according to 2011 data individuals who never went to school report doing crafts often or rarely by 40%, this percentage is around 50-60% among individuals with a mid-level education in both surveys. In other words, doing crafts is concentrated in the mid-level education groups.

The activity of watching TV/VCD/DVD that is watching television in general, similar to the findings above, is more concentrated in mid-level education groups; this activity is done less by 10-15% among individuals from the lowest educational group. Here it is interesting to note that among individuals from the highest education levels, this activity is done less by about 2-7% compared to individuals from mid-level educational groups. On the other hand, the percentage of watching television in all education levels is higher than any other activity and continues to be over 80% (Table 215).

As a result, the data from both years demonstrate that while some activities are widespread or very widespread among upper education level, some others are concentrated among mid-level educa-

tion groups. Some of these are related to economic, some are related to cultural and social factors and yet some are related to cognitive factors. However, the most important finding these data are pointing towards is the fact that the participation of individuals and families from lower education level in social life is very limited in every sense. It is obvious that from watching television to going to coffee houses, individuals from lower education level are disadvantaged in every sort of activity.

Social Activities Based on Socioeconomic Status

It is obvious that socioeconomic status will be one of the important variables on social activities. The 2006 survey results show that the frequency of almost all activities rise directly by SES. Here again two activities that make the exceptions are going to the coffee house and doing crafts. Again, when the often and rarely responses are taken together, the activities where the most striking differences are observed between the upper and lower SES groups are doing sports by 50%, by 56% going to the movies, reading books by 58% and reading newspapers by 68%. Those four activities reflect cognitive skills, general culture and awareness levels and therefore show that as the economic conditions of individuals get better, they tend towards these activities (Table 216).

When exceptions are examined, no significant differences by SES were found in going to coffee houses, and on the subject of doing crafts, only individuals from lower SES when compared to all other groups, reported doing more crafts in the past year by 15%.

These findings show that there is a high degree of direct relationship between education and SES and as the education level and SES rises in parallel, the frequency of participating in activities that need financial resources, cultural accumulation, cognitive skills and those stemming from a high awareness level on topics such as education and health, rises dramatically.

Tablo 216. Social Activities by SES, TAYA 2006-2011 (Often & Rarely/Often & Sometimes) (%)

	Upper class		Middle class		Lower class
2006					
Did you read a book?	75.4		46.2		17.0
Did you read newspapers?	94.0		71.4		26.2
Did you go to the movies?	58.4		19.5		2.4
Did you go to the theater?	37.6		8.7		1.3
Did you go to locals, clubs and associations?	33.2		9.9		2.3
Did you go to bars or nightclubs?	24.1		5.8		1.5
Did you go to coffee houses?	22.1		26.8		21
Did you do sports?	8.1		28.6		58.2
Did you do crafts? (sewing, carpentry, repairs etc.)	38.5		54.4		53.1
	High upper class	Upper class	Upper middle class	Lower middle class	Lower class
2011					
Do you read books?	89.2	85.2	70.4	52.1	29.8
Do you read newspapers?	94.8	91.1	84.2	64.9	37.9
Do you go to movies/theater?	84.2	67.7	42.8	15.9	3.1
Do you go to locals, clubs and associations?	37.2	25.3	16.1	7.5	2.3
Do you go to bars or nightclubs?	34.4	15.3	9.8	3.7	1.4
Do you go to coffee houses?	14.7	17.5	21.3	23.5	21.6
Do you do sports?	74.9	58.5	45.8	26.2	11.6
Do you do crafts? (sewing, carpentry, repairs etc.)	51.1	51.0	56.7	54.6	44.7
Do you watch TV,VCD DVD?	97.3	95.1	94.5	91.8	85.8
Do you go to restaurants, pastry shops, and cafes to eat?	92.7	86.5	66.6	39.6	16.9
Do you go to watch sporting events?	47.2	40.6	32.5	17.7	9.2
Do you play card or tile games, backgammon, computer games at home?	54.2	42.6	31.2	14.8	4.9

Internet Usage

Internet usage, especially in this digital age makes up an important part of the lives of individuals in making the best use of their leisure time and socialization practices. Internet usage becomes more and more prevalent in both the world and in Türkiye, the related social, political, cultural and economic transformations constitute the subjects of many studies (Castells, 2001; Creeber and Martin, 2009). Within the scope of this study, especially the effect of the Internet on social relationships gains importance. There are many studies on the phenomenon of being constantly on-line with the increase in technological advances and the flourishing of mobile communication devices, significantly affect the social relationships of individuals especially from

younger age groups, transform intra-familial relationships, lift the boundaries between private and business life and provide opportunities for individuals to open up more social spaces for themselves (Gergen, 2002; Turkle, 2008; Licoppe, 2004). In this context, the transformation brought about by the ability to connect to the Internet especially by mobile communication devices such as smart phones, tablets, laptops and netbooks through wireless networks and 3G technologies, are important (Goggin, 2012; Katz, 2008).

Moreover, there are significant inequalities in accessing information and taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the knowledge society. To-

day, individuals who do not have the necessary digital skills, hardware and access are in risk of being socially ostracized. As a result, computer and Internet skills come to the fore as important dimensions of social involvement (Eurostat, 2010).

Despite its importance, the subject of Internet was not sufficiently included in TAYA 2006 and 2011 surveys. On the other hand, there are comprehensive and multidimensional questions on especially television in both studies. Therefore the first point to note is keeping the importance of the Internet in mind, questions on practices of individuals on this subject, their approach and their goals should be included in future studies.

Additionally, not using the Internet data from the 2006 survey constitutes one of the important limitations of this study. In this context, only the data from the 2011 study is used. The 2011 study treats the usage of Internet as separate from social activities and direct three questions in this context: (1) The frequency of Internet use, (2) where Internet is used predominantly and (3) what is the Internet mostly used for. Although the presence of these questions in the survey is very important, some issues in evaluation and some shortcomings should be underlined.

First of all, the response options provided for the question “What is the frequency of your Internet use?”, are ordered as “Everyday”, “Often”, “Occasionally” and “Never”. Accordingly, the 2011 findings show that 17% use the Internet every day, 5% use it frequently, 19% use the Internet occasionally and

a significant 60% has never used the Internet (Table 217). For comparison purposes, the percentage of individuals between 16-74 who report they have never used the Internet is 30% among 27 EU countries (Eurostat, 2010: 93).

These findings contradict the results of Research on Information Technologies Usage conducted in 2013 by Turkish Statistical Organization (TurkStat, 2013). This study, determines the percentage of individuals between 16-74 who use the Internet at 49%, and emphasizes that this percentage rose by 2% compared to 2012. The study points out that 40% of individuals use the Internet regularly and define regular usage as “almost every day or at least once a week”.

Based on these findings, the 10% difference between the percentages of Internet users can be explained by the difference between the target age groups of TAYA and TurkStat. While TurkStat targets the 16-74 age group, TAYA targets groups starting from 18 years of age reaching individuals from the above 65 age group. If we keep in mind that Internet usage is clustered around younger age groups⁴, this difference rises from the definitions of age groups. On the other hand, the need for a clearer definition of the “often” and “sometimes” options in TAYA 2011 is needed. Instead of these, formulating options such as “once every week”, “several times every month” will make the meaning clearer for the individual.

Tablo 217. Frequency of Internet Usage throughout Türkiye, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Everyday	Often	Occasionally	Never
Türkiye	16.6	4.8	18.6	59.9

⁴ The age group where computer and Internet usage is the highest is the 16-24 age group (TÜİK, 2013).

In TAYA 2011 survey, the second question on the subject was asked as “Where do you use the Internet the most?” The answer options are “at home”, “at work”, “at internet café”, “at school”, “via mobile/Iphone/Ipad” and “other”. According to the results, 58% across Türkiye uses the Internet mostly at home, this is followed by 21% at work, 13% Internet café, 3% cell phone, 2% at school and 3% uses the Internet at other locations (Table 218).

On the other hand, the TurkStat research shows that in the first quarter of 2013, except the home

and workplace, 41% of individuals used cell phones or smart phones to connect wirelessly to the Internet and 17% used portable computers (laptop, notebook, tablet etc.).

Keeping in mind that with the increasing use of smart phones and the proliferation of different rates offered by carriers, getting on the Internet is now much easier, therefore the 3% finding in TAYA 2011 survey is problematic. Because this question does not differentiate between the venue or the device to connect to the Internet, there are possibly conflicting ones among the options offered. For instance, when individuals who usually get on the in-

Tablo 218. Where Internet is Used the Most throughout Türkiye, TAYA 2011 (%)

	Home	Work	Internet cafe	School	Mobile phone(Iphone/Ipad)	Other
Türkiye	57.8	21.3	13.2	1.6	3.2	2.8

ternet at home with a cell phone may answer home when they hear this option first.

In TAYA 2011 survey, because the question uses “where” definition of the options as “at home”, “at work”, “at internet café”, “at school”, “via mobile/Iphone/Ipad” and “other”; similarly asking another question “which devices” will elicit a fewer number of wrong answers. In this second question options like “desktop computer”, “laptop computer”, “smart phone” and “tablet, netbook” should be used.

The third question in TAYA 2011 survey is for what purpose the Internet is mostly used for. The answers to this question indicate that 38% use the Internet for research and information purposes, 26% to use social media and 22% for work purposes. Although the other options do not offer a clear tendency, 6% use the Internet for games and entertainment, 4% for chat, 1% for banking and 2% for other purposes.

The results of this study also conflicts with the results of TurkStat 2013. According to TAYA 2011 findings, the percentage of individuals who use the Internet especially for social media is 26%, while in TurkStat 2013 Internet usage is 73% for the purposes of “participating in social groups on the Internet”. This difference might be related to the representative quality of the sampling; however, it is a known fact that Internet usage rises rapidly for access to social media. Moreover, the option of “for chat purposes” clearly conflicts with the option of social media (Table 219).

On the other hand, some limitations and problems with the questions in TAYA 2011 survey were also observed. For instance the option “sending letters” is obviously will not be thought as one of the purposes of getting on the Internet from the point of

Tablo 219. Purpose of Internet Usage throughout Türkiye, TAYA 2011 (%)

	For my job/to keep up with my business	Chat	Mailing	Games/entertainment	Social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter	Research/information	Banking	Other
Türkiye	22.1	4.1	0.4	6.3	26.4	38.1	0.8	1.7

respondents. Wording this option as “following up on e-mails” will provide different answers.

Moreover the purpose defined as “banking”, addresses a very limited group was also verified by the results. On the other hand, keeping in mind the proliferation in e-government applications, it is important that a question on “using the Internet for communicating with public institutions” be included. The TurkStat 2013 findings show that 41% of individuals use the Internet for this purpose.

Additionally, if one of the most important purposes of getting on the Internet lately is to gain access to news sources and following the news, including an option on this subject will greatly affect the response distribution. The TurkStat 2013 research demonstrates that three out of four individuals read online news, newspapers and magazines. Moreover there is research showing individuals use the Internet to follow their own areas of interest and hobbies frequently, therefore an option on the subject needs to be included.

Another purpose the Internet is increasingly used for today is online shopping. The time constraints of working individuals, the ease of the usage of Internet pages and campaigns and offers on these shopping sites, many goods such as household goods, personal consumption goods and daily food products are bought over the Internet as illustrated by many studies done not only in Türkiye but all over the world (PWC, 2013). According to TurkStat 2013 findings, one out of every four users declare that they use the Internet for this purpose. Therefore the usage of the Internet for this purpose emerges as one of the options that need to be included.

Even more importantly, there are many studies that show that individuals use the Internet to create and disseminate content, that is, individuals are moving away from “passive” users to “active” participants to create their own blogs, web pages, micro blog posts etc. and go on the Internet to maintain and circulate this content. Including an option on this subject for the question will be important to understand the

participation of individuals in this communication tool.

In summary, TAYA 2011 survey questions on the Internet are problematic to a large extent. There are complications with the responses to all three questions and for this reason, the results are largely incompatible with the TurkStat 2013 studies that collect regular data on the subject. Because of these limitations, going into a detailed analysis of data on Internet usage based on gender, age, education and income level in this study, will also cause problems and will not reflect the true situation.

9.3.2. Activities Performed Together with the Family

The leisure time activities individuals do with their families, comprises the second main topic of this study. In this context, two important dimensions are examined. The first one is the question in the 2006 research asking about the people leisure times are shared with. The fact that in the 2011 research instead of asking about the people the individual shares his/her free time with, the question asks about the frequency of coming together with family members, the frequency of doing some social activities and the frequency of meeting with family members face-to-face, therefore it does not allow for a comparative analysis of the topic, thus, the findings in this section are mostly based on the data from the 2006 study because that study focuses on leisure time activities. The second issue is how annual vacations are spent. Although the related question was used in both surveys, here the 2006 research which includes data on the income level will be used.

9.3.2.1. Who Leisure Time is Shared with the Most

The point that needs to be chiefly emphasized here on the subject of who leisure time is mostly shared with is the fact that members of nuclear families mostly tend to spend time with one another. According to TAYA 2006 findings, a significant 70% of individuals spend their leisure time mostly with their spouses and children (43%), with their spouses-

es (14%), with their children (11%) and with the whole family (2%)⁵ (Table 220). These findings point to the importance of the family in Turkish society and shows that the nuclear family is at the core of the social lives of individuals. The fact that such an important majority of the society emphasizes that they spend their leisure time with the nuclear family is important because it points out to the fact that relationships with relatives and neighbors are not as widespread as in the past and that individuals turn to the family in times of economic difficulty and that the nuclear family is an important source of support, as a result, the social welfare role the government has burdened the family with is internalized by the family itself.

On the other hand, although the percentage of those who spend their leisure time with friends is relatively high at 17%, it is observed that the percentages of time spent with relatives and neighbors are very low. Thus, the percentage of individuals that report that they spend most of their leisure time with relatives is 4%, the percentage is another 4% for spending time with neighbors. These data confirm the finding above (Table 220).

Although the fact that the percentage of people who generally prefer to spend their leisure time alone is a low 4%, it points out to the importance and intensity of social relationship networks in our society and it indicates that issues such as individual independence and individual development are relatively ignored. The low preference of spending leisure time alone is another indicator of individual activities like reading books or doing sports is not very widespread.

⁵ It can be said that the 50th question of TAYA 2006 survey constitutes a problem in this respect. The options for the question "Who do you mostly share your leisure time with?", were "with my spouse", "with my children", "with my spouse and children" and "with the whole family", however, there is a possibility that these options may conflict with each other. These statements conflict with and do not exclude each other. Therefore, this possibility should be kept in mind during evaluation.

Who Leisure Time is Shared with the Most Based on Gender

There are important differentiations by gender between the responses given to the question of with who leisure time is shared with. For instance, while 16% of men spend their time mostly with their spouses, this percentage falls to 12% among women. Similarly, among interviewees who spend their leisure time mostly with their spouses and children are men with 47%, this percentage falls to 38% among women (Table 220).

On the other hand, while 3% of the men spend their leisure time mostly with their children, this percentage rises to 19% among women. This is an important finding because it shows that one in every five women spend their leisure time mostly with their children. These data that emphasize the roles of women within the home, points to the placement of the responsibility of especially looking after children holds in women's lives, and creates the impression that women probably perceive taking care of children, giving attention and studying with them as leisure time activities.

Similarly, while 25% of men state that they spend their leisure time with mostly their friends, this percentage falls to 9% among women. This is also an important finding that shows that the practice of spending time outside of the home is more prevalent among men.

While 6% of women spend their time mostly with their relatives and 7% mostly with their neighbors, this percentage falls to 3% and 1% respectively among men. This is important for the reason that relationships with the extended family and neighbors is important for women, and the most important role to nurture these relationships falls on women.

On the other hand, when responses to the question of who leisure time is mostly spent with is examined by the gender distribution, it is possible to summarize the points made above. As seen in Table 221, women are much more concentrated among those

Table 220. Who Leisure Time Is Shared with the Most by Gender, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Türkiye	Male	Female
With my spouse	13.8	15.6	12.0
With my children	11.1	2.5	19.4
With my spouse and children	42.7	47.4	38.1
With my friends	16.8	24.7	9.1
With my relatives	4.4	2.9	5.8
With my neighbors	3.7	0.5	6.9
I prefer to be alone	4.4	3.9	4.9
With my whole family	2.3	1.6	3.1
Other	0.8	0.8	0.8

Table 221. Gender Distribution Based on Who The Leisure Time is Shared with, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Male	Female
With my spouse	55.9	44.1
With my children	11.2	88.8
With my spouse and children	54.7	45.3
With my friends	72.6	27.4
With my relatives	32.8	67.2
With my neighbors	6.2	93.8
I prefer to be alone	43.8	56.2
Other	50.5	49.5
With my whole family	32.9	67.1

who spend their leisure time mostly with their children, neighbors and relatives. On the other hand, among those who report spending their leisure time with their friends, the percentage of men is significantly higher. The concentration of women around the 12% among those who spend their leisure time alone is interesting.

Who Leisure Time is Shared with the Most Based on Age

There are no striking results when the topic of who leisure time is mostly shared with by age. As expected, the percentage of individuals from the 18-24 age group is a high 45%. This percentage displays a sharp decrease in the 25-34 age group and falls to 30%, it falls further to 7-8% in advanced age groups. On the other hand, starting from the 25-34 age group, the incidence of individuals spending their leisure time mostly with their spouses and children increases while starting from the 45-54 age group the incidence of spending time with the spouse increases (Table 222).

While the percentage of those who spend their leisure time mostly with their spouse and children is 48% among the 25-34 age group, this percentage rises to 63% in the 35-44 age group. Although this percentage falls to 55% in the 45-54 age group, it is still quite high. Starting from the 55-64 age group however, these percentages continue, however in a decreasing fashion. These findings are important because between 25 to 55, that is until the children are old enough to form their own families, the nuclear family prefers to spend leisure time together. The rise in this tendency especially in the 35-44 age group when the children are teenagers and at puberty shows that during this period, families live their lives relatively closed to the outside and direct all their attention and time towards their children and the members of the nuclear family.

On the other hand, the amount of time spent with the spouse increases with age. For instance, while the percentage of individuals who spend time with their spouses in the 25-34 age group is 11%, this percentage rises to 15% in the 45-54 age group, to

28% in the 55-64 age group and to 32% for the above 65 age group. The leisure time spent with the spouse increases especially after children become adults and leave the home (Table 222).

The age groups that mostly spend their leisure time with neighbors are groups with relatively advanced ages. While only 2% of the 18-24 age group reports mostly spending their leisure time with their neighbors, this percentage rises to 6% in the 55-64 age group and to 10% among the above 65 age group. It can be deduced that as age advances, with proximity and the children leaving the house, even the death of a spouse result in people spending more time with their neighbors.

The fact that the percentage of individuals who prefer to spend their leisure time alone across Türkiye is 8% between the 18-24 age group, is around 7% in the over 65 age group and between 3-4% among other age groups, is another important finding. Although it is relatively high during youth and old

age, the low percentage of the tendency to spend leisure time alone is thought provoking. The positive effects of spending time alone on creativity, independence and success at school have been demonstrated by many psychological and sociological studies.

In summary, as can be seen in Table 222, the tendency to spend leisure time mostly with spouses and neighbors increases at ages over 55. On the other hand, the tendency to spend leisure time mostly with friends is observed among the 18-24 age group. In 25-34 and 35-44 age groups, groups we can call “young adult”, individuals mostly spend their time with their children, or with their spouses and their children. Spending leisure time with children decreases gradually with age and spending leisure time with the spouse increases. Interestingly, as spending leisure time with relatives decreases with age, this is replaced by spending time with neighbors.

Table 222. Who Leisure Time Is Shared with the Most by Age, TAYA 2006 (%)

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
With my spouse	8.6	10.9	7.1	14.6	27.6	32.0
With my children	5.0	11.6	12.3	10.9	11.9	17.7
With my spouse and children	11.5	48.0	63.4	55.4	38.1	19.9
With my friends	45.2	16.6	7.8	8.1	8.5	8.2
With my relatives	11.0	4.1	2.1	2.2	2.7	3.4
With my neighbors	1.8	2.1	3.3	4.3	5.6	10.4
I prefer to be alone	8.0	3.7	2.8	3.2	3.5	6.7
Other	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.8	1.5	1.3
With my whole family	8.1	2.4	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.2

Who Leisure Time is Shared with the Most Based on Education Level

Who leisure time is generally shared with by education level shows that in all education level, the group leisure time is shared most with, is spouse and children, however, as the education level rises, the tendency to spend that time with friends also rises.

On the other hand, while spending leisure time mostly with neighbors is 9% among illiterates, this percentage falls in higher educational levels and retreats to 1% among high school and university

graduates and individuals with graduate degrees. Similarly, those who report spending their leisure time mostly with their children is 19% among illiterate individuals but falls to 5% among university graduates and graduate degree holders. This significant difference points to the fact that as the education level rises, interest areas and social circles of individuals expand and their social network outside of the nuclear family gets more powerful (Table 223).

In lower educational levels, the fact that individuals spend more leisure time with spouses and children while as education level rises individuals spend more time with friends, is an important observation. On

Table 223. Who Leisure Time is Shared with the Most by Educational Status, TAYA 2006 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elementary/ secondary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
With my spouse	17.1	13.9	11.1	10.8	16.0
With my children	19.4	12.3	7.3	5.5	5.1
With my spouse and children	36.8	50.2	40.9	33.3	38.7
With my friends	6.0	11.0	23.4	32.4	25.2
With my relatives	4.3	3.5	5.3	6.0	4.2
With my neighbors	8.7	3.9	2.0	1.1	1.0
I prefer to be alone	5.0	3.3	5.5	5.7	4.9
Other	1.1	0.6	1.1	0.8	1.0
With my whole family	1.4	1.3	3.3	4.5	3.8

the other hand, in lower educational levels, leisure time is mostly intensely spent with neighbors but as the education level rises, the tendency to spend leisure time with neighbors falls.

Who Leisure Time is Shared with the Most Based on Marital Status

On the basis of marital status, there are important findings about who individuals spend their leisure time with. As expected, a significant 57% among single individuals spend their leisure time with their friends. This is followed by 14% with relatives, 11 % by themselves and with their whole family (Table 224).

Among married individuals a significant 57% spend their leisure time with their spouses and their children. This is followed by 18% mostly with their spouse and 10% mostly with their children. As a result, 9 in-

dividuals out of 10 spend their with the members of the nuclear family thus verifying the closed nuclear family phenomenon mentioned above.

Among divorced individuals, the percentage of people who they mostly spend their time with is their children by 43%. It is interesting to note that 15% of divorced individuals prefer being alone, in other words spend their leisure time by themselves.

Among widowed individuals, the group mostly spent leisure time with is children by 54% as expected. This is followed by 18% with neighbors and 11% prefer to be alone.

The percentage of individuals who spend their leisure time mostly with friends is high with 57% among never married individuals and 24% among divorced individuals, this percentage falls to 5-6% among widowed individuals.

Table 224. Who Leisure Time Is Shared with the Most by Marital Status, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Never married	Married	Divorced	Spouse has died
With my spouse	0.6	18.4	0.0	0.1
With my children	0.5	10.3	43.0	54.1
With my spouse and children	3.0	56.8	1.1	1.5
With my friends	57.2	6.8	23.8	5.3
With my relatives	14.0	1.6	9.6	7.0
With my neighbors	2.0	3.2	3.9	18.4
I prefer to be alone	10.8	2.1	14.7	11.1
Other	1.4	0.6	0.0	1.6
With my whole family	10.7	0.2	4.0	0.9

Among never married individuals, 14% spend their leisure time with their relatives, this percentage is relatively high by 10% among divorced individuals and by 7% among widowed individuals. On the other hand, only 2% of married individuals who report they mostly spend their leisure time with relatives is another interesting finding. This finding also supports the phenomenon of nuclear family closed to the outside (Table 224).

Those who prefer to spend their leisure time alone is relatively high by 15% among divorced individuals, 11% among widowed individuals and 11% among never married individuals; this percentage falls to 2% among married individuals (Table 224).

Who Leisure Time is Shared with the Most Based on Religious Belief

The effect of religious belief on who leisure time spent with is another important issue to be examined further. From this point of view, the 2006 data provide two important findings on the basis of religious belief. First of all, among those who mostly spend their leisure time with friends, a significant difference is observed between those that find reli-

gious belief a determinant factor in their lives and those who do not. Among those who do not think religious belief is a determining factor, the percentage of those who spend their leisure time mostly with friends is 22% while this percentage falls to 11.3% and 15% among those who think religious belief is very determinant and determinant respectively (Table 225).

The second important point is among those who do not think religious belief is a determining factor, the percentage of those who spend their leisure time mostly with their children by 9.5%, is lower than those who find religious belief very determinant (13.2%) and determinant (11.4%). These two findings demonstrate the fact that those who think religious belief is determinant or very determinant prefer to spend most of their leisure time with their families and especially with their children and that the emphasis on the family is more prominent for those individuals. On the other hand, those that do not think religious belief is a determining factor in their lives have a tendency to be relatively more open individuals who place a greater importance on social networks and who want to develop other networks outside of the family.

Tablo 225. Who Leisure Time is Shared with the Most by Religious View, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Very determining	Determining	Not determining
With my spouse	14.5	13.5	13.7
With my children	13.3	11.2	9.9
With my spouse and children	43.4	44.4	40.1
With my friends	11.3	14.9	21.6
With my relatives	4.8	4.4	4.2
With my neighbors	4.7	4.1	2.8
I prefer to be alone	4.5	4.1	4.8
Other	1.1	0.8	0.7
With my whole family	2.4	2.4	2.3

Who Leisure Time is Shared with the Most Based on Residence Area

Another important dimension is whether the people leisure time is mostly shared with changes by urban-rural areas. Although there are almost no urban-rural differences among individuals who spend their leisure time mostly with their children, relatives, alone or with the whole family, some differen-

tiations can also be observed. For instance, among urban dwellers the percentage of people who spend their leisure time mostly with their spouses is 13%, this percentage rises to 15% among rural dwellers. On the other hand, 44% of urban individuals spend their leisure time mostly with their spouses and children, this percentage is 41% in rural areas. The 3% difference seen here may be the result of children leaving the home to study in the city and con-

Tablo 226. Who Leisure Time is Shared with the Most by Residence Area, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Urban	Rural
With my spouse	12.9	15.3
With my children	11.1	11.0
With my spouse and children	43.9	40.7
With my friends	17.8	15.0
With my relatives	4.1	4.9
With my neighbors	2.9	5.1
I prefer to be alone	4.5	4.4
Other	0.7	1.0
With my whole family	2.2	2.5

sequently the practice of spending leisure time with the spouse increases in families where the children have left (Table 226).

Another differentiation point between urban and rural areas is the higher incidence of spending leisure time with relatives and neighbors in rural areas. The percentage of individuals who spend their leisure time mostly with their neighbors and relatives is 4% in urban areas and 5% in rural areas. Although not a prominent difference, the fact that time spent with neighbors is 2% higher in rural areas is a noteworthy finding. While 3% of the urban individuals report that they mostly spend their leisure time with their neighbors, this percentage rises to 5% in rural areas. This finding demonstrates that

relationships with neighbors are weaker in urban areas (Table 226).

9.3.2.2. Annual Leaves Longer than a Week and Vacations

The subject of annual leave and vacations gives clues about the income level of individuals and the level of their social involvement. Today, research done in the EU countries, the one week annual vacations is used as one of the main indicators of the prosperity of household (Eurostat, 2010). Therefore not being able to get away from home even for a week is perceived as one of the indicators of financial deprivation of the household and the risk of poverty (Table 227).

Table 227. Annual Leave and Vacations throughout Türkiye, TAYA 2006 (%)

Türkiye	
2006	
I do not have such holidays	36.3
I rest at the place where I live	28.9
I go to my hometown	17.1
I go to hotel/lodging house or summer cottage	15.0
I go to visit children, parents and relatives	1.2
I work at extra jobs	0.8
Other	0.6
2011	
I rest at the place where I live	35.4
I do not have such holidays	30.9
I go to my hometown/village	26.0
I go to a hotel, to a lodging house or resort	12.0
I go to my summer cottage	5.4
Other	3.1
I go to summer range	2.8
I go abroad	1.3
I go to my vineyard house	0.8

How the annual leaves longer than a week and vacations are spent, is a second topic that provides important data about the social activities of the family. The reason why this subject is included under the topic of social activities in the family is because annual leaves and vacations are activities done together as a family. This study departs from the assumption that periods of vacation and annual leave are spent together with the family rather than individually.

According to 2006 data, the percentage of individuals who report that they do not have the time for an annual leave of more than one week or vacations by a large, even a very large percentage of 36% across Türkiye is interesting. This is followed by 29% individuals who indicate that they spend their annual leave or vacation time where they presently are. As a result, a percentage of more than 65% in Türkiye either does not take annual leaves or vacations or spend that time where they currently are. In the 2011 data, those who report relaxing where they currently are rises to 35%, the percentage of those who claim they do not have the time for an annual leave or vacation falls to 31%, however in the end the percentage of individuals who do not take annual leaves or vacations for various reasons stay the same (Table 227).

An interesting comparison with these percentages can come from the EuroStat data from the research done in 27 EU countries which takes the phenomenon of being able to spend one week of annual vacation time away from the home as an important indicator of social involvement. According to this, the percentage of the population under the risk of poverty is 17% among all 27 EU countries, (2010: 40), 65% of this group report that they cannot spend one week away from home annually because of economic reasons (2010: 57). While a similar ratio is true for Türkiye, it is interesting to note that even 35% of individuals under the risk of poverty in EU countries have this opportunity.

On the other hand, while the percentage of individuals who indicated they go to their hometowns to spend annual leaves of more than one week or their

vacations was 17% by 2006 data, the percentage of those who go to hotels, guest houses or summer cottages is a relatively low 15%. 2011 data shows that the percentage of those who go to their hometowns rose to 26%. On the other hand, in the 2011 survey, “hotel/lodging house/resort” option and “summer cottage” option were separated, so that when these two options are taken together, the percentage of those who spend their vacations in such places rises to 17%. Another category newly added to the 2011 survey is “going abroad for vacation”, however this option was chosen by only 1% (Table 227).

Therefore in both surveys, the options heavily preferred by participants to spend their annual leaves of longer than a week or vacations are, not having the time for annual leaves or vacations, spending this time at the same place they live, going to their hometown or going to hotels, guest houses or summer homes. According to 2006 data, only 3% of the respondents answered by “I work extra jobs”, “I go to visit children, parents, relatives” and “other”. Therefore these options are evaluated on the choice of the “other” option, and then we focus on the first four options.

The first finding on this data that needs to be underlined is the fact that as mentioned above, 65% of individuals cannot spend their annual leave or vacation time away from the place they currently live. Here, the economic conditions are expected to be effective, that is, the income level variable is expected to be the most influential variable. The percentage of individuals who go to hotels, lodging houses or summer cottages constitutes only about 15-18% of the Turkish population. This situation points to the limited number of families who can meet those expenses economically. This issue will be examined in deeper detail below.

On the other hand, when the 2006 and 2011 data are taken together, the fact that a significant percentage of over 30% report they do not have the time for annual leave of over a week or vacation is important because it points to the high percentage of the presence of families with members who work as unrecorded employees, who do not have social se-

curity or work in places where social rights such as annual leave is not defined, housewives or are unemployed. While 34% of the men report that they do not have the time for annual leaves for longer than a week or vacations, the fact that this percentage rises to 38% among women is noteworthy as it shows that women either are not a part of work life or they work at jobs with no social security (Table 227).

Another important point is the fact that the percentage of individuals who report that they go to their hometowns for their annual leaves of more than one week or their vacations, rose from 17% to 26% in the five year period, in other words one in four individuals reported going to their hometowns. If the fact that the percentages of going to hotel/lodging house/resort and summer cottage options are added to this finding from the 2011 data, it seems possible to mention the effect of cheap air transportation. It seems that the presence of increasing and cheaper flight schedules to almost all cities in Türkiye make it easier for families to spend their annual leave or vacation in their hometown or holiday resorts.

Annual Leaves and Vacations by Socioeconomic Status

Obviously the most important determinant on the subject of annual leaves for over a week and vacations is the SES. As would be expected, as the socioeconomic level rises, the percentage of those who go to hotels, lodging houses, resorts or summer cottages rises. When the 2006 data is taken into account, while this percentage is 2% among the lower SES group, a significant percentage of 48% from the up-

per SES have reported going to hotels, lodging houses, resorts or summer cottages during their annual leaves of longer than a week or vacations (Table 228).

On the other hand, in low socioeconomic households, the percentage of those who do not have the time for vacations or annual leaves is 61%, this percentage falls to 14% among the upper SES group. In the middle SES group, the percentage of going to hometowns during their annual leave or vacation is around 36%.

Another remarkable issue is, with the exception of individuals from higher SES groups, a high percentage of people from all other groups spend their annual leaves of longer than a week or their vacations where they live, that is, they stay where they are. 29% of households from the lower SES group spend this period in the place where they currently live. The fact that this percentage decreases by half in the upper SES group verifies the expectation that socioeconomic status and as a result economic conditions, significantly determine how annual leaves and vacations are spent.

As can be seen from Table 18, individuals who report that they do not have leave or vacation time are concentrated in the middle SES by a significant percentage of 77%. The percentage of people from the lower SES group who report they spend their leave or vacation time at hotels, lodging houses, resorts or summer cottages is very low. On the other hand, the most widespread manner of spending annual leave or vacations for individuals from the upper SES group is going to hotels, lodging houses, resorts or summer cottages.

Table 228. Annual Leaves and Vacations by SES, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Upper class	Middle class	Lower class
I do not have such holidays	13.7	35.8	61.2
I go to a hotel, a lodging house or summer cottage	47.9	12.4	2.0
I rest at the place where I live	17.4	30.6	28.5
I go to my hometown	18.6	18.5	6.3
I work at extra jobs	0.5	0.9	0.4
Other	1.3	1.2	0.9
I go to visit children, parents and relatives	0.7	0.6	0.6

Annual Leaves and Vacations by Education Level

Education level is another significant determinant in how annual leaves and vacations are spent. Those that report that they do not have annual leave of more than a week or vacation are mostly concentrated in low education levels. While 54% of illiterate individuals or individuals who are literate but never went to school report they do not have annual leave or vacation, this percentage falls to 11% among university graduates and individuals with graduate degrees. This is an important finding which shows that those from a higher Education level are employed in jobs with regular income and workplaces which provide social security and social rights.

Consequently, the percentage of those who spend their annual leave or vacation at hotels, lodging houses or summer cottages rises significantly as the Education level increases. While the percentage of those who spend their annual leave or vacation in a hotel, a lodging house or summer cottage is 3%

among illiterate individuals or literate individuals with no schooling, this percentage rises to 44% among university graduates and graduate degree holders. Similarly, the percentage of those who report going to their hometowns for their annual leaves and vacations also rises with the education level. This finding is important as it shows that individuals with a relatively high education level work at jobs with a relatively higher economic returns and find the opportunity to travel during their annual leave and vacations (Table 229).

Another important finding is the fact that as the education level rises, the percentage of people who report spending their annual leave or vacations in the place they live decreases. It is important that there is a 10% difference between the highest education level and the lowest one. These data show that with the rise in education level, the chance of working at better jobs with social rights and better economic conditions also increases and this reflects on how annual leaves and vacations are spent.

Table 229. Annual Leaves and Vacations by Educational Status, TAYA 2006 (%)

	No schooling (Illiterate/literate individuals with no schooling)	Primary school	Elemen- tary/secon- dary school	High school/ equivalent	University (Undergraduate/ graduate)
I do not have such holidays	54.4	40.2	33.6	23.5	10.9
I go to a hotel, lodging house or summer cottage	2.8	8.1	18.3	27.1	44.3
I rest at the place where I live	31.6	30.9	28.5	26.0	20.2
I go to my hometown	9.1	18.3	16.2	20.1	21.8
I work at extra jobs	0.2	0.9	1.3	1.1	0.8
Other	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.8	0.7
I go to visit children, parents and relatives	1.2	1.0	1.7	1.4	1.3

Annual Leaves and Vacations by Marital Status

Another determinant factor on the subject of how annual leaves and vacations are spent is marital status. By marital status, one of the striking findings is that a significant 47% of widowed individuals report that they do not have annual leave or vacation time. Keeping the fact that 36% of widowed indi-

viduals relax at where they currently live in mind, it can be deduced that closer to 85% of widowed individuals do not have the means or the time to leave the city for their annual leave and vacations.

The percentage of individuals who report going to hotels, lodging houses or summer cottages is 20% among never married or divorced individuals which

is a high percentage compared to married (14%) and widowed individuals (6%). This data conflicts with the assumption that annual leaves and vacations are spent with the family. It is also important because it demonstrates that single and divorced individuals find the economic means and time to travel during their annual leaves and vacations (Table 230).

Another striking finding is that going to hometowns during annual leaves and vacations is high

with 19% among married individuals compared to other groups. Although the percentage of married individuals who either have no annual leave or vacation time, or spend their annual leave or vacations relaxing where they currently live is high at around 65%, only about 30% have the means to travel. Among those, the choice of going to their hometowns by three thirds of individuals is remarkable because it shows how important the family and ties with relatives are for these individuals.

Table 230. Annual Leave and Vacations by Marital Status, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Never married	Married	Divorced	Widowed
I do not have such holidays	31.8	36.7	34.6	46.8
I go to a hotel, lodging house or summer cottage	21.8	13.7	22.1	5.7
I rest at the place where I live	30.0	28.1	29.5	36.1
I go to my hometown	13.2	18.9	10.7	8.2
I work at extra jobs	0.8	0.9	1.1	0.2
Other	0.7	0.6	0.8	1.4
I go to visit children, parents and relatives	1.7	1.1	1.2	1.6

Annual Leaves and Vacations by Residence Area

There are important differences by how annual leaves of longer than a week and vacations are spent on the basis of urban and rural areas. While 51% of rural dwellers report they do not have the time for annual leaves or vacations, this percentage falls to 28% among individuals living in urban areas. This data creates the impression that rural dwellers predominantly work for family agriculture business or are unrecorded employees therefore they cannot access social rights while urban dwellers predominantly work in businesses that provide social security and social rights (Table 231).

On the other hand, while the percentage of urban dwellers who report going to hotels, lodging houses or summer cottages is 20%, this percentage falls to 7% for rural dwellers. Another important data is while 23% of individuals from urban areas report going to their hometowns for their annual leaves or vacations, this percentage is 6% in rural areas.

These findings are important as they show that the phenomenon of annual leaves and vacations, especially going to hotels, lodging houses or summer cottages is an urban and “modern” social activity which is not widespread among individuals from rural areas and that people in rural areas spend such times more traditionally by either staying in the same place or by being in close relationships with people in their close circle.

However, for this analysis to be more comprehensive, the question of where urban dwellers live in the city is very important. For instance, it is obvious that there is going to be important differences between the annual leave and vacation practices of individuals living in the outskirts of the city, in places where there is a predominant migrant population, those who live in shanty towns and relatively poorer neighborhoods of the city and individuals who live in relatively wealthier neighborhoods and city centers. It would be helpful for surveys that might be repeated in the future to include questions on this subject.

Tablo 231. Annual Leaves and Vacations by Residence Area, TAYA 2006 (%)

	Urban	Rural
I do not have such holidays	27.9	50.9
I go to a hotel, lodging house or summer cottage	19.7	6.7
I rest at the place where I live	26.4	33.4
I go to my hometown	23.3	6.3
I work at extra jobs	1.0	0.6
Other	0.6	0.7
I go to visit children, parents and relatives	1.1	1.3

9.4. Results and Social Policy Recommendations

The most important finding shown by the data discussed above is the fact that besides the income deficiency resulting from the inequality of primary income distribution, the disadvantaged sections of society face a serious social involvement problem. The social involvement of individuals coming from low socioeconomic levels, who have not adequately made use of educational opportunities, belonging to an advanced age group, living in underdeveloped regions or rural areas, and especially the women is very limited, thus bringing the problem of social exclusion emphasized in the introduction section of this study to the fore once more.

Social exclusion is a multi dimensional and multi-level process defined as the inability of individuals to experience the socially accepted involvement level. Social exclusion points to a process where “on the basis of poverty, lack of basic skills and continuous learning opportunities or as a result of discrimination, certain individuals are pushed outside of social life and cannot experience total involvement” (Eurostat, 2010: 7). It is strongly emphasized that this process distances individuals not only from work, income and educational opportunities, but also from decision making mechanisms, social activities and social networks thus alienating and weakening the individual to lose the ability to make his/her own decisions.

Another study that stresses the different dimensions of social exclusion such as economic, social, political, individual, spatial and group, states that economic

factors have a determining effect on social exclusion and that this is not only income poverty but also includes the dimension of being shut off from the labor market. However, the unraveling of the traditional household structure, the inadequacy of local services, the lost function of local social networks, barriers preventing involvement in social or volunteer activities are other dimensions as important as income poverty (Percy-Smith, 2000).

In summary, social exclusion is a dynamic and multi dimensional phenomenon that includes all the factors below:

- Income poverty
- Unemployment
- Access to services like education, information, child care and health
- Living conditions
- Social involvement

Among these dimensions, factors such as primarily social involvement, access to information and living conditions concerns the topic of this study and almost all of the factors examined above provide important findings on these dimensions. As a result, the topic of social activities in the family not only covers leisure time activities of individuals and their social relationships, but also going beyond all that, clearly offers findings on the deepening inequality and exclusion cycle.

It is a well known fact that in European Union and OECD countries, the most effective and preferred method in fighting social exclusion is directing indi-

viduals towards employment by “activation” policies or **active labor market measures** (Nilssen, 2009). In this respect, especially offering educational opportunities to increase the skill levels, knowledge and qualifications of individuals is important. Such policies not only raise the chances of individuals to find work or extend the scope of their economic resources, but also strengthen them socially, increases their social relationships and contacts and also helps to develop their sense of belonging. In this respect, there is a need for extending active labor market policies especially to cover disadvantaged individuals who are outside the labor market, lack adequate skill sets and coming from low socioeconomic status.

In addition, the necessary resources, rights and services need to be provided to ensure the complete involvement in social life of individuals coming from different sections of the society. Especially expanding care providing services is important for women who spend most of their time at home caring for children, the elderly and the disabled. These care giving responsibilities of women are among the major factors that tie women to the house and as seen from the many findings mentioned above, prevent the complete involvement of women in social life. Besides these, especially in neighborhoods in the outskirts of urban areas where the migrant population is concentrated, the problems of accessing services prevent social involvement to a great degree. The development of areas for cultural and sports activities and opportunities to socialize and the elimination of transportation problems are important factors to increase social involvement.

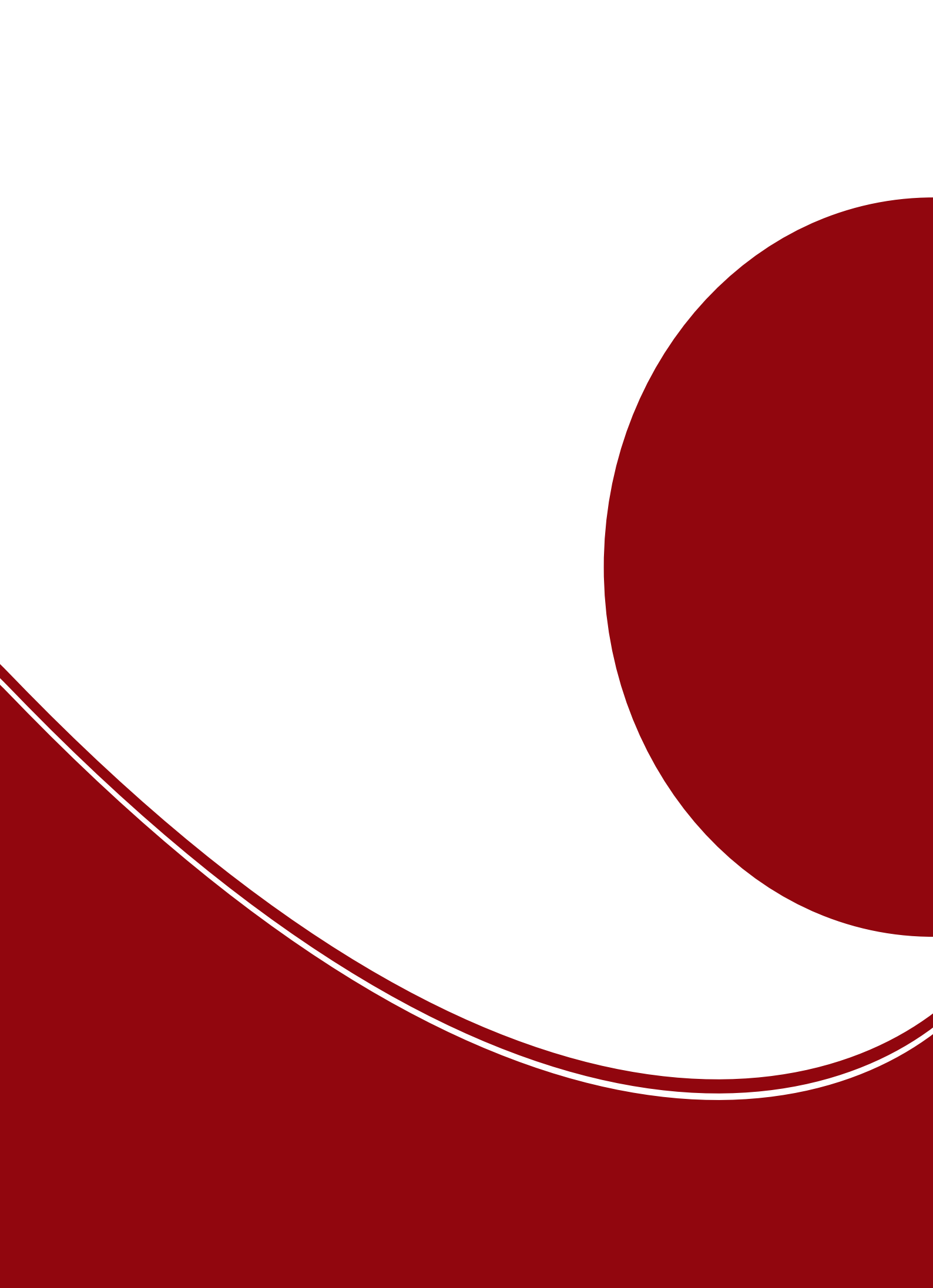
To break the cycle of poverty and social exclusion handed over from generation to generation, **integrated policies especially focused on children** need to be developed and policies to support the cognitive, emotional and social development, welfare level, education and health of children need to be concentrated on. Free and accessible playgrounds, daycare centers, study centers, social activity opportunities will not only help children to socialize and develop different areas of interest, but will also lighten the load of mothers and help them to get involved in economic and social life. Establishing such centers especially in the disadvantaged areas of large cities and make them accessible is another important matter.

Another important factor to increase social involvement is the development of projects and policies to facilitate **the involvement of individuals in local decisions** that will allow individuals to gather and perform socially minded activities and facilitate their integration with the society. The development of local social responsibility projects is especially important in this respect.

The last issue to point out is **providing coordination between social inclusion projects**, and making sure that all management levels and all actors contribute to these policies. It is very important that policies to fight social exclusion should not only serve to find employment for individuals or strengthening their economic means, but it should also have dimensions to increase their social involvement and help them to have a fully access to the existing services and opportunities.



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