

Understanding Turkish Family Through Turkish Family Surveys*

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Abstract: The family, an institution whose importance is recognized by all societies, is the first formation where people open their eyes to the world, learn about social life, recognize emotions and define themselves. The family establishes bonds between individuals, teaches social values and plays an essential role in transferring these values to the next generation. The impact of family dynamics on the formation of the social structure is quite strong and its change over time causes the social system to evolve. One of the main tools that reveal these dynamics is the research. Longitudinal studies are also important determinants in this sense. In this context, the state conducts many surveys every five years to understand the changes in family structure and social change in Türkiye. This study aims to reveal the changes in the family structure through questionnaires, the main source of which is the questions of the Turkish Family Structure Surveys, the first of which was conducted in 1988, the second of which was conducted nearly 20 years later in 2006, and repeated respectively in 2011, 2016 and 2021.

Keywords: Family, Turkish Family Structure, Turkish Family Structure Survey, Social Change

Özet: Önemi tüm toplumlar tarafından kabul edilen bir kurum olan aile, insanın dünyaya gözlerini açtığı, sosyal hayatı öğrendiği, duyguları tanıdığı ve kendini tanımladığı ilk oluşumdur. Aile, bireyler arasında bağ kurar, toplumsal değerleri öğretir ve bu değerlerin bir sonraki nesle aktarılmasında önemli bir rol oynar. Aile dinamiklerinin toplumsal yapının oluşumundaki etkisi oldukça güçlüdür ve zaman içindeki değişimi toplumsal sistemin evrilmesine neden olur. Bu dinamikleri ortaya çıkaran temel araçlardan biri de araştırmalardır. Boylamsal çalışmalar da bu anlamda önemli bir belirleyicidir. Bu bağlamda devlet, Türkiye’de aile yapısındaki değişimleri ve toplumsal değişimi anlamak için her beş yılda bir çok araştırma yapmaktadır. Bu çalışma, ilki 1988 yılında, ikincisi yaklaşık 20 yıl sonra 2006 yılında yapılan ve sırasıyla 2011, 2016 ve 2021 yıllarında tekrarlanan Türk Aile Yapısı Araştırmalarının soruları temel kaynak olmak üzere, anketler aracılığıyla aile yapısındaki değişimleri ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aile, Türk Aile Yapısı, Türk Aile Yapısı Araştırması, Sosyal Değişim

* This study is a summary of the master’s thesis accepted at Marmara University Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Sociology.

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Aracı, E. (2024). Understanding Turkish family through Turkish family surveys. *Güncel Sosyoloji*, 2(2), 23–41.

guncelsosyoloji.com

Başvuru: 16.11.2024
Revizyon: 21.12.2024
Kabul: 20.01.2025
Online Basım: 31.01.2025

Introduction

The family is the most fundamental building block of society and it plays an essential role in shaping society. Changes in the basic structure lead changes in the rest of the systems. In this context, changes in the family structure also cause changes and reshapes the society. The tremendous impact of change on society gives rise to increased interest in the subject that causes change. The issue of family is an important area of discussion for policymakers and society due to its effects. To this end, there must be accurate information to have a healthy debate in that regard.

The family is a subject that needs to be studied in detail, and scientific information needs to be collected on it. Due to the inclusive nature of the family, the data collected in such studies also provides insight into many sub-headings such as women, children, demographic structure, family relations, economic structure, religious beliefs, social life, and social values. Studies on the family continue to increase in Türkiye and worldwide. By discussing the data obtained, it is necessary to make arrangements in line with society's needs, produce policies, and eliminate relevant problems.

Although the family in Turkish society is generally seen as value-based, it is also a part of economic, cultural, political, and demographic change. Society is changing, and along with this change, the family structure is also changing too. Changing modes of production, differentiation of employment conditions, widespread participation in education, and women's participation in working life affect the family structure. In line with these interactions, research on issues such as family, women, youth, marriage, divorce, fertility, and population is being conducted in Türkiye. In that regard, Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies (HUNEE) has been regularly researching issues like population and health every five years since 1968. Since these studies focused more on fertility and health issues, HUNEE's studies were not included in this study, as my research focus was on the family.

Field studies conducted by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) have also played an essential role in identifying problems. Reflections on the family are driven mainly by individuals, universities, or private institutions. The state carried out studies on the family under the Prime Ministry, but it seems that there is no separate institution was working on the family. In 1989, with the establishment of the Family Research Council, studies on the family in Türkiye became official. The establishment of institutions related to the family and the subsequent establishment of ministries show that the importance given to the family has gradually increased.

The second Turkish Family Structure Survey, the first of which conducted by the government in 1988 and the results published in 1992, was conducted in 2006. Since then, it has continued to be performed regularly every five years. Although these studies fill the lack

of research in the field, the data obtained in such research have not been discussed sufficiently. To overcome this deficiency, we will try to discuss the data obtained from family structure surveys. The main subject of our research is to understand the Turkish family through the Turkish family structure surveys. This research will focus only on family structure research conducted by the state and public institutions. Besides, this study aims to understand the changes in the Turkish family structure through the questions applied in the surveys. At the same time, it will also try to find out what kind of data on the family is created by the state. Moreover, an answer to how family research has changed in 50 years will be sought in this context. In Türkiye, there are six studies on family structure, five of which were conducted by the state and one by Serim Timur. These five studies and their research questions will be the leading sources for understanding the Turkish family.

Concepts and Definitions in Family Studies

One of the most significant institutions in the world is the family. The family is one of the cultural elements that each community holds precious. It is an institution practically recognized by all societies as a unit. People can join groups to which they feel a sense of affinity and family can be seen as one of these groups. These groups help individuals maintain their entities. Furthermore, the family is an institution that ensures the continuation of the community, the formation of identities, personalities of individuals.

Moreover, family is the most powerful and dynamic institution of a society for maintaining cultural history and traditions, along with socialization. In that regard, Özkalp (1995, p. 88- 89) says that socialization institutions are the most important organizations which are responsible for cultural transmission of the society and families, friend groups, teachers and mass communication are the most important among these institutions. It aids in passing on culture and customs from one generation to the next. Families share their knowledge with the next generation to make them better. They pay regard to this transfer of experience to convey not just their professional and social experiences, but also their own cultural and traditional practices so that future generations would not lose their sense of self. Özkalp (1995, p. 89) adds that the child also internalizes culture in accordance with the diverse parental expectations and the foundation for the child's future growth is laid by these early lessons therefore many mothers and fathers teach their kids the skills they will need to succeed or how to become skilled developers.

Family is a universal term and occurs in practically all societies. Although every culture depends on the family, the definition of family varies greatly across all human groups. The roles that families play and what they mean vary depending on the society. As an illustration of such differences, the terms family of modern societies and family of traditional societies could be considered. The formations and members of the family change in modern

and traditional societies. Therefore, it can be seen that these changes affect the relationships between spouses.

Henslin (2014, p. 368) describes the family as two or more people who consider themselves related by blood, marriage, or adoption. To this end, at least two persons are needed to form a family by blood, marriage, or adoption. Besides, Bozkurt (2004, p. 260) explains family in general meaning as a social unit related by blood, marriage, and adoption and usually sharing a common space. Whereas common elements like blood, marriage, and adoption are essential in Bozkurt and Henslin's definitions, Bozkurt also includes sharing a common place. Aysan (2020, p. 8) defines family as at least two socially and legally recognized individuals who feel economic and emotional responsibility for each other. The family, therefore, regulates not only the emotional relations between its members but also economic relations and the transmission of wealth.

The earliest and most crucial institution for socializing, communication with others, language acquisition, and the development of social and emotional skills is the family. The time spent together, the interactions, the communication, and the routines of daily life are the concepts helping to define what family is. Chambers (2001, p. 165) explains that the family is a site of struggle over cultural values, ideals, and morality, and between tradition and modernity. The best way to pass anything down from one generation to the next is realized through family. Children gain communication skills, empathy, sharing, and socializing within the family. They pick things up quickly and similarly and take everything like cameras do.

Making a distinction between societies as traditional and modern is a tendency. From this classification, a family can be divided into the traditional extended family and nuclear family in general. Kongar (1986, p. 26) explains that sociological studies on the family are based on two basic family categories: nuclear family and traditional extended family. Although there are many types of families, this chapter will examine family types in size.

Marshall (1994, p. 173) explains that an extended family refers to a family system in which several generations live in one household. Henslin (2014, p. 368) describes a family in which relatives, such as the older generation or unmarried aunts and uncles, live with the parents and their children. Therefore, cousins, uncles, and aunts are considered as members of the same family. Yıldırım (2011, p. 73) argues that kinship ties are utilized with a strong cooperation and solidarity environment. Kinship relations are strong and closely related to customs and traditions and family members are close to each other. The family is viewed as being based on maternal kinship in some countries and on paternal kinship in others. In addition, the most important thing is the family rather than the people. People are ranked second. The eldest person of the family is the head of the family and has the responsibility of managing the family. The extended family functions as a company or economic unit. Here, there is coownership. Yasa (1991, p. 198) highlights that the property is owned collectively

by the family members, not by a single person and Gokçe (1976, p. 60) notes this is a family type seen in underdeveloped and agricultural societies.

The nuclear family is a family type that most of us living in modern societies and it is common in industrial societies. The nuclear family type appears to have existed in industrial societies, but it was also present in traditional societies and Timur (1972, p. 31) adds that the nuclear family is seen as a dominant family structure in both urban and rural areas. Bilton, et al. (1996, p. 481) points out that the conventional household unit in modern society is composed of a man and woman in a stable marital relationship with their dependent children. The fact that the nuclear family consists of only two generations shows that this family has a limited development tendency.

Looking at the family cycle that starts with marriage, we think of having children, children getting married and leaving home, parents growing old together, and ending with the death of one of the spouses. The cycle continues this way for some families; but for others, it does not. The divorce of married couples leads to broken families. We can also include single-parent families in this group. While divorce is not an ordinary act, it has become more visible over time, especially in modern societies. While divorce was viewed as a social shame, its reflection in society has changed over time. Henslin (2014, p. 15) states that as divorce became more visible, its meaning changed from a symbol of failure to the beginning of freedom and a new life. In that regard, it could be argued that social change affects the increasing tendency towards divorce. It can be said that divorce procedures are now more accessible, divorce is accepted by society, and women have gained economic freedom by being a part of working life.

Each society has a unique culture and set of values. These cultures and values affect social norms and shape social, and cultural life. Marriage, marital customs, family life, and the age of marriage vary by society. This demonstrates how cultural norms shift from one society to another and how this impacts social interactions. However, some dimensions continue to maintain the same characteristics. In every society, we can see different types of marriages. Marriages vary according to domestic domination, the number of spouses, chosen group, residence, and kinship relations. This variation does not allow for the creation of a general meaning of marriage. Types of marriage can be listed as follow:

- According to domestic domination – patriarchal, matriarchal, egalitarian
- By number of spouses – monogamy, polygamy
- According to the group for which it is chosen - exogamy, endogamy
- By type of residence – patrilocality, matrilocality, ambilocal, neolocality, avunculocal

- By kinship relations – patrilineal, matrilineal, bilineal
- Family Research in The World

The family is the place where the cultural and social values of a society are transferred from generation to generation. The family is a formation that will ensure the continuity of the society with the values to be preserved and transferred to the next generations. Although it is thought that family has become a different and more complex structure day by day, the family maintains its value today. The family has also had to face some problems over time and societies have begun to seek solutions to overcome these problems. The best solution comes with an in-depth analysis of the problem itself. From this perspective; governments, researchers, NGOs, and universities conduct research on family and organize symposiums, congresses, and programs. In this section, information about the organizations and government institutions doing research on families in different countries of the world and supporting such research will be presented.

RAND Corporation is an independent, nonprofit and global organization established in 1948 after World War II to connect military planning with research. World War II showed the importance of technology and also provided a different perspective from military to academic, and scientific research. Therefore, research becomes important to achieve success. RAND Corporation's aim is to develop solutions to challenges and do research on public policies to make the world a safer place. It does conduct research and analysis on children, families, communities, cyber and data sciences, health, education, literature, security, international affairs, and so on. This corporation conducted family life and health surveys in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Guatemala. Although these studies are not supported anymore, they have contributed to the formation of many studies with the data obtained and help to develop policies in countries.

The Office for National Statistics is a national statistical institute located in the UK. ONS is the biggest official statistics provider of the UK. The society, population, and economy at the municipal, state, and federal levels can be regarded as topics of collecting data of ONS. It is the only institution that gathers statistics in the government. Its main responsibilities are to collect and analyze statistics and give methodological guidance about the UK's society, economy, and population (<https://www.ons.gov.uk/aboutus>). ONS conducts a census every ten years since 1921 and gives information about people in England and Wales. The ONS produces numerous surveys on the family, economy, household, living standards, and employment in addition to performing censuses. The ONS carries out research like the Family Resource Survey, the Labour Force Survey, and Understanding Society.

The Survey Center on American Life is founded by the American Enterprise Institute. It is a nonprofit, objective organization. It is an organization to understand cultural, te-

chnological, and political changes in American society. The Center performs unique survey research with a focus on important topics in public and private life in America that are not frequently covered in public polls. Its mission is to conduct unbiased research, provide critical analysis, and promote more reflective conversation and beneficial contacts among political leaders (<https://www.americansurveycenter.org/about-the-center/>). Center studies on politics and elections, culture and religion, health, science and technology, community and civic life, family, relationships, and social life. The Survey Center of American Life conducted the surveys named American Perspective Survey and American National Life Survey.

Generations and Gender Programme began to carry on the activities under the roof of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) in 2000. The program carries out academic and policy-related research on population and family. From 2000 to the present, GGP included over 30 countries for research. The GGP conducts programs for scientific research and it aims to collect data on population and family change, social roles, and relationships between people. This survey is longitudinal and applies information on the same person for three years.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention is one of the main strategic units of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Its mission is to protect America's people from any threats. These threats can be both domestically and abroad therefore CDC works for protection of people from health, security danger. CDC is the top science-based, data-driven service institution in the country for safeguarding the public's health and does research to help families, children, communities stay healthy and protect the society (<https://www.cdc.gov/about/>).

Family Research in Türkiye

There are some resource inadequacies in Turkish family structure research and this is obvious especially while looking at research from past to present. There is an effect of an absence of written culture. Written culture comes to Turks lately and this causes the absence of some information about the past. With the later periods of written culture, new Turkish sources occurred like monographic, travel books, and memories. When we come to the present, there are Turkish family structure surveys conducted by the ministry and they are carried out regularly every 5 years.

It can be seen that the topic of family has begun to be searched in Türkiye from the 1950s. The social structure, which started to change with the effect of migration, urbanization, and industrialization, has led to the emergence of new problems over time. To investigate these problems and find solutions, it is necessary to read the social transformation well. In these years, we see that the family gained momentum among the research subjects and that

important names such as Serim Timur, Emre Kongar, İbrahim Yasa, Mubecel Kıray had essential studies. Their studies, articles, and surveys offered an insight into family research. Serim Timur's Turkish family structure study in 1972 was accepted as the first family study in Türkiye. It is important to see how society and family structure changed over 50 years and give a chance to compare changes.

Family studies regarding a society sheds light on the past, present, and future of societies. In Türkiye, studies on the subject of the family have diversified with the transformation of society over time. While the writers such as Ziya Gökalp and Prince Sabahattin attributed importance to the family, they also pioneered other studies. Ziyaeddin Fahri Findikoglu's article '*Family İjtimaiyati in Turks*' in 1936, Hilmi Ziya Ulken's article titled '*Family*' written in 1943, Kemal Karpat's article titled '*Statist and Individualist View in the Family*' written in 1945 show that scholars and writers have started to contribute to family literature.

The article '*Taygeldi Family*' by İbrahim Yasa in 1962 brought a new concept to the literature. Yasa used the expression *taygeldi family* for the family type formed by the marriage of widows with children of the same sex. The derivation of new concepts shows that the studies on the family issue are deepening. Again, the article '*Squatter family*', written by Yasa in 1970, explains a new family typology that emerged during the transition from village to city. '*Türkiye's Social Structure and Its Basic Problems*', written in 1970 by İbrahim Yasa, dealt with Türkiye's problems and researched to find solutions, starting from carefully examining the social structure for the resolution of a country's fundamental issues. Suppose we include the article '*The Fate of Marriage and the Institution of the Extended Family*' written in 1973.

In addition to the works of İbrahim Yasa in the 1970s, the study *Family Structure in Türkiye* by Serim Timur in 1972, *A Study on Family and Family Types* by Birsen Gökçe in 1976, and *A Sociological Approach to the Institution of Marriage* in 1978, *Turkish Family* by Mehmet Eroöz in 1977 and the *Urban Family in İzmir* by Emre Kongar in 1972 can be listed. In these years, we see that the number of studies on the family issue has increased. *Change and Continuity in Family Structure: A Comparative Approach*, by Deniz Kandiyoti in 1984, *The Social Structure of Türkiye from the Empire to the Present*, by Emre Kongar in 1985, Birsen Gökçe's *Transformation of Traditional Solidarity Between Families in Slums to Contemporary Organizations* in 1993 can be listed as prominent works.

With the establishment of the Family Research Institute in the 1990s, we see that ongoing research, generally with universities and individual studies, has also started to be done through the state. The Family Research Institute founded in 1989 has contributed to the field with studies such as *Family Writings*, *Turkish Family Encyclopedia*, *Turkish Family Bibliography*, and *Turkish Family Yearbook*. With the establishment of the Ministry of Family, studies were carried out in line with the needs of the society, policies were produced with the data obtained, and the living standards of the society were tried to be improved. In 1968,

the first family structure study was carried out under the name *Turkish Family Structure and Population Problems*, and 20 years later, in 1988, the second study was carried out under the name *Turkish Family Structure*. Starting from 2006, it continued with the *Turkish Family Structure Surveys*, which are repeated every five years.

Turkish Family Structure Surveys

In Türkiye, there are six important research for understanding the Turkish family structure. The first one -conducted by Serim Timur in 1968- is a general survey implemented to understand the changes in Turkish family structure. The second study was carried out after 20 years by the State Planning Organization (DPT) in 1988. This study evaluates the data conducted in 1987. The third study was completed by the General Directorate of Family and Social Research in 2006. It is accepted as the beginning of the regular family structure study after DPT's study in 1988. The fourth, fifth, and sixth surveys were conducted by the General Directorate of Family and Social Services in 2011, 2016, and 2021 respectively. In this part, all of these surveys' questions will be analyzed in terms of changing the family structure.

Family Structure in Türkiye was published in 1972; however, the data used in this study were obtained from a comprehensive field research on family structure, population movements, and social structure in Türkiye. This research was carried out by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies (HUNEE) in 1968. The aim of the research is to explain the family structure in Türkiye and the family relationship system. It was the first large-scale family survey conducted nationwide in Türkiye. In this study, the family was not examined as an independent institution on its own; but analyzed within the socio-economic structure in connection with the formations in villages, towns, and cities.

Turkish Family Structure Survey (TAYA) 2006 was accepted as the beginning of the regular family structure study after DPT's study in 1988. From this date, Turkish Family Structure Survey has been repeated every 5 years. The aim of TAYA is to determine the family structure in Türkiye, the lifestyles of individuals in the family environment and their value judgments regarding family life. This research revealed the current situation of families in Türkiye and to collect information about household characteristics, marriage, family relations, kinship relations, values in children, the elderly and other social issues and family problems, to analyze them in terms of various variables and to obtain data that will allow them to determine their changes over time.

The second regular TAYA was conducted in 2011. TAYA explained that the research design of the survey was made by ASAGEM and its sample design was selected by TUIK and its field application was conducted by Ankara Social Research Center (ANAR). TAYA

2016 (2019, p. 4) points out that the Turkish Family Structure Survey was conducted by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) with the cooperation of the General Directorate of Family and Social Services under the Ministry of Family and Social Policies in 2011. TAYA 2021 was made by the TUIK with the cooperation of the General Directorate of Family and Social Services under the Ministry of Family and Social Services in 2021.

Comparison of Survey Questions

As explained before, there are six important family structure surveys in the history of Türkiye and these were conducted in 1968, 1988, 2006, 2011, 2016 and 2021. Over the years, some of the survey questions have changed and some have remained the same. In this study, the questions that have changed and those having not changed will be discussed. Since the questions of the research carried out in 1968 are inaccessible, the survey studies carried out in other years will be evaluated in this section.

When it comes to the studies conducted across the country, we see the lowest date rate in 1968. The survey was conducted with 4,500 households by preparing different questionnaires for men and women. In the studies conducted in 1988, 2006, and 2011; individuals aged 18 and over were included. In 2016 and 2021, individuals aged 15 and over were included in the sample.

Table 1: Sample Size of Surveys

Year	Household	Individual
1968	4,500	–
1988	18,210	18,210
2006	12,208	48,235
2011	12,056	44,117
2016	17,239	35,475
2021	22,780	42,046

In the surveys, there are sections consisting of questions about household members, households and individuals. Some of these questions have been changed, some have been omitted, and some have been reused. We tried to examine the prominent questions that were similar and different in these sections. Since the survey questions are divided into household members, household, and individual lists; we will compare the questions in this way.

There are five questions common every year; they are about gender, age, education status, marital status and proximity to the head of household. Household membership was common from 2006 to 2021. Birthplace information was added in 2011, 2016 and 2021 surveys and health coverage questions were common in 1988, 2011 and 2016. When it comes to the education status parts, questions about literacy and the degree of education were asked in 1988. In other years, the individual's last completed school, level of literacy, and the cause for any educational gaps were all featured in surveys. For kids between the ages of 3 and 6, only questions pertaining to kindergarten were asked in 2011. Within the health coverage, information about whether people are registered with any social security institution was collected.

Table 2: Common and Different Questions of the Household Member List

	1988	2006	2011	2016	2021
Common	1.Gender 2.Age 3.Education Status 4.Marital Status 5.Proximity to Head of Household 6.Health Coverage	1.Gender 2.Age 3.Education Status 4.Marital Status 5.Proximity toHead of Household 6.Household Membership	1.Gender 2.Age 3.Education Status 4.Marital Status 5.Proximity toHead of Household 6.Household Membership 7.Birth Place 8.Health Coverage	1.Gender 2.Age 3.Education Status 4.Marital Status 5.Proximity toHead of Household 6.Household Membership 7.Birth Place 8.Health Coverage	1.Gender 2.Age 3.Education Status 4.Marital Status 5.Proximity toHead of Household 6.Household Membership 7.Birth Place
Different	1.Occupation 2.Aband	1.Health Questions	1.Occupation	1.Childcare 2.Health Questions	1.Date of Birth 2.Domestic Relations 3.Health 4.Care 5.Disability

We would like to elaborate on the question of marital status, which comes to the fore after the discussion of common and different questions. As shown in Table 2; marital status consisted of 5 categories in 1988, consisted of 6 categories in 2006, 5 again in 2011, 8 in 2016 and 9 in 2021. In 1988, the categories were as follows: never married, married, spouse died, divorced, and living separately. While cohabitation was added to these categories in 2006, the category of living separately was changed to married but

living separately. It is also seen that new concepts such as cohabitation are included in the research questions to define marital status with social change.

Table 3: Marital Status

	1988	2006	2011	2016	2021
Marital Status	1.Never Married 2.Married 3.Spouse Died 4.Divorced 5.Living Separately	1.Never Married 2.Married 3.Cohabit 4.Married but Living Separately 5.Divorced 6.Spouse Died	1.Never Married 2.Married 3.Living Separately 4.Spouse Died 5.Divorced	1.Never Married 2.Married, Civil Marriage 3.Married, Religious Marriage 4.Married, Living Separately 5.Cohabit 6.Divorced 7.Spouse Died 8.Unknown	1.Never Married 2.Married, Civil Marriage 3.Married, Religious Marriage 4.Married, Living Separately 5.Cohabit 6.Married, both Religious and Civil Marriage 7.Divorced 8.Spouse Died 9.Unknown

Household Question Form

In the second part of the questionnaires, questions about households were asked. This section will be analyzed under three subheadings due to the different number of questions applied in the surveys and the stylistic differences seen over the years. Similar or identical questions in the surveys will be presented under the headings of housing characteristics, income/savings/debt, household relations/job sharing/decision-making mechanism. Since the 1988 questionnaire consisted of questions on personal characteristics and questions on the head of household and households, the questions of this year will be grouped with questions similar to those applied in other years. In 2006, 18 questions were asked about households, 26 questions in 2011, 33 questions in 2016, and 27 questions in 2021.

When we analyze the questions under the heading of housing characteristics, it could be observed that the only common question in all five surveys is the ownership of the residence. Questions regarding the type of residence, number of rooms including the living room, and heating system were included in the surveys conducted in other years except 1988.

Under the heading of income, savings, and debt; questions were about the economic situation of the household, households' ownership of goods, meeting basic needs and ownership of the real estate, the status of receiving assistance, and the institutions and persons they receive assistance from, borrowing or credit and savings behaviors. In order to analyze the economic means of households, households were asked about their possessions. Possessions were included in all surveys except 2006. This question asked to determine the household's welfare level also offers the opportunity to compare the items used when electrical products were becoming widespread in the country with the new items produced with the advancement of technology.

Under the section of intra-household relations, work sharing, and decision-making; questions were asked to obtain information on the times when household members come together, the activities they do together, the people responsible for household chores, the elderly, disabled and sick in need of care, and the decision-makers in the household.

Table 4: Frequency of Household Gathering

1992	2006	2011	2016	2021
At night, after dinner	1.At breakfast	1.At breakfast	1.Weekday breakfast	1.Weekday breakfast
In the evening	2.At dinner	2.At dinner	2.Weekday lunch	2.Weekday lunch
3.At the dinner table	3.On weekends	3.On weekends	3.Weekday dinner	3.Weekday dinner
4.On holidays			4.Weekend breakfast	4.Weekend breakfast
5.Usually don't have a family chat tradition			5.Weekend lunch	5.Weekend lunch
6.Don't have timeto have a family chat			6.Weekend dinner	6.Weekend dinner
7.Other			7.Worship	7.Worship

Table 4 shows the periods in which household members come together. In 1988, the question was asked in a more irregular time frame; but in 2006 and 2011, it was divided into specific periods like breakfast, lunch, and weekends. In 2016, it was divided into breakfast, lunch, and dinner into weekdays and weekends, and in 2021 a prayer option was added too. Atalay, et al. (1992) indicate that the most common conversation time was after dinner, at 68,3% (p.167) in 1988. As stated in TAYA (2006, p. 74), the most common time for family members to get together is weekends at 90,2%, followed by dinners at 88,8% and breakfast at 73,4%. When we look at 2011 data, it could be seen that the most frequent gathering time is dinner with a rate of 81,2%. The next most

frequent time to get together is at the weekend with 79,5%, and at breakfast, with 64,4%. In 2016, responses were divided into two groups as weekdays and weekends. On weekdays, dinners are the most common time to get together regularly with 78,2%. Breakfast is second with 43,4%, and lunch is the least common time with 26,8%. At the end of the week, the order remains unchanged and it is as follows: dinner, breakfast, and lunch. The percentages are 83,1%, 72,2% and 57,3% respectively. In 2021, the regular gathering times were dinner, breakfast, and lunch on weekdays and weekends in the same order. While the weekday percentages are 77,1%, 45,0% and 31,4%; the weekend percentages are 81,9%, 70,1% and 59,9% respectively. Considering all data, it is seen that dinner is the most common and regular time for Turkish people to get together. Based on these results, it could be concluded that the culture of family members sitting together at the same table continues.

Table 5: Social Activity with Households

	1988	2006	2011	2016	2021
Common	1.Watching TV at home 2.Going out to dinner 3.Visiting neighbors 4.Visiting relatives 5.Doing sports	1.Going out to dinner 2.Visiting neighbors 3.Visiting relatives 4.Visiting friends/family 5.Going on a picnic 6.Going to the movies/theaters 7.Going shopping	1.Watching TV 2.Going out to dinner 3.Visiting relatives/neighbors/friends 4.Going on a picnic 5.Going to the movies/theaters 6.Going shopping 7.Going on a vacation	1.Watching TV 2.Going out to dinner 3.Visiting neighbors 4.Visiting relatives 5.Visiting friends 6.Going on a picnic 7.Going to the movies 8.Going to the theaters 9.Going shopping 10.Going on a vacation	1.Watching TV 2.Going out to dinner 3.Visiting neighbors 4.Visiting relatives 5.Visiting friends 6.Doing sports 7.Going on a picnic 8..Going to the movies 9.Going to the cultural events (theater, concert, museum, exhibition, etc) 10.Going shopping 11.Going on a vacation

Different	1.Chatting at home 2.Playing oral games 3.Bringing all by preparing meal 4.Listening to musical instruments 5.Singing songs				1.Participating in voluntary non- governmental activities 2.Playing digital games (on the computer, phone or game consoles)
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The social and cultural activities that household members do together are essential for us to know about the relationships between individuals, their lifestyles, and the things they attach importance to doing together. Looking at the 1988 data, watching television together at home is the most common activity with 71,4%. In 2006, the most common activity carried out together was visiting relatives with 24,9%. In 2011, watching television together ranked first with 59,6%. Since the results of the 2021 question were not available, no comparison could be made in that regard. Considering the activities carried out, it could be argued that watching TV together ranks first. The most common time to get together is dinner because of the tradition of family members spending their evenings together. Spending time together and sharing what happened during the day also strengthens the relationships between family members.

Individual Question Form

In the third part of the questionnaires, questions about individuals were asked. The individual questionnaire will be analyzed under the following subheadings: demographic information, marriage, children, divorce, social perceptions, family/kinship relations, beliefs, social life, habits, and old age. In 2006, 84 questions were asked about the individual, 85 questions in 2011, 93 questions in 2016, and 114 questions in 2021.

Under the heading of demographic information, all surveys asked for the name of the place of residence, the number of years of residency, how the place of residence was defined as a province, district, village, or parish; whether the respondent comes from a different region, which area and from where.

When it comes to the questions on marriage, it is observed that the questions on the appropriate age for marriage, the type of marriage, the age of first marriage, the number of

marriage, bride price, disagreement with the decision of the spouse, whether there is a kinship between the spouses, and children marrying relatives are common in every year. Only in 2021, instead of asking about the type of marriage as a separate question, it was asked as part of the ceremonies performed during marriage.

In 1988, in addition to the common questions on marriage, different questions were asked in other years. Questions on why marriage is necessary, the essential condition for a happy family home, and the financial and educational status of the couple were added. In 2006, questions were added on the status of marriage, the way of meeting, the ceremonies performed during the marriage process, the hometown between the spouses, whether or not the union of close relatives is appropriate, the most important reason for marriage of close relatives, the importance of the characteristics of the person to be married, the issues that cause problems between the spouses and the reaction of the spouses to the issues that cannot be solved by talking. In 2011, in addition to the questions asked in 2006, questions about who or where the spouses think to get support from when they have problems, the importance of social and personal characteristics in the person to be married, and the importance of children out of wedlock, unmarried unions, the marriage of people of different religions and nationalities, and sectarian differences were added. In 2016, the question “Do you plan to get married?” was added. Finally, when we look at 2021, it seems that questions about whether the spouses had met before marriage, how long they had known each other, and what was the most compelling reason for not considering marriage were asked.

Following the section on marriage, it is seen that the questions asked in the surveys have become more detailed regarding the questions on children. In 1988, the questions about children were more detailed than other years. This year, questions about the child’s education, future, and marriage rather than the child’s relations within the family were asked. General questions such as how many children a family should have at most, the reason for this if there are more children, and if you had only one child, would you want a boy or a girl were asked. Questions about the issues the child has a different opinion on and how they ask for what they want were also asked.

In 2006 and other years, the common questions were about the number of children, how many children would be desired if the conditions were favorable, agreement or disagreement with children, the problems children have with parents, punishments given to children, and recommendations for people who cannot have children medically. In 2006, questions about foster care were asked for the first time. Those who wanted to become foster parents were asked under what conditions, and those who did not want to do so were asked why. In 2011, the questions on foster care were removed and replaced with a question on whether there were any adopted children and whether the adopted or registered child was a relative. In 2016, the question “Would you like to be a foster parent” was added again. Par-

ticipants were also asked whether they would consider getting help from someone or where to get it in case of a problem with children. In 2021, the question on foster care was removed, and the respondents were asked whether they had adopted children or not. In previous years, there was a question about the punishment given to children, but a question about the reward was added. Newly added questions include whether there is a daycare center in the institution where the respondents work and, if so, whether they benefit from this support. In addition, those who do not have children were asked about their reasons for not having children.

Under the heading of divorce, it was aimed to learn the reasons for divorce and the grounds that may lead to divorce. Questions show that only one question on divorce was asked in 1988. Information was collected on the most important reasons for divorce. In 2006 and 2011, a single definite reason for divorce and questions on the most important reason for divorce were added. In 2016 and 2021, it is seen that the questions on divorce are more detailed.

The question asked under the heading of social perceptions is related to women's work. Following the social perceptions on women's employment, another question that stands out is about the people living together without getting married and having children out of wedlock.

Besides, participants were asked about their relations with family members and close relatives in the section on family and kinship relations. They were asked about their distance from their close relatives, how often they meet, whether they visit their family members and close relatives on special occasions and whether they receive gifts.

When it comes to the questions gathered under the heading of belief, social life, and habits; it is seen that in 1988, only one question was asked about giving religious information to children. In other years, questions about how the respondent defines themselves regarding religious belief, to what extent it is determinative in the issues mentioned, and where the respondent learns spiritual information from the most were asked. In addition, participants were asked how often they engage in social activities. Each year, there were questions on television viewing habits.

In the section related to old age, the questions on staying in the same house with children and its reasons, staying in separate places with children and its reasons, and the frequency of children's visits to their parents were asked in all surveys.

Conclusion

Family dynamics have a crucial role in forming the social structure, and their change over time causes the social system to change. One of the essential tools that make these dynamics evident is research. This study is aimed to reveal the changes in the family structure through the surveys applied within the scope of family structure research. *The Turkish Family Structure Survey*, conducted in 1988, is the first family survey conducted by the State. Twenty years later, a field study was conducted due to the lack of a reliable source reflecting family structure of Türkiye. Comparisons with the surveys conducted in 2006, 2011, 2016, and 2021 were challenging in some aspects. Although there are common questions in each study, the questions asked have changed with social change. As society changes, the family changes, and as the family changes, the questions asked to understand the family change too. 1988 data demonstrate that social change is mainly tried to be understood through intra-family relations, social relations, social attitudes, behaviors, and family expectations.

In 2006, it is seen that there are questions that show the impact of social change on families under each heading. The social assistance questions also indicate an increase in the opportunities provided by the state to the family. The emphasis on foster care can also be read as a reflection of the importance of the family environment for children. It is observed that the marriage questions were further elaborated in 2011. In 2016, the central questions were on disputes, rewards, and punishments, and it could be argued that the state understands the problems experienced within the family and tries to find solutions. In 2021, the questions were more about divorce and child services utilized in the workplace. From this point of view, it could be noted that with the increase in divorce rates, the reasons for divorce are tried to be understood in detail.

The answers to the questions show that the impact of social change on traditions and customs is not very high. The high rates of both religious and civil marriages, the high rates of practicing marriage ceremonies, and the fact that visits to relatives are mostly made during sick visits, condolences, weddings, and religious holidays can be accepted as the indicators of the continuation of traditions and customs. The fact that the most common activity with family members is watching television together and the most common time to get together is dinner shows that the culture of gathering around the same table continues.

In addition, it can be discussed whether political issues can be emphasized through questions. We cannot understand the transformation of politics and how this transformation affects questions just by looking at questions. In that regard, further research is required, and interviews are needed for this purpose. More could be highlighted about the discussion of politics through interviews. Since this study focuses on family structure research, it does not go into detail on the political issue.

As cultural codes change in society, attitudes and behaviors change too. The most important way to understand these changes is to ask the right question. Looking at the questions in general, it is seen that the effects of social change have been reflected in the questions over the years. Research on the family structure is an essential source for reading about the transformation in Türkiye. Their results provide the state with reliable data to formulate policies on the family and understand the problems' source. Furthermore, surveys are conducted regularly and enable the transformation to be seen more clearly. TAYA data sets are essential sources for understanding the differentiations in family structure. The data obtained is vital for analyzing not only the present but also the future. A detailed analysis of these sources may also solve many unidentified problems.

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