

ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WOMEN'S MODERNITY LEVEL AND WOMEN'S ATTITUDES, BELIEFS AND VALUES ABOUT INTRA-HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS

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Main objective of this study is to examine the relationship between the women's modernity level and women's attitudes, beliefs and values within the family dynamics. The data used in this study comes from the 1993 Turkish Demographic and Health Survey which was conducted by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies. Results show that Turkish family has duofocal structure in nature in terms of sex differentiation in division of labor in intra-familial relations. But not surprisingly, segregated role sharing between man and women tends to be changed, when the modernity level of women changes. Findings of the study point out that traditional women have no more fatalist view than modern women, when they declare their opinions about propositions related to gender issues. It is concluded that changing structure of the family in Turkey is not sufficient for the re-determination of gender roles of women and man through the familial relations.

I- INTRODUCTION

Many studies in literature focus on the status of women with different theoretical frameworks, and also terminological content of these studies seems to have inconsistencies in reality. In the socio-demographic literature, the status of women is defined in a wide spectrum, for example the concepts of "female autonomy" (Dyson and More, 1983) "patriarchy" (Cain, et al, 1979), "rigidity of the sex stratification system", are used to refer to concept of status of women. But most of them intensify on the concept of gender inequality. Different theories define the status of women in different aspects. According to resource theory (Dixon, 1978), status of women refers to control of resources. On the other hand, in view of modernization theory, determinants of modernity are closely related to industrialization and urbanization processes of societies in which the transiti-

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on from traditional patriarchy to capitalist modernity occurs (Therton and Fricke, 1987). Modernization theoreticians mainly deal with changing status of women and the sex discrimination in the family. They argue that there is a high correlation between egalitarian family structure and industrialization.

Studies about women in Turkey have been inevitably affected by those theories or approaches coming from the world conjuncture and agenda of the feminist movement. Women in the first feminist movement that emerged in the West in 1960's, generally had Marxist ideological perspective implying that the sex discrimination is the primary cause of conflict between man and woman in society. In 1970's, many feminists and anthropologists argued that the sexism or sex discrimination in society does not mainly come from the biological nature of man and woman, but also comes from different cultural and social characteristics of societies. Gayle Rubin (1975), for instance, argues that human's biological nature constitutes their sexes, but in societal arrangements sex has come to change through which reflected our expectations and behaviours which in turn determined gender relations.

As coming to 1980's, beyond the inequalities in gender issues or women exploitation, the main subject of feminist literature was the status of women in society. At the same time feminist jargon has gained acceleration in Turkey. The studies about women in Turkey have not been characteristics of denying the different social and cultural properties of women and do not offer prototypical solutions to the women problem. The content of these studies in status that refers to participation in labor-force, educational level, occupational status etc., within the changing societal conditions. On the other hand, at micro-level, the importance of the status of women in the intra-familial relations has also been realized by social scientists since the structure of Turkish family is in the transition process from traditional to modern (Kongar, 1969; Kunt, 1985; Ünalın, 1986).

Main objective of this study is to examine the relationship between women's modernity level and women's attitudes and norms within the family dynamics. Meanwhile the differentiating roles of husband and wife in the intra-familial affairs are analysed. Although it is difficult to measure modernity level of women, here an index is constituted by using some measurable variables which belong to women. Thus, in this study participation of women in decision making processes and sex differences in the division of labor and attitudes and norms of women toward sexual segregation are questioned within the context of transitional characteristics of Turkish family. As this paper is mainly based on attitude and decision-making questions, at this stage a note has to be made. It is not easy to measure who takes decision in family. If there exists equality between wife

and husband, eventually somebody has to say "yes" or "no" to take a decision and this might not to be deliberate decision. There exists some uncontrolled variations in decision-making due to unconscious needs, ambivalent feelings, situational demands and habits and spontaneous emotional behaviour (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982). Therefore, decisions taken may not also be rational, and that decision making is another complex phenomenon. As regards, in the evaluation of the results, this point should be taken into account.

II. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

A. Source of Data

The data used in this study comes from "1993 Turkish Demographic and Health Survey" which was conducted by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies. During the Survey 6,519 women under age 50 were interviewed in the 14 sub-regions of the country and two questionnaires were applied: the Household Questionnaire and Woman's Questionnaire. Data used in this study comes mainly from Woman's Questionnaire; Household Questionnaire is also used in several cases.

B. Methodology

The tables presented in this study have been produced by using the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) package programme. In cases, where woman's questionnaire is used, tables are based on women who are "currently married and over 30 years of age". The reason for this limitation is due to the structure of the questionnaire. In the woman's questionnaire, some questions, like current use of contraception and division of labour in the household are asked only to currently married women. On the other hand, the study is limited to women above age 30, in view of the fact that the number of children ever born is used in the construction of the modernity index as an indicator of fertility. The typology of family structure is borrowed from Timur (1972) and is obtained from household file and merged with the data of women on the basis of identification number.

In analyzing the division of labour, some of the categories were recoded in order to avoid possible ambiguity due to small number of cases. Recoding procedure can be described follows: Herself, husband and other person in the family is combined with the category of herself and husband under the name of **herself and husband**; herself, other person in family and person out of family category was combined with the category of **herself and other person in family**

under the name of **herself and other person in family**; person out of family category was combined with the category of other person in family under the name of **other person in the family**. **Herself** category and husband category have a particular position. **Herself** category, in each of the variable, was taken as a separate category in every condition. If the number of cases in **husband** category were enough to analyze; this category constituted a separate category; this condition was only materialized in the shopping, doing official works outside and keeping the family budget variables.

C. Formation of the Modernity Index

Modernity index, which is considered as an indicator of the modernity level of women in the context of Turkey, is produced by using six different variables. These variables can be listed as follows: *educatioanl level of women, payment of bride money, type of marriage, consanguinity, currently using contraceptive method and number of children ever born*. As summarized in Table 1, each currently married woman above 30 years of age received a score as one or zero according to their certain characteristics. The index is used to group women into one of three modernity categories: traditional, partially modern and modern. In the construction of the modernity index, educational level of women is considered as a primary condition. Categorization process is performed as follows: A woman, who has secondary and higher educational level and gets at least three points from other variables, is put into the category of modern woman; a woman, who has primary or less than primary educational level and gets one at most three points from other variablas, is put into the category of traditional woman; all other remaining women are grouped into the category of *partially modern woman*.

III. FINDINGS ⁽³⁾

A. Selected Background Characteristics of Women

In this section, distribution of women is given according to region, type of settlement and family type (Table 2). The reason behind the analysis of the selected background characteristics of women is to explain the process of constitution of modernity index. Results indicate that the percentage of modern women who live in urban (95%) is higher than that or partially modern (71%), and

³ All analyses in the paper are based on the column percentage, since the objective of the study is to show the relationship between modernity level of women and women's attitudes and norms within the family dynamics.

Table 1. Scoring Procedure for Modernity Index

Variables	Scores	
	1	0
Educational level	Secondary and higher	Primary and lower
Consanguinity	Non-consanguineous Marriage	Consanguineous marriage
Bride money	Not paid bride money	Paid bride money
Types of marriage	Only civil marriage	Religious and civil or only Religious
Currently using contraceptive method	Using a modern method	Using a traditional method or not using any method
Number of children ever born	2 or less children	3 or more children

Table 2. Percentage Distribution of Women by Regions, Type of Settlements and Family Types and Modernity Level

Variables	Traditional	Partially Modern	Modern	Total
Types of Settlements				
Urban	54.9	71.4	94.8	63.5
Rural	45.1	28.6	5.2	36.5
Regions				
West	29.2	49.9	50.3	37.1
South	15.4	16.1	14.7	15.5
Center	24.6	20.7	21.7	23.5
North	10.5	6.9	7.7	9.2
East	20.4	6.4	5.6	15.0
Family Types				
Nuclear	73.1	77.5	89.1	75.4
Extended	26.9	22.5	10.9	24.6
Total	61.9	28.1	10.0	100.0
n	2307	1046	372	3726

traditional women (55%). On the other hand, the proportion of traditional women who live in rural (45%) is higher than other groups of women. When the results analysed according to regional distribution, it can be said that half of modern women (50%) live in West, while 29% of traditional women and half of partially modern women (50%) live in that region. Results show that one fifth of traditional women (20%) live in the East, while these percentages are only 6% for both partially modern and modern women (Table 2). Results about distribution of women according to family types, which are defined here as nuclear and extended, shows that almost all groups of women live in nuclear family type, but the percentage of modern women (89%) who live in nuclear family is relatively higher than those in other groups.

B. The Analysis of Relationship Between Modernity Level and Division of Labour in Family Affairs, Decision-Making Processes and Attitudes, Values and Beliefs

In this section, results of the data analyses will be presented mainly in three groups. First, we will look at behavioral questions, which are related to the division of labor concerning childcare and housework such as cooking, ironing, shopping, looking after sick children, playing with children. Second, questions related to authority and power status in decision-making process within the household are analysed. Third, we look through the questions related to attitudes, values and beliefs of women toward gender equality, sexual segregation and divorce. In order to clarify the differences between the three groups of women, who are defined as traditional, partially modern and modern, are taken and differences between them are analysed according to each variable which is categorized considering the person responsible for that task.

Table 3 shows the percentage distribution of the three groups of women according to division of labor variables. Results point out that most of the housework are performed by women, i.e. 90% of modern women prepare their meal by themselves, while the corresponding figure is only 67% for traditional women. The percentage of partially modern women who prepare meal by themselves is also close to the percentage of modern women (83%). The percentages of modern women who clean, wash and iron by themselves are 77%, 84% and 86% respectively, while these percentages are lower for partially modern women; 75% for cleaning, 75% for washing, 75% for ironing- and the lowest for traditional women; 52% for cleaning, 51% for washing and 49% for ironing. These results show that, in contrast to general expectations, modern women have weak cooperation with other family members, especially with their husbands, while

traditional women, who live in the extended family more than others, have stronger collaboration with members of household, however this collaboration does not come from their husbands.

On the other hand, percentage of modern women (32.4%) who do shopping by themselves with their husbands is higher than the percentage of other groups of women. It indicates that for this task, modern women are likely to receive more assistance from their husbands than partially modern or traditional women. If three groups of women are compared in respect to keeping family budget and official works outside home, it can be said that the percentage of modern women (55%), who are keeping family budget with their husbands, is higher than the other groups of women, while among the traditional women, the responsibility of keeping family budget most likely to belong to their husbands (67%). The percentage of modern women (23%) who do official work outside home, is also higher than the traditional women, although this task seems to be usually done by husbands. Official works outside home are done by husbands of traditional women (80%). This means that the modern women are likely to share official works with their husbands. Therefore, sex differentiation in keeping family budget and official works outside for modern women seems to be not so significant.

Table 3 also shows the percentage distribution of women according to the categories of tasks concerning childcare. It is remarkable that most of the women whether they are traditional or modern, take care of tasks concerning childcare by themselves. For instance, 72% of traditional women prepare food for children by herself, while corresponding figure is about 68% for modern women. When the time of illness, 75% of partially modern women look after their children by themselves, while these percentages are 71%, and 67.8% for traditional and modern women respectively. These results, it can be said that women in all groups are alone when they take responsibility of childcare tasks. Meanwhile the modernity level of women does not seem to be effective while women are performing these childcare tasks.

In Turkey, one of the previous studies (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982), has shown that communication between husband and wife and participation of women in decision making process are rather low. The study has also indicated that when a comparison is made among countries in which "Value of Children Surveys" were conducted, Turkey stands out to be the one in which the phenomenon of decision-making by males is the highest. Our analysis has shown that, in general, male-dominance in decision making concerning sick child is considerably low (25%), although joint-decision making is considerably high (50.7%) (Table 4).

Table 3. Percentage Distribution of Women by Regions, Type of Settlements and Family Types and Modernity Level

Variables	Traditional	Partially Modern	Modern	Total
Cooking				
Cooking				
Herself	67.1	82.7	90.0	73.8
Herself+husband	0.5	1.2	4.0	1.0
Herself+other	27.0	15.0	3.9	21.3
Other	5.4	1.0	2.1	3.8
Cleaning				
Herself	51.7	74.6	76.6	60.6
Herself+husband	0.2	0.1	2.9	0.4
Herself+other	34.1	21.2	14.0	28.5
Other	14.0	4.2	6.4	10.5
Washing				
Herself	51.2	74.5	83.7	61.0
Herself+husband	0.2	0.3	4.0	0.6
Herself+other	34.9	22.2	8.12	8.6
Other	13.8	3.1	4.2	9.8
Ironing				
Herself	49.4	75.1	86.1	60.3
Herself+husband	0.3	0.5	3.8	0.7
Herself+other	23.1	14.0	5.9	18.8
Other	27.2	10.4	4.3	20.2
Shopping				
Herself	31.3	40.0	38.0	38.8
Herself+husband	20.1	26.0	32.4	22.9
Husband	4.4	2.9	0.9	3.6
Other	45.3	31.1	28.7	39.6
Keeping Family Budget				
Herself	9.41	3.31	7.4	11.3
Herself+husband	20.7	26.5	55.1	25.8
Husband	66.9	58.3	26.8	60.5
Other	3.0	1.9	0.8	2.5
Official Works Outside				
Herself	6.6	11.3	19.0	9.2
Herself+husband	6.0	10.2	23.1	8.9
Herself+other	1.1	1.3	1.0	1.1
Husband	79.6	73.2	53.9	75.2
Other	6.7	4.0	3.0	5.6

Table 3'nin devamı

Preparing Food for Children				
Herself	72.4	76.2	67.8	73.0
Herself+husband	0.1	0.2	2.6	0.4
Herself+other	22.2	22.1	27.2	22.6
Other	5.3	1.5	2.5	3.9
Dressing up Children				
Herself	72.4	76.0	67.5	72.9
Herself+husband	0.3	0.4	5.2	0.8
Herself+other	20.9	21.9	24.9	21.6
Other	6.4	1.7	2.4	4.7
Looking After Sick Children				
Herself	71.7	75.8	67.8	72.5
Herself+husband	2.0	3.1	9.9	3.1
Herself+other	20.6	19.1	18.7	20.0
Other	5.7	2.0	3.5	4.4
Playing with Children				
Herself	74.3	77.0	69.3	74.6
Herself+husband	6.0	7.2	15.9	7.3
Herself+other	12.7	12.1	12.7	12.5
Other	7.0	3.6	2.1	5.6
Total	61.9	28.1	10.0	100.0
n	2307	1046	372	3726

This might be due to a tendency to respond in a socially acceptable way. Results indicate that there are some important variations from the general pattern in the percentage of three groups of women in the decision-making process for taking a sick child to the doctor. This variable is used to find out who is the decision maker in the family and how this changes according to the level of modernity of women. Results show that 45% of traditional women decide to take their sick child to a doctor with their husbands, and this increases to 56.2% and 70.5% for partially modern women and modern women respectively. It is remarkable that about 30% of the traditional women's husbands and about 20% of the partially modern women's husbands take a decision alone about their sick children, while this percentage is only about 3% for modern women's husbands. This finding indicates that as the modernity level of women increases, participation in women's decision-making processes also increases.

Table 4. Percentage Distribution of Women by Decision-making Regarding to Sick Children and Modernity levels

Categories	Traditional	Partially Modern	Modern	Total
Herself	18.4	20.2	26.8	19.8
Husband	31.2	21.9	2.7	25.6
Herself+husband	44.9	56.2	70.5	50.7
Father+mother	5.5	1.7	-	3.9
Total	63.7	24.6	11.7	100.0
n	660	254	121	1035

The results obtained from variables related to attitudes, values and beliefs of women about gender equality confirm that the gender differentiation, constituting an important element of social aspect of life, is strong in Turkey. Our analysis implies that this pattern is much more pronounced for traditional women. Generally, women are expected to obey the husband completely, recognize his authority, accept the so called natural intelligence of the husband. It is much interesting that more than half of the women regardless of the modernity level agree with the idea that "man are wiser than women", "man can beat up his wife", "women should not argue with husband" and "man can go out of his own" (Table 5). This shows a significant example of the attitudes and values towards gender equality in societies where authoritarian relations dominate among family members, especially between wife and husband.

Table 5 gives the percentage distribution of three groups of women according to categories of each variable. Important and meaningful finding here is that 57% of traditional women show agreement with the proposition "man are wiser than women", while approximately 40% of them show disagreement with this proposition. On the other hand, 93% of modern women disagree with it. If we look at percentage distribution of women according to the second proposition stated as "Men can beat up wives", it is clearly seen that more than half of traditional women (63%) agree with it, while 35% of them disagree. As opposed to traditional women almost all of modern women (96%) disagree with this proposition. Third proposition is about obedience to husband, and again more than half of traditional women (61%) show obedience to their husbands. Contrarily, 89% of modern women are in opposition to obedience. When the results are analysed in respect to fourth proposition stated as "men can go anywhere on their own", it is seen that most of modern women (76%) disagree with this proposition, agreement with this proposition is 65% and 54% for traditional and partially modern women respectively.

Propositions related with divorce are asked to women whether they are willing to divorce or not if they are faced to problems in their marriages. Results indicate that husband's alcoholism is a sufficient condition for divorce according to modern women with 61%, while 49% of traditional women declare that husband's alcoholism is a sufficient condition for divorce. On the other hand, modern women (89%) are more likely to agree with proposition about incompatibility than traditional women (63%). When women are asked whether aggress-

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Women by Proposition About Attitudes, Values and Beliefs and Modernity Levels

Variables	Traditional	Partially Modern	Modern	Total
Men wiser than women				
Agree	56.7	44.6	6.14	8.3
Disagree	39.6	52.4	93.3	48.6
No idea	3.7	3.0	0.5	3.2
Men can beat up his wife				
Agree	63.3	45.6	3.75	2.4
Disagree	35.2	43.2	96.1	46.4
No idea	1.4	1.1	0.2	1.2
Woman not argue with husband				
Agree	61.3	48.7	10.6	52.7
Disagree	37.0	50.0	89.1	45.8
No idea	1.7	1.3	0.3	1.4
Men can go out on his own				
Agree	69.7	53.6	23.0	57.3
Disagree	34.2	45.2	75.6	41.4
No idea	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.3
Total	61.9	28.1	10.0	100.0
n	2306	1046	372	3724

sion is a sufficient condition for divorce, almost all of modern women (96%) show an agreement with this proposition, while 64 percent of traditional women agree with it. Agreement with proposition about unfaithfulness is high among modern women (90%) relative to traditional women (65%). Infecundity of husband is seen as an insufficient condition for divorce for almost all groups of women. Infecundity of wife is not sufficient for divorce for modern women with 90%, while 75% of traditional women see this condition as an insufficient for divorce. On the other hand, about 20% of traditional women recognize infecun-

dity of women as a sufficient condition for divorce. Last proposition is about interference of mother in law, which is seen as an insufficient condition for divorce with 83% by traditional women, while the percentage of modern women (66%) who say that this is an insufficient condition for divorce is lower than the other groups of women. As a result, it can be said that traditional women are more likely to be obedient to their husbands and less likely to realize the equality of gender issues relative to modern women. As it is expected, attitudes, values and beliefs of women towards sexual segregation change as the modernity level of women increases (Table 6).

Table 6. Percentage Distribution of Women by Proposition Related with Divorced and Modernity Levels

Variables	Traditional	Partially Modern	Modern	Total
Husband's alcoholism				
Sufficient	48.6	57.1	61.7	52.3
Insufficient	45.7	39.1	31.8	42.4
No idea	5.7	3.8	6.5	5.3
Incompatibility				
Sufficient	63.1	76.8	89.1	69.5
Insufficient	33.9	20.7	10.0	27.8
No idea	3.0	2.5	0.9	2.7
Aggression				
Sufficient	63.7	78.1	95.8	70.9
Insufficient	33.1	18.9	2.9	26.1
No idea	3.3	3.0	1.3	3.0
Unfaithfulness				
Sufficient	64.8	75.3	90.3	70.3
Insufficient	30.8	21.6	8.6	26.0
No idea	4.4	3.0	1.1	3.7
Infecund husband				
Sufficient	11.6	13.9	6.9	11.8
Insufficient	83.7	81.4	91.1	83.8
No idea	4.7	4.7	2.0	4.4
Infecund women				
Sufficient	8.2	17.4	6.6	16.8
Insufficient	75.7	77.4	90.9	77.7
No idea	6.2	5.2	2.5	5.5
Mother in law intervenes				
Sufficient	13.8	16.9	28.8	16.2
Insufficient	82.7	77.6	66.3	79.6
No idea	3.5	5.6	5.0	4.2
Total	61.9	28.1	10.0	100.0
n	2306	1046	372	3724

IV. CONCLUSION

Primarily results of this paper show that today Turkish family has duofocal structure in nature in terms of sex differentiation in division of labor in intra-familial relations. This finding shows consistency with the arguments of Smith (1973) and Olson (1982). They argue that there is no single center of intra-familial relations and they analyze the family structure in regard with the concept of duofocality. This concept refers to separated social network in which each adult seeks to focus on her or his own interests. Our findings support this argument especially in terms of duofocality in division of labor in housework. In Turkish family, there are some differentiation between man and woman in terms of organization of the housework. They have segregated roles when they take responsibility of housework. For instance, main responsibility of woman in family is to prepare a meal, to clean, to wash, to iron and to take childcare, and to look after children when they are sick.

On the other hand, man does not share any of these housework activities with his wife but he deals with the activities such as keeping family budget or doing official works outside home. Modern women are in a worse situation compared to traditional women, since they have to take two responsibilities at the same time without being helped by husbands. They have to carry out housework and they have to provide financial support to their families. But not surprisingly, segregated role sharing between man and woman tends to change, when the modernity level of women changes. For instance, modern women are more likely to share tasks outside home than traditional women. This may be explained by the openness to social life, since modern women are expected to be more open to social relations outside home.

Another remarkable result of this paper is that modernity of women does not seem to be the indicator of joint conjugal role relationship in family in which "activities are carried out by husband and wife together, or the same activity is carried out by either partner at different times" (Bott, 1957). Our findings indicate that almost all women regardless of modernity level carry out all housework and childcare tasks by themselves. This also confirms our arguments about strict segregation between man and woman in terms of performing out housework. Modernity level of women, on the other hand, seems to be a better indicator of attitudes, values and beliefs of women towards gender equality and sexual segregation in society. Findings in this paper point out that traditional women have more fatalist view, than modern women, when they declare their opinions about proportions related to gender issues in marriage. They tend to be more obedient to their husbands. These may be explained by the traditional family structure and their dependent status to their husbands who have strong and central authority in the family. Because of the transitional characteristics of Turkish family, to define its structure and to analyze the role relations between man and woman in that structure is very difficult. Although nuclear family holds the majority in

Turkey and the patriarchal structure of family seems to change (Koç,1996),results of the study shows that the structure of gender relations intra-familial affairs does not seem to change. One of the important reasons behind this may be the low status of women in society. Therefore, it is concluded that changing structure of family in Turkey is not sufficient for the re-determination of gender roles of woman and man through the familial relations.

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