

Examining The Rules in Nuclear and Origin Families Living in Turkey Türkiye’de Yaşayan Çekirdek ve Köken Ailelerdeki Kuralların İncelenmesi

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Abstract: This study aimed to examine married couples’ descriptions of themselves, their spouses, mothers, and fathers and their views about the rules in their nuclear and families of origin. The study group consisted of 12 married individuals, including eight females and four males, who were aged between 23 and 49, were not married to another participant, lived in the central county of a province in the central Anatolia region. The study used the phenomenological research design, which is one of the qualitative research approaches. The data were collected through semi-structured interviews, one of the qualitative research techniques, and analyzed with the content analysis method. The results of the study indicated that altruism and submissiveness were the common and prominent descriptions of the female participants about themselves and the descriptions of all participants about their mothers, whereas cold and distant were common descriptions of the participants about their mothers and fathers. It was found that the rules about couple relationships, family relationships, parenting, and spirituality/values were similar in nuclear and families of origin but that although the rules of the relationships with the family of origin/relatives and budget management were expressed in nuclear families, they were not expressed in families of origin.

Keywords: Family, family rules, nuclear family, family of origin

Öz: Bu araştırmanın amacı, evli bireylerin kendilerine ve eşlerine; annelerine ve babalarına ilişkin tanımlamaları ile çekirdek ailelerindeki ve köken ailelerindeki kurallara ilişkin görüşlerini incelemektir. Araştırmanın çalışma grubu Orta Anadolu’da bir il merkezinde yaşayan, birbirleriyle evli olmayan ve yaşları 23 ile 49 arasında değişen sekizi kadın dördü erkek olmak üzere toplam 12 evli bireyden oluşmaktadır. Bu çalışmada nitel araştırma yaklaşımlarından biri olan fenomenolojik araştırma deseni kullanılmıştır. Verileri toplamak için nitel araştırma tekniklerinden biri olan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeden ve verilerin analizinde ise içerik analizi yönteminde yararlanılmıştır. Araştırmanın sonucunda kadınların kendilerine ilişkin tanımlamaları ile tüm katılımcıların annelerine ilişkin tanımlamalarında fedakâr olma ve alttan almanın ortak olarak ön plana çıktığı; anne ve babalarına ilişkin tanımlamalarında ise soğuk ve mesafeli olmanın ortak özellik olduğu bulgusuna ulaşılmıştır. Çift ilişkisi, aile ilişkisi, çocuk yetiştirme ve değerlere ilişkin kuralların çekirdek ve köken ailelerde benzerlik gösterdiği; bununla birlikte köken aile ve akraba ilişkileri ve bütçe yönetimine ilişkin kuralların çekirdek ailelerinde ifade edilmesine rağmen köken ailelerde ifade edilmediği bulunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aile, aile kuralları, çekirdek aile, köken aile

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Introduction

The phrase “family is the foundation of society” is a common description. To define it more concretely, family is a union of individuals who have biological or psychological ties, have historical, cultural, emotional, and economic relationships, and feel themselves as members of the same home (Gladding, 2012). There are various definitions of the family due to their structures. For example, while the nuclear family is a narrow social unit consisting of parents and children and involving two generations, the traditional extended family is a system consisting of individuals of several generations living under the same roof, which is common in rural areas (Gladding, 2012; Richter, 1997). According to Kasl (1993), the family is a microcosmos of the culture. It is possible to see all the reflections of culture, good or bad, in the family.

As in any relationship the boundaries should be determined well in the family. In functional families, clear boundaries are expected between family members (Figley & Nelson, 1990). It can be said that the factor determining the boundaries in a family is the rules. Family rules consist of explicit or implicit rules that families use to manage themselves (Gladding, 2012). It is thought that the rules in most families cannot be revised, do not change, or cannot be changed as they are not voiced. It is stated that families are generally not even aware of these rules because there is no one who makes rules in families

(Nichols, 2013). Therefore, this suggests that culture may have an important role in the emergence of rules.

Culture can be defined as the transmission of learned behaviors from generation to generation as a whole, or as a system composed of parts that are interrelated and interconnected in a complex way. For this reason, it does not seem possible for all the phenomena regarding people to be independent of culture (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Considering that family rules will also show differences due to the cultural structure of each society (Ökten, 2009), it can be said that the rules in Turkish families may have cultural aspects and that these rules may change between nuclear families and families of origin since the values in the society change over time (ASAGEM, 2010b; Süleymanov, 2009). It can be said that nuclear families in Turkey have more flexible rules compared to their families of origin even though they do not live together but have ongoing relationships and ties (Aluş, 2015; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2012). According to Figley & Nelson (1990), functional families should have rules that are flexible and adaptable to changes since the expectations that make up the rules in the family strengthen the family structure (Nichols, 2013).

The demands of the modern world and global changes bring about diversity in relationships as well as in the structure of families (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2012; Süleymanov, 2009), and the

change requires the reorganization of family relations (Pryor & Rodgers, 2011). Urbanization and the related change in social relations lay the groundwork for the expression of an egalitarian understanding among family members and women's effective involvement in decisions (ASAGEM, 2010b; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2012). Therefore, when women assume new roles (e.g. decision-makers) in the family, this means that the roles of men also change. It can be said that the change in roles will also be reflected in the rules of the family. The rules and values in the family are also likely to undergo some variations over generations (Cigno et al., Gioffré, & Luporini, 2020). According to Kağıtçıbaşı (2012), family culture is connected with traditional structure and traditional family culture should be well known to understand the change. In other words, it does not seem possible to consider any nuclear family independent of the structure of their family of origin.

Family system theory suggests that interaction patterns are passed down from generation to generation and are part of the larger systems in which the family lives (e.g. family of origin, society, culture) (Nichols, 2013). This prediction is supported by some findings that the family of origin has significant effects on the personality development and psychopathology of their own children (Leila et al, 2020; Schwartz, et al, 2009); the communication patterns and family types of nuclear and family of origin (e.g. protective, free, etc.) are mostly similar (Erdoğan, 2020); families of origin rank first place among the factors determining the marriage expectations of young adults (Öz Soysal et al, 2020); the first persons that spouses turn to for the solution of their problems are the members of their family of origin (ASAGEM, 2011); relationships with the family of origin guide the success and harmony of the husband and wife in the marital relationship (Bryant, et al, 2001; Marshall, et al, 2020; Yuan, 2019). Bowen (1978), one of the pioneers of the intergenerational family therapy approach, also argues that unless individuals examine and correct the patterns passed on to them from past generations, they will repeat these behaviors in their own families. Based on these explanations, it can be said that the family rules of children who leave the family of origin and start a nuclear family are likely to be affected by the rules in their families of origin.

Studies on families can be listed under the themes of family structure, domestic relationships-roles, the functionality of the family, and values in the family (ASAGEM, 2010a, 2010b; Aykan & Wolf, 2000; Bulut, 1993; Erdoğan, 2020; İmamoğlu, 1993; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2012; Susilo, 2020; Turğut, 2006;). There are limited studies about the rules in the family (Allsop, et al, 2021; Cigno et al, 2020) therefore, this can be taken as motivation to fill in this gap in the literature. Because the rules in the family determine the family structure and the relationship between family members and are also one of the important sources that can guide the solution of the problems in the family. Due to the gradual decrease in the number of family members in Turkey and the increase in the number of nuclear families (Turğut, 2006) and the change in the nature of women's participation in business life and interactions between nuclear family members as a result of industrialization (ASAGEM, 2010b), it can be said that the rules that have a role in the interactions between nuclear family members need investigating in depth.

There are studies (General Directorate of Family and Social Research/ASAGEM, 2010a, 2010b) that indirectly address the rules in nuclear families and families of origin in Turkey. This study aims to directly examine the views of married couples on the similarities and differences of rules in nuclear families and

the families of origin. In this respect, this is the first study that examines family rules in Turkey directly and comprehensively. In this sense, it is aimed to contribute to the family research literature in Turkey. It is thought that uncovering family rules will contribute especially to the family therapists to see the Turkish family structure and the nuclear family rules as a whole that are transferred from the family of origin to nuclear families and undergo a change and to consider these issues in their therapies. In addition, the study can also guide the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, which frequently conducts research on families in Turkey, to develop social policies for families by taking into account the changing and unchanging rules of Turkish families.

In line with the general purpose of this study, we sought answers to the following questions:

1. What are the views of married couples on the rules in their nuclear families?
2. What are the views of married couples on the rules in their families of origin?
3. What are the similarities/differences between the rules in the nuclear families of married couples and their families of origin?

Method

Research Model and Design

This study used the qualitative research method. Qualitative research involves the verbal explanation of real life situations instead of quantitative values (Silverman, 2018). The phenomenological research design, which is one of the qualitative research approaches, was used in the study. Phenomenological study defines the common meaning of a few people's lived experiences related to a phenomenon or concept (Creswell, 2013). In other words, it aims to reveal how people perceive, describe, and make sense of a phenomenon and how they feel and talk about it. Holding in-depth interviews with people who directly experience this phenomenon is recommended to collect data (Patton, 2014).

Study Group

The study group consisted of 12 married individuals, including eight females and four males, who were aged between 23 and 49 ($M=34.75$; $Sd=7.79$), were not married to another participant in the study, lived in the central county of a province in the central Anatolia region, and were selected using the criterion sampling method, which is one of the purposive sampling methods. The sample size is expected to vary depending on the purpose of the research, what will be useful and credible, and the time and resources available (Patton, 2014). While determining the sample, it was ensured that the participants did not have mental health or communication disorders that could prevent data collection and that they were married and volunteered to participate in the study. Before starting the interviews during the research process, an informed consent form was obtained from the participants within the framework of the ethics committee approval (28/07 / 2020-86837521-050.99-E.32473) after they were informed about the purpose and importance of the study that the interview records and their personal information would be kept confidential. Half of the participants were university graduates, four high school graduates, one secondary school, and one primary school graduate. Only two of the female participants were working as nurses. Others were housewives. While one of the men is a soldier and two of them are civil servants; only one does not

have a regular job. The length of the marriage of the participants varied between three and 25 years. Participants have a minimum of one and a maximum of three children.

Data Collection Tools

In this study, the semi-structured interview technique, which is one of the qualitative research techniques, was used to collect data. Interviews used in qualitative research aim to reach people's experiences (Silverman, 2018). A semi-structured interview form consisting of five open-ended questions was used to collect the data. Accordingly, the participants were asked the following questions: "How would you describe yourself and your spouse? How would you describe your parents?", "What do you think about the existence of the rules in the family?", "What kind of rules do you have in your nuclear family (husband and wife relationships, family of origin/kinship ties, economy, parenting, and values)?", and "What kind of rules do you have in your family of origin (husband and wife relationships, family of origin/kinship ties, economy, parenting, and values)?" To test whether the questions are intelligible, before starting the interviews, a pilot interview study was conducted with a participant who was not included in the study group; accordingly, it was decided that the questions were intelligible and functional.

Data Collection

Participants who volunteered to participate in the study were informed about the study, and their written consent form was obtained. In order to collect data, internet-based online interviews were conducted with the participants between August and September 2020 by one of the researchers. The interviews were audio-recorded on a voice recorder with the permission of the participants. The interview records were transcribed and the identities of the participants were kept confidential. The participants were informed that the transcribed texts would be examined by more than one expert within the scope of the research and would not be used outside of the research. Each interview took an average of 30 to 40 minutes.

The Role of The Researcher

The first author of this study had an active role in reviewing the literature and preparing the interview questions. The second author played an active role in asking these questions to the participants and recording the interview. The second author also displayed an empathetic and accepting attitude in the interviews, as he also had the role of family counseling practitioner. This attitude made it easier for the participants to express themselves more easily. Thus, the experiences of the participants were examined in depth. Both authors worked systematically through the data analysis process.

Data Analysis

The data obtained were analyzed with the content analysis method. In content analysis, the text is scanned for words or themes that appear repeatedly, that is, it aims to discover the meanings and consistencies that emerge out of the data obtained (Patton, 2014). According to Creswell (2013), the analysis of qualitative data takes place in six steps. In the first step, the data is prepared and organized. In the second step, all of the data is read and analyzed in detail. In the third step, the data is coded. In the fourth step, the categories and themes resulting from the coding process are determined. In the fifth

step, the way that descriptions and themes will be presented in qualitative writing is determined. The sixth step involves the interpretation of the findings and results. In the first stage of the analysis, the data obtained from the interviews were coded by the researchers. In the categorization stage, sub-categories defining the codes and main categories covering sub-categories were obtained. The data collected were classified into six categories and 11 subcategories.

Validity and Reliability

As in quantitative research, validity and reliability are important in qualitative research. Validity means credibility and transferability. Reliability is explained by verifiability and dependability (Miles & Huberman, 2019). Reliability in qualitative research generally means consistency in the answers of more than one coder in coding on data sets (Creswell, 2013). In other words, it seeks an answer to the question of whether the same results, interpretations, and arguments can be obtained if the study is repeated by other researchers in the future. This means verifiability. One of the ways to achieve this goal is intercoder reliability (Silverman, 2018). In this study, the researchers coded the data set independently from each other. Afterward, although it was observed that there were similarities between the codes, the differences that emerged on a few codes were discussed and the analysis was finalized. For the intercoder reliability in this study, the formula described in Miles and Huberman, $\text{reliability} = \frac{\text{number of agreements}}{\text{number of agreements} + \text{disagreements}}$ (Taşancıl & Aslan, 2001), was employed, and the consistency score between coders was found as 91%.

Validity aims to evaluate the accuracy of the findings obtained in a study (Creswell, 2013). Rich and intense descriptions increase credibility (Miles & Huberman, 2019). In this study, it was tried to confirm the accuracy of the findings by giving sufficient place to the quotations representing the contents of the categories. According to Furman, Langer and Taylor (2010), repeating the coding process after a while supports the validity of qualitative data analysis. For this reason, one week after the first coding process, the previous coding was reviewed, and necessary changes and new coding were made by the researchers. Thus, it was made sure that the coding fitted the data and was accurate. By revising the consistency between the two coding processes made by the researchers, the validity and reliability of the research findings were supported by adhering to the principles of both time-dependent invariance and independent interobserver agreement. While presenting the quotations reflecting the data obtained, aliases were used for the female (F1, F2, F3...) and male participants (M1, M2, M3 ...).

Results

In this study, the categories, subcategories, and codes created according to the data obtained from the answers given by the participants to each question were described in detail. Categories, subcategories, and codes related to the rules in the nuclear and family of origin were presented in Figure 1, and the quotations reflecting these findings were included. Finally, common and distinctive rules in the nuclear and family of origin were obtained from the data, and these findings were summarized in Figure 2.

Participants were asked the questions, "How would you describe yourself and your spouse?" and "How would you describe your mother and father?" In the descriptions of the female participants in the study about themselves, the

prominent characteristics were altruistic/submissive and inspiring, while it was decision-making for the husbands. In the descriptions of the male participants about themselves, the prominent characteristics were honest, affectionate, combative, jealous, and communicative, and those which they used for describing their wives included agreeable and sociable. The outstanding descriptions of the participants regarding their mothers included characteristics, such as altruistic/submissive, quiet/calm, and cold/distant, and those used for fathers were authoritarian/assertive and cold/distant. The prominent and common characteristics that showed up in the descriptions of the female participants about themselves and those appearing in the descriptions of all the participants about their mothers were altruistic/submissive, whereas the common characteristics that came to the fore in the descriptions of all of the participants (both female and male) about their mothers and fathers were cold/distant. Afterward, the participants were asked the question, "What do you think about the existence of rules in the family?" Almost all of the participants believed that the rules provided order in the family and prevented chaos, and the remaining participants stated that they found the rules unnecessary and that they had some drawbacks. Below are some quotations reflecting the common and prominent characteristics stated by the female participants about themselves and their mothers, and those about the mothers and fathers of all the participants.

"... When arguing, I will always be the party that goes and reconciles whether I am right or wrong. So let's say I take on the resolver task of the woman ... In my family, on the other hand, my mother acts more as a resolver, works hard to serve and please others, and suffers all the pain ..." (F1), which shows that she describes both herself and her mother as altruistic/submissive. "In my opinion, they had a cold relationship. They did not share much with each other. I think they have respect for each other, but I don't know their love. I haven't seen them spend much time together" (F3), which shows that she describes both her mother and father as cold/distant.

Another question that was asked to the participants was "What kind of rules do you have in your nuclear family?" The responses to this question were grouped into six categories: rules on couple relationships; family relationships; parenting; family of origin/relative relationships; budget management; and spirituality/values. The couple relationships category was divided into two subcategories as husband-wife relationships and the relationships with the opposite sex; the family relationships category was divided into two subcategories as domestic problems and participation/cooperation. The parenting category was divided into three subcategories, namely, distribution of tasks, meeting needs, and parent-child relationships. The family of origin/relative relationships category was classified into the valuing/special interest subcategory, the budget management category was divided into the family economy/expenditures subcategory, and the spirituality/values category was divided into the Islamic traditions category. Next, the participants were asked the question, "What kind of rules do you have in your family of origin?" and the answers they gave to this question were grouped into four categories: rules on couple relationships, family relationships, parenting, and spirituality/values. The couple relationships category was divided into two subcategories as husband-wife relationships and relationships with the opposite sex, and the family relationship category was divided into three subcategories: domestic problems,

supervision, and participation/cooperation. The parenting category was divided into three subcategories: distribution of tasks, meeting needs, and parent-child relationships. The spirituality/values category had just one category, namely, Islamic traditions. Figure 1 presents categories, subcategories, and codes related to the rules both in the nuclear and family of origin. Brown boxes are common rules of nuclear and origin family. Blue boxes are the distinguishing rules of the family of origin. Pink boxes are the distinguishing rules of the nuclear (Figure 1).

In the relationships with the opposite sex subcategory of the couple relationships in the nuclear family category, the only rule expressed by everyone was distancing, and in the husband-wife relationship subcategory, the rules were listed as acting in accordance with the man (husband), loyalty, respect, and sleeping together, respectively. Below are some quotes about the most frequently expressed rules in the relationships with the opposite sex and husband-wife relationships subcategories.

"...I have a wife, a mother, and a sister, whom I see as the opposite sex. I try not to get in contact with anyone else. Things have changed for the worse..." (M1); "... I pay close attention to this. I do not get in contact with men at all; even when I do, I keep my distance while doing what I need to do. I do not like close behaviors. I do not have friends of the opposite sex; I do not like such things ..." (F4) These quotations reflect the distancing rule in the subcategory of relationships with the opposite sex.

"... My husband becomes tempered when some of his requests are not fulfilled and he starts arguing with everyone at home, so it is a rule for me to fulfill those requests..." (F4); "Well, when my husband comes from work, the dinner should be ready at home. I don't eat before or after him... And, for example, I cannot say that I will not accompany him when visiting his parents. We have to go together." (F1); "... Generally, I say the last word at home ... She is not kind of the woman (M3).

who comes up with new ideas. She tries to fulfill my wishes" (M1). These quotes reflect the rule of acting in accordance with the man (husband) under the husband-wife relationships subcategory.

The rules in the domestic problems subcategory of the family relationships in the nuclear family category were "not sharing family problems with others" and "caring about children", respectively and they "were spending time together", "order", and "sharing the chores", respectively in the participation/cooperation subcategory. Below are some quotes about the most frequently expressed rules in domestic problems and participation/cooperation subcategories.

"... When it comes to the unspoken rules that we apply, first of all, family issues are not shared with others..." (F7); "... and the other is taking care not to argue in front of children..." (M1). These quotes reflect the "not sharing family problems with others" rule of the domestic problems subcategory.

"... For example, we both have breakfast or dinner at the same time. Even if one of us is full, we wait until we get hungry. Once a week, we visit my wife's family and once my family for dinner..." (F5); "... Oh, and since I arrive home from work at a certain time, we have dinner at the same time every day. We take care that everyone in the house obeys this rule..." (M1). These quotes reflect the "spending time together" rule under the participation/collaboration subcategory.

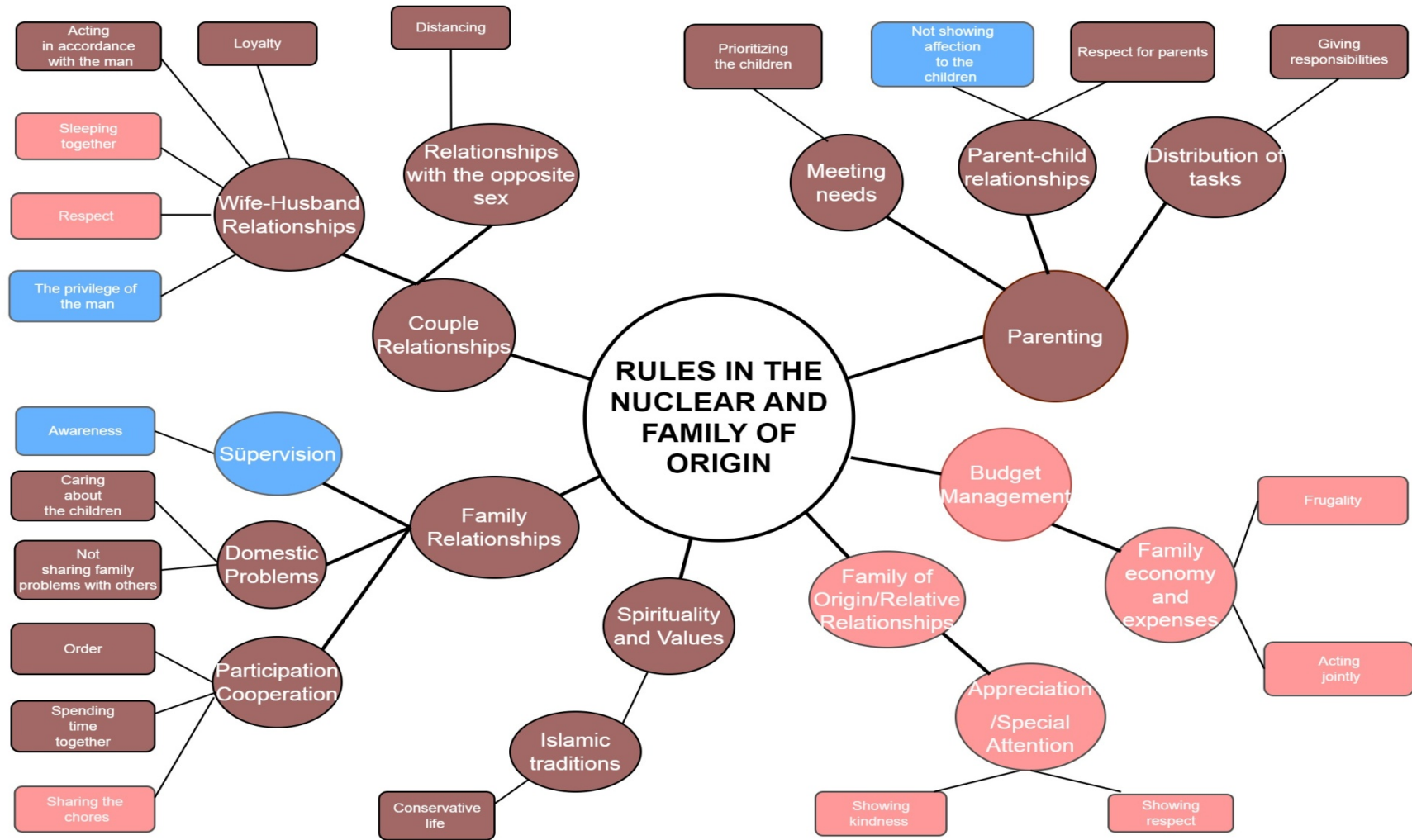


Figure 1. Rules in the nuclear and family of origin

It was observed that the rule expressed in the distribution of tasks subcategory of the parenting in the nuclear family category was "giving responsibility" and that it was "respect for parents" in the prioritizing children and parent-child relationships subcategory of the meeting needs category. Below are some quotations reflecting the distribution of tasks, meeting needs, and parent-child relationships subcategories.

"... But one of the main rules that I try to apply, for example, is to deprive my son of some things if he does not fulfill his responsibilities. I reward him if he fulfills his responsibilities..." (F2), which reflects the "giving responsibility" rule. "We did not experience any hardship while growing up; we always lived in prosperity. I have never spared anything from my children. They have always been my priority..." (F8), which reflects the "prioritizing the children" rule. "... Children are losing respect for their mothers and fathers. That's why we tried to raise them as respectful people as possible. I think we achieved it... It does not matter as long as they are not disrespectful towards me and my spouse..." (M1). This quote reflects the "respect for parents" rule.

It was found that the most expressed rules in the valuing/special interest subcategories of the family of origin/relative relationships category were "showing respect" and "showing kindness". The quote, "... My wife visits my family's house once a week. She cooks meals and does their cleaning. I mean, this is not a rule, but it has become a rule because it has been implemented for a long time..." (M1), reflects the "showing respect" rule. The quotes like, "My wife and I are always respectful to each other's family... When our elders are at home, they always say the last word. There are strict rules like this." (F7) and "... Feasts and religious days are important. We take special care to celebrate them ... Even if we have problems with our own families, we treat them respectfully." (F3), reflect the "showing respect" rule.

It was observed that the most frequently expressed rules in the family economy/expenses subcategory of the budget management category in the nuclear family category were "frugality" and "acting together". The quotes, "Avoiding extravagance, saving is a rule in our family..." (M2) and "... We have a fixed monthly income. We take care not to waste money. This is our most important rule ..." (M2), reflect the rule of "frugality". The quotes, "Actually, I can say that saving money and investing is our rule. But while we are saving, we also try not to be deprived of the things we want." (M3) and "... We do not pay a lot of money for brand-name products; this is also a rule. We make a joint decision in the event of getting a loan. When we buy things for home, we do enough market searches and then buy them." (F4), reflect the "acting together" rule.

It was observed that the conservative life rule was expressed in the Islamic traditions subcategory of the spirituality/values in the nuclear family category. The quotes, "... It is a rule to stay away from the issues determined as haram in Islam..." (M2) and "Spirituality is at the forefront in our family. Religious values are very important to us. We live according to these values..." (F5), reflect the conservative life rule.

The only rule expressed in the relationship with the opposite sex subcategory of the couple relationships in the family of origin was distancing (F3), whereas the rules expressed in the husband-wife relationship subcategory were acting in accordance with the man (husband), the privilege of

the man, and loyalty, respectively. Below are some quotes about the most frequently expressed rules in the relationships with the opposite sex and husband-wife relationship subcategories.

The quotes, "The dominant character in our house is my father. The control is always in his hands... We, including my mother, have to come home before my father." (F5) and "... it was a rule that the woman did not talk too much in the presence of her husband or elders and that she did not say anything after his words..." reflect the "acting in accordance with the husband" rule. The quotes, "... When the house was crowded, first men ate... On holidays, we would first visit my husband's family..." (F4), "My mother's my father's third wife. My father has 4 children from previous marriages. But my mother was also a mother to them... Women only took care of the children at home and served men... My father was a difficult husband for my mother..." (F2), and "... When a man wants to have children, the woman cannot object and a man can marry as many times as he wants. Nobody could object to this..." (F6), reflect the "privilege of the man" rule.

The rules expressed in the domestic problems subcategory of family relationships in the family of origin category were "not sharing family problems with others" and "caring about the children", "spending time together" and "order" in the participation/cooperation subcategory, and "awareness" in the supervision subcategory. Below are some quotes about rules in the domestic problems, participation/cooperation, and supervision subcategories.

The quote, "... There is one thing I remember; our elderly told us not to talk about things happening or spoken at home and family issues here and there. This affected us greatly because, for example, my cousins used to share things spoken in their homes with others. Everyone blamed them for their behaviors, but I never did it..." (F4), reflects the "not sharing family issues with others" rule. The quote, "Especially after I had children, there were things that were conveyed to me not as a rule about parenting but as advice from my family of origin. For example, I was advised not to scold my children, especially in the presence of others, and establish good communication with them..." (F2), reflects the "caring about the children" rule. The quote, "... For example, order, structure. Of course, my mother made this order and rules. There is a concept called a guest room. Nobody can enter the guest room. The guest room is always neat, tidy, and clean all the time..." (M4), reflects the "order" rule.

The quote, "... For example, my father's rule: everyone had to be at the dinner table in our house every day. It is still the same in our house. Everyone will sit at that table. This is something indicating family unity..." (F8), reflects the "spending time together" rule. The quote, "... Our first rule is to respect parents. It was forbidden to go anywhere without their knowledge. We had such rules..." (F1), reflects the "awareness" rule.

The rule mentioned in the distribution of tasks subcategory of the parenting in the family of origin category was "giving responsibility", "prioritizing the children" in the meeting the needs subcategory, and "respect for parents" and "not showing affection to the children", respectively, in the parent-child relationships subcategory. Below are some quotations regarding the rules expressed in the distribution of tasks, meeting the needs, and parent-child relationships subcategories.

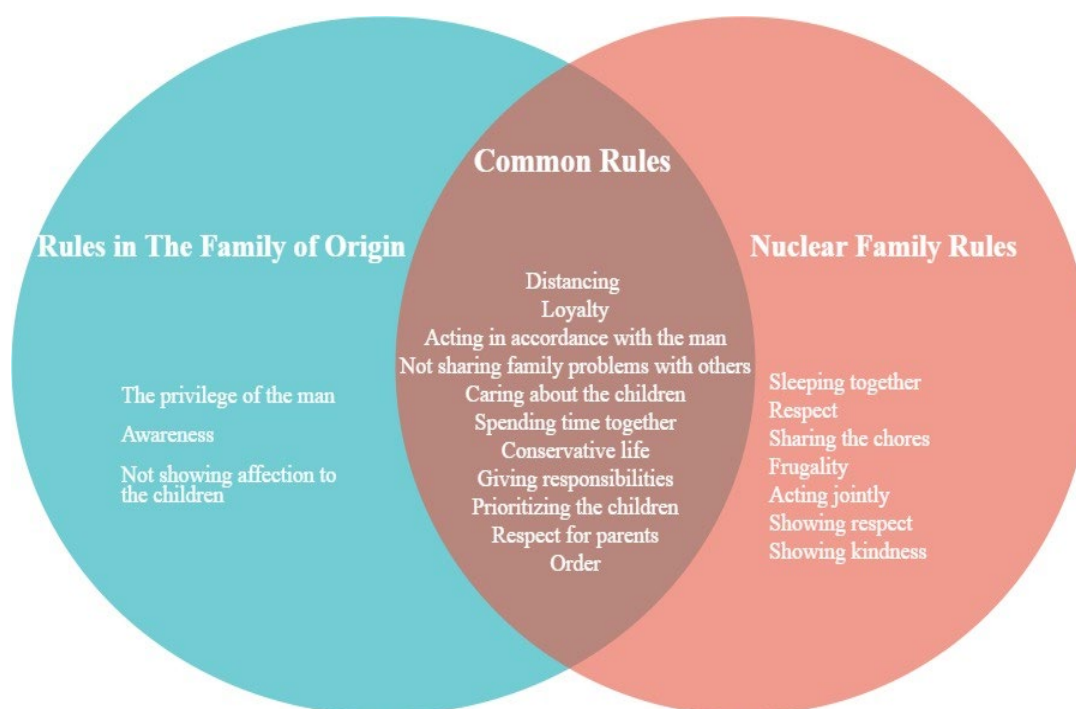


Figure 2. Common and distinctive rules in the nuclear and family of origin

“Since success is emphasized in my family, studying is the domain where the strictest rules and rules gather. We were always expected to study regularly for our lessons and to do our homework...” (M2), which reflects the “giving responsibility” rule. “... Respect, that is, we showed respect to each other, our elders, and our elders would respect us. I have never heard bad words and insults in my family...”, which reflects the “respect for parents” rule. The quote, “The most interesting thing I have heard from our elderly is that they did not hug their children and show their love. It was blamed. My father used to behave similarly to us. This was reflected in us. We grew up without feeling his love...”, reflects the “not showing affection to the children” rule.

It was observed that the “conservative life” rule was mentioned in the Islamic traditions subcategory of the spirituality/values in the family of origin category. The quotes, such as “... Women wear modest clothes and cover their heads ...” (F6) and “... we had rules to lead a conservative life ...” (M2), reflect the “conservative life” rule.

It was observed that there were similarities as well as differences between the rules of nuclear and family of origin. Figure 2 presents common and distinctive rules in the nuclear and family of origin (Figure 2).

As seen in Figure 2, distancing, loyalty, acting in accordance with the man, not sharing family problems with others, caring about the children, order, spending time together, giving responsibilities, prioritizing the children, respect for parents, and a conservative life were common rules in both nuclear and family of origin. Sleeping together, respect, sharing the chores, frugality, acting jointly, showing respect, and showing kindness were distinctive rules in the nuclear family. The privilege of the man, awareness, and not showing affection to the children in the presence of the elderly were the distinctive rules of the family of origin. As seen in the figure, the distinctive rules in the nuclear family were under the couple relationships, the family of origin/relative relationships, and budget management categories, while the distinctive rules in the nuclear family were under the couple relationships, family relationships, and parenting categories.

None of the participants mentioned rules of the family of origin related to the family of origin/relative relationships and budget management.

Discussion and Results

In this study, the participants’ descriptions of themselves, their spouses, mothers, and fathers were examined in relation to the rules in the nuclear and family of origin and the presence of rules in the family.

The examination of participants’ views about themselves, their spouses, mothers, and fathers indicated that female participants often described themselves as altruistic/submissive and inspiring, whereas they described their husbands as decision-makers. On the other hand, male participants were found to describe themselves as honest, affectionate, combative, jealous, and communicative, while they described their wives mainly as agreeable and sociable. In the descriptions of all participants regarding their mothers, the prominent characteristics were altruistic/submissive, quiet/calm, and cold/distant, whereas the distinctive characteristics of fathers were stated as authoritarian/assertive and cold/distant. Some studies in the literature have shown that in the gender roles that are frequently used in the distinction between men and women, men are described as valuable, strong, and successful, whereas women are described as serving, obedient, submissive, and dependent (Adler, 1994; 1999; Bepko & Krestan, 1998; Kasl, 1993). In this study, it was observed that the participants’ descriptions of themselves, their spouses, and parents had similarities with their gender roles. In addition, it was noteworthy that in the descriptions of the women about themselves and the descriptions of all participants about their mothers, the common and prominent characteristics were altruism and submissiveness, whereas cold/distant were common descriptions of participants about their mothers and fathers. The fact that being altruistic is a common feature with both female participants and their mothers shows that this role is identified with women (Bepko & Krestan, 1998; Strakes, 1997) and that these roles are passed down from generation to generation (Bulut, 1993). The

common feature of being cold/distant in the participants' descriptions of their mothers and fathers can be explained by the authoritarian parenting style because it is seen that today's young parents in Turkey prefer a more democratic parenting style, whereas elderly parents prefer a more authoritarian parenting style due to the influence of socio-cultural values (Canatan, et al. 2020).

When the participants were asked about the existence of rules in the family, almost all of them stated that they believed that the rules provided order in the family and prevented chaos. It was observed that there was a similarity between the findings of ASAGEM (2010a), which found that families in Turkey experienced problems with home responsibilities and parenting, economy and budget management, jealousy, dressing style, the difference in religious views, and the relationships with the family of origin, and the findings of the current study, such as distancing (oneself from the opposite sex), loyalty, frugality, acting jointly (family economy), and valuing and showing respect (to the family of origin/relatives). This similarity can be considered as a confirmation of the participants' belief that the rules expressed by the majority of them in this study-maintained order in the family and prevented chaos.

In this study, it was found that the nuclear family rules were grouped into six categories: couple relationships, family relationships, parenting, relationships with the family of origin/relatives, budget management, and spirituality/values. "Distancing", which was under the relationships with the opposite sex subcategory of the couple relationships in the nuclear family category, was the only rule under this category stated by everyone and it was observed to be related to maintaining the loyalty rule as well as jealousy between the couples. The findings that in Turkey, most couples would not continue their marriage in case of disloyalty or jealousy were among problems in marriage (Turğüt, 2006), disloyalty ranked second place among the reasons for divorce (ASAGEM, 2011), and that the belief that loyalty was the basis of marriage maintained its importance (ASAGEM, 2010b) supported the finding in this study that loyalty and jealousy played a role in the emergence of the "distancing oneself from the opposite sex" as the most frequently stated rule by the participants in this category.

It was found that the most stated rule under the husband-wife relationships subcategory of the couple relationships in the nuclear family category was acting in accordance with the man (husband). The findings that men often made the important decisions, they thought that their wife was dependent on/in need of them (Tuna-Uysal et al., 2019), and that they wanted to establish dominance over women and have them accept their superiority (Adler, 1994) explain the reason why the "acting in accordance with the man (husband)" rule in the husband-wife relationships category was the most expressed rule. It is known that the value judgment that men say the last word at home in Turkey is accepted by most people (ASAGEM, 2010b). Although it is seen that women are encouraged to develop their talents and skills over time, it can be said that the message of the society has not changed, that is, the idea that men are superior over women (Belli & Aynacı, 2020) is still maintained. Women are expected to act in accordance with their husband as also stated in a Turkish proverb 'Know your family well, and act in accordance with your husband.'

It was found that the most frequently expressed rule in the domestic problems subcategory of the family relationships in

the nuclear family category was "not sharing family problems with others". The finding that the most frequently expressed rule in the subcategory of domestic problems in this study, as stated in the Turkish proverb "What happens here stays here", was "not sharing family problems with others" was thought to be related to the Turkish culture. The majority of the married couples (62.8%) in Turkey do not share their problems with anyone (ASAGEM, 2011). It is seen that as the education level increases in Turkey, the importance given to the rule of "not sharing family problems with others" increases, as well (ASAGEM, 2010b). In this study, "not sharing family problems with others" was the most frequently stated rule in the nuclear family, and this can be explained by the fact that the participants were affected by cultural transfers and that they believed and adopted this rule more despite their higher education levels compared to their families of origin.

The most frequently expressed rule under the participation/cooperation subcategory of the family relationships in the nuclear family category was spending time together. The findings that almost all families in Turkey spend weekends together (Turğüt, 2006) and that they especially eat dinner all together (ASAGEM, 2010b; ASAGEM, 2011; Turğüt, 2006) support the finding of this study that spending time together was one of the most frequently expressed rules.

"Giving responsibility" was the most frequently expressed rule under the distribution of tasks subcategory of parenting in the nuclear family category. It can be said that giving responsibility was the most frequently stated rule in this study since families in Turkey attach importance to fulfilling responsibilities in raising their children (ASAGEM, 2010b) and they have problems with their children about expenses/consumption, internet use/playing computer games, and eating/house order (ASAGEM, 2011).

Showing respect and kindness were the most frequently expressed rules in the valuing/special care subcategory of the relationships with the family of origin/relatives in the nuclear family category. Although children grow up and start their own families in Turkey, they continue to maintain relationships with their families of origin (ASAGEM, 2010b; ASAGEM, 2011; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2012). However, with the increase in women's education level, the likelihood of living with the members of the family of origin has decreased, and women with low education are four times more likely to live with the members of their family of origin compared to women with a high level of education. In addition, it was revealed that the husband's parents, who are alive, were the strongest variable that determines the likelihood that nuclear families may live with the members of their family of origin in the future (Aykan & Wolf, 2000). As a matter of fact, unlike men in Turkey, most women do not want to live with their family of origin (Bilgin, 1998). Although these findings show that the increase in the education level of the woman reduces the possibility of living with the members of the family of origin, it does not mean that the husband is completely exempt from providing the members of his family of origin with care/interest. In this study, it can be said that the continuation of the traditional aspect of the Turkish family structure (e.g., taking care of the family of origin) and nuclear families living away from the families of origin played a part in the finding that the rule of showing respect and kindness towards the members of the family of origin in nuclear families was the most frequently stated rule in this category. However, the fact that male participants were especially in contact with their families of origin more can be explained by the differentiation

problem expressed by Bowen (1978). According to Bowen (1978), differentiation of the self means balancing the psychic and interpersonal dimensions of the self as well as distinguishing themselves from the family in which they grew up on an emotional and cognitive level. In Turkish culture, which has a collective structure, especially men are given important responsibilities by their families, which can prevent healthy differentiation from their families during adulthood. In this study, especially the statements of the female participants about the tensions experienced by the family of their husband can be evaluated within this framework.

Frugality and acting jointly were the most frequently expressed rules in the family economy/expenditures subcategory of the budget management in the nuclear family category. Saving is an important value for families in Turkey (ASAGEM, 2010b), and this may have a share in the finding that frugality was the most frequently stated rule in this study. In addition, the fact that husband and wife make joint decisions about home selection, shopping, and vacation/entertainment (ASAGEM, 2011) supports the fact that acting jointly was the most frequently expressed rule in this study.

The conservative life was the single rule stated by less than half of the participants under the Islamic traditions subcategory of the spirituality/values category in both the nuclear and the family of origin. In Turkey, 53.6% of the married women and 46.8% of the married men fulfill the requirements of religion (ASAGEM, 2011). The conservative life rule emerging in this study supports the continuing commitment to religious and spiritual values in Turkey (ASAGEM, 2010b).

In this study, it was found that the rules in the family of origin were grouped into four categories: couple relationships, family relationships, parenting, and spirituality/values. It was revealed that the only rule expressed by some of the participants under the relationship with the opposite sex subcategory of the couple relationships in the family of origin was distancing. Although it was stated by less than half of the participants as a rule of the family of origin, it was remarkable that it was expressed by all of the participants as a nuclear family rule. It can be said that this difference may be related to increased jealousy of married men about their wives compared to the past years because setting some rules of behavior on another person is the most known manifestation of jealousy (Adler, 1994). This study also supports the findings that jealousy may be the basis of the “distancing oneself from the opposite sex” rule, men perceive themselves as more jealous than women (İmamoğlu & Çelik, 2009), and that jealousy is among the important causes of divorce (Bülbül & Kaygusuz, 2022).

Acting in accordance with the man (husband) and the privilege of the man were the most frequently expressed rules in the husband-wife relationships in the family of origin subcategory. It can be thought that as İmamoğlu (1993) stated, in addition to the fact that important decisions are usually made by men and men think that their wives are dependent on them, intergenerational transmission of ideas may also have a share in the fact that acting in accordance with the man was the most frequently stated rule both in the nuclear and the family of origin. The statement of one of the female participants, F7, “... *Nobody would talk when my father was at home. Nobody could eat before my father started to eat ...*” and the statement of a male participant, M3, “... *it was a rule that the woman did not talk too much and said anything after the words of the man when she was with her husband or with the elders...*” revealed

that women acted in accordance with the man in the nuclear family as they did in the family of origin. The acceptance of the value judgment in Turkey that “the head of the house is the man” by most women (Aluş, 2015; ASAGEM, 2010b) and the fact that women internalize fulfilling the wishes of first their husband then their children (Bilgin, 1998) play a part in the transfer of the rule of acting in accordance with the man from the family of origin to the nuclear family.

Cooperation and solidarity are a necessity in traditional extended families. On the other hand, the responsibility and freedom of each individual decrease in terms of compliance with family rules. While some members of the family are offered freedom, sovereignty, and privileges, the responsibility placed on others increases (Richter, 1997). Since there is a hierarchy in traditional families that follows the male line of descent, the emergence of the “privilege of the male” rule expressed in the family of origin can be considered as an expected result, although it was not expressed in the nuclear family in this study.

It was revealed that “awareness” was the most frequently stated rule under the spending time together and the supervision subcategory of participation/cooperation subcategory of the family relationships in the family of origin category. The finding that families living in rural areas and with low education and those living in the urban areas and with high education in Turkey care about spending time with each other (ASAGEM, 2010b) explains the fact that spending time is a commonly maintained rule in both the nuclear and the family of origin. The fact that there is more social control in traditional families compared to modern families (Ünal, 2013) supports the finding that supervision is a frequently expressed rule in the family of origin.

It was found that “giving responsibility” under the distribution of tasks subcategory and showing respect for parents under the parent-child relationships subcategory of parenting in the family of origin category were the most frequently stated rules. The findings that the primary value that families in Turkey attach importance to in raising children is to be respectful to the elders and that the second value is to fulfill responsibilities (ASAGEM, 2010b) exactly overlap the finding in this study that giving responsibility and showing respect for the elderly in the family of origin were the most frequently expressed rules. The fact that the rule of parental respect is expressed as a common rule in both the nuclear and the family of origin shows that respect is highly important in the Turkish family structure (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2012) and that respect for elders is passed down from generation to generation (Süleymanov, 2009).

In this study, distancing, loyalty, acting in accordance with the man, not sharing the family problems with others, caring about children, order, spending time together, giving responsibility, giving priority to children, respect for parents, and conservative life were common rules of both the nuclear and the family of origin. Sleeping together, respect, sharing chores, frugality, acting jointly, and showing respect and kindness were the rules of the nuclear family, whereas the privilege of the man, awareness, and not showing affection to children in the presence of the elders of the family were the distinctive rules of the family of origin. Considering that socioeconomic and cultural factors affect people's perceptions, values, attitudes, and accordingly their relationships (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982), it can be said that socioeconomic factors were distinctive in the differentiation of the rules of the nuclear

and family of origin, while cultural factors were decisive in the formation of common rules in the nuclear and family of origin.

That a husband and a wife sleep together, which is one of the distinguishing rules of nuclear families in this study, shows that nuclear families attach importance to maintaining emotional intimacy. One of the characteristics that unmarried young people seek in marriage in Turkey (ASAGEM, 2010a) and one of the reasons for married couples to marry is falling in love (ASAGEM, 2009). Being in love is an indicator of emotional intimacy. One of the most important reasons put forward by the divorced couples in Turkey is not getting enough emotional support from the spouse (ASAGEM, 2009). For this reason, unlike aging families of origin, the rule of sleeping together expressed by younger nuclear families may contribute to maintaining emotional intimacy and continuity of marital union. It can be said that respect between among couples, which is one of the distinguishing rules of nuclear families, has a share in the maintenance of the marital union. This is because 67% of the divorced couples in Turkey complain that their spouse did not respect them (ASAGEM, 2009). Domestic violence is one of the prominent reasons for divorces in Turkey (Can & Aksu, 2016; Kaplan et al. 2018), which is the result of a lack of respect among couples.

In families in which women work, women's participation in housework decreases, and male participation increases (Aluş, 2015; Ünver & Demirli, 2022). Sharing the chores is a distinctive rule of nuclear families, which may be due to the increased involvement of women in business life rather than their mothers. Considering that the value that the father is as responsible for the care of children as the mother in Turkey comes to the forefront (ASAGEM, 2010b) and that family responsibilities are shared in nuclear families (Aluş, 2015; Ünver & Demirli, 2022), it can be expected that men, as well as women, take part in domestic responsibilities in nuclear families.

In this study, it was found that no rule was specified under the relationships in the family of origin and budget management in the family of origin categories, although there were some rules expressed in the nuclear family. In the study, the women in the nuclear family had a higher level of education compared to their mothers, which may have played a role in the fact that the "being economical" and "acting jointly" rules regarding the family economy and budget management were distinctive rules of the nuclear family. This is because as the education level increases, the participation of women in family decisions increases, as well (İmamoğlu, 1993; Özyürek & Aydın, 2021).

The participants did not specify a rule regarding family relationships in their families of origin, but it was understood from their statements that they had lived with their grandparents in their families of origin. It is thought that since the grandparents living under the roof of the same house are also family members, no rules regarding the relationships with the family of origin were expressed in this study. As the education level increases, the probability of women living with relatives or members of the family of origin decreases; yet, it is noteworthy that they regularly meet with their family members (ASAGEM, 2010b). Maintaining a regular relationship with the members of the family of origin may have created the need for nuclear families to establish rules. Moreover, considering that lower levels of adoption of the family of origin by women compared to men cause problems between the husband and wife (Bilgin, 1998), it can be said that nuclear families make the rule of showing respect and

kindness to prevent disagreements about the relationships with their family of origin. In addition, it is observed that 28.9% of the elderly in Turkey want to stay with their sons, 10% of them want to stay with their daughters (ASAGEM, 2011), and that most of them live in a close or the same settlement to at least one child (Kalaycı & Özkul, 2017). Unlike men, most women do not want to live with the members of the family of origin (Aslan-Cevheroğlu & Tutarel-Kışlak, 2022). In other words, nearly half of the elderly in Turkey want to stay with their children, approximately one-third of them want to stay with their sons, most of them live in a place close to at least one child, and men are more willing than women to live with the members of their family of origin. In this study, although not stated in the family of origin, it can be thought that men are effective in the rule of showing respect and kindness in the relationships with the family of origin/relative category specified in the nuclear family. In addition, it can be said that showing respect and kindness, which are the most frequently expressed distinctive rules in the nuclear family, have a part in the fact that 76.4% of the elderly are satisfied with their children (Kalaycı & Özkul, 2017).

In this study, the privilege of men, awareness, and not showing affection to the children in the presence of the elders were distinctive rules of the family of origin. The fact that elderly women try to solve the problems in their relationships with their spouses by behaving submissively, staying calm, and in an understanding manner (Kalaycı & Özkul, 2017) confirms the privilege of older men. In this study, while the participants described their mothers as altruistic/submissive, they described their fathers as authoritarian/assertive. In fact, it can be said that it is the altruistic/submissive characteristics of the woman that nurture the man as an authoritarian/assertive figure. Almost all of the participants in this study described both their mothers and fathers as cold/distant and this is thought to have a connection with the fact that not showing affection to the children in the presence of the elders was a common rule of the families of origin. In addition, it is thought that the fact that traditional families are more authoritarian (Canatan et al., 2020) has a share in the awareness rule, which is included in the "not showing affection to the children in the presence of the elders" and "supervision" categories.

In this study, it is noteworthy that the rule of acting in accordance with the man was the most frequently expressed common rule in both nuclear and families of origin. The acceptance of the judgment of "the head of the family is the man" in Turkey (ASAGEM, 2010b) is an indication that the patriarchal order is preserved. Although the Turkish family structure involves a modern family structure that tries to adapt to changes and development, it also strives to protect and maintain traditional characteristics (Aluş, 2015). Although the authoritarian structure of the family and the role and function of the woman in the family change (Ünal, 2013; Ünver & Demirli, 2022), it can be said that acting in accordance with the man is still a common rule in both the family of origin and the nuclear family and that the fact that man is at the center of the family has not changed.

In this study, it was understood that not sharing family problems with others, one of the common rules of nuclear and family of origin, was very important for nuclear families, although it did not come to the fore in the family of origin. In Turkey, 62.8% of married couples do not share their problems with anyone, and 22.0% refer to the members of the family of origin for the solution of the problems at first. In addition, the rate of those who receive professional help (therapy,

psychological counseling, etc.) is 2.7% (ASAGEM, 2011). Similarly, it was found in another study that 32.6% of the families first attempted to get help from their families of origin to solve their problems and that 2.0% of them received professional help (therapy, psychological counseling, etc.) (ASAGEM, 2009). It can be said that the “not sharing family problems with others” rule, which is the common rule of both the nuclear families and families of origin that emerged in this study, is a rule that is passed down from generation to generation and is resistant to change. However, this rule needs to be flexible. For this reason, it may be suggested that the Ministry of Family and Social Policies should develop policies to encourage married couples who fail to solve problems within the family and who do not share their problems with others to seek professional help.

In this study, it was understood that distancing oneself from the opposite sex, which is one of the common rules of nuclear and family of origin, was more important for nuclear families than for the family of origin, because it was the only rule expressed by all the participants. Considering that men in Turkey perceive themselves as more jealous than women (İmamoğlu & Çelik, 2009) and that jealousy is among the reasons for divorce (Ünal, 2013; Bülbül & Kaygusuz, 2022), it can be said that there is a need to increase scientific research on determining the origins of jealousy. It is a known fact that some women in Turkey are harmed by men due to jealousy, which is also manifested in some sayings, such as “A man who loves is jealous.” Mothers are thought to be more tolerant of their sons than daughters (Schipper, 2010). For this reason, it is thought that it is important for mothers, who have important roles in the upbringing of boys as well as girls, to adopt an egalitarian understanding of girls and boys. It may be recommended that the Ministry of Family and Social Policies should provide individual and family counseling services to young couples and mothers to make them adopt an egalitarian approach towards girls and boys, as well as organize training programs/seminars.

This research is the first to examine the rules in nuclear and families of origin in depth and tries to reveal their similarities and differences. However, the fact that the sample consists of married couples with nuclear families living only in the Central Anatolia Region is a limitation of this study. Therefore, researchers are recommended to repeat this research in the future with samples of married couples living in different regions of Turkey. In addition, only married couples with nuclear families were consulted in this study. It is recommended to also conduct studies that include the opinions of children living in nuclear families regarding the rules in the family.

The qualitative research design was utilized in this study to reach the views of married couples on the rules of nuclear and family of origin in Turkey. Since there is no measurement tool to measure the nuclear and family of origin rules systematically in Turkish society, it is recommended that researchers should carry out scale development studies to measure family rules in the future. This study aimed to reveal only the rules of nuclear and families of origin. However, it is not known whether the nuclear and families of origin need or want to develop new rules. Therefore, researchers are recommended to conduct research in the future that examines the views of nuclear and families of origin on developing new rules.

Author Contributions

All authors took an equal part in all processes of the article. The data of the study was collected by the second author. All authors have read and approved the final version of the study.

Ethical Declaration

The purposes and procedure of the current study were granted approval from the ethical committee of the Niğde Ömer Halisdemir University. (Session Date: 28 July 2020; Session Number: 2020-07/03-04).

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest with any institution or person within the scope of the study.

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