CONSTRUCTION OF CENTRAL KNOWLEDGE OF FAMILY: FAMILY
STRUCTURE ANALYSIS IN TURKEY THROUGH STATE SURVEYS 1968,
1988, 2006, 2011

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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation analyzes how centralized knowledge about the family has been structured by the state through stitching it between time and space on the topos of society. States' socio-political intentions related to the institution of family have been also embedded in scientific investigation process. In this realm, I argue that statistics and structural functionalist theoretical framework have been intensively used in the state funded surveys. In order to elucidate the role of the state in respect to formation of centralized knowledge about family structure, this dissertation focuses on four nationwide quantitative surveys which are funded by state institutions, including Family Structure and Population Problems in Turkey by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, Turkish Family Structure by State Planning Organization and State Statistical Institute, Research on Family Structure in Turkey 2006 by General Directorate of Family and Social Research with Turkish Statistical Institute, and Research on Family Structure in Turkey 2011 by Ministry of Family and Social Policies.

Keywords: Turkey, family, family structure, the state, family surveys

ÖZ

AİLEYE DAİR MERKEZİ BİLGİNİN KURULUŞU: TÜRKİYE'DE DEVLET DESTEKLİ AİLE YAPISI ARAŞTIRMALARIN ANALİZİ 1968, 1988, 2006, 2011

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Bu tezde, devletin toplumsal bir topoloji üstünde aileyi zaman ve mekan içerisinde istatistik teknolojilerini, yapısal işlevselci teoriyi ve sosyal politika eğilimlerini kullanarak nasıl bağlandığı ve bu bağlamın ailenin yapısına dair merkezi bilgiyi nasıl inşa ettiği analiz edilmektedir. Bu bağlamda merkezi bilginin inşasını örneklendirebilmek için devlet tarafından desteklenen ülke geneli temsile sahip niceliksel dört araştırmaya odaklanılmıştır. Bunlar: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Nüfus Etütleri Enstitüsü tarafından 1968 yılında yapılan Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı ve Nüfus Problemleri Araştırması, Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı ve Devlet İstatistik Kurumu tarafından 1988 yılında yapılan Türk Aile Yapısı Araştırması, Başbakanlık Aile ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Genel Müdürlüğü ile Türkiye İstatistik Kurumunun yaptığı Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması ve Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığının 2011 yılında yaptığı Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırmasıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye, aile, aile yapısı, devlet, aile araştırmaları

To my wife, family, friends, and fellows

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

ASAGEM	General Directorate of Family and Social Research
ASPB	Ministry of Family and Social Policies
CSTU	Classification of Statistical Territorial Units
Da.	Danish
DİE	State Statistic Institute
DPT	State Planning Organization
Du.	Dutch
En.	English
EU	European Union
Fr.	French
FRS	Family Research Survey
FSPPT1968	Family Structure and Population Problems in Turkey
Ger.	German
Goth.	Gothic
Grk.	Greek
HÜNEE	Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies
IFLS	Indonesian Family Life Survey
It.	Italian
KAP	Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of Family Planning
Lat.	Latin
MFLS	Malaysian Family Life Survey
NUTS	Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics
On.	Old Nordic
San.	Sanskrit
Sw.	Swedish
TAYA2006	Research on Family Structure in Turkey 2006
TAYA2011	Research on Family Structure in Turkey 2011
TDHS	Turkish Demographic and Health Survey
TFS1988	Turkish Family Structure 1988
Tr.	Turkish
TÜİK	Turkish Statistical Institute

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The main research question I am interested in addressing in this dissertation is how central knowledge about family has been structured through technology of statistics, structural functionalist theory and nationwide surveys with the intention of social policy making in Turkey by the state since 1960s. Does the state able to carve a concrete form to family while it stitches and stretches the family between time and space on the topos of the society? I have been observing the state's social policy intentions on family 'in the state' as a social policy expert since 2006, and speaking about family 'out of the state' as a social scientist, and living 'in the family' as a layman in the context of the society. Through my writing period of this dissertation, such a triangular position had enabled me a unique spectacle to trace how social policy experts encapsulate and structure the family with the intention of social policymaking since 1960s in the Turkish case.

There is a vacuum in the theoretical and empirical field of family structure, unmapped by social studies in Turkey. The number of qualitative and quantitative local studies about the family structure in Turkey (Duben and Behar, 1991; Berkes, 1942; Kongar, 1972; Yasa, 1957; 1966; 1969; Kıray, 1964; Delaney, C. 1991; Stirling, 1965; McCarty, 1979; White, 1994; Magnarella, 1974; Merter, 1990) is abundant and more than the number of nationwide studies. Although the former ones have plentiful differences focusing on specific parts of the family and facilitating multiple sociological methodologies and theories about the family in local base, I do not include them in this dissertation because social policy experts in general intend rather focusing information about the national context as they have a holistic planning by extending them to national level. Moreover, local

studies of family have different methods, survey instruments and types of measurement that make impossible to scrutinize comparatively and comprehensively in terms of extending their results to national level. In addition, I prefer to focus on few numbers of nationwide studies because they had not sufficiently been discussed in terms of their methodology, survey instruments, scientific approach, and motivation.

There are only four nationwide surveys about family structure between 1968 and 2011 in Turkey, and there is no critical study about these surveys. Besides, there is no study about how state's social policy experts have structured central knowledge about the family by facilitating these surveys as well. These surveys have clues in terms of understanding the state's approach to the family and its mechanisms running to form family into its idealized shape. Hence, my dissertation focuses rather on the preparation, development, management, and application processes of these four surveys than their results that have not been yet discussed in detail. These surveys are cross-sectional surveys that funded by state institutions, including Family Structure and Population Problems in Turkey (FSPPT1968) by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, Turkish Family Structure (TFS1988) by State Planning Organization and State Statistical Institute, Research on Family Structure in Turkey 2006 (TAYA2006) by General Directorate of Family and Social Research with Turkish Statistical Institute, and Research on Family Structure in Turkey 2011 (TAYA2011) by Ministry of Family and Social Policies. My participation, as a state officer, in TAYA2011 revealed me the whole processes of survey management that were taught at the university, including development of survey instruments, preparation of field operation manuals, sampling, pilot test, encoding, fieldwork checks and reporting.

These four surveys can be categorized in applied or policy oriented surveys aiming to provide information that can be used in order to guide social policy. While analyzing them, I facilitated epistemological approach as a methodology that enables me (1) to understand the family structure drawn by four surveys critically in its context; (2) to peruse the structural relationships between periodical surveys on family structure; (3) to trace the policy oriented data on family structure which is structural, historical and ideological; (4) to describe the family structure as a

social reality from diverse survey experiments; and (5) to understand the deep structure not only underlying these diverse experiments but also unifying them for the benefit of the state. My research method is simply a technique for collecting data from the government archives including papers about survey instruments, sampling, unit of analysis, operational definitions, books, booklets, published articles facilitating from these four surveys, and available micro data set. Hence my research tool is internal desk research that much information is generated within the state and based on nationwide collected data.

In general, I argue that these four family structure surveys are not purely scientific endowments for understanding the family structure in Turkey, but they are the state funded and initiated social policy surveys originated by a maleficent combination of three components, including (1) the technology of statistics; (2) the structural functionalist theory; (3) the approach of social policymaking encapsulating the family for the sake of legitimate intervention of the state on the family issues. These components have strong back-and-forth relation to each other in terms of enabling the modern state in construction of abstract central knowledge about the family resulting in administrative ordering of family as a social structure. These components can be assumed to be typical tools and agents of modern governance; they are as fundamental to the maintenance of family welfare and individual wellbeing in the family as they are to the principal schemes of a would-be modern state. They embrace the concept of citizenship for the individual and handle the delivery of social welfare to the family and individuals through a social policy of understanding and measuring detrimental changes in the family.

The first component, technology of statistics, has become a solemn agent of modern state in terms of its abstraction power that is forming the central knowledge about masses and structures in society. By forming the central knowledge about the society through numbers and statistics, the state facilitates the justification of 'right' administrative decision about the social structure with undisputed numbers and rates. In addition, numbers and statistics about social facts has an unbiased estimator effect over the governments, people and social policy experts in terms of increasing the legitimacy of governmental decisions about particular social policy initiations. For example, by measuring the changes in

various social facts through ratios, including divorce, cohabitation, birth, domestic violence, employment, family income and family size, governments accelerating certain policies to control and manage the social facts in family structure.

The second component is the theory of structural functionalism in the discipline of sociology. In this dissertation, I show how structural functionalist theoretical perspective of sociology is intensely used in nationwide family surveys by the state officials in Turkey. In arguing to embrace the family structure, I realize that the hubris of the structural functionalists and the social policy experts have crafted lenses for the family which enable them to look at everything through the same spectacles, and thus, to solve any problems about the family with the same orders and agents. The structural functionalist approach, at the state level, is best conceived as a strong version of the assurance about scientific and technical progress for the society, the growing satisfaction of human needs, the mastery of nature and human nature, the rational and logical design of social order corresponding with the homeostasis of state or better to say for the raison d'état. In other words, the intention of structural functionalists converges with the raison d'état on the family operating with three themes; definition of reality [family], development of social policymaking on reality [family policy], and order of law on reality [ranging from creation and enforcement of tax laws that affect family economic status and behavior; regulation of marriage and divorce; definition of parental authority and responsibility for children; distribution of family inheritance; regulation of child support, custody, and adoption; re-urbanization of households; placement of family as an institution among other social institutions; domestic violence; to discussion on family policy at the national level].

Although it seems a modern theory, structural functionalism has strong deep roots originating from pre-modern times. At the state level what makes it a more respected and useful theory now than before is that the development of rational understanding and the control over society, family and individual through statistics, and mastery of social policy expert on social surveys. Structural functionalist approach at the hands of social policy experts should not been confused with scientific practices. It is fundamentally, as the term raison d'être implies, a confidence that borrowed: the legitimacy of science and technical

willpower over the social policy management. In contrast to scientific practices, it is uncritical and certain over the subject it studies, and thus positive about the possibilities for the comprehensive planning on family, household, and relation within the family. Social policy experts of structural functionalism tend to see a rational order and homeostasis in society in respect to rational order and homeostasis in the state. For them, an effective, rationally organized government, city, household, family and its members are a totality that monitored, maneuvered, regulated and ordered in a mathematically and statistically aesthetic sense. Social policy experts, from this theoretical perspective, supervise to miniaturize the family and its members through nationwide surveys creating the central knowledge: the representation or the creation of a more easily tangible, manageable, and controllable micro-order with different family typologies.

The approach of social policymaking accorded with structural functionalism is the third component. The state with its whole institutions that is eager to use the full weight of its power to create rational structure through social policymaking. The most generative time and space for this component have typically been times of economic crisis, social cohesions and change of governments. In such situations, it seems that social policy experts have initiated surveys on changes in social structures in terms of eliminating the emergency disorders. For example, administration period of four surveys on family structures in Turkey had coincided with period of rapid structural changes at the very foundations of Turkish society and the state. The FSPPT1968 was administered after 1960 coup d'état fostering 'a planned development' for both structure of population and foundation of the state. TFS1988 was administered after the 1980 coup d'état fostering the rise of a conservative government. TAYA2006 and TAYA2011 were administered after a serious economic depression in 2002 fostering rise of a new liberal conservative government.

The composition of three components mentioned above enables social policy experts to approach and embrace the very foundations of the state including family. This composition provides governments with the capacity for a large-scale social policy involvement in social structures. In sum, the four ordinary modern themes of social sciences referring to social change work for the family and its

members as well in modern state: built up 'efficient' policy for the families in terms of achieving maximum results with a minimum effort; 'predict' what will happen to family structure in the future; 'calculate' families with numerical data including statistics; and 'dehumanize' family and its members at the level of central knowledge by employing social sciences and technology of statistics as a means of control over society.

By facilitating four nationwide family structure surveys, in the framework originating a combination of three components mentioned above, in this dissertation I have one major and five minor arguments. My major argument is that the state not only collects data about family from social surveys but also invests on these surveys to make up a central knowledge of family through stitching and stretching between time and space on the topos of the society by mainly using the technology of statistics and structural functionalism with the intention of social policy administration. I have five minor arguments that are tied to the major argument discussing the reasons why the state fails to build up a body of knowledge about the family, in spite of its eagerness to construct a central knowledge about family structure in Turkey.

First, although arguments of some sociological theories about the society based on individual versus society mediated by inter-subjectivity, it is between the substantive individual's *psyche* and the society's *totality* that are mutually irreducible poles. Logos and telos of the state extend the body of substantive individual into a body of the state, and condense the body of the state into a body of substantive individual vice versa through *anthrop-o*-[man]-*morph-o*-[form-structure]-*logy*[reason-discourse]. For this argument, at the first chapter, I facilitated the conceptualization of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *primary, secondary imagination* and *fancy* categories with the conceptualization of Cornelius Castoriadis' *radical imagination* and the *social instituting imaginary* to elucidate how family as a word incarnates from intuition to institution, specter to silhouette, body to structure, organ to organization.

Second, family with its facets and embodiment at the gaze of the state is a multilayered phenomenon, and thus it is structured by the state in a multilayered

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way confined not only to the literature, philosophy, sociology, linguistics, psychology, law, statistics and social policy disciplines each, but also bent to the patterns of layman's everyday practices, habits of scientists and development of new technologies and survey methods in social sciences. The very existence of family has layers codified by different branches of science. The relationship among codified layers and the relationships between concepts in the layered slices are not just concepts mechanically and habitually turned in to a simple holistic language. Namely, the position of layman is important, because his/her imagination of his/her family and him/herself vertically perforates and connects the horizontal layers of different scientific approaches. Since the scientists naturally carry the role of layman in everyday social context, they are at the key position sympathizing between layers of family within the scheme of social science. I argue the importance of social scientists and the layman at the third chapter by elucidating how the family has emerged as a tangible body for linguistics, literature, sociology, philosophy and law. What is important to underline at the outset is that neither the family nor the state can be structured in isolation from the totality of the imaginary, everyday practices, and patterns those are grasped by poetry, philosophy, linguistics, social sciences, statistics and social policy.

Third, family as a psyche[1] is not a tangible object for the state's social policy operations at local level until it is restructured as knowledge in accordance with raison d'état at the central level for the raison d'étre. Family as a structure has become tangible and maneuverable within the topos and the telos of the state and of the society only through technology of statistics, understandings of structural

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[1] Psyche has a wide range of meanings from psychology to sociology; from Socrates to Sigmund Freud. In this dissertation I use it for the family in terms of contextualizing family's intangible side and elucidating interplay between psyche and totality; individual and society; family and the state. The most striking such kind of a usage of the psyche is facilitated by Cornelius Castoriadis. For him the modalities of the being exist in the socio-historical context that an individual is always a social-individual fabricated by societies. I argue that as the individual is a fabrication of the society, the family as a unity of individuals is as much as fabricated by individuals, society and the state. Although the body of family and of individual is materializing in society, their embodiments cannot be reduced to society. Hence, while individual conform to family and family inevitably conform to society, an inherent tension –caused by psyche– among individual, family and society is always occurred.

functionalists, and philosophy of knowledge construction. I argue, at the third chapter, that when the state invests on the members of family relations in terms of social theories and statistical technologies, it forms the knowledge about the family through four conceptualizations; body of substantive individual, body of family, virtual space, and virtual time. At the fourth chapter, I conceptualize the nature of the state's logos of family with more formal, deductive, epistemic knowledge of the family through dianoia, noesis, epistēmē, tēchnē and phronēsis which descends from classical Greek immanent, and denotes the knowledge that can come only from practical experience of family and its members.

Fourth, although the hubris[2] of social policy experts and the state officials about self-confidence on the development of monitoring and involvement agents of the state, it is not enough to draw a total picture of the family structure, because the four nationwide family structure surveys in Turkey have serious drawbacks in tracking scientific path, in measurement of family, and in development of survey instruments. These drawbacks had resulted in a serious epistemological problem about capacity of the structural functionalist theory whether it 'might' have created a perfect central knowledge about the family structure in Turkey. Although sociology and statistics had crafted various techniques and survey instruments for nationwide family life surveys, social policy experts and the state officials have not an absolute scientific freedom to use them. In addition, they are not as skeptic about the subject and measurement tools as social scientists. Also, state officials and social policy experts are not as much enthusiastic as social scientists in tracing the steps of a scientific inquiry and systematic data collection. In other words, under counterfactual conditions –if social policy experts and the state officials would track scientific path and measure the subject of family through carefully designed survey instruments and collect data systematically, it 'might' be possible

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[2] I use the term hubris as an optimism and confidence within the social policy making that under the rule of the state, social sciences and social research as instruments can solve any kind of social problem. Such optimism perpetuates the state's ability to impose its schemes [values, morals, hoods] on society, family and individual, because if you name the object through social research you can rule the object in a proper manner. Such confidence comes from modernist planners and policy experts those believed that they know what is right and how to organize a more productive and rational life for individuals, families and social institutions. Optimism and confidence of policy experts can merge as hubris if only the state has consistent and coercive power over its subjects, and the social scientists forecast the future from existing trends in divorce, marriage, child rearing, family income, employment, education, migration and so on.

to build up a central knowledge about 'structure of family' in Turkey. Besides this epistemological possibility of drawing the family structure in Turkey, there is an ontological impossibility with it, because the structural functionalist design of the current survey instruments on nationwide family life in social science 'may' neither craft a perfect 'body of family' nor create a centralized knowledge for social policy operations. To elucidate these impossibilities, after briefing four surveys at the fifth chapter, I analyzed them in detail at the sixth and seventh chapters.

Fifth, the family is constructed in a multilayered manner on the gaze of the state and it is a multifaceted subject on the spectacles of social policy expert. While measuring and encapsulating the family and its members, concerns of the state have been shifted on the different facets of the family in respect to different governments. I elucidate this shift of governments at the sixth chapter by scrutinizing how the questions in the questionnaires of four surveys had changed in different governmental periods.

In sum, I argue that although the state make use of its whole agents and capacities in terms of building up a central knowledge about the structure of family, the state's officials and social policy experts cannot construct the knowledge of family structure as a whole, because they cannot maintain three keys including scientific discipline, diligence of understanding, and scientific skepticism. Although the four studies aim to build up a body of knowledge about the family structure for the sake of social policy interventions, their findings are inconvenient for social policy operations, since they had not been created within the legacy of these three keys. Hence, the results of the studies were neither adequately facilitated by any serious social policy text nor invested by respected scientists in their articles.

At the conclusion chapter, I offer longitudinal survey which is better than cross-sectional one in terms of drawing a better body of knowledge for the family structure that it may enables social policy experts to devise effective social policies for families. It may also enables social scientists to grasp the family as a subject within important life cycles, by not chaining down the subject within a atemporal time and space as in cross-sectional surveys, through tracking the subjects of

family in a temporal time in a vivid topos of family. However, the change in the type of survey is not going to be enough for grasping a better knowledge about family structure in Turkey, until the drawbacks in the cross-sectional surveys are not eliminated in the longitudinal survey, including scientific freedom, finance, research archives, sharing policy for the data, division of responsibilities among scientists, state officials, statisticians and social policy experts, the procedures in systematically data collection.

In order to discuss the main and five minor arguments I did not trace the subject with a single approach, in terms of justifying assumptions of structural functionalism on family or in terms of discussing family structure through Marxist or feminist assumptions on family. I rather approach to the subject with multiple concepts. So as to elucidate how the body of knowledge about the family structure is embroidered on the gaze of the state as a central knowledge, I facilitated the terms *dianoia*, *noesis*, *epistēmē*, *tēchnē* and *phronēsis*. The arguments are discussed on a base that is bordered and constructed through concepts, including *topos*, *logos, alētheia, raison d'*étre, *raison d'état, telos, causea efficientes*, and *causea finalis*. Furthermore, to discuss the individual-family-family member-society and the state relation on the formation of central knowledge about family structure based on individual versus society mediated by inter-subjectivity, I use the concepts *fancy*, *primary imagination*, *radical imagination*, *secondary imagination*, and *social instituting imaginary*. Each of these concepts has a multidimensional link with each other in respect to a multilayered order. *Fancy*, *primary imagination*, *radical imagination* and *secondary imagination* are in the layer of *noesis* (1) enabling layman and social scientists with immediate apprehensions about the family. Just above this layer, there is a layer of *dianoia* (2) including *Tēchnē* and *phronēsis* that is a discursive thinking functioning to build up an epistemology of family structure through numbers and statistics. The connection between these two layers is supplied by *social instituting imaginary* (3) bridging the noesis and the dianoia through social sciences both for the gaze of the state and social policymaking of the social policy experts. These two layers have a playground on the layer of *topos* (4). As a playground, topos of the society locates the each part of these two layers accordingly with *telos* of society that is governed

by state officials, and ordered by social needs. These four elements are cast into roles to create a central knowledge of family structure for social policymaking in respect to *logos* (5) run by *causea efficientes*, and *causea finalis,* and *governmental alētheia* (6) run by *raison d'*étre, *raison d'état*.

I limited the dissertation within the border of four surveys and only of Turkey in a period between 1960 and 2011 accordingly with four characteristics. First, I chose studies directly scrutinizing the family structure. Second, I prefer quantitative studies. Third, I selected studies, which were conducted in Turkey with a nationwide sampling. Fourth, the studies were funded by the state. Hence, I eliminated the local; qualitative or quantitative; direct or indirect studies about family structure in Turkey. The studies conducted about family life in several countries were not included to the dissertation as well. The first serious shortcoming for the dissertation was poor archive of the studies. Although the states are known for their well documentation about everything, at these four surveys I could not find all the documents about the whole process of research administration, micro data set, fieldwork reports, workshops, sampling, and micro dataset's of pilot test.

CHAPTER II

THE CANVAS OF FAMILY

> *"If one really thinks about the body as such, there is no possible outline of the body as such. There are thinkings of the systematicity of the body, there are value codings of the body. The body, as such cannot be thought, and I certainly cannot approach It"* (Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, quoted in Butler, 1993: 1).

The goal of this chapter is to sketch a frame for the question how family is embroidered and represented through social sciences. Here, I will provide a summary of 'family in social sciences' as opposed to the 'social sciences for family', because I assume that the latter is an uncritical reification of social sciences, as a tool with its own goals and even with its own will like social policy management. While it is important to recognize the role that any branch of social science has in providing the factual resources for the definition and enactment of families, it is equally important to develop an analytical framework for distinguishing between what social policy experts' conceptualizations of family are and the conditions that make such conceptualizations possible.

The field of family structure has widespread contributors as indicated by the fact that courses on family and household are offered in such dissimilar subjects as sociology and medicine, education and politics, psychology and economics, history and biology, anthropology and law, literature and linguistic. In general, there are many misconstructions concerning the nature and dynamics of family as an area of subject. The layman's 'perception' of family is apt to be very different from the 'conception' of social scientists. Furthermore, social scientists'

conceptions of family have different denotations and connotations in respect to different disciplines, and even within the same scientific discipline. A social scientist is sometimes thought of as a person who manipulates the subject of family in order to prove a point of interest. On the other hand, especially the social policy experts working on family have tended to worship the subject of family, especially the moralists, with the aid of research methodologies can make almost anything of it scientifically and clearly explicable. Namely, the worship of the subject of family derives from the need to interpret the world. Since "every drive is a kind of lust to rule; each one has its perspective that it would like to compel all the other drives to accept as a norm" (Nietzsche, 1967: 267), family is perceived as a founding norm to understand the social structure and maneuver it through social policy. Besides, people often find it difficult to approach the subject of family with other than complicated feelings, possibly because both layman and social scientist at least born into a family. In other words, studying family as a scientific subject is more difficult than calculating the numbers with rule of mathematics, mixing up elements to transmute them into a new element through rule of chemistry, and bookkeeping state's revenue and expense via rule of economics. Scientists familiar with accounting may be terrified at the prospect of working with huge numbers, but social scientists on the subject of family may be more overwhelmed because of their complicated feelings and experience about their family, wide and deep range of the subject, and abundance of the divergent and convergent components within the family concept. Hence, one of the greatest challenges I have faced at writing my dissertation has been to find an agreement on precisely what constitutes family and its structure. In other words, grasping family as a scientific subject seems one of the most difficult, formidable and overwhelming tasks of the social scientist. Therefore, before jumping into complicated feelings quickly and thereby losing perspective, let us first ask just what subject of family and family structure is.

As Bourdieu claims, "if it is accepted that the family is only a word, a mere verbal construct, one then has to analyze the representations that people form of what they refer to as the family" (1996: 19). No matter how many different ways it is 'perceived' or 'conceived', at least family is a word embroidered in *topos* of science in respect to social context. In other words, the family as a word is a sheaf

for systematically tracking locally defined social reality attached to the open sets of a scientific category at the theoretical level in the mind of scientist, and it is a *topological* intuition in the mind of layman, projecting the converging and diverging points encompassing the everyday family life of both layman and scientist. To be more concrete, consider the statement 'it is in the bedroom', spoken within a house by one member of the family to other family members. The chatterer may know that, within the district, there are many of other bedrooms. Nevertheless, there is only one bedroom –*the bedroom* in this context. The world has been shrunk to the boundaries of the chatterer's house by this statement; here, other bedrooms are to be marked, explicitly signified as other: 'my sister's bedroom' or 'grandpa's bedroom in the pavilion' is not the bedroom in its unqualified uniqueness. The statement of *the bedroom* not only assumes the boundary of home as the context of statement, but it also helps to renew this homely context. The word 'family' operates similarly in the mind of layman's perception and social scientist's conception. Everyday routines and words denoting these routines about the family include habits of discourse, enabling family members to identify and imagine themselves, and thereby reproduce themselves as husband, wife, child, grandmother, and uncle of a family. *Topos* of family constructs at least a wide range of solid rhetorical place and social context by tying many words and everyday practices in sheaves. Layman's everyday practices, routines and perceptions, and social scientist's theoretical conceptions and measurements about the family, with whole divergent and convergent points, has constructed a family *topography* through words, imaginations, and daily practices.

Although 'the word' family has gained a shaft of a loom through 'the term' topos to grasp 'family' as a social reality, its embodiment on the loom must be explained through how any singular human being touches family as a social reality, and grasps it into mind as a social category, and habituates it in his/her everyday routine. It is clear that the family is not a palpable 'thing' akin to its contents like mother, father, child, uncle, and house those are denoting concrete projectile associations within a social context and perception. It is rather an embodiment and tangible perception of intuition, and a social imaginary emanating from its

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palpable sub-contents within a social projectile. In order to elucidate the embodiment of the word family as an imagination, five paths can shortly be taken: the literary, the philosophical, the linguistics, the sociological and the law.

2.1. The Path of Literature

On the literary path, I use the conceptualization of the18[th] century poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *primary*, *secondary imagination* and *fancy* categories. He states that "the primary imagination I hold to be the living power and prime agent of all human perception, and as a repetition in the finite of the eternal act of creation of the infinite I AM.[3] The secondary I consider, as an echo of the former, coexisting with the conscious will, yet still identical with the primary in the kind of its agency, and differing only in degree, and in the mode of its operation. It dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to re-create: or where this process is rendered impossible, yet still at all events it struggles to idealize and to unify. It is essentially vital, even as all objects (as objects) are essentially fixed and dead. FANCY[4] on the contrary, has no other counters to play with, but fixities and definites. The fancy is indeed no other than a mode of memory emancipated from the order of time and space; while it is blended with, and modified by that empirical phenomenon of the will, which we express by the word Choice. But equally with the ordinary memory the Fancy must receive all its materials ready made from the law of association" (1848: 378).

In the light of Coleridge's classification it can be claimed that at the literal level, the word family, which has fixities and definities without palpable but tangible existence in the mode of memory imposes itself, in Kantian sense, transcendent to human history and social context. Although it seems transcendent to human history and social context, fancy of family receive all its historical material and social context from the law of association through primary and secondary imagination as being immanent to all habitus. Bourdieu asserts that "the family is a principle of construction that is both immanent in individuals (as an internalized

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[3] Emphasis in original

[4] Emphasis in original

collective) and transcendent to them, since they encounter it in the form of objectivity in all other individuals; it is a transcendental in Kant's sense, but one which, being immanent in all *habitus*, imposes itself as transcendent" (1996: 21). Namely, family has come into existence through primary imagination that is inherent to human perception reflecting itself as a repetitive everyday practices in the frame of topos encompassing the finite of the eternal act of creation of the infinite. The secondary imagination operates in the human mind in a negation circular on one hand, by diverging, dissolving, dissipating, and fissioning the idealized perception of the family. On the other hand, it ties many words and everyday practices of family in sheaves by idealization, unification, convergence, and fusion.

The primary and secondary imaginations on the tongue of a litterateur grasping the magmatic nature of family and its members through fancy runs in parallel with the unstructured topos of society. They are the tools of playing ground –'a language-game (sprachspiel = consisting of language and the actions into which it is woven)' for the person of literature. "Here the term "language-game"5 is meant to bring into prominence the fact that the speaking of language is part of activity, or of a form of life" (Wittgenstein, 1986: 11). Namely, the language on the hands of litterateur searching for an idealized and a unified perception of family –family that is resembled to family, the body in the outline of the body, the body in the systematicity of the body– is still very close to fancy –the specter of family and its members, but the voice encapsulating the fancy is the basic starting point to form and shape the family life. The philosophical endowment intervenes between the vocabulary about family and its referrals through logos in searching for a correspondence between them and an alētheia for both sides. The radical imagination and social instituting imaginary I use below, widens the space between words about family and family in real life through logos.

2.2. The Path of Philosophy

On the philosophy path, I use the conceptualization of Cornelius Castoriadis' *radical imagination* and *the social instituting imaginary* to elucidate how family as

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[5] Emphasis in original

a word incarnates from intuition to institution, from specter to silhouette, from body to structure. Namely, his work on imagination enables us to comprehend how the word family as a 'kernel' of family structure consists of the spectral apparition that fills up the hole of real, since "many ethnomethodologists even go so far as to say that what we regard as a reality is a fiction, constructed to a large extent by the vocabulary that the social World provides us with in order to describe it" (Bourdieu, 1996: 19). Intuitions and impressions about both 'things' and 'things in social context' come into existence through imagination and social instituting imaginary. Imagination has dichotomous power on 'things' with ambiguating and disambiguating them in the perception of human's mere opinion. According to Castoriadis "main factor the philosophy has been a search for the truth (alētheia) as opposed to mere opinion (doxa), and truth was immediately correlated with *logos, nous, ratio*, Reason *Verstand and Vernunft*. Doxa was linked with sense impressions, or imagination. Truth about the world and about being was to be along the ways of *logos*, of Reason, without the question being raised: How can a world, and being exist for a human subject in the first place? And how it is that these human subjects possess *logos*, language? (In Aristotle *logos* is an extremely polysemous term; but in his dictum, *anthrôpos esti zoon logon ekhon* – humans are living beings possessing *logos* – *logos* I believe, refers centrally to language" (1994: 137). Besides, Aristotle defines the word as *phōnē sēmantikē kata sunthēken* a 'voice' signifies according to a convention. Namely, referral of 'a word' or 'a voice' to 'a thing' has become significant only by if 'a word', 'a voice', 'a thing' is convened and conveyed into [or in other words, socialized with] 'words', 'voices', 'things' respectively through a 'conventional/instituted character of language. "In the social world, words make things, because they make the consensus on the existence and the meaning of things, the common sense, the *doxa* accepted itself by all as self-evident" (Bourdieu, 1996: 21). Naming things with voices in everyday practices and stamping things with words to human mind is run by Reason. To Castoriadis, "according to the already emerging basic ontological categories, this reason could be found in Things, in Ideas, or in Subjects –that is, Substantive Individuals –but certainly not in anonymous social collective which could only be a collection of individuals entering into commerce because of need, or fear, or of 'rational calculation'" (1994: 137-138). He explains how the radical

imagination of substantive individual comes to mind by the explanations of Kant, Parmenides, Socrates and Aristotle.

In the Kant's Critique of Pure Reason a proper definition is given: "**Imagination[6]** is the power of presenting an object in intuition even *without the object's being present*. Now, all our intuition is sensible; and hence the imagination, because of the subjective condition under which alone it can give to the concepts of understanding a corresponding intuition, belongs to *sensibility*" (Kant, 1999: 70). "One may note that Parmenides was already saying as much, if not more: 'Consider how the absent (*things*) are with certainty present to thought (*noo*).' And Socrates was going much further when he asserted that imagination is the power to represent that which *is not*." (Castoriadis, 1994: 139). In the *De Anima* Aristotle, for the sake of 'philosophical truth' –alētheia *phantasia*/imagination is embraced as a distortion of sensations. He describes the imagination as a blunder/ambiguous faculty that accompanies present sensations. Since sensation is taken for granted as always true for Aristotle, imaginary capacity of human (primarily serving to reproduce what the senses provided, to recombine past sensations into new images) bringing about distorted truth is not needed for the search of it. Although Aristotle attributes decayed value to *phantasia*, Castoriadis argued that Aristotle himself was actually aware of the dichotomous power of *phantasia* that is not simply an accompaniment to sensation or blundered truth but it is also a condition for all thought, and not a negation of thought disambiguating the truth. Hence, Castoriadis insists that the *phantasia* should be interpreted as a capacity for the presentation of the as such (1994: 139). Criticizing Aristotle with not embracing the disambiguating and blundering power of *phantasia* simultaneously, Castoriadis opens a new room up for his term 'radical imaginary' by also criticizing Kant with not embracing the blundering power of 'transcendental imagination' *transzendentale synthesis der einbildungskraft* which is also named 'creative imagination' in Kant's works. He argues that Kant had implicitly recognized the creativity of the imagination. Kant's recognition of the need to chain down the imagination to stable structures of thought and intuition indicates that he was aware of a creativity that is not necessarily stable or conservative. If Kant had not

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[6] Emphasis added

recognized the radical creativity of imagination, he would not have been so keen on his efforts to cover over its ambiguity by stringing it to a priori structures between space and time (1994: 140-147).

Between Aristotle's phantasia and Kant's creative imagination, Castoriadis coined a new category named 'radical imagination'. He discusses about 'imagination' on account of two connotations of the word: "the connection with images in the most general sense, that is, *forms* (Bilder-Einbildung, etc); and the connection with the idea of invention or, better and properly speaking, with *creation*" (1994: 138). The term 'radical' he use "to emphasize the idea that this imagination is *before* the distinction between 'real' and 'fictious'. To put it bluntly: it is because radical imagination exists that 'reality' exists *for us* –exists *tout court* –and exists as it exists (1994: 138). Castoriadis' radical imagination has similar implications with the Coleridge's primary imagination that two explanations about imaginative faculty of human fixes and kills 'object' and 'intuition' belonging to Heraclitean flux by chaining them down between time and space through intensifying their existence within forms which are constituted by permanence, duration, eternity and atemporality. "It is radical because it creates *ex nihilio* (not *in nihilio* or *cum nihilio*). It does not create 'images' in visual sense (though it does this as well: totem poles, emblems, flags, etc.). It creates, rather forms which can be images in general sense (linguists, speak about the acoustic image of world), but in the main are significations and institutions (each of those being impossible without the other)" (1994: 138). In sum, "radical imagination is the power of (the capacity, the faculty) to make appear representations ('ideas' is the old English term, e.g. in Locke), whether with or without an external incitement" (1994: 139). "Indescribable *X* 'out there' becomes something definite and specific *for* a particular being, through the functioning of its sensory and logical imagination, which 'filters', 'forms' and 'organizes' the external incitement." Hence, radical imagination facilitating such a function to substantive individual "(as source of perceptual *quale* and logical forms) is what makes it possible for any being –for – itself to *create for* itself an own [or proper] world (*eine Eigenwelt*) 'within' which also posit itself" (1994: 143). Namely, through radical imagination everything belonging to the Heraclitean flux became disqualified –and of *universality* –

opposing what must be for everybody to what just happens to be for somebody. In terms of universality, mutatis mutandis Bourdieu explains "the family as an objective category (a structuring structure) is the basis of the family as a subjective category (a structured structure), a mental category which is the matrix of countless representations and actions (e.g. marriages) which help to reproduce the objective social category. The circle is that of reproduction of social order. The near-perfect match that is then set up between the subjective and objective categories provides the foundation for an experience of the world as self-evident, taken for granted. And nothing seems more natural than the family; this arbitrary social construct seems belong on the side of nature, the natural and *universal*" (Bourdieu, 1996: 21).

Castoriadis' second term for understanding how imagination makes it possible for any being for itself to create a proper society positing itself to substantive individual is Social Instituting Imaginary. Through social instituting imagination "society is creation, and creation of itself: self-creation" (1994: 149). He maintained that society is the emergence of a new ontological form –*eidos* –and of a new mode of being. It is a quasi-totality held together by institutions (language, norms, family norms, tools and production modes) and by the embodiments these institutions is signifying (totem, taboos, commodities, wealth, fatherland). The institutions and their embodiments are both representations of ontological creations *signifying* the institutions as a mode of relation holding together the components (substantive individual) of a totality (society). In social imagination, the very foundation of opposition is not between individual and society. Although arguments of some sociological theories about the society based on individual versus society, in social instituting imaginary it is between mutually irreducible poles; the substantive individual's *psyche* and the *totality* of the society. Society as a totality exists in posing the requirement of significations as universal and total by tying the radical imaginations of individuals in sheaves that are accumulating on topos, and also posing each signification, topos and sheaves (language, norms, family norms, tools and production modes) to each individual as what can ever satisfy this requirement. Social instituting imaginary is not only a simple tie of sheaves which *intuitionalized intuitions, silhouetted specter, structured body* are

fixed, killed and kicked out of Heraclitean flux by ruling/chaining down each radical imagination of individual but also an agent intensifying existence of specters in time and on space within forms which is constituted by permanence, duration, eternity and atemporality. Since social instituting imaginary accumulates and creates *forms* between atemporal space and temporal time, it also contains radical imaginations' blundering and disambiguating powers simultaneously. Maintaining a reverse argument requires atemporality of time, or at least assumes, and an end for time soon or later. To put it another way, social instituting imaginary tying each radical imagination of individuals in sheaves in an originary process is not atemporal and dull *forms* stretched between time and space, but it is much more a pendulum moving and signifying vivid imaginations in time and on space by creating a topos of social world. In his word Castoriadis explains it that "the institution of society is in each case the institution of magma of social imaginary significations, which we can and must call a *world* of significations. For it is one and the same thing to say that society institutes the world in each case as its world or its world as the world, and to say that it institutes a world of significations that is its own, in correlation to which, alone, a world can and does exist for it" (1998: 359).

The originary and creative process of 'the imaginary institution of society' signifies imaginary patterns of meaning for substantive individuals through institutions, language and history. It places substantive individuals in the authority of a mode of being which is primary, originary and creative in social life, and which is not reducible to a system that is only efficient, and combined series of actions combined to satisfying the needs of society. In other words, this mode of being incorporates both determination and indeterminacy likewise radical and social instituting imaginations' dichotomous ambiguating and disambiguating power on the perception of human's mere opinion. Since the family as a mode of being, at least, is a word flourished by layman's and social scientist' radical imagination in accordance with society's social instituting imaginary, the meaning and the function of it have come into existence in social context of everyday practices, and in the human's mere opinion through a grammatical language signifying human's everyday practices about the family. However, it should be

kept in mind that dichotomous power of imagination has affected the meaning and everyday practices as well. While ambiguating power affects and alters concrete language and everyday practices about the family including their abstract-material base in each specific case by radical imagination, the disambiguating power constructs family's general nature of its organization and imaginary patterns of meaning by social instituting imaginary through positing *phonemes*, combining them into *grammatical classes*, organizing the elements of these classes in accordance with *syntactical rules in languages*, and also through positing the human's *each practice* about the family, combining them into *behavioral forms*, instituting the elements of behavioral forms in accordance with *tacit rules in social context*. As the language with its phonemes, grammatical classes and syntactical rules is presumed to be the reflection of tacit rules of social context by its practitioners, behavioral forms and institutions respectively, it becomes a crucial agent in order to understand how the family as a word in language enables us to understand the family in the social context. Namely, "family is an active 'watchword', or rather, a category, a collective principle of construction of collective reality. It can be said without contradiction that both social realities are social fictions with no other basis than social construction and they really exist, inasmuch as they are collectively recognized" (Bourdieu, 1996: 20). From now on I introduce linguistic path.

2.3. The Path of Linguistics

I assume that neither language nor social context as separate projections purely and absolutely are the reflections of each other converging into a single projectile. Both language and social context have a dialectical relation transforming 'each other' that 'one' cannot exist 'without the other'. "Language is the house of being. In its home, human beings dwell. Those who think and those who create with words are the guardians of this home. Their guardianship accomplishes the manifestation of being insofar as they bring this manifestation to language and preserve it in language through their saying" (Heidegger, 1999: 239). Language exists only in as much as it continuous transformation draws its resources form itself and from social context as it is at any given moment by producing social significations, because it allows human being for the perception of a body qua

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himself, rather than a collection of flesh suitable for moving in. Hence, human being as an agent of social context and language has born into this dialectical relation without choice.

To say it in a different way with Castoriadis "it is one thing to say that we cannot choose a language with absolute freedom, and that every language encroaches on what 'is to be said'. We are fatally subject to language and that we can never say anything except what language makes us to say. We can never get outside of language, but our mobility within language is limitless and allows us to question everything, including language itself and our relation to it" (1998: 126). On the one hand, we cannot choose social context in birth with absolute freedom in parallel with language as well. On the other hand, as substantive individuals we cannot create the language but we can use its vocabulary and grammar in terms of speaking for imaginations, of structuring bodies, of instituting imaginaries.

As Castoriadis argues, "understanding and reason are socially instituted, though, of course, this institution leans on intrinsic possibilities and drives of the human psyche" (1994: 146). We are fatally subject to social context and that we can never conduct ourselves except what social context makes us to conduct. We can never get outside of social context, but our mobility within the topos of social context is limitless and allows us to conceptualize everything, including social context itself and our relation to it. Namely, a baby born into family can never say for him 'I am in family'. He requires another corpus of doxa, explicit and implicit rules in order to distinguish his own position from it. To elucidate it with Bourdieu's principle of construction "it is a common principle of vision and division, a *nomos*, that we all have in our heads because it has been inculcated in us through a process of socialization performed in a world that was itself organized according to the division into families. This principle of construction is one of the constituent elements of our habitus, a mental structure which, having been inculcated into all brains socialized in a particular way, is both individual and collective" (Bourdieu, 1996: 21). In result, language and social context have built up a habitus, ways of being in the world, for humankind from birth to death by language socialization. As Castoriadis argues, "socialization is the process whereby the psyche is forced to abandon (never fully) its pristine solipsistic meaning for the shared meanings

[language] provided by society" (1994: 147). Namely, the child born into a family has been exposed as soon as to social context and language and s/he has become a substantive agent in society by learning how to think of, imagine about, socially signify of and classify of 'things' and 'relationships between things' through language acquisition.

The original psychical human being at birth cannot by itself produce social significations about the family –rather he produces primary imaginations, which is supposed to ensure the possibility of synthetic a priori knowledge emanating from what Kant says "a secret art residing in the depths of human soul –psyche" (1999: 81), while its mind as tabula rasa and body in Heraclitean flux are situated in the family, because for it all external calls including voices and words, all external or internal sensorial stimulations including hunger and thirst, all bodily impressions of family members including father, mother, sister and others become representations, that is to say, they are put into images, and emerge as figures. At this phase, psychical human being can be assumed to be a "bricoleur" (Lévi-Strauss, 1966: 16-22), since it accesses to 'things' by signs with limited voice and tight body. I called this mental period of baby as semantic phase that it can refer multiple things with single voice, and voice of a baby does not have any confusion in terms of transmitting meaning from voice to thing 'in itself' while parents of the baby have a confusion what it does really refer to 'for itself'. In fact the language between parents and baby is a playground –*sprachspiel.* Since the child has not learnt reasoning to call the 'things' it cannot situate itself in the family and social context. This is the border of primary, secondary and social instituting imaginary conceptualizations of both Castoriadis and Coleridge. On the one hand, it is strange that parents called their babies as angels who come from heaven or other world mostly referring to their innocence literally. On the other hand, I insist that in spite the baby has a tangible body in social context, ontologically such a referral also means that the baby has an intangible mind, by not having a proper vocabulary, reasoning capacity and imagination. The baby is bricoleur, and thus, s/he is out of social context 'for itself'. Thus, intensively the baby's mind and extensively the baby's body have been turned into silhouette from specter; into institution from intuition; into structured body from mass by social context through

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language acquisition primarily through its parents. The tabula rasa turns into a topos –a social context, and 'webs of significance' "that man is an animal suspended in [it] he himself has spun" (Geertz, 1973: 5) has been built up by social imaginary significations as the human being learns in a process how to spell proper words, the relationship between words and things, the grammatical hierarchy between words and categories of the words and of things. To recite Aristotle, '*anthrôpos esti zoon logon ekhon*' and *logos* runs with language. In result, through language "we tacitly admit that reality to which we give the name 'family', and which we place in the category of 'real' families, is a family in real" (Bourdieu, 1996: 20). Not only language but also the effect of language are two merged and open sets those encompassing "personal human resources, human capital, developed in and through family resources, the emotional and marketable skills a child learns within this primary group, the networks within which the family is embedded, and the family's access to financial and other resources within its own community and national context" (as cited in Edgar, 2004: 7).

The original human being –the layman's contextualizing the social world operates *mutatis mutandis* in the mind of social scientist's works, conceptualizations and categorizations. As the words have been categorized in a grammatical structure in language by linguists, the referrals and meanings of them have been categorized on a structural base in social context by anthropologists and vice versa. Thus, linguistics and anthropology may give us how human being has owned its meaning and situated itself in the society through language acquisition, since former one works on the very being of language and latter one focuses on the very being of social existence. Namely, two scientific disciplines' contribution is to enable us to comprehend how human being and family are came to be particular intelligible subjects kicked out of Heraclitean flux by society and language through intensifying their existence within forms which is constituted by permanence, duration, eternity and atemporality. "The linguist provides the anthropologist with etymologies which permit him to establish between certain kinship terms relationships that were not immediately apparent. The anthropologist, on the other hand, can bring to the attention of the linguist customs, prescriptions, and

prohibitions that help him to understand the persistence of certain features of language or the instability of terms or group terms" (Lévi-Strauss, 2004: 145).

With the aid of Pierre Bourdieu' illuminating article "On The Family As A Realized Category" (1996), the above-summarized explanations of Coleridge, Castoriadis, Heidegger, Lévi-Strauss, Geertz, Kant, Aristotle and Socrates enable me to reduce social instituting imaginary of family to four basic operations. Namely, family as an imaginary, embroiders itself in the social context through four basic layers: First, structured topos of social instituting imaginary of family is transmitted or contextualized from the topos of human being's unstructured primary imagination; second, social instituting imaginary does not treat primary imaginations of each human being as separate, unique and independent entities, taking them instead as its basis of the relations between imaginations and transcended to each imagination; third, it introduces the concept of family showing its reality, tangibility and structure by closing up the circle of family with means of uncanny imaginary supplements. Lastly, social instituting imaginary project us to discover family as a thing in social context with general laws, by both logical induction and logical deduction, which would give it a clear character.

2.4. The Path of Sociology

To elucidate the embodiment of the family concept in social context, sociology is to be my next path. The most powerful and generalizing idea about the family in the corpus of sociology is that the family is assumed to be the central organizing institution of the society. Its centrality comes from having capacity to organize social context quite effectively by teaching language, regulating sexuality, controlling reproduction, and ensuring the socialization of the children who are born into family as a unit. However, in particular sense, since the corpus of sociology, especially the functionalist one, stands on the significant disjunction between individual as a unit of analysis and family as a unit of analysis, "sociology of the family has always been caught between a rock and a hard place" (Edgar, 2004: 3). On the one hand, functionalist sociology studies family roles, and it assumes a direct influence from expectations to behavior, leaving little room for individual agency or initiative. On the other hand, "a more psychological focus on

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the way 'self' emerged from interaction with significant others, and on the active, interpretive part played by every individual in adapting to or resisting family pressures, led us away from any sensible definition of the family as a unit of analysis and into a welter of apparently unfettered individualism" (Edgar, 2004: 3). No matter what the exact unit of analysis for the family study is, the common set between family and individual generating (1) a general way of life of a people, (2) a social legacy the individual acquires from both external incitements to internal stimulations, (3) a way of conceptualization, categorization and feeling, (4) how to behave and how to abstract behavior (habituate) into mind, (5) structures for the normative regulation of behavior, (6) principles of legitimacy, and (7) webs of meanings and significations ranging from individual to any social context (8) familiarity and affinity with each existence, (9) and affiliation is the proper universal unit of analysis for the sociology.

Since sociology overwhelmingly deals with the function and structure of the family, it produces "a significant disjunction between the way that families live their lives and the way that [social scientists] theorize about the family" (Daly, 2003: 771). Experiencing with different behaviors in different cultures in search of law and legitimacy about family, as if it is an experimental science, sociology seems to dissipate and dissident the theories and facts about the family. Although corpus of sociology covers many controversial approaches and definitions about the family, at least it has a perspective about the family since it has make use of the information on the studies that are abstracted by anthropologist and ethno-methodologists. Furthermore, definition of family is not simply a collection of definitions or denotations. If it were, there would hardly be much point in studying the subject. Nor is family a substitute theoretical thinking of for a careful examination of exceptional family cases and definitions.

George Peter Murdock conducted the most spectacular first research about family, which guides sociologist, to come up and discuss with clear definitions. He surveyed 250 of ethnographic reports focusing on family descriptions. Most of the reports were depending on the integrated program of research in the social science conducted by the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University, the Cross-Cultural Survey. The sampled reports include seventy societies from native North

America, sixty-five from Africa, sixty from Oceania, thirty-four from Eurasia, and twenty-one from South America. He concluded, "the family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults. The family is to be distinguished from marriage, which is a complex of customs centering upon the relationship between a sexually associating pair of adults within the family. Marriage defines the manner of establishing and terminating such a relationship, the normative behavior and reciprocal obligations within it, and the locally accepted restrictions upon its personnel" (Murdock, 1965: 1). As "Murdock had a family definition in mind, he searched the world's cultures to see if it held true" (Ingoldsby, 2006: 67) by building a synthesis of five distinct products of social science –one research technique (statistics) and four systems of theory (sociological, anthropological, cultural, psychoanalytical). On the one hand, he had obtained an enormous intellectual capacity in order to come with a clear definition of family by synthesizing four different theories on 250 societies' empirical reports through conducting statistics. On the other hand, Murdock overemphasized on the functions of the family and these functions in the family causing a throttle capacity in terms of grasping the specter of the family as a universal category. In addition, searching a predefined category in mind at empirical reports by altering the qualitative information to statistical quantitative data makes Murdock's definition of family vulnerable to grasp the family as a universal existing category. Yet, many other empirical works and reports including "(Rodman, 1966), (Stephens, 1963), (Lee, 1982), (Spiro, 1954)" (as cited in Ingoldsby, 2006: 73-75) shows that Murdock's conditions to be a family are not met among the Jamaican poor, the Israeli kibbutz and the Nayar. Besides, Hendrix's work on Murdock' "Social Structure" (as cited in Ingoldsby, 2006: 76) elucidates that the family as a category does not 'function' universally embracing each society, and each family within the society. It seems that sociology can never reach a well-founded clear definition since it surveys the family as the totality of the authentic cultures, and the experience of the substantive individual with sociologically and anthropologically defined family terms. "Rather than rejecting the notion that the family is universal, it may be the definition that needs some

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adjustment" says Ingoldsby (2006: 76). However, I assume that not the 'definition of family' in itself needs adjustment but 'the way of its definition' requires an adjustment for itself in order to not only embrace the universal definition of the family but also built it up as knowledge.

First of all, since we approach to the family through the instruments of experimental science for the search of law, we can never totally embrace its exact meaning on the topos of universal. It is better to approach it through interpretive science for the search of meaning in order to introduce and make it knowable by showing its reality, tangibility and structure on the topos of universal with closing up the circle of family as means of uncanny imaginary supplements. In here, I do not argue that the family both as a word and as a fact can only be outlined objectively and universally. The fact of a 'thing' can be made knowable, whether it is in objective or in subjective categories, in the domain of interpretation. As Nietzsche remarks "everything is subjective, but even this is interpretation. The 'subject' is not something given; it is something added and invented and projected behind what there is. In so far as the word 'knowledge' has any meaning, the world is knowable; but it is interpretable otherwise, it has no meaning behind it, but countless meanings" (1967: 267). Hence, so as to find a meaning among countless meanings of family that are created by the state and society, I treat family as a category –but a subjective category that is interpretable from an objective point of view that makes the family and its meaning knowable.

Secondly, substantive individual's experience (e.g.: a baby's experience) to family is not only authentic one giving access to the fundamental matter for thought but also an imagination and a share in a biological and social genericity. Otherwise, Castoriadis said, "we could never even talk, however 'inadequately', about it; it is not an 'experience', but an imaginary creation; it does not give access to the 'thing itself', but only *encounters* an *X*, and this only some cases and only partly" (1994: 142). As Heidegger said, "*language* is the house of being" so as Thomas Stearns Eliot said in his Four Quartets:

> Home is where one starts from. As we grow older
>
> The world becomes stranger, the pattern more complicated

Of dead and living. Not the intense moment

Isolated, with no before and after,

But a lifetime burning in every moment

And not the lifetime of one man only

But of old stones that cannot be deciphered (1968: 31).

The home is assumed to be only an eternally recurring, starting and ending points for the substantive individual for both Heidegger and Eliot. The family as a spectre has been chained down by the primary imagination of substantive individual and social instituting imaginary to stable structures of thought [logos] and intuitions between time and space through home and house, "although logos is common [universal] to all, most people live as if they had a wisdom of their own" (Herakleitos, 2009: 33). Hence, it can be exposed that substantive socialized individuals are the *primer* fragments of an imagined family; and they are *subsequent* total fragments in the topos of society: that is, imagined family embodying the essential core of the institutions and the significations of the society. Castoriadis explains that "our 'personal' experience is our personal home –and this home would not be a home, but a solitary cave, if it was not in a village or a town" (1994: 142). Many social studies validates that "it would be incorrect to assume that the kinship system constitutes the principal means of regulating interpersonal relationships in all societies" (Lévi-Strauss, 2004: 148). It is the communality that teaches us how to habituate things, to domesticate the livings, to build up houses, to fence house, and how to live in and with them, because substantive individual neither live without a home, nor remain hermetically enclosed in its home.

To sum up, both house in space and home in mind –logos is a topos, 'a dome', chained between time and space which 'psyche' [baby or substantive individual] primarily 'planted', 'domesticated', 'groomed'–delineated by teaching how to build up causality, familiarity, affiliation, affinity, and intimacy between itself and 'things' in 'totality' –in the social context. No matter how many different ways the substantive individual biologically and logically –phronēsis (practical logic = a prudent understanding of variable situations with a view to what was to be done)

have been generated between psyche and totality in family by each worldly cultures bringing about dissipations on the definitions of family, 'the principle of legitimization' of how substantive individual build up causality, familiarity, affiliation, affinity, and intimacy between itself and things is the very being of the family that is universal. The psyche radiates and emanates in earthly totality – social context within the body of substantive individual which substantive individual imagines itself through the social instituting imaginary. By this process, the senseless contingency of the substantive individual' reality is internalized, symbolized and delineated, namely domesticated, domiciled, familiarized and socialized, provided with meanings primarily '*under*' dome (Fr.), duomo (It.), domus (Lat.), dam (Tr.) '*at*' hom, hām, (En.) heim (Du.), heimr (On.), hjem (Da.), hem (Sw.), heim (Ger.), haims =*village* (Goth.), hane (Tr.) and '*in*' hous, hūs (En.) huis (Du.), huus, haus (Ger.), hūs (On.), hūs=*temple* (Goth.). The theme, "that of the residence, the house as a stable, enduring locus and the household as a permanent unit, durably associated with a house that is endlessly transmittable" (Bourdieu, 1996: 20). The raison d'état of state uses the house and household as an impoundment in order to stitch up psyche or spectre of the family fluctuating in Heraclitean flux, on the space through 'Kantian chain'.

If I return to the beginning of this chapter, the Spivak's remark on the body: mutatis mutandis, I propose that sociologically there is no one way of thinking about the family as such, there is no possible universal outline of the family since we approach it with experimental scientific tools. There are thinkings of the systematicity of the family, there are value codings of the family depending on the perspective we approach it. The family –its existence, cannot be thought totally, and certainly cannot be approached, since we do not use interpretive faculties of anthropology, literature, philosophy, linguistic, sociology and law. Namely, interpretive approaches validate family as an 'existing' universal and homogenous category, but experimental approaches validate families as authentic heterogeneous categories in different cultures in respect to their different 'functioning', meaning that "even in societies where the kinship system does not functioning in constituting the principle means of regulating interpersonal relationships, it does not fulfill that role everywhere to the same extent" (Lévi-

Strauss, 2004: 148). However, the corpus of sociology whether it approaches to family experimentally or interpretative, mostly concur on the assumption that "the most universal characteristic of family life in all cultures and all time periods was the 'principle of legitimacy'" (Malinowski, 1930: 113-168). The *guardians* of the home is assumed, by Heidegger, to be those who think and create with words, similarly Malinowski proclaims that "no child should be brought into the world without a man –and one man at that –assuming the role of sociological father, that is, *guardian* and protector, the male link between the child and the rest of the community" (1930: 113). Malinowski's principle of legitimacy should be expanded with three dimensions in order to reach a universal definition and function of the family.

First of all, he explains that child's outer links is built up with the rest of the community through the male actor as the father in the family. However, we should keep in mind that there is a distinction between the 'genitor' of a child –gignere-tor [Lat.], genétōr [Grk.], janitar [San.] (biological father) and its 'father' –pater [Lat.], vater [Ger.], pitar [San.], patēr [Grk.] (social father), because only one man can hold genitor position and only one man can take father position at a time. Moreover, such a maintained function of the genitor covers only patrilineal societies, but does not encompass whole cultures including bilateral and matrilineal ones. I assume that mother is the *guardian* of the child as well, since she is the genericity of both biological and social context and she has an overwhelming role on language socialization of the child. Moreover, in many Islamic cultures at the funerals the dead's name is being called, and named – *vocare ad regnum* three times with its mother's name but not father, because its absolute *guardianship* mother can be socially validated easier than that of father. Namely, in many societies the father might not be biologically related to the child, but his recognized sociological status as father was not the agnation but the social affiliation that gave the child a set of kin and a social placement in those webs of social significations. However, both social context and more explicit biological affiliation of the mother give female a social status empowering her guardianship on child and family likewise father.

Secondly, it is a well-known fact that there are very high rates of illegitimacy in the family at the Caribbean and some African societies where social control is assumed to be weak. However, Malinowski's primary concern is not with the factual existence of illegitimacy but with its normative regulation, because high rates of deviance from the encoded values do not mean that the deviating individuals are unaware of the values or deny its legitimacy. Furthermore, "the relation of deviance to conformity is always that of figures to the ground setting them off. Figures cannot be perceived except in relation to their grounds, and deviance is definable only against the ground of normalcy" (Coser and Coser, 1972: 119). Even so called individual's deviance from the norm and moral codes is also occurred on the topos of society, constructed by social context, and stemmed primarily from family, creating a proper world for the substantive individual. The differences in attitudes between societies and individuals even in the same societies do not falsify those individuals and socially encoded values and justify that they are out of social topos, context and imaginary institution. Namely, abnormality from the norm of legitimacy is by no means due to individual flukes. It is socially patterned. Castoriadis explains this situation that "there are 'internal' constrains, relative to the 'raw material' out of which society creates itself, that is, the psyche. The psyche has to be socialized and hence it has to abandon more or less its own world, its objects of investment, what is for it meaning, and to cachet socially created and valued objects, orientations, actions, roles, etc.; it has to abandon its own time and insert itself into a public time and public world ('natural' as well as 'human'). When we consider the unbelievable variety of types of society known, we are almost led to think that the social institution can make out of the psyche whatever it pleases –make it polygamous, polyandrous, monogamous, fetishistic, pagan, monotheistic, pacific, bellicose, etc." (1994: 151). Since it is accepted that family is the principle of legitimization and the primary principle of construction of social reality both acceptance of and resistance to this principle of construction is itself socially constructed.

Thirdly, social scientists doubting, whether family is both a universal category and a fact like Spiro on Israeli kibbutz, can never eliminate the fact that their presence in human mind and cultures but deepens our perception on the extreme varieties of

how the family is structured among social institutions and how substantive individual interrelates with and socialize in other social units. While Levy criticizes Spiro's work on behalf of the family universality, he claims that "1) [Spiro] did not attempt to establish the kibbutz as a self-sufficient sub-system of Israeli society or setting the pattern for that society as a whole; 2) he did not demonstrate that a set of stable adults had yet been produced in terms of kibbutz structures (though it may well have been); and 3) he did not even demonstrate the kibbutz studied had totally eliminated many family structures" (1965: 18).

Hence, in addition to 'Kantian chain' the legitimacy is the second way of the raison d'état of the state for the family. It constructs the family as a system, which is assumed the pillar of any social stratification, by placing the legitimacy upon it in terms of ordering the substantive individual in the family context and its family among other social institutions on the wider social context. Namely, on the one hand, house, family, encoded values, norms, and on the other hand, substantive individuals' everyday activities, memories, imaginations, ideas, words are related to legitimacy illuminating the operation of social system in the raison d'état. Raison d'état on the family operates with three themes: definition of reality, development of policy on reality and order of law on reality. In the light of this chapter, by adjourning how the state operates on the family to the next chapter, let us briefly define what the family is according to sociology. "Family is a set of related individuals linked either by alliance (marriage) or filiation, or, less commonly, by adoption (legal relationship), and living under the same roof (cohabitation)" (Bourdieu, 1996: 19).

2.5. The Path of Law

My last path for the embodiment of the word family is the law. In fact it is not easy to find an agreement on precisely what constitutes the relationship between law and family structure. However, it can be said that the law and the family are the twins neither mutually exclusive nor mutually necessary categories for their court, but they are both mutually exclusive and mutually necessary categories on the topos of the state for the state –raison d'étre. In other words, as in language–social context relations mentioned at the linguistics path, the relationship between law

and family has a dialectical one transforming each other in a way that former one cannot *operate* 'without the later one' but the later one can *exist* without the former. Hence, the law is the reason d'état regulating relationship among structures, and intervening each structure accordingly with the topos of society through rules. On the topos of the society, the state dwells upon structures via law. As "*language* is the house of being" the law is the house of being for the state, while regulating the relationship between institutions the state speaks in respect to law. This enables the state to maintain homeostasis among structures.

The state that operates and exists with the law has become primarily the sentinel, and secondarily the curator of the structures. Hence, as a sentinel between structures and a curator upon structures, the state realizes the manifestation of its being –raison d'étre in so far as it bring this manifestation to law and preserve the law through its operations about maintaining the homeostasis among structures. On the one hand, the law as a sentinel is not a structure among structures, but it is a structuring structure among structures that is in each case "the institution of lava of frictional signification." On the other, as a curator the law is "the institution of fictional signification" simmering upon social structures which can be called "a chain of significations" stitching structures of the society together by ruling whole kind of significations –social imaginary signification, world of signification, social signification, web of significance –in each. Furthermore, the law for the sake of raison d'état, **associates –chains** the significations in each case as its signification or its signification as the significations, and that is to say the law associates a state of significations that is the state –raison d'étre can and does exist for it.

Namely, the law is a mode of being ordering each drive of structuration between time and space, while it is both modified by and assorted with lust of radical imagination of substantive individual. The law receives its materials from the law of association among norms having bases on individual's behavioral repetitions. The law of association among different norms is first learnt in the family. While the family as a structure drive the affinity among norms in the family and drives the familiarity among norms out of the family, the law lust to rule by rising upon other structures, each one has its own standpoint, via compelling all other drives to accept as a norm of law. To put it in a more tangible way, the substantive

individual as a droplet clung to the web of significance within both family and society is released and re-clinked to chain of significance by the law for the sake of both politics and citizenship. The law constructs substantive individual and its rights in respect to common societal values and norms, because only citizens can, as an autonomous legal entity, seek to assert their rights on their own behalf on the society's topos and totality. The legal right and identity of substantive individuals means that they are totally dependent upon the state in terms of securing their rights, whether these relate to regulation of welfare, protection, provision, housing, marriage, divorce, property, support obligations, and reproduction which are the pillars of family structures protected or re-regulated by legal frameworks with official names including constitutional law, property law, contract law, tort law, civil procedure, statutory regulations, equitable remedies, and marital property and support rights.

These legal frameworks and administrations as the agents of the state are embroidered by governments in respect to social and demographic changes occurring at the times of socioeconomic crises. There is no doubt that the legal framework about family has become just and legitimate, if it runs in accordance with current norms and values –morals living in the families. At the times of socioeconomic crisis internal and external relations in the structures has shaken (e.g.: relation between market and family). In order to rebuild the homeostasis among structures and in the structure, the state revisit its legal framework in terms of according the legal framework with domestic relations, including legal relationships between husband-wife and parent-child and seniors-parent as a social, political, and economic unit. Furthermore, the state as a curator between structures does not only revisit its legal frameworks in respect to changing institutions in the society, but also involve as a sentinel between structures, as a structuring structure, to recover and regulate the insides of the each structure. Namely, the law is a two-sided blade has affected not only the meaning of family but also the practices about the family. As the agent of the law the state courts interpret and apply rules about the family structures to each particular legal controversy, or attempt to catch up equitable remedies in the absence of predefined structural remedies. In other words, in order to build up 'homeostasis' among

structures at the times of societal crisis, the law as a sentinel of the raison d'étre involves between structures and within structures so as to find an equilibrium among them by 'haemostasis' causing bleeding to stop and keeping blood within a damaged blood vessel. To elucidate it, as the rate of total births decreases while the number of non-marital births increases or while the cohabitation increases as the fertility rates decreases, the state has developed new legislations over the family's reproduction side in order to involve in new changes emerging within the family structure and their effects to other social structures.

With the intervention of new legislation the blood has changed from liquid to a gel, naming the unstructured causing tension in and among structures is restructured at the border of the structure. At the pre-modern state the tension between structures were mainly resolved after the tensions by inventing new rules and law, while at the modern states as a part of risk management the state involve in tensions before or at the meantime they rose as a crisis by monitoring socio-demographic and socioeconomic changes and trends through policy makers and law makers both. At the fourth chapter I discuss why policy makers, as both producers and users of scientific knowledge, are apprehended with monitoring and tracking shifts in norms, values, behavior, and attitudes of substantive individual and its family. The social policy makers use nationwide surveys so as to examine the legal basis for government intervention in family life. They prepare the social context for the legitimacy and social acceptability of the state intervention in family structure in terms of new definitions, conceptualizations and institutionalizations in law. As the family is defined between unit of moral and unit of economic in respect to law, the legitimacy of the intervention is consented by the analysis of socio-demographic challenges they pose for the family structure in terms of consequences of population decline/increase, changing family forms, gender and intergenerational relations, aging population, and mainly blooding/gelling interface between work and family/market and family.

CHAPTER III

MAKING UP THE FAMILY IN THE STATE

> *"The rule of a household is a monarchy, for every house is under one head"*
> (Aristotle, quoted in McKeon, 2005: 8).
>
> *"King Henry: On, on, you noblest English,*
> *Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof,*
> *Fathers that, like so many Alexanders,*
> *Have in these parts from morn till even fought*
> *And sheathed their swords for lack of argument.*
> *Dishonour not your mothers. Now attest*
> *That those whom you called fathers did beget you.*
> *Be copy now to men of grosser blood,*
> *And teach them how to war"*
> (Shakespeare, 2004: 88).
>
> *"You in this city are all brothers"* (Plato, 2006: 107).

The aim of this chapter is to outline a frame of how the state stitches family between time and space, and represents it through social sciences. Here, I assume to think about family at the state's point of view as opposed to the conception of social sciences for the family and the perception of layman in the family, because the latter includes more or less haecceity of family in the mind of layman with its own fancy and liberty of scientific enthusiasm in the mind of social scientist with unsuspecting reification of social sciences as a tool, with its own goals in its own imaginary domain. While it is important to recognize the role that any substantive individual's fancy and any social scientist's imagination providing the factual resources for the definition and enactment of families, it is equally important to

understand how the state reasons and rationalizes the family in an analytical framework with the aim of distinguishing between the 'reasoned and rationalized' family of the state, and the 'perception' of layman, 'conceptualization' of social scientist about the family as well.

As mentioned at the second chapter, I assume that the state's raison d'état operates with three themes on the family: definition of reality, deployment of policy on reality and order of law on reality. As in substantive individual's primary imagination about the family has been 'chained' between 'space' and 'time' on an ontological creation of topos and sheaves, mutatis mutandis the state's raison d'état 'stitches' the family between 'virtual time' and 'virtual space' by abstracting it with the intention of raison d'être –*telos* or the claimed reason for the existence of the state. The intention of raison d'être of the state forces raison d'état to 'involve' in the *causea finalis* –persistence of its existence and *causea efficientes* – potentials both to threat and to empower its existence. While substantive individual gets acquaint with 'things' by familiarizing within the framework of *topos* and *sheaves* of family through primary imagination, I assume that the state involves in 'things' by structuring them in the framework of *telos* of the state through *logos*.

The primary concern of this dissertation which is the modern state has a long history of involvement on family issues, ranging from creation and enforcement of tax laws that affect family's economic status and behaviors; regulation of marriage and divorce; definition of parental authority and responsibility; regulation of child support, custody, and adoption; placement of family as an institution among other institutions; to discussion on family policy at the national level. Nevertheless, pre-modern states' involvement on family issues, which extends partially its main ideology to the modern state, has a much longer history than modern one having deep scratches on family should be mentioned briefly. Namely, the separation of the history about the state as modern and pre-modern is intentional, and does not handle each as monolithic entities in this dissertation, because the perception of structural functionalism in modern times has deep roots in the history of pre-modern states.

3.1. The Pre-Modern State

Pre-modern states operates its rationalization –*raison d'état* on family by setting its properties "through a kind of anthropomorphism in which the properties of an individual are attributes to a group the family is seen as a reality transcending its members, a transpersonal person endowed with a common life and spirit and a particular vision of the world" (Bourdieu, 1996: 20). The implied anthropomorphism by Bourdieu has been used since Greek physician Hippocrates, later systematized as a humoral pathology in medicine. Its usage had not only been current in medicine but also had been recent in politics until 19th century, because anthropomorphism is a powerful metaphor implying the state as the corporate entity being likened to the human body. Explaining social facts and their concepts is inherently capacitated in the structural functionalist approach in terms of contextualizing individual in family in respect to other family members; family in society in respect to other institutions in society; societies in the state in respect to other governments in the states. Namely, the anthropomorphism enables the state to locate the parts in the whole as a means of conflict resolution for the whole, and building up hemostasis among parts.

"The city [the state] is prior [transcending] in order of nature to the family and to the individual. The reason for this is that the whole is necessary prior [transcending] to the part. If the whole body be destroyed, there will not be a foot or a hand (…) all things derive their essential character from their function and their capacity" (Aristotle, 1995: 11). The anthropomorphism, searching a healthy state in the perfect image of a healthy human body and extending its reign from India, Middle East, Europe to North and Latin America, portrays the people of a state as a 'totality', from the leader of state right down to its substantive individuals as deliberately point out by Aristotle "the rule of a household is a monarchy, for every house is under one head" (1995: 8). It implies that four humors –blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile are linked with four organs – liver, brain and lungs, spleen, and gall bladders respectively. In addition, these four antibodies in body fluids and four bodied/structured organs in body are related to yearly four seasons –spring, summer, autumn, winter, and four daily shifts – forenoon, noon, afternoon, night, and four elements –air, fire, earth and water, and

four facets –east, south, west, north respectively. The humoral pathology, ideologically does not only imply medical being of substantive individual but also chains it down between space and time by miming the substantive individual as the microcosm of the macrocosm, since "nature is so pervaded with human life that there is something of humanity in all and in every particular" (Stack, 1994: 1). The mimesis of humoral pathology developed by Greek physician Hippocrates, commiserating with the ideas of Ionian Pythagoras and Sicilian Empedocles, Roman Galenus and Turkic Avicenna had been demarcated within the domain of medicine had not been extended much to explain societies and the states, since the Tunisian Averroes was preoccupied by the Aristotelian ideas claiming the states born, grow up, grow old and die as a substantive individual does in his famous work Mugaddimah (Khaldun, 1989).

The depiction of such a widespread anthropomorphism of the state had been flamboyantly crystallized by the scholars at the Ottoman state until Tanzimat period. Political stratification of Ottoman society and the state stands on a *telos* and ruled by *logos* which is called 'circle of justice' that requiring a coherency and consistency amongst four classes including soldiers, scholars, merchants and craftsmen, and farmers (*erkan-ı erbaa*). These four (*erbaa*) classes (*erkan=pillar*) were tied to four elements (*anasır-ı erbaa*) fire, water, air, and earth respectively. 16th century's spectacular political philosopher Kınalızade Ali Efendi depicted Ottoman state that the protector of the people (*seyfiye*) –the soldiers are like fire towards enemies; the scholars of the people (*kalemiye*) are like water, supplying life for the people as needed mutatis mutandis by the human body; the merchants and craftsmen of the people (*tüccar ve zanaatkar*) are like air, transporting goods to the people; farmers of the people (*çiftçi*) are like earth, supplying food to the people. These four classes shall be in a coherent and a consistent 'state' which is managed by the house of Othman likewise the four humors –blood, phlegm, black bile, yellow bile shall be in 'state' of homeostatic balance in the single body of an individual (Efendi, 2011: 7-8). Such anthropomorphism was not only vivid in the scholars' mind and in the works of political science but also current among the rule of the politicians in the house of Othman. For example, when Sultan Mahmud the second abolished the Janissary in 1856, he explained the political agenda

through an imperial edict that the Janissary –the fire element in the state are poked up much, so it was extinguished with the aid of scholars –the water element (Efendi, 2005) shows the main ideology about the stratification of the society had been current until the mid of the 19th century.

The state categorizes its subjects into groups and maintains their relation accordingly with an ideology stemming from ancient times and ancient practices of the state. At the second chapter it is discussed that at social imagination, the very foundation of opposition is not between individual and society but between psyche and totality. Although arguments of some sociological theories about the society are based on individual versus society mediated by inter-subjectivity, at social instituting imaginary it is between the substantive individual's *psyche* and the society's *totality* those are mutually irreducible poles. In contrast to social instituting imaginary, logos and telos of the state extend body of substantive individual into body of the state, and condense the body of the state into the body of substantive individual vice versa through *anthrop-o-*[man]-*morph-o-* [form-structure]-*logy* [reason-discourse]. Both the state and the substantive individual condensing and extending into forge [*faber*] of a common body exist in the mimesis of each bodily signification [functions and elements] of man and that of state [institutions and structures] by tying them through logos which is accumulating under the telos of the state and posing each common bodily significations, telos and logos (antibodies to bodies, organs to institutions, elements to structures and functions to meanings) to each indivisible constituent of the state and of the substantive individual as what can ever satisfy this mimetic.

Briefly, the *anthropomorphological* mimesis is an imitation of the substantive individual's body with the body of the state, metamorphosing each *psyche* into *totality*. In other words, anthropomorphology through logical mimetic puts cosmic order, social order and human order together on a topos which converges and encompasses each human body into single body of the state. Hence, it can be clearly remarked that if the state is an imitation of substantive individual, this gives it a lower status than life itself, since psyche has been primarily *captured* in the body of substantive individual, secondarily *groomed* in the family, tertiary

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metamorphosed and *adapted* in the society, and *ruled* by the state. In result, as Plato assert "all bodies become 'brothers' in the city" (Plato, 2006: 107).

Whole bodily affiliations and mental intimacy among family members and families are fulfilled through principle of legitimization via principle of metaphor. As principle of legitimization and principle of metaphor function to abstract and stitch each single body and each family into a society, they both enable substantive individual and the state when "they are unable to abstract properties from their subjects, and the only way in which they can explain how a body has acquired a property from a body of a different kind is by losing its own kind of property, they will imagine that one body has changed into another. Thus signify a woman who, after a life of will imagine that she has changed into a plant. This was the manner of thinking from which metaphors such as 'to plant oneself' for 'to settle down', 'the plants of houses' for their 'foundations', and above all, that of 'family trees', whit their stocks or trunks, certainly arose" (Vico, 2002: 159). To plant, settle down, forge and encompass each family and each substantive individual in the whole through principle of legitimacy and principle of metaphors, pre-modern state facilitates two powerful metonymical bodily antibodies: the blood for father and the milk for mother. Namely, the legitimate relationship between family members and other families in society build up by substantive male and female body with the cultural roles of father and mother.

To start with milk, while Aristotle built up his main idea about where can the very foundation of first society be placed, he came up with an answer which perfectly suits with the East Germanic tribes' meaning of haims = village (Goth). He assumed that the first society to be formed is the village. And the most natural form of the village appears to be that of a colony from the family, composed of the children and grandchildren, who are said to be suckled 'with the same milk' (Aristotle, 1995: 9). The milk is not solely attached to the mother as microcosm but also converged to the macrocosm at the pre-modern state: "It is in this heaven that Juno whitens the milky way with milk, not her own, for she was sterile, but with the milk of the mothers of the families, who suckled the legitimate offspring of the heroic nuptials of which Juno was the divinity" (Vico, 2002: 241). The milk generated by women as the guardian of the child also generates the social context

of family and placement of substantive individual's meaning within the inner web of family as being first substantial element of principle of legitimization.

Besides milk, the blood that is attached to the father is assumed to be constructing the outer web of family placing the substantive individual within the social context as being the second substantial element of principle of legitimization. The vision of such a social context and relation between milk and blood is dominated by ideology of natural, positive, and unbreakable bonds among consanguines, particularly agnates, including putative or distant agnates, those related through common patrilineal, matrilineal or bilateral descents as manifested by a shared eponymous ancestor. "Shared blood signifies close relations (…), identifies kin with one another. Kin share concerns and honor; ideally they also share residence, property, and livelihood" (Abu-Lughod, 1986: 65). In terms of legitimization the blood is assumed to be not only *a right* to claim or declaim something but also *a natural* bond of sentiments about building closeness between things. A striking example is substantiated by a second hand Bedouin story told by Abu-Lughod: "(…) this woman was divorced by her husband after he had brought her to her natal home for a visit and never returned for her. Her young son, considered too young to part from his mother, was with her. After a year, the boy's paternal grandfather came to the house to take his grandson back. According to reports, he asked his five-year-old grandson, 'Would you like to come with me?' Although the boy had never seen him before, he ran to pack a few clothes, put his hand in his grandfather's, and left hardly a glance back. His mother was heart-broken. Men who heard the story nodded their heads and did not seem surprised; 'Blood' was all they said by way of explanation" (Abu-Lughod, 1986: 53).

Although in different societies principle of legitimization may weight differently and generate complexities in a scale between man and women in terms of gender relation; right on sexuality, child, family acquisitions, relation in the family, and interrelation among families, such differentiations do not evaporates the principle of legitimization about the family.

At pre-modern state "family is based on the supremacy of the man; its express aim is the begetting of children of undisputed paternity, this paternity being required in

order that these children may in due time inherit their father's wealth as his natural heirs" (Engels, 2004: 70). Vico also explained that for the Roman culture "fathers have three properties; the right of life and death over their persons of their children and, in consequence of this infinite power over their persons, a further power, also infinite, over their acquisitions. Thus, they owned everything that their children acquired and, in virtue of this despotic ownership, made testaments in which they disposed the guardianship of the persons of their children like chattels. Law of the Twelve Tables entitled *De testament: Uti paterfamilias super pecuniae tutelaeve rei suae legassit, ita ius esto* [On Testaments: whatever the father of the family disposes by testament concerning his patrimony and guardianship, shall be law]" (2002: 84-85). Namely, principle of legitimization emanating from metonymical elements –the blood and the milk have become corpus of law at the pre-modern states that give guardian to rule the living members of family including husband, wife, children, slaves, and immovable members of family including herds, lands, houses in the *name of heredity* as well.

Abstracting substantive individual from psyche to family and family to household, the state, in the name of single house of the monarch, legitimizes itself to rule and involve each family under its rule. This legitimization seems all highly expressive vestige of free and absolute monarchy in the state of the families at the pre-modern times. The pre-modern medical and political sciences, using anthropomorphology through logical metamorphoses put cosmic order, social order and human order together on a topos which converges and encompasses each human body into single body of the state searching for the perfection and regulation of substantive individual's faculties to teach how to get affiliated with livings and things in the family and social context. Once family itself is maneuvered into its nature and normativity by the state, the materiality of the family will not be thinkable apart from the materialization of that regulatory norm from the perspective of the state. Although pre-modern states employed many sciences to build up a meaningful cosmos for the substantive individual and its family, Vico claimed "none of them has yet contained a meditation upon certain origins of the humanity of nations, from which, beyond doubt, they themselves all arose. Nor, starting from such origins, have they established a certain *acme*, or state of perfection, with which to

measure the stages through which the humanity of a nation, as it rises, can reach this perfect state, and those through which, when it declines from this state, it can return to it anew" (2002: 11). Friedrich Nietzsche explains this way of understanding "that 'heredity', as something quite unexplained, cannot be employed as an explanation but only to describe and fix a problem. The same applies to 'power of adaptation'. Indeed, the morphological presentation, even if it were complete, explains nothing, but only describes a tremendous fact. How an organ can be employed to achieve something is not explained. In these matters, the assumption of causea finales explains as little as the assumption of causea efficientes. The concept 'causea' is only a means of expression, nothing more; a means of description" (1967, 343). Namely, although *heredity* and *anthropomorphism* supply a base understanding [habitus] with substantive individual to embrace huge cosmos by condensing it [habituating] through a weaving web, they only tell about the affinities between things on the web, they do not explain about things and the web separately to both the state and the substantive individuals how they reach to topos and perfect equilibrium. Anthropomorphology presumes a state of perfection –*acme* (the peak, zenith, prime), a causea finalis and a deliberate equilibrium where causea efficientes have a set of ordinal or a harmonic relation. It also enables us a very 'perfect state of mind' which presupposes a state exists **only** in so far as it is held together by the state with –*intrinsic finality*; a thing or action has an intrinsic finality when it is for none other than its own sake (exists *tout court* – and exists as it exists).

To put it another way, the state locating its existence as causea finalis, which is the emergence of any particles as causea efficientes in a harmonic relation both in the macrocosm and microcosm enables its subjects to capture a web of significance and meaning for themselves through anthropomorphism, facilitating politics and medicine. The state makes possible by such anthropomorphism that it unites the body and functions of substantive individual with those of family, and those of family with those of the state and those of state with the those of cosmos in return to accomplish its own harmonic existence –acme. It turns any 'singular' into its 'partial'. Anthropomorphism enables "a group feeling exercise[ing] its own authority and superiority over the people and family adhering to it" (Khaldun,

1989: 152). The very first group feeling is taught to substantive individual within the family that Khaldun also asserts "major group feeling is the family and tribal group feeling peculiar to the ruler" (1989: 248). Hence, pre-modern state seeks the principle of the nature of the family by means of an anthropomorphism rolling to contemplate a certain common mind of all its subjects. Namely, anthropomorphism comprises each substantive individual in a particular state considered as a single group. The mimesis is typically continued by the reference to the apex of ruling family as the head of the state.

On the other hand, substantive individual's perception of the state stems not only from extrinsic finality (for itself) but also from intrinsic finality (in itself). As I mentioned in the second chapter, the substantive individual primarily build itself up through imagination and personal experience of the family. From the point of view of the state, by the power of extrinsic finality, anthropomorphism may tell what *substantive individual* is made of, and sketch a detailed picture of the mechanism by which *it* operates –anthropomorphism may tell *it* what it is to want something, believe something, or imagine about something– but it cannot tell *him* what *he* wants, what *he* believes, or what he imagines. While anthropomorphism and its operation for the state, family and substantive individual as a social product results in extrinsic final cause for the state, family and substantive individual, the intrinsic finality which is a result of substantive individuals unique imagination and experience about family and the state orientates substantive individual to fulfill or search for his own self-reflection between the family and the state. While extrinsic efficientes explicitly bound him up 'in the family' and 'in the state', the intrinsic efficientes, including imagination and experience of the substantive individual with things, implicitly place him 'upon' and 'between' the state and the family with binding and voluntary ascriptions. External threats to existence of the state and the family have positioned the substantive individual accordingly with binding and voluntary ascriptions.

At the pre-modern state when the acme or harmony of the state is shaken by an external or an internal threat, the rulers or the monarchs call their subjects – substantive individuals to the elementary form of social cohesion that is taught primarily in the family. As in Shakespeare's Henry V the king evokes the *blood of*

fathers, *honor of mothers* –[mostly the milk of mother] (2004: 88) through anthropomorphism in order to restore the order and legitimacy in the body of state with the altruistic ideology of fatherhood, motherhood, brotherhood or friendship taught in the family. Namely, in the pre-modern state the family only becomes significant at the time of any type of disorder and illegitimacy in the society. As heredity, in Nietzsche's explanation, cannot be employed as an explanation but only to describe and fix a problem so the family is not an explanation of something but it is something to fix a problem, and the quest for political order is fundamentally like the quest for personal order within the family in the pre-modern state. By this anthropomorphological calling the border of each house extends to the dome of the state, and intimate relations in each home extend to the order of the state. In result, the *psyche* is called into *totality*.

Both in pre-modern state and modern state the altruistic ideology taught in the family, functions as an agent so as to construct *characters*, *roles*, and harmony between characters and roles for the sake of order on the topos of the state for the harmony of it. As Bourdieu aptly states "in family discourse, the language that the family uses about the family, the domestic unit is conceived as an active agent, endowed with a will, capable of thought, feeling and action, and founded on a set of cognitive presuppositions and normative prescriptions about the proper way to conduct domestic relationships. It is a world in which the ordinary laws of the economy are suspended, a place of trusting and giving –as opposed to the market and its exchange of equivalent values –or, to use Aristotle's term, *philia*, a word that is often translated as 'friendship' but which in fact designates the refusal to calculate; a place where interest, in narrow sense of the pursuit of equivalence in exchanges, is suspended. Ordinary discourse ordinarily, and no doubt universally, draws from the family ideal models of human relations (with, for example, concepts like brotherhood), and family relations in their official definition tend to function as principles for the construction and evaluation of every social relationship" (1996: 20).

3.2. The Modern State

The substantive individuals, as the active agents, in the family and the family in the state depend on the each agent's definitions of the situations. Each topos of

individual, of family, and of state converges at the largest set of the society. This largest set is not exclusively a matter of subjective motivations of each. The meanings to which social action is familiarized are principally inter-subjective meanings constitutive of the socio-cultural matrix in which the substantive individual, the family, and the state discover themselves –their characters and roles- and act accordant or discordant with inherited values and world views, institutionalized roles and social norms. At the second chapter elucidated how the substantive individual, with its primary imagination, constructs itself in the family, and the family constructs itself between the substantive individual and the state through secondary and social instituting imaginary vice versa. At the beginning of this chapter I explain how the pre-modern state constructs itself from substantive individual to family through anthropomorphism. In here, I assume that the primary imagination of substantive individual is a *primary level constructs* which are chained down to topos of family through social instituting imaginary. The family constructing itself through secondary imagination is a *secondary level constructs* which are stitched up in the topos of the state and society. The state is a *tertiary level constructs* are those through which primary and secondary level constructs have already restructured the social world [chained the substantive individual and the family down to topos of the state] prior to its order, acme –causea finalis. The each topos converging into single one requires each other to exist both in itself and for itself. Namely, understanding the last one is a necessary point of departure for constructing the primary and the secondary one. Such an understanding in the modern state is facilitated both by anthropomorphism and scientific investigation.

While the anthropomorphism was facilitating politics and medicine at the pre-modern state, it is operated in a new face through social theories at the modern state, including bio-politics and structural functionalism. Bio-politics reorganizes the relationship between the psyche and the totality. It is a retreat from techniques of basic extraction toward the functionalization of family as a simple machine for production, reproduction and fusion of welfare. For example, Talcott Parsons investigates the society by assuming that "society is like a biological organism" (So, 1990: 20). The organism metaphor, first, provides that different parts of biological organism can be said to correspond to different institution. Second, just

as each part of a biological organism performs a specific function for the good of the whole, Parsons formulates that there are *four crucial functions* for every society that have to be performed, otherwise the society will die. In here, Parsons does not use humoral pathology in the frame of pre-modern state but theorizes it within a new conceptualization called *functional imperatives*; adaptation to the environment by economy, goal attainment by politics, integration by legal institution and religion, lantency by family and education. Third, the analogy led Parsons to revitalize the pre-modern concept of homeostatic equilibrium mostly stands upon four humors. The biological organism is always in a uniform state as the left hand of the human body will not fight with the right hand, so Parsons argues that institutions will generally be in harmony (So, 1990: 20-21). At the modern state, the structural differentiation spells "a complicated structure that performed multiple functions is divided into many specialized structures that perform just one function each" (So, 1990: 26-27). Hence, in modern times it is commonly assumed that the family has become less important and undergone through structural differentiation while its many roles including production, education, welfare and religion have been captured by different institutions and have been left with only the role of emotional support.

In here, I argue a reverse process since the family teaches baby the rules to get acquainted with things through language acquisition, family as an institution has empowered itself by diffusing and penetrating its structure to other institutions in order to get control and rule their members like *the members of family*. In other words, state rules its subjects in a mentality that society is reducible only into fragments which share the essence of society which is primarily emanating from the family. The essence has emerged as well binding characters that Parsons writes "the well-integrated personality feels an obligation to live up to expectations in variously defined roles, to be a 'good boy' to be a 'good student' an 'efficient worker' and so on… The element of obligation in this sense is properly treated as 'disinterested'. It is a matter of 'identification' with a generalized pattern, conformity with which is 'right'" (1954: 71 cited in Berberoglu, 2005: 80-81). Hence, the governmentality of the modern state grasps this character and then rules its subjects through the character that is shaped by the family, especially at the

times of crisis, via social investigation. The owners of this scientific investigation are the experts in universities and policy makers at the state. In Foucauldian sense with bio-politics, it can be claimed that persistent scientific investigations of technicians on family structure, the principles of family, and transmit them "to individual behavior and the running of the family the same principles as the good government of the state. The central term of this continuity is the government of the family, termed *economy*" (Foucault 1991: 92). Hence, nationwide family studies are not only picturing the social reality but are made through practices that discipline and organize the social relations.

In other words, in modern age the state perspective about the phenomena became available and knowable through bio-politics, structural functionalism, scientific knowledge, rational mind and mathematical calculations. Everything is explained and functionalized through experts, but their domain was that of *tēchnē*, the domain in which a specialized knowledge can be employed and in which the best [acme] causea finalis can be fortified with better causea efficientes, and distinguished from the lesser causea efficientes. "The Greek word tēchnē implies art, skill, craft, technique, trade, system or method of doing something," "tēchnē is knowledge of what to do and how to do it. It is knowledge of both means [causea efficientes] and ultimate ends [causea finalis]." "It is the root of English words such as *technique*, *technical*, and *technology*" (Soccio, 2013: 113). The knowledge about the family is formed and turned into a tangible specter via four faculties of tēchnē for the sake of the state.

First of all, the word tēchnē derives from the Indo-European root 'tek', meaning to fit together the woodwork of a house. "This informs the earliest meaning of the Greek term, which was probably 'house building' (Kube, 1969: 13 cited in Angier, 2010: 14). The cultural derivation of it implies that tēchnē is always and primarily operational in domestic sphere and extends its faculties to the public sphere mostly in times of the acme or harmony of the state is shaken by an external or internal treat, as summarized in Shakespeare's Henry V.

Secondly, tēchnē "a particular sort of knowledge is of a particular sort of thing" (Angier, 2010: 3) within the domain of particular technicians. Namely, experts in

universities and policy makers at the states stitch to both theories and practices of the family. In here, although two occupations share a common set as praxis of understanding the family, comparatively experts in universities invest more to form a body of knowledge about the family and experts at states invest more to build up social policies for the family vis–à–vis.

Thirdly, I presume that *tēchnē* (knowledge of what to do and how to do) is between *doxa* (mere opinion linked with sense impression, or imagination) and *epistēmē* (scientific knowledge resulted by logos, nous, ratio, reason). The governmental *alētheia* (truth) about the family is to be produced along the formation of knowledge of family in respect to doxa, tēchnē, and epistēmē respectively.

Fourthly, the corpus of tēchnē is only at the embracement of experts and policy makers that I called technicians. At first gaze these technicians can be seen as the bricoleur who "collets and uses [the elements are] 'pre-constrained' like the constitutive units of myth, the possible combinations of which are restricted by the fact that they are drawn from the language where they already possess a sense which sets a limit on their freedom of maneuver. The decision as to what put in each place also depends on the possibility of putting a different element there instead, so that each choice which is made will involve a complete reorganization of the structure" (Lévi-Strauss, 1966:19). In real, these technicians are like engineers in Straussian manner that they subordinate each primary imagination which is embodied in family and substantive individual depending on the primary imagination and scientific methodologies conceived and procured for the purpose of the accurateness of the measured family terms. In accordance with, I assume the term tēchnē, in Platonic sense (Plato: 2009, 38-39), is the craft of the technicians that operates in the domain of epistēmē about the society. It is clear that in modern states' epistēmē about the family, as the knowledge of forms, is used interchangeable with the tēchnē which is the indispensable basis for the technicians' craft of ruling in the modern state. This interchangeability resulted in such praxis for the technicians that the knowledge about family is obtained and ruled through both theory and practice. Hence, tēchnē is a kind of knowledge associated with people who are bound to necessity (Arendt, 1958: 71). This kind of

necessity requires to be examined by *phronēsis* –practical logic which is a prudent understanding of variable situations with a view to what was to be done have been generated between psyche and totality in family by each worldly cultures causing dissipations on the definitions of family, the principle of legitimization of how substantive individual build up causality, familiarity, affiliation, affinity, and intimacy between itself and things is the very being of the family that is universal. Phronēsis is a type of logos that embroiders concrete, variable and context dependent social structures.

These reticulated structures are intellectual structures those allows technicians to be critically reflective about their practice on the formation of knowledge about the family. The formation of such knowledge is within the practical intention of modern politics in order to establish the equilibrium in the society. By its nature modern state could not assume the form of a precise science, of *episteme* of things or of very being of things but had to rest content with establishing rules of a more-or-less and in-most-cases the character of things in order to rule things. In other words, "the classical instruction in leading a good and just life, the formation of virtuous *character*, and cultivation of practical prudence would be replaced by the application of a scientific grounded social theory, by production of the conditions that would lead to the desired behavior according to the laws of nature. In this way the sphere of the practical was absorbed into the sphere of the technical; the practical problem of the virtuous life of the citizens of the polis was transformed into the technical-administrative problem of regulating social intercourse so as to ensure the order and well-being of the citizens of the state" (McCarthy, 1979: VIII).

The theories about family mostly built up by technicians facilitating *epistēmē* have come to mean the logically –phronēsis[tically] integrated systems of quantitatively expressed accurate statements about the characteristics of the family at modern state. Since, at the modern societies, the social system is conceived as a functional complex of institutions within which cultural patterns or values are made binding for action, that is, are incorporated into binding social norms to investigate empirical connections between social norms that go beyond the subjective intentions of those acting under the norms. In addition, theories and scientific

studies about the family can be used to predict future states of a family providing the relevant causea efficientes are maneuverable. Especially for the governments, maneuverable efficientes also be used to produce desired states of governmentality on the social institutions. Implementing this kind of knowledge at the state level enforce technicians to take human behavior as the material for science of man, family, society, and the state. On the basis of an accurate measurement of the substantive individual and its family makes it possible to establish once and for all the conditions and principle of legitimization for a proper ordering of both society and the modern state. All in all it can be claimed that as Smith argues "Family theories structure how we think about families, what we observe, how we interpret this knowledge, and how we use the information in programs and policies that affect family life. Consequently, theories have a profound effect on what we know about families" (as cited in Bernardes, 1997: 29).

To sum up, on the one hand, how layman's perception of family build up causality, familiarity, affiliation, affinity, and intimacy between itself and things, and on the other hand how the technicians conceptualize about the family both constructs the governmental *alētheia* (truth), which is at the domain of politicians, about it on the basis of repetition, especially contextual repetition, functioning as a means of binding people together at the state level. Contextual repetition serves this binding function because it designates and routines borders and backbones of everyday life of layman's family and the theories of the family built up by technicians. It, thus, establishes layman and technicians' shared history, mutual access to a topos of social contexts, and membership to the same group. In doing so, it aids in the creation of an in-house, even emotional connection individuals feel that attaches them to other people, things, activities, ideas and memories between time and space. All in all, repetition in everyday life of substantive individual and habituated methods of social sciences used by technicians are essential not only to meaning-making and the structuring of individual interactions but also in the creation of social families at the state level (Gordon, 2009: 10).

CHAPTER IV

BINDING THE FAMILY AND ITS MEMBERS

> *"The functions of the family in a highly differentiated society are not to be interpreted as functions directly on behalf of the society, but on behalf of personality... It is because the human personality is not "born" but must be "made" through the socialisation process that in the first instance families are necessary. They are factories which produce human personalities"* (Parsons, 1956: 16)

> *"Under police, the art of government consisted of three types of governance at three different levels of aggregation: self-management (morality); house-hold management (economy); and the rule of state (politics). A ruler must first learn to govern himself, then his estate, and only then could he rule the nation"* (Foucault 1991: 92).

> *"Political administration has come to depend heavily on statistical knowledge of family, a leading source of which is the periodic studies. This knowledge has become a backdrop for social policy formation. Political regimes and lesser government agencies use it to assess the progress, change and consequences of administrative projects and allocate both resources and the right to political representation"* (Curtis, 2001: 3).

This chapter aims to present how the state binds substantive individuals within the family between "virtual time and virtual space" (Curtis, 2001) by facilitating science of sociology and technology of statistics. At the second and the third chapters, I elucidate how the primary imagination of the substantive individual and

social instituting imaginary of the society are so magmatic that homeostasis between them is negotiated on the topos of the family which is magmatic as well, but has a function to shape and freeze the characters and roles named *hood* (father*hood*, mother*hood*, child*hood*, girl*hood*, boy*hood*, brother*hood*, parent*hood*…) of substantive individual within the social structure. In order to build up a static *hood* structure, the state has to touch and understand the very being and body of the family's formation ability so as to characterize its members through forging them into legitimate moulds [hoods] –called roles.

The sociological imagination, Mills asserts, enables its users with the ability to differentiate personal troubles of milieu and public issues of social structure. "Troubles occur within the character of the individual (…) a trouble is a private matter: value cherished by an individual are felt to be threatened." "Issues have to do with matters that transcend the local environments of individual and the range of his inner life. An issue is a public matter (…) An issue, in fact, often involves a crisis in institutional arrangement" (2000: 8-9). Namely, the roles and characters [*morality*] as garment are very vivid, fluctuating, and different on each body of substantive individuals between time and space, but the garment should be *virtual* like a tape measure between time and space for the sake of a static structure. Hence, sociology and statistics, as tailors of the roles in perspective of the state, on the corpus of the state politics and social policy, has emerged agencies of the state which measure the characters and roles of the substantive individual in the family by nailing the roles and characters between *virtual time* and *virtual space*. Whole scientific measurements are built up in respect to habits shimmering on the spectrum of social imaginaries and of social constructs.

These imaginaries and constructs with imaginary measurements those are applied to substantive individual and its family through an abstraction process starts from de facto space to de jure one. In other words, structural functional theory of sociology and technology of statistics are the specialized institutions and agencies of the state that elucidate how to maintain an order of stratification and manage a change in the society for the sake of homoeostasis amongst different institutions on the topos of general state structure. The main function of the state, maintenance of a general order of the structure, gives rise to a number of characterizing

institutions like family. Therefore, the state requires seeking the principles of the nature of the family by means of statistics, sociology, anthropology and psychology raised to contemplate a certain common mindset of all the peoples which can be placed upon the characterizing institutions structured by the social relations primarily shaped in the family.

I argue that when the state invests on the members of family relations in terms of social theories and statistical technologies, it forms the knowledge about the family through four conceptualizations; body of substantive individual, body of family, virtual space and virtual time. At the third chapter I elucidated how the spectre of individual and the family became tangible as objects on the web of significance by the state, society, and family itself. Characters and roles, namely morals, of these objects should be nailed between two conceptualizations by the raison d'état; virtual time and virtual space. The state's intention to structure legitimating static roles and characters fixes and kills 'object' and 'intuition' belonging to Heraclitean flux by chaining them down between virtual time and virtual space through intensifying their existence within forms [hoods] –moulds which is constituted by permanence, duration, eternity and atemporality likewise Castoriadis' radical imagination. Such an intention enables the state to decide principles of legitimate and illegitimate characters and roles in the family by involving in the *causea efficientes* –potentials both to threat and to empower its existence –raison d'étre. The relations in the family and in the society cannot be embraced by the state on a nationwide dynamic topos through direct observation of the substantive individual and of the family in the Heraclitean flux. Hence, it requires an abstraction of roles and characters those are only emerged and measured in a static topos [topos-graph] existing in virtual time and virtual space.

Time and space are two fluctuating vivid twins in real, at the time of scientific observation with the survey instrument an alive one might be death or fit one might be handicapped. In addition, at the sampling process the population dwelling on institutional care and the population dwelling below a defined number are neglected while defining the universe of the population. This results in a gap between what is vivid and what is virtual both in time and on space. In socio-statistical studies at the departure of the observation and survey conduct, families

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and their members are assumed to be between virtual time and virtual space have caused a virtual measurement. By this virtual measurement intangible family and its member are altered into a tangible abstracted body. At the state level, after the virtual measurement, vivid have become to be subordinated by the virtual. Whole authentic families and their members are called to means and cross sectional measures or defined in respect to virtual statistical means for the sake of appropriate measurements for appropriate social policy. In brief, what makes virtual time and virtual space in family studies is the abstraction of observation, and the tape measure devised by technicians and scientists. On the one hand, the measured is the declared perception of the individual about his family and its members or the family at the scientific level. On the other, it is a generative process that first assembles opinions about family, and then produces characters and roles at the level of the state perspective. Opinions about family are observed at local level by anthropological studies and at individual level by psychological, and these studies are theorized and assembled at societal level by sociological studies, and they are totally scaled at national level by statistical studies by means of statistics. As the psyche oscillates and fluctuates itself in earthly totality through primary, secondary, radical and social instituting imaginaries between time and space at substantive individual level, it persists and remains in static state totality through theories and measurements of anthropology, psychology, sociology and statistics between virtual time and virtual space at the state level.

To put it another way, social theories about family overwhelmingly scrutinizing the family as a subject which measures the fact of family by the mathematical abstraction of the statistics. I assume that theories fortified by statistics do it through two concepts called *dianoia* and *noesis*. Noesis [Gr.] shapes and dissipates the inner side and inner border of magmatic characters, roles and acts of things. Paul Ricoeur considers that noesis is a pre-understanding –not of those who performed the actions and the experiences, but of those who understand what is taking place, agents included, when placed in the position of interpreters of their own action (cited in Kaplan, 2005: 159). Fancy, primary imagination and radical imagination are largely belonging to noesis. Nevertheless, dianoia [Gr.] is a way of thinking specifically about mathematical and technical subjects that it shapes,

freezes and graphs the outer borders of characters and roles of things belonging to social instituting imaginary. While the latter one is the result of discursive thinking, in contrast, the former one is the result of immediate apprehension that may be called observation. Although they are contrasting twins of logos, these faculties both shape the forms of things and make them apprehensible, knowable, tangible, touchable, embraceable respectively by the statistics and so the raison d'état. Knowledge in the logos first splits into two as dianoia and noesis. Dianoia further divides into epistemic (theory) knowledge and practical knowledge. Practical knowledge, which is the most embraceable one for the scientific investigation, includes *tēchnē* and *phronēsis*. The layman and the scientist find themselves through noesis referring to personal vocation as the wholeness of being realized when one uses to validate or invalidate the characters and roles that are learned within the family.

I assume the term noesis as a journey of substantive individual, which may or may not coincide with a predefined character and role, which is just a pre-understanding of action between time and space. On the side of statistics, dianoia through tēchnē and phronēsis enables the state to make sense of its subjects' own histories with the principles of legitimate characters and roles between virtual time and virtual space. I assert that what is meant to be from the family and its moralities are contextualized by individual through webbing the significance of the social reality between time-space and virtual time-virtual space. Namely, textual family reality itself is split into the institutional exterior that dominates and regulates the life of individuals from above –instrumental state apparatus, and the regulations that is not imposed only by the instrumental state apparatus but also emerges spontaneously from below out of the extra-institutional activity of individuals –to name the morals, characters and roles in the family.

I argue that there are three levels of virtual time and virtual space on the purpose of naming the existence of the family. The first level is enabled by the social sciences. They conceptualize [in fact they creates terms for each body of it] the subject of family [or family as a quality], which is fluctuating between time and space, by turning it into a research object through abstracting it from its real time and real space. The second level is qualified by the statistics. The terms about the

family, which are conceptualized by the social sciences, are turned into numbers, namely they are quantified. The third level is abstracted by the science of social policy. The quantities referring to the terms about family are re-set and capitalized by regrouping the family members –the individuals as *the* young, child, handicapped, woman, elder etc., in the socio-political domain of the state between virtual time and virtual space. Regrouping does not only depend on a scientific search for social facts but also, as a consequences of such categorizations, depends on the magnitude with which groups forming individuals and families can be included or driven to conduct themselves in terms of them, or on the magnitude to with which their life possibilities are defined by such groups, sets, and categorizations.

Namely, these three levels of abstraction untie/decode substantial individual from its web of family and retie/recode into new socio-statistics sets and masses like *youth*, child*ren, handicapped*, wom*e*n, elder*s, and the middle class* famil*ies*. Along nationwide quantitative studies, families and their members become eligible to be grouped together into distinctive categories within which their socioeconomic statuses, understandings, morals, and desires become the objects of both particular and general governmental projects. Such a totalization may construct new subjectivities, and they may touch both relatively small groups or that are as large as all the citizens of a national territory. To put it another way, this kind of studies on family and its members articulates equivalent human atoms and families make the individual body and the household stands forth as a political target and as a governmentally starting anchorage point for its social policy. Pasquino clarifies that this re-grouping and knowledge process depends on the state's desire to intervene its subjects at all: "Now, among these knowledge, all these sciences and new technologies bearing on population, that new territory in which relations of power become inscribed, population which, (…) now fall into subdivisions by age, sex, and occupation [ranks, and orders], posing their different problems which require different sorts of intervention, a population which no longer merely lives and dies…" (Pasquino, 1991: 115). Theoretically, the state no longer has to operate on these subjects via the intermediary of the household head, but in practice, since its regulation of affinity relationship among all institutional subjects

is the mimesis of family member's affinity in order to access to substantive individual or citizen must be still through family and household. In here, the specter of Aristotle seems, *the rule of a household is a monarchy, for every house is under one head*, still haunting in scientific governmentality in a different manner at the modern state. I think that the third level abstraction is the agent of transformation turning substantive individual into a political subject or a citizen. Namely, the substantive individual –the droplet clung to the web of significance within both family and society is to be released and re-cling to web of significance for the sake of both politics and citizenship. Nationwide studies on family and census making are the scientific involvements in terms of identifying political subjects and totalization of the knowledge about them. They entail the re-grouping of subjects together to form a 'scientifically and politically embraceable family' whose elements may then be selectively disaggregated and made the objects of social policy and projects. Hence, what is practical and structural for the state's social policy is not the each action of substantial individual and of their families fluctuating in the Heraclitean flux, but the legitimate characters and roles [morality] that substantial individual vibrating within them in the structures. In other words, what is important for the state is not the vibrating individuals and their acts but the frozen roles and characters [moulds, morals] which are embraceable, thus maneuverable, controllable and punishable for the raison d'être.

4.1. Making Up The Family Through Social Sciences In The Modern State

At the pre-modern state's remembrance call or vocation individuals to order, in other words to legitimate roles and characters, had been fulfilled by the kings as cited in Shakespeare's Henry V. Nevertheless, the modern state calls individuals to order through forging a shared memory or mindset by "museums, maps, and censuses" (Anderson, 1996: 163-186). In other words, it seems that transition from pre-modern governance to modern one brought about changes in the nature of political and administrative knowledge delegating production of knowledge of the population and family to different institutions. These institutions can be assumed to be the agents of 'burial society' which turns a vivid topos and its whole oscillating sheaves into an imagined structure called topography. "To the forming of this imagining, the census's abstract quantification/serialization of persons, the

map's eventual logoization of political space, and the museum's 'ecumenical,' profane genealogizing made interlinked contributions" (Anderson, 1996: XII). The root for censuses can be traced back to 5,000 years ago to the Sumerians with the invention of the numbers. "They had counted amphora, ox, sack of grain, goat, poultry and slave women for the trade and eligible men for the military preparation" (Ifrah, 1995: 79). Between 577 and 533 B.C the ruler Servius Tullius made the first known census in the Roman History (Eutropius, 2007: 33). Until 1831, Ottoman ruling class had counted population and herds at local levels in different times for the sake of tax system. In 1831, he made his first pseudo-census by counting males in order to recruit them into the military service. In 1686, Marquis de Vauban proposed an annual census to Louis XIV in France claiming that "would it not be a great satisfaction to the king to know at a designated moment every year the number of his subjects, in total and by region, with all the resources, wealth & poverty of each place; [the number] of his nobility and ecclesiastics of all kinds, of men of the robe, of Catholics and of those of the other religion, all separated according to the place of their residence? [Would it not be] a useful and necessary pleasure for him to be able, in his own office, to review in an hour's time the present and past condition of a great realm of which he is the head, and be able himself to know with certitude in what consists his grandeur, his wealth, and his strengths?" (cited in Scott, 1998: 11).

None of such examples can be taken as a modern census, since they did not satisfy the requirements of three basic assumptions of a census: a defined territory, simultaneity, and periodicity enabling to grasp the population between virtual time and virtual space. They neither have common topics nor official definitions and classification for the international comparisons as well. Both in modern and pre-modern states the making of censuses were driven mainly by the administrative practice of calculating arable areas, tax collection, and number of appropriate men for the military service. Namely, properties of the state calculated, size of land, numbers of cattle, slaves, children, women, houses in numbers in respect to the head of the household in name is common to modern and pre-modern states. Centralization of knowledge through numbers and names are summed up and abstracted, for the sake of crisis management, is unique to the modern state.

Besides, 18th century was the first attempts of modern censuses that "statistical production was also fuelled by competition among states for pride of place in the race for '*progress*' and '*improvement*' (Curtis, 2001: 18). Manchester Statistical Society, London Statistical Society, Royal Statistical Society, Canadian Statistical Society, American Statistical Society were the pioneers of the censuses creating knowledge of population through sociology and statistics. Between modern and pre-modern states the kings had been replaced with these societies, but the raison d'état for the *homeostasis* in the society has been never changed in respect to call people for the appropriate and legitimate roles and characters [hoods] by measuring and making up 'normality' especially at the times of *crisis, chaos*, *risks*, *troubles* and generally at the times of improvement and progress. Maddox proclaims that "societies selectively dignify troubles and misery with the 'social problems' when three conditions are met: 1) a basic societal value is challenged; 2) the problem appears to be avoidable; and 3) there is the possibility of social consensus about the procedures for correcting the perceived difficulty" (1978: 28). More sophisticatedly Roberts conceptualizes social problems by four matter of facts: "a social problem exists in a humanistic sense when the institutional arrangements of a society (1) threaten human survival, (2) promote mystification of manipulation through the maintenance of ignorance, (3) limit the social productivity of the individual, and (4) fragment the person from important sides of his or her humanness (e.g.: ethics, sense of belonging, a sense of selfhood)" (1978: 17).

As an agent, human and his practices have been perceived within the modern structure of objectivity, rationality and calculability which is also a new issue rising simultaneously with the conceptions of welfare state and social state have been kept on the agenda of the modern states. This simultaneity results in a shared relevance and interest about public issues including unemployment, crime rates, aging, health, family, education, economics by both states and each citizens. Substantive individuals as altered to citizens, have inclined to avoid not only unemployed but also unemployment; avoid not only offense but also crime; avoid not only aging but also elderliness; avoid not only being ill but also illness at the epoch of the modern state. This inclination is result of a common mind of modern

societies that define the risk as not only an individual subject but also much more a mass object to concern. It can be claimed that this inclination is not only a product of modernity but also a result of the nation state which combines its own destiny – *causea finalis* with its citizens' destiny –*causea* efficientes**.**

While combining causea efficientes with causea finalis social policy's impact on the state's agents that creates the concept of risk stemming from such combination is not free from the state agents, and effects of scientific development, of technological innovation and of globalization. In this respect, the family is not just a founding social institution for the state but also an important institution among others including economy, education, religion, and politics that should be managed in terms of risk management. Economy, technology, science, and globalization bring pressure the state to bear on risk management about its population and institutions in terms of defining problematic areas with social policy, and involving through new regulations of law. As Giddens said: "In a society such as ours, oriented towards the future and saturated with information, the theme of risk unites many otherwise disparate areas of politics: welfare state reform, engagement with world financial markets, responses to technological change, ecological problems and geopolitical transformations. We all need protection against risk, but also the capability to confront and take risks in a productive fashion" (1998: 64).

Hence, for the sake of state institutions' risk or trouble management about the family, one of the encompassing knowledge producer "family sociology is ambiguously divided between two perspectives and approaches. On the one hand, a societal-level or macro-sociological perspective is still needed to account for the prevalence and functions of families in the larger social order. Perhaps because institutional analysis of this kind has been associated with a conservative theoretical perspective in sociology, macro-structural study of the family has declined in the discipline today. The micro-level analysis of family roles and interaction, on the other hand, has gained in popularity as the emotional importance of family life has increased. Investigating the ways in which images of the family affect both private and public life, as well as tracing the diversity of family structures and functions, are among the central projects for the family

sociology" (Farrell, 1999: 10-11). Theories shaping the family studies in sociology commonly deal with three aspects of family structure including the significance of kinship in modern industrial societies, the functions of family, and the changing roles within the family.

The first known macro-sociological family study in sociology with these three aspects at modern times is attributed to the conservative thinker Le Play's *The European Working Classes*. It was not only the first empirical study on family but also the search for a *stable* [a new homeostasis] democracy and industrialism after the age of revolutions in the Europe which has shaken the social homeostasis in the old regime. The 18th century is not only the age of great turmoil but also the age about direct result of capital accumulation and social welfare system over the European population. Hence, the family as an object of knowledge and as an instrument of the art of government appeared in a European context characterized by socioeconomic change, the increasing presence of money, growth of industrial economy, and new division of labor. He studied working class family in Europe by stressing on the structural relation between family/kinship formation and industrial production by scrutinizing 45 working-class families drawn from all over Europe. He deals with family structures undergoing disorganization as a result of revolutions causing traditional and communal security largely disintegrated. Industrial revolution and modernization as the motor power of individualization, resulting in a new division of labor and labor market, not only led to the formation of a new societal homeostasis but also to interlaced a new web of significance and relationship among family members.

According to Beck "it [industrial revolution and modernization] also leads (…) to a triple 'individualization': disembedding, *removal* from historically prescribed human forms and commitments in the sense of traditional context of dominance and (the 'liberating dimension'); *the loss of traditional security* with respect to practical knowledge, faith and guiding norms (the 'disenchantment dimension'); and (…) re-embedding, *a new type of social commitment* (the 'control' or 'reintegration dimension')" (1998: 128). The risks generated by the industrialization and modernization which cause loss of traditional security in the family and among the society are strongly accentuated by many thinkers' works

including Wilkinson (1997), Wynne (1992), Collingbridge (1992), Hood (1996), Furlong and Cartmel (1997), Giddens (1991), Lupto, (1999), Rowe, (1999) and (Mills, 1970) (cited in Kemshall, 2002). They assert that the modernity and industrial processes are now producing risks as well as benefits and insecurities within institutions and among institutions. Wright Mills claimed that such risks are mostly experienced and negotiated individually, and consequently old collective identities are weakened. Public issues are literary transformed into private issues (as cited in Kemshall, 2002: 8). Within this framing of risk the social as well as the natural world, as Lupton says, 'may be measured, calculated and therefore predicted' (as cited in Kemshall, 2002).

The very being of this new quantification and observation of the social life in the corpus of sociology may be started with the Le Play's *The European Working Classes*. He wrote: "the point of my departure in my work, and the constant guide of my induction, is a series of studies begun by me a half century ago, and since extended by younger friends to the whole of Europe, the adjoining regions of Asia, and more recently still to the rest of the world. Each study has for its object the working-class family, the locality it inhabits and the social constitution by which it is governed. […] Populations consist not of individuals but of families. The task of observation would be vague, indefinite, and inconclusive, if in every locality it were required to extend it to individuals differing in age and sex. It become precise, definite, and conclusive when its subjects is the family" (as cited in Nisbet, 2004: 62). Although there is a vast discussion on family or individual shall be the unit of analysis for the surveys and calculations, Le Play choose to take family as a unit of analysis and quantifications in terms of understanding its position among other institutions of society. His justification has such an impact on national household surveys that family in households are still a unit of analysis in terms of calculating household size, household budget, household labor force, household consumption expenditure, household income and living conditions.

According to Nisbet, by using the family budget as the scheme, Le Play makes it possible to put family study on a comparative and *quantitative* basis (2004: 63). Once the individual's qualitative actions and moral coding are reacted into new encodings by quantifications of sociology and statistics, the state level registered

and research based statistical knowledge of population has become essential components in the technologies of risk management and insurance that shape many of the ways in which modern social life is understood and governed.

The state, especially the modern one, deals with trouble cases through this quantification at the internal level by comparing them in its localities and at the international level by comparing itself among other nations. As the desire for development and competition between nations gives rise to comparison both externally and internally, the state needs fix official definitions, common topics, and classifications for understanding norms of family and society. In other words, social sciences, statistics and social policy investment on family studies as a whole make customary rules and procedures embraceable and maneuverable at the state level, which do not totally solve and eradicate the disputes through sanctions but reinforces and legitimizes the customary rules, morals, and procedures by scientific formal iterations and applications. Nationwide family studies are one of application of the state's investments, because as a practical object family is the base of abstraction in the conceptualization of substantive individual and more touchable and politic basic unit of access for the government. These studies on family are not focused on the collections of rights or as a mass of hands destined to labor, but they are focused on mass of elements which belongs to the general administration of families and individuals, and may provide a hold for concerted interventions, and building up consensus about the legitimate roles and characters.

Conducting nationwide family studies not only stems from the motivation of scientific *alētheia*, but also involves what the outer and inner legitimate space is for the family and its members. Nationwide family studies latently discipline the subjects of the social, so as to ascribe them to their proper places. This investment also results in reinvention of the rules that might have applied in the family structure also become available in applying them between families and between institutional structures as well by an external force called the state. The first reason for such kind of an application is the sovereignty over each and all structures for the sake of homeostasis among structures. As Fried argues that the state must establish and maintain sovereignty, which may be considered monopoly of paramount control over population and an era. The state structure must be in an

appreciation cellular that is made up of a variety of different kinds of components (including family and kin groups, communities and regions, offices and bureaus, clubs, gangs…) with these components being joined subsystems that articulate with the whole, with larger structure of government, only at higher levels (1969: 237). The second reason is emerged by the social policy in its nature. The social policy is the intersected set of political science and social institutions that cannot be surpassed others. Social policy, as a haemostatic mediator between political order and social institutions, enables the weaker one to get flourish and prevent the dominant one to flatter itself much in the modern state. Giddens said, "social order, democracy and social justice cannot be developed where one of these sets of institutions is dominant. A balance between them is required for a pluralistic society to be sustained. Moreover, each has to be looked at afresh in the light of contemporary social changes" (1998: 56).

This set bears respect to three aspects of political science as well with different themes in its socio-political domain. First one is the polity –the institutional constitution or the principles of the political community with which society organizes itself. The second one is the *policy* –the substance of political programmes for shaping social circumstances. The third one is the *politics* –the process of political conflict over power-sharing and power positioning. In the domain of social policy, the polity refers to the characters, roles and morals [hood] of individuals, the policy refers to the rules encompassing the borders of hoods and relationship between the hoods, the politics refers to the art of managing rules for the sake of homeostasis among the hoods.

Social policy makes these referrals through central knowledge that is produced by the sociology and statistics on the topos of 'polis'/'city' which morphemes the individual into 'citizen' and 'homo politicos'. Police [the term is not used in present day's sense, but whose purpose –officially at least –is the maintenance of order and prevention of dangers] also known as statistics, was the science of government that flourished in much of Europe from the end of Middle Ages until well into the nineteenth century (Pasquino, 1991: 108-111). Statisticians attempt to fragment and also aggregate the data collected into mathematical units representing the social reality without time and space or with mathematical time

and numerical space which I called before as virtual time and virtual space. Statisticians as police "took for granted populations were political creations, dependent on assertions of sovereign authority for their existence as aggregates open to statistical study" (Buck, 1982: 28). They search for the homeostasis among ranks and orders in the name of maxim happiness of maxim all.

Namely, the tension between psyche and totality transforms into the tension between particular and aggregate with the technology of statistic, and thenceforth transforms into the tension between homo politicos and police/city/state with the intervention of social policy. The unique points converging these transformations are the basic affinity rules and web of significance that are structured primarily in the domain of house and family. Although the scientific governmentality of population operates along two mutually exclusive axes: one of individualization, the other of totalization, it merges two axes on the primary constructing topos of the family affinities. Namely, the state, through social scientific and statistical investigation, rules and theorizes tensions and relationship among individuals in respect to family structuration. In Foucauldian sense "it is the pedagogical formation of the prince, then, that will assure upward continuity. On the other hand, we also have a downward continuity in the sense that, when a state is well run, the head of family will know how to look after his family, his goods and his patrimony, which means that individuals will, in turn, behave as they should. This downward line, which transmits to individual behavior and the running of the family the same principles as the good government of the state, is just at this time beginning to be called *police*. The prince pedagogical formation ensures the upwards continuity of the forms of government, and the police downwards one. The central term of this continuity is the government of the family, termed the *economy*" (Foucault, 1991: 91-92).

Governing the individual through family via statistically produced central knowledge has exponentially increased during the 20th century, because aggregation and availability of statistical data about the social world have been driven in the large parts of the society by breakthroughs in statistical sampling and survey methods. New type mass production of central knowledge about society and computer led technologies of statistics both enable social scientists to analyze

much greater volumes of data than they could do before. In addition, computer based statistical methods have separated many researchers from the social field which requires involvement in the data collection and creation processes before. Namely, "data, computers and advances in statistical computation have allowed scores of researchers to study the behavior, social interactions, and thoughts of vast number of people whom they have never met" (Axim and Pearce, 2006: 48). Axim and Pearce emphasize that such changes have allowed social scientists to describe the empirical reality of large fractions of human population. Although scientists enable to address a great breadth of issues of both high theoretical and social policy significance, the distance between collection and analysis of data obscures social scientist's knowledge about the process and context of data collection component (2006: 49-50).

As the distance between data collection and the analysis of data has widen, the profession of data analysis and that of data collection, the production of statistics and knowledge about family are perceived to be tediously and vaguely scientific which only belongs to technical experts. If we turn back to the terms dianoia and noesis, in terms of knowledge production about the family, on one hand, the tēchnē and phronēsis under the taxonomy of dianoia, the experts of statistics respectively operationalize epistemology and practical knowledge. On the other hand, under the noesis, theoretical knowledge of social scientists and everyday knowledge of layman about the family life are institutionalized within the imagination of layman and social scientists. This itemization about the knowledge production is a new issue which is the result of both separation between data collection and result of data analysis, and aggregated vast amount of data that can never be solely analyzed by social scientists in detail. As a consequence the search for the *magmatic inner side* of the family for the knowledge and the theory has become investment of anthropology, psychology, and sociology. The search for the knowledge about the family's *external hood side* is primarily aggregated under the domain of statistics by the knowledge in numerical forms.

Because the family has become tangible for the state through statistics, the pinnacle of the knowledge formation about family is embroidered on the axis between *noesis* and *phronēsis*. The prince pedagogical formation, as the formation

of family noesis, ensures the upward continuity of the forms of government and family formation, and the police downwards one with the phronēsis. Nationwide family studies as praxis –between theory and numbers create social equivalences [hoods] for the substantive individuals bounding up with the state formation. Such formation enables both philosophical and statistical background in order to serve to increase the possibility of intensive administration of the population and families. The family and the substantive individual have become *embraceable* through the knowledge which is at the level of *noesis* with the investment of sociological, anthropological and psychological constructing theories about the customary ambits of everyday life. However, they are only tangible through the knowledge that is at the level of *phronēsis* with the statistical nationwide family studies capturing attitudes in the numerical forms.

In other words, the family at statistical level is not an observable object, but it is a way of organizing sociological, anthropological, and psychological observations. The concepts emerge out of numerical prefects of the family that seek to depict web of significance so that these may be known, mastered, and administered. Nationwide family studies are assumed to be remarkably powerful way of centralizing and gaining knowledge on dimensions of social life, by investing social life in governmental and administrative forms. The central knowledge about families in a defined territory through the capacity of statistics generates representations of social significances is also the centralization of modern state construction. At the centralization of knowledge process of reason d'état the family and its members totally and gradually 'mundified' from its authenticity by turning it from subject to object. "Statistical knowledge contributed to the emergence of new objects of knowledge [new type of totalization] –'things which stay together,' as they have been called –actionable ways of configuring social relations, such as rates of death and crime" (Curtis, 2001: 18).

Namely, at the state level substantive individual and his family have been altered to 'things' by statistics. Such alteration is in nature is authoritative and asserts convincingly the sovereign authority of the state so as to configure and represent the social relations and significances. In family studies, substantive individual is conceptualized as equivalent subjects to the government's authority by the

statistical operations with the numbers. At the centralization of knowledge family and its members have been metamorphosed to an object which easily be maneuvered at the domain of state authority. An inclination of modern government for the central administration opens up the possibility of ruling its subjects and families through statistical knowledge not only dwelling at the centre but also dwelling at the far reach of the defined territory, as the social policy investments on the families having increased give rise to cumulative knowledge about the local conditions at the center of government. Such a flux and formation of knowledge from periphery to center endows the state statistical institutions to frame 'static' social significations, and empowers the social scientists to test their theoretical assumptions about the family life.

It can be clearly asserted that at the state level, the social policy demands resulting in statistical demonstrations require knowledge which is produced by institutions and statisticians is much more technical stemming much from theoretical but less from empirical one with three reasons. ***Firstly***, statistical knowledge about the family and its members deals with accurateness not correctness. There is a distinction between correctness and accurateness. Accurateness is at the domain of social policy experts, statisticians, and politicians that is derived from *governmental alētheia* through tēchnē and phronēsis. Correctness is at the domain of social scientists that is derived from *pure alētheia* through logos and episteme. Namely, on the one hand, statisticians focus on the outer side of the normal or legitimate moulds, hoods, codings, morals, characters and roles by testing whether their groupings and categorization suits and corrects the facts and reality of the family and its members vice versa. On the other, social scientists deals with the inner magmatic side of moulds, hoods, codings, morals, characters and roles by testing whether their theoretical conceptualization suits and accredits the accuracy of layman's imagination about the family and that of layman's everyday practices within the family. To exemplified it, while crafting a wooden craft, a carpenter as a *techn*ician never think about the very being of the wood but the function and the structure of wood in the craft. ***Secondly***, at the domain of nationwide statistical surveys, I assume that the theoretical knowledge about the very being of the family is, in nature, authoritative for the dianoia, noesis, tēchnē and phronēsis, because no

matter who responds the questionnaires about the household in the name of reference person, head of household (man or woman) is one for thousands of years as Aristotle claimed: *The rule of a household is a monarchy, for every house is under one head*. "It is a general condition of scientific practice that objects of knowledge and targets of intervention must be represented theoretically before they can be known scientifically" (Curtis, 2001: 27-28). At the domain of theoretical and scientific knowledge family studies provide a unique opportunity to investigate studying family through nationwide survey as a science and to connect the relations including knowledge forms, state power, and social imaginaries. Namely, state power operates on the domains of knowledge forms about family that are structured through scientific investment endeavoring to translate or accurate prior conceptual postulates about the social significations into a body of empirical and maneuverable knowledge. The statistical data of family that is resulted in empirical knowledge is not sui-generis but rather is structured in respect to purposes, assumptions, and research instruments aiming to grasp fluctuating customary ambits of everyday family life. The statistical family survey is authoritative, since information is not just taken but made by both head of household and the interviewers in respect to pre-prepared close-ended questionnaires.

The head of household is passive and the interviewer is calibrated through questionnaire manuals and trainings, so their imaginations about the perception questions are both passive that only fill up imaginations about the family into predefined moulds. These predefined moulds aim to officialise everyday practices through questionnaires that involve the definition and classification of space, of time, of standard wordings, of scientific orientation system, private and public domains. Predefined moulds about family structure require an intense scientific activity depending on the former social structure studies, organization of observation and theoretical approaches. As Curtis claims "the investment of social relations in statistical forms involves both cognitive and institutional transformations. Statistical knowledge depends on the establishment of relations of equivalence among categories of objects and on the routine execution of social observations" (2001: 31). Namely, at the state level the preparation of a

nationwide family study commonly refers to all the arrangements necessary to make the imaginings of the state officials about individual and family relations into practical conventions observation, enumerating, counting, recording and counting. These research activities stem from five roots: their ideas about own families, their observations about other families, scientific works on families, dominant state ideology about the family at the time of research, and the news circulated at the media. Nationwide family studies are made conceptually and theoretically before being conducted at the field. Decision about counting ethnicity, religion of people, permanent settler of housekeepers, people in institutional care or not counting or focusing on fertility, birth control practices, perceptions about religiosity, nationality, shows the political imagination of societies by the conductor of the state agents. The most decisive and determining factor giving its color to the research subject is the ideology of the state and the practical knowledge about the social policy. The subjects in the study encompassed or the wording of the questionnaire are not free from the times of dominant state or government ideology. In addition to theoretical and authoritative knowledge of family, *thirdly* dominant government ideology makes up the family structure. As Marx cited "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance" (Marx and Engels, 1998: 67). At the same time, within the ruling class ideology nationwide family studies are commonly structured as an object of political struggle. The contending and conflicting social imaginaries about the family sustained by social policy makers, researchers, and political parties produce antagonistic or competing representations of family imaginaries. Struggles over family making are to be originated with respect to the legitimacy of representations of families as such, and also with respect to the legitimacy of the policy measures and capability of new research

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methods that result from representations. Although there is a struggle over diverse family making processes, it occurs in a political domain, so that in practice of family making involvement of social policy is between state and family; family and its members resulting in a research praxis that is practical, political and scientific in nature.

CHAPTER V

DESCRIPTIVES OF THE FAMILY STRUCTURE SURVEYS

"Society must be remade before it can be the object of quantification. Categories of people and things must be defined, measures must be interchangeable; land and commodities must be conceived as represented by an equivalent in money. There is much of what Weber called rationalization in this, and also a good deal of centralization." (Porter, 1994: 201)

In the second, third and fourth chapters I discussed theoretically how the state operates about family with three themes including definition of reality, deployment of policy on reality and order of law on reality. In this chapter, I attempt to elucidate empirically how family is structured with scientifically procured procedures by taking four studies into consideration conducted with the same theme in different times in Turkey. To do this, the four surveys Family Structure and Population Problems in Turkey (FSPPT1968), Turkish Family Structure (TFS1988), Research on Family Structure in Turkey 2006 (TAYA2006), and Research on Family Structure in Turkey 2011 (TAYA2011) are described in respect to their documents in the archives, research motivation, sampling, sampling universe, response rates, survey instruments, fieldworks, reliabilities, and relevant literature. Since this long chapter contains many aspects of the four surveys, Table 35 and Table 37 at the appendix are prepared to present a comparison of four surveys across their thematic and geographical coverage, periodicities, goals and units of analysis.

5.1. Documents in the Archive

The first survey, *Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı ve Nüfus Sorunları Araştırması*, Family Structure and Population Problems in Turkey (FSPPT1968) was a major household survey conducted in 1968 by *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Nüfus Etütleri Enstitüsü* Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies (HÜNEE) with the support of Ford Foundation. FSPPT1968 was a broad version of a study about family planning, fertility and contraceptive conducted by Hacettepe University in 1963, which was extended with questions about family structure. This first nationwide survey on population called *Bilgi, Tutum ve Kullanma*, Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of Family Planning (KAP) was conducted by *Refik Saydam Hıfzıssıhha Mektebi*, Refik Saydam School of Public Health, a branch of *Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım Bakanlığı*, Ministry of Health and Social Security in conjunction with *Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı*, Ministry of National Education and Population Council.

The documents of FSPPT1968 can be found in the HÜNEE's library, which are library use only. Including documents and their conditions are: (a) The questionnaires: Form A, B, C, and D (very poor condition); (b) Instruction manuals: Form A, B, C, and D (very poor condition); (c) Sample planning (poor condition); (c) Sampled location at regional, city, town and village levels (poor condition); (d) Table of Random Number Tabulation used for village sampling (poor condition); (e) Administration guidelines for fieldworker, supervisors, team leaders (poor condition); (f) Fieldworkers training curriculum (poor condition); (g) Fieldworkers training examination (poor condition); (h) Names of fieldworkers, supervisors, team leaders, substitute fieldworkers, coders, punchers, research administrators, and consultants (poor condition); (i) Personal reports of fieldworkers (not available); (j) General administration report (poor condition); (k) Samples of administered questionnaires (not available); (l) Magnetic tape or digital of the data (not available); (m) Samples of punched cards (not available); (n) A report of after test survey; (o) A report of pilot survey; (p) A report book by Tevfik Çavdar and his friends called *Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı ve Nüfus Sorunları Araştırmasının Veri Toplama Teknikleri* (1968), Data Collection Techniques of the Research on Family Structure and Population Problems in Turkey (1968) printed

in Ankara by Hacettepe University; A book by Timur Serim called *Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı*, Family Structure in Turkey printed in Ankara by Hacettepe University.

Türk Aile Yapısı Araştırması, Turkish Family Structure (TFS1988) is the second nationwide household survey was conducted in 1988 by *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*, State Planning Organization (DPT) with *Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü*, State Statistic Institute (DİE). Its preparation had initiated in 1986 by DPT opening a new administrative branch called *Aile Sektörü*, Family Sector in *Sosyal Planlama Başkanlığı*, Department of Social Planning in DPT. At its departure in terms of opening a new space for the family as a subject at the 5th and 6th Five Year Development Programs, the department congregated *Türk Aile Yapısı Özel İhtisas Komisyonu*, Special Commission on Turkish Family Structure in 1987. The commission realized that in order to clear a space on Five Year Development Programs for the family, a nationwide study must be conducted to gather information about the families in Turkey, since the current studies could not depict a comprehensive picture about the families. There is only one library use only document found in the archive of the DPT: the questionnaire which call number is 306.809561.TÜRK and the report book called *Türk Aile Yapısı Araştırması*, Turkish Family Structure was printed by DPT at Ankara in 1992. The comparison of the questionnaire and the questionnaire at the back of the report book shows that some of the questions wording are different than latter. In addition, the sequence and number of the questions between two questionnaires are different. The questionnaire in the archive may be one of the last drafts of the main questionnaire. Because of not archiving and protecting one of the most important survey documents and digital data on family structure, diminishes the chance of further examination of the TFS1988.

The third nationwide family survey, *Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2006*, Research on Family Structure in Turkey (TAYA2006) was conducted in 2006 by *Aile ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Genel Müdürlüğü*, General Directorate of Family and Social Research (ASAGEM) with *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu*, Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK) and DPT. Its preparation had initiated in 2003 by ASAGEM a State Ministerial administrative branch. ASAGEM was aimed to produce family centered knowledge for the social policy. At its departure in terms of opening a

new space with family as a subject for the social policy, the General Directorate had invested on the TAYA2006 and had cooperated with the TÜİK. As in TFS1988 the aim was gathering information about the families in Turkey, in order to build up a comprehensive picture about the families. The questionnaire, digital data, and the survey report books can be found public use in the both archive and web site of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies (ASPB) and TÜİK. (a) The questionnaires: Individual, household and family roster forms (in three languages); (b) Instruction manuals: (not available); (c) Sample planning (not available); (c) Sampled location at regional, city, town and village levels (not available); (d) Table of Random Number Tabulation used for village sampling (not available); (e) Administration guidelines for fieldworker, supervisors, team leaders (not available); (f) Fieldworkers training curriculum (not available); (g) Names of fieldworkers, supervisors, team leaders, substitute fieldworkers, coders, research administrators, and consultants (not available); (h) Personal reports of fieldworkers (not available); (i) General administration report (not available); (j) Samples of administered questionnaires (not available); (k) Digital data (in three languages); (l) Record of questionnaire development meetings (not available); (m) Digital data of pilot survey (not available); (n) Codebooks (in three languages); (o) The report book is available in three languages digitally including Turkish, Arabic and English, and the digital data of the survey can be acquired free of charge from the ASPB. There are three print report books: First one, called *Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2006*, Family Structure Research 2006 published by TÜİK in 2006 at Ankara, includes main findings of the TAYA2006; Second one, called *Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2006*, Family Structure Research 2006 published by ASAGEM in 2010 at Ankara, includes whole descriptive findings about the families in Turkey; The third one, called *Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2006*, Research on Family Structure in Türkiye 2006, was re-published in three languages by ASPB in 2013 at Ankara, includes revised whole descriptive findings and many cross tabulations of TAYA2006.

The fourth nationwide family survey, Türkiye *Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2011*, Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (TAYA2011) was conducted in 2011 by ASPB with a private research company. The ASPB is founded for the sake of

producing family centered social policy. The aim was surveying families with the same questions and the same sampling method of the TAYA2006 in terms of scenting the change in the structure of family between 2006 and 2001. The documents of TAYA2011 can be found in the Department of Research and Policy at ASPB, which are in public use. Including documents are both in print and digital at the archives: (a) The questionnaires: Individual, household and family roster forms (in three languages); (b) Instruction manuals: (in Turkish); (c) Sample planning (in Turkish); (c) Sampled location at regional, city, town and village levels (in Turkish); (d) Table of Random Number Tabulation used for village sampling (not available); (e) Administration guidelines for fieldworker, supervisors, team leaders (in Turkish); (f) Fieldworkers training curriculum (in Turkish); (g) Names of fieldworkers, supervisors, team leaders, substitute fieldworkers, coders, research administrators, and consultants (in Turkish); (h) Personal reports of fieldworkers (in Turkish); (i) General administration report (in Turkish); (j) Samples of administered questionnaires (in Turkish); (k) Digital data (in three languages); (l) 16 hours of voice record of questionnaire development meetings; (m) Digital data of pilot survey; (n) Codebooks (in three languages; (o) Two report books: first one, called *Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2011*, Research on Family Structure Research in Türkiye 2011 published by ASPB in 2012 at Ankara, includes whole descriptive findings and cross tabulations; the second one, called *Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2011*, Research on Family Structure in Türkiye 2011, was re-published in three languages by ASPB in 2013 at Ankara, includes revised whole descriptive findings and many cross tabulations of TAYA2011.

5.2. Motives for a Nationwide Family Research

FSPPT1968 aimed to analyze population movements accordingly with regional, rural and urban classifications. The overall purpose of the survey was to *enable social scientist to study the household and family structure* in diverse settings in quantities during a period of rapid demographic and socioeconomic change. FSPPT1968's particular interest was to collect data on fertility norms and behavior, marriage patterns, intergenerational transfers of values as well. The survey focuses on five broad topic areas: socioeconomic characteristics of couples;

migration history and rural connections; family structure and marital relations; fertility and family planning; mass media use, religiosity and tradition through three questionnaires; Household, Female and Male. The FSPPT1968 measured living standards, infrastructure quality, availability of services and facilities, including transportation, school, health, and government via Village and Town Questionnaire as well (Timur, 1972: 187 - 189).

The TFS1988's primary objective was announced by İlhan Kesici, the undersecretary of DPT, as "*disseminate the information about the family structure to the policymakers for the Five Year Development Programs, to the academic community as a reference survey in Turkey*, and demonstrate that the TFS1988 is an invaluable survey collecting the data on family which were never collected before" (DPT, 1992: XXVII-XXVIII). In other words, TFS1988 aimed to determine basic characteristics of the Turkish family structure in a changing cultural and economic environment. Different than FSPPT1968, the overarching purpose of the TFS1988 enabled policy makers with scientific data on household and family structure in diverse settings in quantities during a period of rapid demographic and socioeconomic change. Hence, it is clear that particular interest of TFS1988 was not only supply data to the social scientist but also collect data for policy makers in order to give a new room to family in Five Year Development Programs.

Primary motives of the TAYA2006 and TAYA2011 are cited as "*to be able to create social policies* on one of the most basic units of social life, the family institution, collecting current data and defining the problems within is important in terms of determining structural transformation during the process of social change. The purpose of Research on Family Structure in Turkey (TAYA), which is repeated once every five years and included to the Official Statistic Program, is to determine the family structure in Turkey, lifestyles of individuals in the family, and the values regarding family life. The aim is to understand the current status of families in Turkey by analyzing information gathered on household structures, marriage, domestic relations, relations with relatives, children, elders and perceptions about other social subjects in terms of different variables and obtaining

data on determining how these changes take place over time" (ASPB, 2014b: 14; ASPB, 2014c: 18).

5.3. The Sampled Universe

FSPPT1968's sampling universe was decided as citizens of Turkish Republic inhabiting in the border of Turkey at the time of survey conduction. The household members were defined as members living and eating together, whether related or not, and temporary absentees who were expected to return to the household were included as well. The 1965 Population Census of Turkey by DİE, and local maps of the urban areas provided the address information (enumeration blocks) about the dwellings as the whole universe. According to de facto count of the 1965 Census the population of Turkey was counted 31,391,421 persons, and intercensal of Turkish population in 1968 was estimated as 33,483,000. The TFS1988's sampling universe was not clearly defined at the report book. It is understood from the report book that the territorial borders were Turkish Republic and foreigners were not included. Although all dwellings were assumed to be the element of the universe, the definition of a family or member of household, as in the FSPPT1968, was not held at this survey. The 1985 Population Census of Turkey and *1987 Hanehalkı Gelir ve Tüketim Harcamaları Anketi,* 1987 Household Income and Consumption Survey by DİE, provided the address information (enumeration blocks) about the dwellings as the whole universe. According to de facto count of the 1985 Census the population of Turkey was counted 50,664,458 persons, and intercensal of Turkish population in 1988 was estimated as 54,283,461.

The sampling universe of TAYA2006 and TAYA20111 were decided as households and citizens of Turkish Republic inhabiting in the border of Turkey at the time of survey conduction. The household was defined as the group formed by one or more individual who live in the same residence(s) or in a different part of the same residence and who participate in household management and service regardless of being related to each other. The 2000 Population Census of Turkey by TÜİK provided the enumeration blocks and dwelling addresses for the TAYA2006, and the registry of Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi, Address Based Population Registration System Results of 2010 provided TAYA2011's

enumeration blocks and addresses. Intercensal of Turkish population in 2006 was estimated as 69,295,000. 2011's was counted as 74,724,269.

5.4. The Sampling

FSPPT1968's sample was designed by DİE. *A stratified multistage design was used in the selection of the dwellings from this universe. Cross-stratification was done by five geographic regions* (including Central Anatolia, Black Sea Coast, Aegean-Marmara Coast, Mediterranean Sea Coast, and Eastern-South-eastern Anatolia) and by population size of place. This regional classification catalogues the cities of (see Map 1): ***Region I (Central Anatolia)***: Eskişehir, Afyon, Konya, Niğde, Nevşehir, Kayseri, Sivas, Tokat, Çorum, Yozgat, Çankırı, Kırşehir, Ankara. ***Region II (Black Sea Coast)***: Sakarya, Bolu, Zonguldak, Kastamonu, Sinop, Samsun, Amasya, Ordu, Giresun, Gümüşhane, Trabzon, Rize, Artvin. ***Region III (Aegean-Marmara Coast):*** Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ, İstanbul, Çanakkale, Balıkesir, İzmir, Manisa, Aydın, Uşak, Kütahya, Bilecik, Kocaeli, Bursa, Balıkesir. ***Region IV (Mediterranean Sea Coast)***: Muğla, Denizli, Burdur, Isparta, Antalya, İçel (Mersin), Adana, Maraş, Gaziantep, Hatay. ***Region V (Eastern-Southeastern Anatolia)***: Şanlıurfa, Adıyaman, Malatya, Erzincan, Erzurum, Kars, Ağrı, Van, Hakkari, Siirt, Bitlis, Muş, Mardin, Diyarbakır, Bingöl, Tunceli, Elazığ.

Place with a population less than 2,000 constituted the rural area. In the sample design, the urban area was broadly divided into two strata: towns with populations between 2,000 and 50,000 and cities with populations above 50,000. However, for the purposes of analysis, five rural-urban domains were recognized. These were obtained by splitting up towns as below and above 15,000 and cities as metropolitan –İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir– and non-metropolitan. According to this stratification, distribution to type of locality is as follows: 150 villages with less than 2,000, 50 small towns between 2,000 and 15,000, 25 towns between 15,000 and 50,000 and 32 cities above 50,000 populations (see Table 1). The ultimate sampling unit was a cluster of about six household units. In the rural area, towns and districts generally formed the intermediate stages. The households in the penultimate sampling unit were listed utilizing a standard procedure. On the basis of these lists, clusters of six household units were formed as final sampling units.

Generally two such clusters were chosen with equal chance and without replacement. The sample yielded 5,375 households. The household sampling fraction was slightly less than one per thousand. The sampling design was not self-weighting but at the analysis weighted tabulations were done. For each household selected: a representative best available member above 15 years old provided household level demographic and economic information through Household Questionnaire; women currently married in reproductive ages, less than 45 years old provided individual level information about herself through Female Questionnaire; men currently married and husband of the interviewed women without any age limitation provided individual level information about himself through Male Questionnaire. However, a population defined as in institutional services such as seniors' houses; prisons; military barracks; hospitals and hotels, and nomadic populations were not included in the sample. Non-Turkish households (10), empty dwellings and non-residential buildings (341) were excluded from the sample since they did not conform to the definition of the universe.

The sample of TFS1988 was also designed by DİE. The 1985 Population Census and the 1987 *Hanehalkı Gelir ve Tüketim Harcamaları Araştırması* 1987 Household Income and Consumption Study's enumeration blocks supplied the universe of the survey. *A stratified multistage design was used in the selection of the dwellings from this universe. Cross-stratification was done by five geographic regions and by population size of place.* This regional classification catalogues the cities of (see Map 2): ***Region I (Central Anatolia)***: Eskişehir, Afyon, Konya, Niğde, Nevşehir, Kayseri, Sivas, Tokat, Çorum, Yozgat, Çankırı, Kırşehir, Ankara. ***Region II (Black Sea Coast)***: Sakarya, bolu, Zonguldak, Kastamonu, Sinop, Samsun, Amasya, Ordu, Giresun, Gümüşhane, Trabzon, Rize, Artvin. ***Region III (Aegean-Marmara Coast):*** Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ, İstanbul, Çanakkale, Balıkesir, İzmir, Manisa, Aydın, Uşak, Kütahya, Bilecik, Kocaeli, Bursa, Balıkesir. ***Region IV (Mediterranean Sea Coast)***: Muğla, Denizli, Burdur, Isparta, Antalya, İçel (Mersin), Adana, Maraş, Gaziantep, Hatay. ***Region V (Eastern-Southeastern Anatolia)***: Şanlıurfa, Adıyaman, Malatya, Erzincan, Erzurum, Kars, Ağrı, Van, Hakkari, Siirt, Bitlis, Muş, Mardin, Diyarbakır, Bingöl, Tunceli, Elazığ.

Place with a population less than 20,000 constituted the rural area and divided into five categories: below 500; between 501-2,000; 2,001-5,000; 5,001-10,000; 10,001-20,000. In the universe, place with a population more than 20,000 constituted the urban area and broadly divided into three strata: cities with populations between 20,001-50,000; 50,001-200,000; and above 201,000. According to this stratification, distribution to type of locality is as follows: 74 villages and with less than 500; 101 villages between 501 and 2,001; 19 villages and small towns between 2,001 and 5,000; 11 towns between 5,001 and 10,000; 10 big towns between 10,001 and 20,000; 15 town centers between 20,001 and 50,000; 16 small cities and big towns between 50,001 and 200,000; 13 big cities above 200,001; and 6 cities of GAP –a region that a development project have been conducted (see Table 2). The ultimate sampling unit was a cluster of about five household units. In the rural area, towns and districts generally formed the intermediate stages. The households in the penultimate sampling unit were listed utilizing a standard procedure. On the basis of these lists, clusters of five household units were formed as final sampling units. Generally two such clusters were chosen with equal chance and with replacement. According to report the sample yielded 3,642 clusters and 18,210 households (DPT, 1992: 7). However, the list showing distribution of clusters by regions and location at the end of report yielded 3,555 clusters and 17,775 households (DPT, 1992: 329-339). Namely, there is a contradiction about the number of clusters and households in the report. The list demonstrates that the questionnaires of TFS1988 were administered to 435 households in each 87 clusters that were not in the survey sample. The sampling design was not self-weighting but at the analysis weighted tabulations were done. For each household selected: a representative best available member above 11 years old provided household level demographic and economic information through Chapter One –questions about Personal Attribution and Qualifications. Available married male and female without any age limitations provided individual level information about themselves through Chapter Two –questions about Household's Head and Members of the Family. However, the population defined in institutional services such as seniors' houses; prisons; military barracks; hospitals and hotels, and nomadic populations were not included in the sample.

The sample within the scope of the TAYA2006 was the total of *Residential areas with municipal organizations* (Population Form 1 information of Numeration Study conducted in 2000 by the TÜİK –*residential areas without municipal organizations (villages)* (all the residential areas). The sample of TAYA2011 was again prepared by TÜİK –the successor of DİE in accordance with the registry of *Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi*, Address Based Population Registration System Results of 2010. Samplings for both surveys were done according to *multi-stage, layered and random method.* Samples were planned to show the differences between urban and rural areas residential areas and 12 regions (see Table 3 – Table 4). For this purpose, sampling was chosen to represent Turkey in terms of urban and rural areas, separately for İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and at Level 1 of Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS). In the sample design, urban residential areas were defined as settlements with a population of 20,001 and more, while rural residential areas were defined as places with a population of 20,000 and less (see Table 5 – Table 6). However, since they cannot reach the meaningful number of samples, residential areas with populations less than 200 were left out. A sample population defined as institutional populations such as seniors' houses; prisons; military barracks; hospitals; hotels and kindergartens, making up 2.6% of total population were excluded from the studies. Lastly, nomadic populations were not included in the sample.

In order to conduct socioeconomic analysis of the relevant areas and to produce data comparable with the ones obtained by European Union (EU), Classification of Statistical Territorial Units (CSTU) was defined in terms of the Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS), a regional classification of EU. As a result of classifying cities that are similar with regard to economic, social, cultural and geographical terms, taking into consideration the size of their population, 12 units were defined as first level regional units. This classification catalogues the cities of (see Map 3): *İstanbul*: İstanbul. *West Marmara*: Balıkesir, Çanakkale, Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ. *Aegean*: Afyon, Aydın, Denizli, İzmir, Kütahya, Manisa, Muğla, Uşak. *East Marmara*: Bursa, Eskişehir, Bilecik, Kocaeli, Sakarya, Düzce, Bolu, Yalova. *West Anatolia*: Ankara, Konya, Karaman. *Mediterranean*: Adana, Antalya, Burdur, Hatay, Isparta, Mersin (İçel), Kahramanmaraş, Osmaniye. *Central Anatolia*: Kırıkkale,

Aksaray, Niğde, Nevşehir, Kırşehir, Kayseri, Sivas, Yozgat. **West Black Sea**: Zonguldak, Karabük, Bartın, Kastamonu, Çankırı, Sinop, Samsun, Tokat, Çorum, Amasya. **East Black Sea**: Trabzon, Ordu, Giresun Rize, Artvin, Gümüşhane;. **Northeast Anatolia**: Erzurum, Erzincan, Bayburt, Ağrı, Kars, Iğdır, Ardahan. **Mideast Anatolia**: Malatya, Elazığ, Bingöl, Tunceli, Van, Muş, Bitlis, Hakkâri. **Southeast Anatolia**: Gaziantep, Adıyaman, Kilis, Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Batman, Şırnak, Siirt.

Final sampling unit for both surveys were households, and 18 and over aged individuals in these households. A sampling size of 14,380 households was selected for TAYA2006 and that of 16,500 households for TAYA2011 to represent Turkey in terms of urban and rural areas and NUTS Level 1 with three big cities without the application of the replacement principle.

5.5. Response Rates

At the FSPPT1968, of the 5,375 dwellings 341 were non-residential, demolished, or abandoned since the Population Census of Turkey conducted by DİE in 1965. A further 338 households were temporarily away from their dwellings. Survey could not be conducted at 97 dwellings because of incompetent respondent for interview or other reasons. In 40 dwellings, the interviews were not conducted because of non-response despite three callbacks (see Table 7). Although it is impossible to clarify the response rate to Village and Town Questionnaire from the archive search, it can be estimated that the response rate is %100 for it, because the sum of small town, town and village is 225 and the Questionnaire was directed mostly to state officials including teachers, headmen, council of elders living in the sampled locations.

According to the listing of the woman questionnaire, the man questionnaire and the household questionnaire 88.8% of women, 74.8% of men and 89.7 dwellings responded to the questions respectively. Pretty low refusal rates mostly being attributed to two reasons; first one is the industriousness of interviewers stemming from well preparation and training. The second one is enthusiasm of the respondents stemming from as being concerned by the state and officials. The principle reason for non-response was temporary absence. Although there is an

open-ended question, the question 8, at the household questionnaire for the absentees, the study report does not clarify the reasons for the temporary absences. This can be attributed to the structure of the question 8. As it is asked open-ended, the recoding of the absentee reasons declared would be a real problem at the phase of quantification. In spite of mentioned reasons, the highness of the temporal absentees can be attached to mobility of men for seeking work and their liability for the military service (17.5%). Unfortunately it is not possible to predict the reasons for the absence of the women (5.7%) (see Table 7). It is not interesting in nationwide studies that there is a negative correlation between population sizes of locations and completed numbers of questionnaires. The response rates by community size showed a steady upward gradient from the largest to smallest location. While the non-response rates was negligible in rural, it was more than a fifth of the sampled in metropolitan cities. Such a variation between rural and urban is mostly connected to greater mobility of the population in urban locations and people cannot spare the time to participate in a survey (see Table 8). On the other hand, the response rates among the regions did not show much variation (see Table 9).

According to archive searches at Ministry of Development –the successor of DPT, TÜİK –the successor of DİE and ASPB –the successor of ASAGEM it is not possible to check out and clarify the reason for refusal and response rates of TFS1988 and TAYA2006. However, it can be understood from both survey reports that weighing and calibrating processes were done but were not put into the survey reports as a separate chapter.

The response rate of TAYA2006 cannot be clarified as well, because the micro data set does not include column of reason for refusal. However, it is understood from the survey report book weighting and calibrating processes were done by TÜİK. The rate of refusals for TAYA2011 was included in the micro data set. Of the 16,500 addresses, 638 were not inhabited; 270 were not dwelling; 191 could not founded. No qualified/eligible respondents were found in 788 households. Survey was rejected at 1,563 dwellings, and because of compelling reasons it could not be conducted at 178 addresses. In 816 dwellings, the interviews were not conducted because of non-response (see Table 10).

According to the listing of individual and household questionnaire, 84.9% of women, 70.3% of men and 73.10% dwellings responded to the questions respectively. The different response rates between men and women can be attributed to the temporal absentees of men for seeking work and their liability for the military service (see Table 10 and Table 11). It is not interesting in nationwide studies that there is a negative correlation between population sizes of locations and completed numbers of questionnaires. The response rates by community size showed an upward gradient from urban (20.0001+) to rural (20.000-) place of residence. While the non-response rates was less than 8,5/10 of the sampled in rural, it was more than 7/10 of the sampled in urban. Such a variation between rural and urban is mostly connected to greater mobility of the population in urban locations and people cannot spare the time to participate in a survey (see Table 11). On the other hand, the response rates among the regions did not show much variation.

5.6. Survey Instruments

The FSPPT1968 data were collected with four instruments including Form A: household questionnaire, Form B: female questionnaire, Form C: male questionnaire, Form D: village and town questionnaire. ***Household questionnaire*** was administrated to all household members living and eating together, whether they are blood agnates or not. Temporary absentees who are expected to return to the household were also included. All household members are listed with information on some of their individual demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. In each household, the bulk of the data collection consisted of interview with best available household member above 15 years old. In return, the questionnaire elicited data on the characteristics of all current members of the households. 19 close-ended multiple-choice questions in the he questionnaire can be grouped into following categories.

Basic Information about the members of household: Names, relation to the head of household, gender, age, marital status, absentees, number of given births, family migration, type of family production and employment status.

General housing condition: Number of room, condition of kitchen, toilet and bathroom, type of house floor and roof, kinds of household object and utilities owned and used, estimated value of the house, type of house ownership.

Female questionnaire was administered to currently all married women in reproductive ages- less than 45 years old. 213 questions in the questionnaire can be grouped into following categories:

Socioeconomic status of woman: Age, literacy, educational attainment, educational expectation for the children, occupational history, occupational history of husband and father, occupational expectation for the children, income, sources of income, land holdings, place of birth, residential community background.

Migration history and rural connections: Trends and stages of migration, reasons of migration, relations with the place of origin.

Family structure and marital relations: Family type, residence and family type at the time of marriage, residence and family type for patrilocal families that are currently nuclear, time and reason for leaving the parental house, type of marriage, spouse selection, age at marriage, resident after marriage, marital history, bride price payment, amount of bride price paid, relationship with the natal family, whether spouse was related (kin), ideals and norms on family structure, status and roles of different family members, authority structure in the family, decision making process, husband-wife relations, relationship with the children, attitudes towards fertility, and child spacing.

Fertility and family planning: Pregnancy history, age, education, location, and gender of the children, desires and expectations about family size and gender of children, degree of husband-wife communication, agreement and expectations on the number of children, knowledge and usage of past and current family planning methods.

Other Topics: Religiosity, everyday language other than Turkish, mass media usage.

Male questionnaire, including 223 close-ended multiple-choice questions with same themes of female questionnaires, was administered to currently all married men in the household.

Village and town questionnaire consists of 68 questions –some of which are open-ended, administered to village headman, teacher, council of elders about the main characteristics of the village and town that population is below than 15,000. The questionnaire covered following categories: History of the village, gender differentiation in the village, religiosity of the village, facilitating the mass media, literacy and education in the village, means of access to next town and city, transportation, distance of village to the town, city and market, type of village, place of settlement, distance to fresh water, size of population, migration history of the village, condition of real estate, cultivated crops, animal husbandry, employment of labor force in the village, available service facilities in the village, and condition of dwellings.

While the FSPPT1968 survey includes four separate questionnaires with 553 questions total, the TFS1988 survey consist of single questionnaire with two chapters including 125 questions:

Chapter One, Questions about personal attribution and qualifications family members: It was administrated to all household members living and consuming together, and not dividing their income and expenditures, whether they are blood agnates or not. Temporary absentees who are expected to return to the household were also included in this questionnaire but not interviewed. All household members are listed with information on some of their individual demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. In each household, the bulk of the data collection consisted of interview with best available household member above 11 years old. In return, Chapter One elicited data on the characteristics of all current members of the households. The chapter, including 25 close-ended multiple-choice questions, can be covered and grouped into following categories: Names, number of household members, relation to the head of household, absentees, gender, age, education, marital status, age at first marriage, number of marriages, type of

marriage, employment, duration of employment, reason for temporarily living abroad, type of social security system.

Chapter two, Questions about household's head and members of the family administrated to the head of family or best available family member above 11 years old in case of absence of the head of family. This chapter, including 100 close-ended multiple-choice questions, covers following categories:

Marriage: Spouse selection, values about marriage, proper age for marriage, bride price payment, approach to endogamy.

Relations and value of elders and child in the family: Relations in the family, expectations on the number, gender, and the value of children, relations between children and parents, educational, occupational and future expectations for the children, condition of elders in the family, expectations about the family.

Relations, authority, and communication between man and wife: Expectations between spouses, the degree of husband-wife communication, authority structure, roles of men and wife, leisure time activities.

Migration history: Place of birth, migration, relations with the place of origin.

Socioeconomic status of the family: Type of house ownership, investments of savings, property ownership, eating behaviours, spaces at house, spaces of gender, kinds of household object and utilities owned and used, sources and amount of income.

Blood Agnation: Distribution of deceased's estate, perception about blood agnation, distance between the family house and the relatives' houses.

Other topics: Mass media usage, religiosity, conservatism in the family, opinion about women in labour force, government services.

Except fertility norms and behaviours, TFS1988 nearly covers whole subjects on family structure, which were focused at FSPPT1968.

There is not any kind of questions at the preface of the questionnaire enabling fieldworkers to fill the length of the interview, the day of the interview administered, result of the interview, and supervisor's monitoring check box. Moreover, there is not any instruction in the Questionnaire Instruction Manuals for the fieldworkers and supervisors to direct them with the subject of questionnaire control and response rates.

The TAYA2006 and the TAYA2011 data were collected with three instruments:

Family roster administered to the reference person who was best available family member, above 17 years old, to gather information about the members of family. This questionnaire includes 19 close-ended multiple-choice questions and covers following categories about the each family member: gender, age, marital status, place of birth, relation to reference person, family members living in the dwelling for last 6 months, schooling, literacy, employment, occupation, and health insurance.

Household questionnaire administrated to the reference person who was best available family member, above 17 years old, to gather information about the household. This questionnaire includes 26 close-ended multiple-choice questions, and covers following categories: number of room, type of heating, type of house floor, kinds of household object and utilities owned and used, type of house ownership, income, expenditure, distance to relatives, family vacation, domestic socialization, internet connection, television, child, handicapped and elderly care, distribution of housework, decision-making process for important family issues, loans and savings.

Individual questionnaire applied to family members at least 18 years old those were at home at the time of survey visit. The questionnaire includes 85 close-ended multiple-choice questions and covers following categories: the demographic characteristics of individual, place of birth, migration, relations with the place of origin, his/her individual income, ownership of real estate/vehicles, children, marital status, status of the marriage itself, desire to become a foster family (not included in TAYA2011), divorce, participation of women in the labor force, the

ideal number of children, the relationship between children and parents, domestic relations, relations between spouses, domestic violence, neighbor and blood relative relations, religiosity, smoking and alcohol usage, leisure time activities, television, internet, vacations, the possible effects of the European Union on families (not included in TAYA2011), mother tongue, use of mother tongue in home and at public, senior members and life fulfillment.

Questions in household and individual questionnaires can be divided into two subgroups. The first group is made up of questions such as age, gender, occupation and marital status are aimed to determine a concrete/observable characteristic, a fact or an incidence about the individual, the second group is made up of questions to measure an individual's subjective perceptions in the face of an incident or a situation such as reasons for divorce or expectations on the process of getting old.

The themes of each survey instruments had changed in several subjects in respect to changing consideration of the state. The first one is the village and town questionnaire that was not administered in TFS1988, TAYA2006 and TAYA2011. As the population living in rural areas had decreased through urbanization and the state's social facilities and policy intensively initiated at the urban centers the knowledge about the rural had intentionally neglected by the state. Although four surveys aimed to differentiate urban-rural patterns of family structures by sampling the population universe in respect to population sizes of the locations, only FSPPT1968 focused on topics about villages ranging from history of the village, means of access to next town and city, distance to fresh water, migration history of the village, condition of real estate, cultivated crops, animal husbandry to employment of labor force in the village.

The second one is the knowledge about family's reproduction role and family planning policy that was only administered in FSPPT1968. In Turkey, before 1960s the primary objective of social policy on population was pro-natalist. The FSPPT1968 was administered after 1960 coup d'état fostering a planned development both in the structure of society, population and foundation of the state. In order to measure the impact of anti-natalist policy FSPPT1968 intensely asked questions about contraceptive usage and the number of births in respect to

changing patterns about family reproduction. In later three surveys the state's focus narrow down to number of children in the family and desired number of children, because the rate of total birth rate decreased to replacement rate.

The third one is about the knowledge about the ethnic distribution of population and interracial marriages. In Turkey, the numbers of ethnic population or the mother tongue was neither directly nor indirectly counted by censuses after 1960 coup d'état. Before 1965 it had been counted by a very indirect question "what is your second language" in the censuses. Until now ethnicity of the individuals had never been asked in the nationwide surveys in the history of Turkish Republic. After 1965 the mother tongue of individuals had asked in Turkish Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS) of which first one was the FSPPT1968. These THDS surveys have the capability of forecasting the mother tongues in Turkey. Because their 'complete' data sets have opened to few scientists, the number of articles and policy papers in respect to ethnicity and languages spoken in Turkey are very limited. In TAYA2011, despite the ethnicity of the individuals was not questioned directly, it was indirectly scrutinized via detailed questions "What is your mother-tongue?", "What is your father's father tongue?", "What is your father's tongue?", "What is your mother's tongue?", "What is your partner's tongue?", "What is your child(ren)'s tongue?", "What is your grandchild(ren)'s tongue?", "What is your second language", "Which language you talk in house at most?", "Which language you talk in public at most". Though information about spoken languages was collected in Turkey, it has not been shared with scientists until now as well.

5.7. Survey Instruments Development

Whole four questionnaires of FSPPT1968 were comprehensive multipurpose surveys asking current, retrospective, and future questions at household and individual levels. The questionnaires were modelled on nearly twenty other data collection efforts both in Turkey and abroad, including, Population Council's Fertility Survey of United Arab Republic (1965), Bogue (1964), Morocco Ministry of Development's KAP Survey of Family Planning (1966), Freedman (1962; 1965), Frey (1962), Glass (1967), Goldberg (1966), Hatt (1952), Hill (1959), Karpat (1968), Kıray (1963; 1964), Kongar (1968), Rainwater (1965), Sağlık ve

Sosyal Yardım Bakanlığı's Turkish Population Survey (1963), Sewel (1965), Stycos, (1963), Tuğaç et al (1968), Yasa (1966).

The overall purpose of the four developed questionnaires was to enable study of household behaviour in diverse setting during a period of rapid demographic and socioeconomic change through exemplifying intergenerational persistence, as well as structural change in marriage and fertility norms and behavior and in economic circumstances.

The first drafts of all four questionnaires were produced depending on cited data collection efforts both in Turkey and abroad, and circulated for comments to colleagues at HÜNEE. In March 1968, after more extensive training of five female and five male students in HÜNEE with questioner development team as supervisors, there were field pre-tests of four questionnaires, with nearly 150 individuals in three sites of Ankara: Zirkayı and Yenikent –villages of Etimesgut and Gülseren Chanty Ward of Mamak. After first pre-test, a group discussion was conducted on observations, criticism and suggestions of field pre-test team. The team's comments on how the interviews went, what difficulties were encountered, what alterations should be made were the useful comments on preparing the questionnaires' instruction and training materials for the field supervisors and fieldworkers.

In addition, choices of questions were altered in accordance with the answers of respondents. Since in a large-scale nationwide survey a high degree of standardization was absolutely necessary, almost all the questions designed were close-ended questions. So as to eliminate the disadvantages of fixed choice, every question was extended with "other" choice to be written by fieldworker to be classified later at the coding step. According to Questionnaire Instruction Manual the fieldworkers did not read the choices unless the alternatives were included as part of the question. The sequences of questions were specific one following most general one.

With the maturation of the first draft through adding response alternatives to questions and rewording the questions in a simpler, clearer and more direct way,

the second draft were conducted at the field with the same team. Some of the questions were rephrased and final versions of the four questionnaires were prepared with their each instruction manuals. The period of questionnaire preparation and pretesting had lasted three months and finalized on June 1968.

DPT, DİE, instructors in the universities, and other state organizations developed the questionnaires of TFS1988. Whole two chapters were comprehensive multipurpose surveys asking current, retrospective, and future questions at the household and individual levels. According to the report book, the questionnaire was modeled on the similar studies in Turkey, and focused on gathering information about the assumed problems of families.

Although it is not possible to clarify the partners about questionnaire development team from the archive, according to report book of TAYA2006 the most labor was invested by three state institutions: ASAGEM, TÜİK and DPT and also tested in a district of Ankara. The questionnaires of TAYA2011 depended on those of TAYA2006. The questionnaires were modeled on nearly twenty other nationwide data collection efforts about family both in Turkey and abroad including, (Timur, 1972), (HÜNEE, 1973; 1978; 1983; 1988; 1993; 1998; 2003; 2008), (DPT, 1992) (Yasa, 1957; 1966; 1969), (Kıray, 1964), (Kongar, 1978), (MFLS, 1978; 1993), (EGSF, 1997), (IFLS, 1994); (FRS, 2002), and (Vikat et al., 2008). The draft questionnaires of TAYA2011 were revised at two workshops dated May 11 and June 1 of 2011 with the participations of state officials (ASAGEM, TÜİK, DPT) and academicians from universities (Hacettepe, Ankara and Ortadoğu Teknik). At the first workshop, the questionnaires of TAYA2006 were examined in terms of validity and reliability. Following pilot test, at the second workshop, some of the questions and their choices were rephrased, and final versions of the questionnaires were prepared with their each instruction manuals. The pre-test and pilot were conducted at the rural areas, squatter settlements and the urban areas of Ankara with 103 and 165 households respectively.

5.8. Selection and Training of Fieldworkers

At the FSPPT1968 the interviewers were selected among schoolteachers and senior students in the university. Personal interviews were held on 400 applicants (300 men and 100 women), and 377 were given an intelligence and aptitude test designed and evaluated by the Psychology Department of Hacettepe University. After the evaluations of 120 candidates were given a second personal interview, 40 women and 70 men fieldworkers were finally selected. The selected interviewers were trained for 15 days. 50 hours theoretical and 50 hours practical courses were given through a well-designed curriculum. The curriculum consisted of six themes: (a) A general introduction on the aims and scope of the research; (b) Introduction to techniques of survey interviewing; (c) Elementary information on sampling; (d) A detailed study of survey questions; (e) Demonstration interviewing by utilizing role playing techniques; (f) Instruction and administrative aspect of fieldwork.

Each questionnaire instruction manuals were issued as a separate document giving the definitions needed for the interpretation of questions. The specifications were written on the basis of the staff's pretesting experience and contained suggestions on how to handle with the particular problems that might arise at the fieldwork. The manuals were supplemented by the discussion of each question in the classroom by giving examples on what to do in the case of confusing answers. The fieldworkers were told to keep loyal to the prescribed wording and not to give any leading by further explanations. They were warned of the dangers of unauthorized variations in the wording of questions by various examples. Two written examinations were given during the first week of training to reinforce the fieldworkers' familiarity with the questionnaires and manuals. The second week was spent on supervised fieldwork where the fieldworkers conducted a large number of practice interviews followed by individual and group discussions. A new independent sample including 699 households was drawn from four counties' 20 districts of Ankara and nearby villages for the purpose of the trial interviews.

Since the raw data is not available, interview lengths of the questionnaires Form A, B, C and D cannot be clarified from the archive. In order to clarify it, four questionnaires are administered to 3 male, 3 female and 3 village headmen.

According to this test, Household questionnaire took 17-25 minutes, Female questionnaire took 60-75 minutes, Male Questionnaire took 50-65 minutes, and Town and Village Questionnaire took 20 minutes.

At the TFS1988 the interviewers and supervisors were selected among the staff of DİE. There is not any information in the report and archive how the staff were selected. There is brief information about the training of supervisors and fieldworkers and training place (DPT, 1992: 11) which does not mention the details, including training curriculum, amount of training days, and the number of instructors. The questionnaire instruction manuals were used at the training but there is no information about whether an examination was issued after the training. The report and archive search clearly show that the trained fieldworkers were not tested at the field as well.

Since the raw data is not available and the interview length question was not placed at the preface of the questionnaire booklet, interview lengths of the questionnaires Chapter One and Chapter Two cannot be clarified from the archive. In order to clarify it, two questionnaires are administered to 6 individuals. According to this test Chapter One Household questionnaire took 12-17 minutes, and Chapter Two Individual questionnaire took 35-45 minutes.

For the TAYA2006, the interviewers and supervisors were selected among the staff of DİE. As in TFS1988, there is not any information about the staff selection process and the details, including training curriculum, amount of training days, and the number of instructors. The questionnaire instruction manuals were used at the training but there is no information about whether an examination was issued after the training. The report and archive search clearly show that the trained fieldworkers were not tested at the field as well. It is seen from the archive that the training was carefully designed by the contractor –a private research company for the TAYA2011. Before the field implementation, various training seminars were organized for fieldworkers, data base experts, data entry personnel, statisticians. Training efforts were initiated with the training of trainers who will train the fieldworkers. These 12 key personnel were gathered together in Ankara on 19 August 2011 and were provided with the relevant trainings by Field academicians

who were tasked as consultants for the TAYA2011. During the training of the trainers, the amendments on the questionnaire following the second pilot implementation, rural and urban samplings, planned interviewer training process and the main principles of the training to be provided to interviewers were emphasized. In addition, field control and field implementation personnel were informed in detail on the implementation of the survey and trained in line with their tasks and responsibilities on the field. The day after, field implementation was practiced on the field. Within this scope, all interviewers who received theoretical training a day before were on the field practiced the implementation of the questionnaire in one sample household in the districts or quarters notified to themselves, showed the household and individual questionnaires they filled out to their trainers and received feedback. Following this implementation practice, the trainers warned interviewer candidates concerning any mistakes in their questionnaires and interviewers benefited from the knowledge of their trainers in terms of possible difficulties they may encounter on the field and how to tackle them. The field implementation practices were continued until each interviewer managed to fill out the questionnaire in a flawless manner. All in all 583 individuals received training and 319 were administered to the questionnaires.

According to raw data, interview lengths of the questionnaires Household one took about 10 minutes, Individual one took about 40 minutes and Family roster took 15 minutes.

5.9. Fieldwork

Seventeen teams between July and September 1968 conducted the fieldwork of FSPPT. Fieldworkers consisted of 8 regional supervisors, 17 team leaders, 17 team supervisors, and 34 male and 34 female interviewers. With a large fieldworkers spread throughout the country, regional supervisors provide the necessary link between central office and fieldworkers. Each regional supervisor was in charge of two teams. Regional supervisors also directed all phases of the local fieldwork, arranged the travelling schedules of the teams and assigned the daily work for each team. Team leaders were in charge to administer Form D, Village and Town Questionnaire to village headman, teacher or council of elders. Women were

interviewed by female fieldworkers and men by male ones. Team supervisors allocated and assessed the each interviewer. At the center office, 20 supervisors rechecked the filled questionnaires mailed from the field. There was 35 coding staff at the center office as well.

For the TFS1988, 355 fieldworkers, 13 trainee supervisors, 54 supervisors, 3 trainee assistant, 7 organizer assistants, 25 organizers, 1 general organizer were employed at the field. All female fieldworkers were stuffed at urban and male were stuffed in rural without any clear scientific explanation. Moreover, except fieldworkers and supervisors the task and function of the other mentioned stuff is not defined in the report. On the one hand, the report claims that the "teams were build up with 6 stuff, 1 supervisor and 5 fieldworkers" (DPT, 1992: 12) which requires 71 supervisors. Besides, it asserts that there are 54 supervisors were stuffed in page 12 and 67 supervisors in page 13 (DPT, 1992). Such kind of ambiguities in the report also validates that field teams were not calibrated and distributed as well. The fieldwork was initiated in July 16, 1988 and had completed in 35 days including weekends.

Moreover, in the report without any pre-test results, the preparation team assumed that "one fieldworker can only visit 3 dwellings per day" (DPT, 1992: 14). If they planned the fieldwork by this calculation they would visit 37,275 dwellings with 355 fieldworkers in 35 days. On the other hand, they visited 18,210 dwellings meaning that each fieldworkers visited 1,47 in average per day which is not a very ergonomic use and distribution of the stuff on the field. Such a careless preparation for the survey shows that the questionnaire and the fieldworker were not calibrated at the TFS1988.

Although there is no detailed information about the fieldwork operation of TAYA2006 in the archive, according to report book the selection and training of fieldworkers, implementation of the field plan, fieldwork, supervision and the coding were conducted by TÜİK. Fieldwork was conducted between June 10 and August 8 of 2006 by means of face-to-face interviews using tablet computers. To prevent individuals from being influenced by the other family members of the household, two interviewers visited the houses and interviews were conducted

separately so that others cannot overhear the answers. At of the end of the fieldwork phase, interviews with 12,208 households out of 14,380 were completed. A total number of 24,647 individuals above 17 years old were interviewed and demographic information of 48,235 household members were compiled.

Contractor conducted the fieldwork of TAYA2011 with 319 fieldworkers including field control personnel, chiefs of teams and interviewers. Different than TAYA2006, TFS1988 and FSPPT1968 in this survey, only one fieldworker appointed to single household without gender bias. Fieldwork had been carried out between August 23 and end of October 2011. At the end of the fieldwork, interviewing of 12,056 households out of a sample of 16,500 households was completed. A total of 23,279 individuals above 17 years of age in these households have been interviewed and the demographic data of 44,117 family members in these households have been compiled. Interviews in 4,444 households could not be carried out due to reasons such as field study coinciding with summer months and Earthquake in Van provision, security problems, and change of addresses in some places because of urban transformation, rejection of some households to participate in the research or failure to find any qualifying interviewee in the household.

5.10. Fieldwork Checking and Editing

As the design included clusters of sampling units for FSPPT1968, the supervisor who accompanied the interviewers was able to edit the questionnaires in the field. The supervisor distributed the questionnaires to the interviewers one by one, and the interviewers returned the completed questionnaires before starting the next one. In the interim period between two interviews, the supervisor was able to carry out the consistency checks in a convenient place. The errors, omissions and other inadequacies were noted by the supervisor and, if need be, the interviewer was sent back to the respondent to make necessary corrections. The regional supervisors collected the administered questionnaires from their respective teams and mailed them to the central office located at the Institute of Population Studies in Ankara every two or three days. As the questionnaires came in, they were checked for

completeness, accuracy and consistency by a staff composed of 20 editors in the central office before coding. Upon examination of the editing team, each fieldworker received a personal letter from the central office in which the detected errors of procedure were pointed out. After the questionnaires had been collected and scrutinized, 32 coders carried out coding of data to separate codebooks, which were prepared for each questionnaire. The coding supervisors carried out consistency checks for the coded questionnaires.

Since the computer technology for social science at 1968 was not developed as today's one facilitating researchers with various benefits in coding and analyzing the data, data were punched to the cards before computer analysis. The female questionnaires were punched onto eight cards and the male questionnaires were punched onto nine cards. The household questionnaire had one punched card and personal information on each individual in the household was punched onto separate card. In sum, 5,000 household cards, 25,000 person cards, 24,000 female cards, 600 village and town cards, and 25,000 male cards were punched and transferred to magnetic tapes for processing by computer. Consistency rechecks on minimum-maximum card numbers and non-applicable categories were carried out on computer.

According to TFS1988's questionnaire instruction manual, the responsible staffs for controlling the fieldworkers and checking out the questionnaires is supervisors. 4th instruction article in the manual declares that supervisors "collect completed questionnaires from the fieldworkers with a definite period of time and validate some definite number of the questionnaires at the field. They give back the inaccurate questionnaires to the fieldworkers and warn them not to repeat the same inaccuracies" (DPT, 1988: 13). Since there is not any field report written by organizers and supervisors in both DPT and DİE archives, and it was not clearly what the "definite period of time" is and how "some definite number of questionnaires would be selected" for the validation at the field, it is impossible to decide whether the questionnaires were check out by the supervisors. In addition, the errors, omissions and other inadequacies were noted by the supervisor and, if need be, the interviewer would sent back to the respondent to make necessary corrections not just "warned". The bulk of data seems suspicious because there is

not any analysis depending on data about response rates and not a single report on fieldwork phase that clearly asserting supervisors carried out the consistency checks of the questionnaires.

Coders carried out coding of data and transferring it to the computer after the questionnaires had been collected at the center of DİE in Ankara. There is not any codebook found in the archives of DPT and DİE. Furthermore, the time period of coding and questionnaire collection from the field were not mentioned in the report. There is not any information whether the data were rechecked in terms of consistency, null cells, maximum and minimum values.

The checking and editing process of the TAYA2006 was mentioned neither in the report book nor in the archive, hence there is not anything to scrutinize about it. On the other hand it is well documented for the TAYA2011. According to archives in the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the field implementation personnel had inspected the questionnaires conducted by the fieldworkers in the field. The field implementation personnel prepared weekly reports about the questionnaires, and had submitted them to the field control personnel. The field control personnel periodically checked the questionnaires conducted by fieldworkers, %5 on the field and %5 via telephone, and delivered the control reports to the field coordinator. Following delivery of all the questionnaires to the central office for the data entry process, all questionnaires were subjected to internal consistency check by the editing staff in the office. During this process, the questionnaires have been checked to determine whether all questions were asked, and whether the collected information on the list of individuals matched the information on the individual questionnaire. For questionnaires including contradicting or missing data, the reference person for the relevant household was contacted on the phone in order to confirm the actual answers. Independently from this internal consistency check, randomly selected %20 of the questionnaires was subjected to telephone checks, regardless of containing inaccurate or missing data. Following the editing process conducted in the office, the filled questionnaires were delivered to the data entry operators to input the data to the database. A unique data entry program has been designed for data entry specifically for the TAYA 2011 with the purpose of minimizing the data entry and omission errors. This customized system

operates on the server-client basis, where data entry operators log in. The data entered are stored in the system and the reporting functions are provided by the server.

5.11. Fieldworkers' Evaluations about the Questionnaires

For the TAYA2006, TAYA2011 and TFS1988, there is not anything mentioned about whether fieldworkers evaluated the questionnaires after the conduction of questionnaires. In contrast to the research design of mentioned studies above, at the end of FSPPT1968's fieldwork, the fieldworkers were asked to their own opinion of the overall reliability of the respondent's answers and respondent's level of interest during the interview. According to personal observation of fieldworkers, 77% of males and 66% of the females understood whole questions in the questionnaires, and 1% of males and 1% of females did not understand any of the questions. 86% of males and 80% of females living in metropolitan cities understood the whole questions. On the other hand, %71 males and 61% of females living in town and villages understood whole the questions. According to research documents in the archive, not understandable questions never exceed 3-5 questions for each questionnaire. It is unfortunate that the data on not understandable questions were not analyzed well after the editing pace. Hence, it is impossible to clarify which questions built up the grey area of the survey. According to fieldworkers, 90% of the respondents were cordial. There is no significant difference between male and female respondents about cordiality with respect to dwellings in cities and villages. Over all disingenuous was 1% for male and female respondents. The interest of males and females cited as 89% and 90% respectively. While at the metropolitan cities 85% of respondents were interested in survey, the interest rate increased to 91% in the villages. It is unfortunate that the interest and cordiality were not scrutinized with respect to respondents' age, occupation, education, and income. Different than later three family surveys, in order to measure the reliability of the responses, 250 households were reselected from the survey sample after the fieldwork of FSPPT1968. All questionnaires re-administered to them with new fieldworkers as quality control team. According to documents in the archive, reliability of Form A, Household Questionnaire was tested but other three questionnaires were not. The test shows that there is a

discrepancy between survey interviews and quality control interviews. While the consistency correlation between first and second interview responses to the kind of household object and utilities owned increased to 0,94 the consistency on estimated value of the house used in villages decreased. The quality control study of FSPPT1968 was the first and the last attempt for the social studies in Turkey. Quality control study, which enabled objectivity, was the only study on family structure that has never been used for nationwide studies conducted in any subjects in later periods.

5.12. Reliability of the Surveys

Comparison of the population estimated from the survey with the Population Census in 1965 by DİE provides that the reliability of the FSPPT1968 is high and within the 95% confidence interval meaning that there is not a large errors arising from non-coverage of portions of the census universe. According to Table 12, intercensal estimate of Census 1965 and that of FSPPT1968 in population size were close and differs only 1.1% at all. The standard error of the FSPPT1968 is only 1.350 meaning that its sample and estimation are enough to represent the whole population living in Turkey. Besides, according to distribution of population by region, estimation of FSPPT1968 deviated from the Census 1965 at most in Black Sea Coast with 1,85% (Table 13). In the light of the supervisor's field reports, this deviation can be attributed to the season that FSPPT1968 survey conducted. It is known that the best season for the field operation is autumn because the individuals mostly located at their permanent dwelling and return back from their temporary dwellings at villages and small towns. Since FSPPT1968 field operation was conducted in summer, and the rate of movement between village and cities were high in Black Sea Coast, according to fieldworkers' evaluation reports they were not able to find some of the dwellers at their homes. Table 6 shows that there is not a large error arising from non-coverage portions of census universe, and the population living each regions of Turkey is represented by the sample of FSPPT1968.

In addition, The comparison of Census 1965, 1970 and FSPPT1968 on the number of married women under 45 years old also shows that the estimation of

FSPPT1968 is within the 95% confidence limit and it only differs 2,5% from the intercensal of Census 1965 (Table 14). The best reliability result for the FSPPT1968 was the distribution of population by the locations. The highest net error on this subject occurred with 0,7% at towns having population between 15.000 and 50.000 which is a little error in compare to other nationwide studies (Table 15).

The comparison of other available survey estimates of FSPPT1968 and Census 1965, distribution of population by household size (Table 16), distribution of households by number of rooms (Table 17), distribution of males and females above 14 years old by marital status (Table 18), and distribution of females above 14 years old by age groups (Table 19) shows that many responses were reliable and within the 95% confidence limit in FSPPT1968. Since its magnetic tape of data is not available, it is not possible to conduct reliability test for many questions of FSPPT1968. The sampling errors, the design affect, (comparison of the sampling error of the FSPPT1968 design with that of simple random sampling) the net and gross non-sampling errors were analyzed by Srikantan (1971) in detail.

Comparison of the population estimated from the survey with the Population Census in 1985 by DİE and 1988 Turkish Population and Health Survey (TPHS) by HÜNEE with the 1988 TPHS provide that the reliability of the survey on several subjects was out of the 95% confidence interval level meaning that there are large net errors, except total population estimation of DİE, arising from non-coverage of portions of the census universe. 1988 TPHS was the 4th successor of the FSPPT1968, and it is one of the most prestigious periodical surveys which has proven itself internationally in terms of having scientific approach, carefully designed research methodology, well prepared and tested questionnaires, and watchfully conducted and checked fieldwork. Hence, it is better to compare TFS1988 with 1988 TPHS.

The estimation of DİE on the midyear population size in 1988 was 54.283.461 and "redacted" and "retrospective" estimation of TÜİK, the successor of DİE, on the midyear population size in 1988 is 53.268.000 now (TÜİK, 2012). Since the state statistic department's estimation on population varies throughout years, the

reliability of the TFS1988 must be compared with independent surveys and measured by 1988 TPHS. The population estimation of TFS1988 deviating from that of 1988 TPHS with having a net error of 5,26 elucidates that reliability of TFS1988 is out of 95% confidence interval level and lower than 1988 TPHS (Table 20). TFS1988's estimations on the distribution of age groups are in the 95% confidence level, but it was high on 15 – 19 age group with having 4,64 net error (Table 21). Estimations of both surveys on the distribution of household sizes by region (Table 22); on the household effects, not about colour TV with 36,34 net error (Table 23); on the type of marriage, not about religious marriage in rural areas with 6,21 net error (Table 24); but not on the distribution of social insurance institutions with net errors ranging between 5,68 to 30,79 (Table 25) were close and reliable.

After Census of Turkey in 2000, TÜİK left out periodical censuses and started to project population of Turkey through official registries in 2007. Since the TAYA's micro data were not recoded coordinal with official registries like age groups, as well as there was not any similar nationwide study on population of Turkey in 2007 it is impossible to validate most of the TAYA2006's results. Table 26 shows that there is not a large error (except Southeast Anatolia with 2.5 net error) arising from non-coverage portions of registered universe, and the population living each regions of Turkey is represented by the sample of TAYA2006.

On the other hand, TAYA2011 can be compared with TÜİK's Population and Housing Census, Official Population Registries, and Information and Communication Technology Usage Survey in Households and Individuals, because its micro data were codified coordinal with them. According to distribution of population by region, sampled population of TAYA2011 deviated from the Official Population Registration at most in Mediterranean with -5,7 net error. Table 27 shows that there is a large error arising from non-coverage portions of census universe, and the population living each regions of Turkey that is represented by the sample of TAYA2011. This error was fixed through weighting and calibration processes. However, Table 28 shows that TAYA2011's distribution of household members by age groups has not large errors compared to Turkey's 2011 official registries. The comparison between Population and

Housing Census 2011 Survey by TÜİK and estimates of TAYA2011, distribution of population by household size (except number of 5+ individuals with 6,1 net error) (Table 29), distribution of households by number of rooms (Table 30), distribution of males and females above 15 years old by marital status (except single males with 8,9 married males with -9,2 net errors) (Table 31), households by heating type of dwelling (Table 32), households by ownership status of dwelling (Table 33), and availability of devices in the households except access to internet with 7,4, digital camera with -5,7 and DVD/VCD/DivX players with 8,1 net errors) shows that many responses were reliable and within the 95% confidence limit in TAYA2011. Although the micro data set of TAYA2011 is so fruitful to analyze the sampling errors, the design affect, the net and gross non-sampling errors, there is no found any article about them in the literature or paper in the archive.

5.13. Literature about the Surveys

Although FSPPT1968 includes a vast variety of research themes on family behavior and has a high reliability rates with 533 questions, it had not been used as a micro data set in many advanced and detailed further studies, and social policy reports. In addition, there is not a descriptive report including main frequencies of the whole study's results except Timur's (1972) work of the micro data set on family structure and Fisek's (1972) article on contraceptive use. According to literature search, statistical data of FSPPT1968 was used in only one book, one booklet and nine articles.

The book named "Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı" Family Structure in Turkey were published in 1972 by Serim Timur, which is best known among others and referred by secondary articles. Four years interval between the administration date of the FSPPT1968 and its report date is one of the interesting subjects that converge on other nationwide family structure studies in Turkey. The booklet named "Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı ve Nüfus Sorunları Araştırmasının Veri Toplama Teknikleri (1968)" Data Collection Techniques of Family Structure and Population Problems Survey in Turkey (1968) were published in 1971 by Tevfik Çavdar, Figen Karadayı, Hasan Serinken, K. S. Srikantan and Serim Timur. The two

articles focusing on education and occupation in respect to social capital with advanced statistical methods named The Educational Status Attainment Process Male Urban Population, 1968 and Occupational Attainment Process in Turkey were published in 1983 and 1988 respectively by Yusuf Ziya Özcan. The article published in 1977, Evaluation of Social Surveys: A Case Study of The Turkish Social Survey, 1968 by K. S. Srikantan used the FSPPT1968 micro data set to analyse its coverage and content as a social surveys with coverage errors, non-response, representativeness of the sample, sampling errors, non-sampling errors and the total errors in terms of scrutinizing the success of social surveys.

The article named Population Planning in Turkey: National and Foreign Priorities published in 1973 by Nusret H. Fişek used FSPPT1968 data set in order to find the national and foreign priorities on population planning in terms of family planning and contraceptive use. The article named Family Planning and Husband-Wife Relationships in Turkey published in 1976 by Emelie Olson-Prather focused on the relationship between internal family relation and contraceptive use according to micro data set of FSPPT1968. The article named Regional and Rural-Urban Socio-Demographic Differences in Turkey published in 1973 by K. S. Srikantan used the data set so as to exemplify the regional differences in Turkey in respect to region, rural and urban settlements. The article named Turkey: Changes in Birth Control Practices, 1963 to 1968 published in 1970 by Ferhunde Özbay and Frederic C. Shorter used the data set to compare the results of FSPPT1968 and that of KAP1963, "Bilgi, Tutum ve Kullanma" Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of Family Planning Study.

The TFS1988's primary objectives were announced by İlhan Kesici the undersecretary of DPT as "disseminate the information about the family structure to the policymakers for the Five Year Development Programs, to the academic community as a reference survey in Turkey, and demonstrate that the TFS1988 is an invaluable survey collecting the data on family which were never collected before" (DPT, 1992: XXVII-XXVIII). In spite of this bona fides announcement, the TFS1988 had not been used in Five Year Development Programs and captured much attention of the academic community as a reference survey except two articles cited below. In addition, although its sample size boosted up for Eastern-

Southeastern Anatolia in order to scrutinize the cities in detail in the "Güney Doğu Anadolu Projesi" Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) in advance of a distinct family structure report for the cities of Southeastern Anatolia (DPT, 1992: 7), not a single public or private report had been published by the DPT. As the reliability of survey is controversial and the public report was issued four years after the field study, the TFS1988, except two studies, had not captured the attention of social scientist to conduct further detailed analysis. The first study called Intergenerational Living Arrangements in Turkey by Işık Aytaç used TFS1988 data in order to assess whether urbanization and economic development at the aggregate level training have an effect on intergenerational living arrangements (Aytaç, 1998). The other article facilitating the TFS1988 is focusing on the impact of modernity and traditionality on junior high school attainment by region, city size, and by family background in Turkey (Aytaç and Rankin, 2004). In both articles it is strange that the reliability of the data were not mentioned and neglected by the authors. Besides, the results of TFS1988 had not been used in any report and development plan by its administrators; the DPT.

TAYA2006 is also a poor survey in terms of facilitating further scientific analysis and social policy papers. The micro data set is available at the TÜİK's web site. A booklet named "Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2006" Family Structure Survey 2006 reporting basic information was published in 2006 by TÜİK and ASAGEM. In 2010, the study published covering whole variables in the micro data set by ASAGEM. Ministry of Family and Social Policies republished it in Arabic, English and Turkish in 2014 as "Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2006" Research on Family Structure in Turkey. The only scientific study on TAYA2006 was done by Sutay Yavuz and Emine Özmete called "Türkiye'de Genç Bireyler ve Ebeveynleri Arasında Yaşanan Sorunların 'Aile Yapısı Araştırması' Sonuçlarına Göre Değerlendirilmesi" Assessment of Problems Between Young Individuals and Their Parents in Turkey According to Results of 'Research on Family Structure 2006' Survey, focusing on parent–children relations in Turkey.

TAYA2011 is the most contributed survey in compare to other three surveys in terms of analysing family structure in Turkey. The report book published in three languages called "Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2011" Research on Family

Structure in Turkey 2011. The micro data was encoded in three languages as well which enables statisticians and social scientists to conduct further analysis in their own languages. There is also a book named "Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması: Bulgular ve Öneriler" Research on Family Structure in Türkiye: Findings and Recommendations scrutinizes the family by cultivating the results of nationwide studies including TAYA2006, TAYA2011, TNSA and the FSPPT1968. The book covers nine articles. The articles analyses the change in family structure in Turkey, relative and neighbor relations, elderly population and life preferences of elders, marriage practices and patterns, change in birth rates and patterns in Turkey, socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of divorced and broken families in Turkey, relationships between parents and children, attitudes towards gender roles in the family, social activities and use of leisure in the family.

CHAPTER VI

CRITICS OF FAMILY STRUCTURE SURVEYS

> *"Man differs from other animals in that he is the one most given to mimicry (mimetikotaton) and learns his first lessons through mimesis (dia mimesos)"* (Aristotle, Poetics. 1448b cited in Bourdieu, 1987: 96).

The former chapters were written about the justifications on the relation between family and the state in order to dig core with my spade to say what basically social policy experts and structural functionalists connect these two through surveys on family structure. The surveys are the basic bridging element for building up a centralized knowledge in terms of embodying the family structure at gaze of the state. Centralized knowledge requires soar on two wings; one is *imaginary* basing on repetition of scientific investigation through definition of unit of analysis, measurement, survey instruments, research motivation, fieldwork, sampling etc. The other is *ordinary* basing on mimicry among individual order, family order and cosmic order. In the previous chapters I also argue that all investment for a centralized body of knowledge is for the sake of balancing hemostasis among social institutions. Such a body of knowledge, which is held by mimicry of the structural functionalists and social policy experts starting with displacements within a mimetic structured space –the topos, tend to impose the integration of body order with cosmic, social and the state orders, by applying merging categories both to the relationship between human and the natural world on the topos of family life through logos. In order to show this mimicry in terms of creating a centralized knowledge about the family structure, I discussed theoretical foundations of the state operations about family under three themes as definition of

reality, deployment of policy on reality and order of law on reality in the second, third and fourth chapters. The centralized knowledge, or better to say embroidering a knowledge shifting from everyday schemes [routine] of the family members to a periodically measured schema [structure] of the family structure, is reconstructed by social policy experts through repetitive scientific methods in terms of making up the family as a project, an intervention program, or a plan. In order to intervene the current family, to projectile the future of family, and to plan the social policy on the family, the structural functionalists overwhelmingly employ statistics to map the demonstrations of family.

In the fourth chapter I discussed that the state's social policy demand resulting in statistical representations [mimetikotaton] produced by institutions are rather technical and statistical knowledge stemming mainly from structural functionalist approach rather than deriving from an empirical one. On the one hand, statistical knowledge about family and its members deals with accurateness but not with correctness, as there is a distinction between these two. Accurateness is at the realm of social policy experts, statisticians, and politicians that is derived from governmental *alētheia* through tēchnē and phronēsis. Correctness is, on the other hand, at the domain of social scientists that is derived from pure *alētheia*, signifying artistic mimicry, through logos and episteme. Namely, governmental *alētheia* [*hikmet-i hükümet = governmentality*] focus on the outer side of the normal or legitimate moulds, hoods, codings, morals, characters and roles by testing whether their groupings and categorization suit and correct the facts and reality of family and its members, and vice versa. Pure *alētheia* [*hikmet = philosophy*] deals with the inner magmatic side of moulds, hoods, codings, morals, characters and roles by testing whether their theoretical conceptualization corrects, suits and accredits the accuracy of layman's imagination, signifying non-artistic mimicry about the family, and that of layman's everyday practices [*layman's alētheia*] within the family.

In other words, three meaning-sets of imagination about the family are intercepted by an axis working with mimicry of everyday life, running through repetition of scientific investigation models, and ideology of the state for the family life. This axis not only enables each set to create sub-representations of family life but also

enables to map a general representation of family life that each sub-representations shapes one another. If I elucidate this much more in Aristotelian way that is immensely used by structural functionalists: If we separate the ideology of the state's policy operations which is mainly shaped by *social instituting imaginary* from *radical imagination*, speaking generally, radical imaginary of family seems to be indebted its structure to two certain causes those are seems both natural. First, from childhood layman has a predisposition for representation, and hereof, differs from the other animals that s/he is extremely more imitative and learns first trainings by representing things. Second, then there is the satisfaction people permanently get from representations through repetition of these representations. What happens in authentic experience upholds this, for we appreciate looking at accurate likenesses of repetitions of these representations as they themselves produce pleasure. Accordingly, learning things furnishes great pleasure not only to scientists but also in the same way to laymen because, as laymen and scientists, we enjoy seeing accurate likenesses between reality and its representation. As we look, we learn and infer what each representation is standing for. If we have never happened to see each reality but their representations, our pleasure is owing to the representations that are created by scientific techniques and repetitive actions for a perfect mimicry of everyday family life. Both scientist and layman have natural instinct for measuring their actions in respect to tuning the fine rays of science and everyday life –layman creates ***metres*** for the refinement of his actions; scientist creates ***meters*** for the measurement of these actions. Metres of laymen for family and meters of scientists for family working in the domain of social imaginary are both natural because they search for the likeness between reality of family life and representation of family life. However, when it comes to measuring of the state through social instituting imaginary what is happening on the surface of family domain in terms of social policy making for the family, the center of the domain and its borders are arbitrated to ***compass*** for the structuration of family life. The role of compass is not as natural as meter and metre, because the primary aim of it is not to find the perfect mimicry between reality and representation but to rectify the reality and representation for the sake of the state's own existence –raison d'etre. In sum, three meaning-sets of imagination about the family are intercepted by an axis working through metres, meters, and compasses.

Hence, I attempt to elucidate empirically how family is encompassed, measured, structured, and represented by social policy experts via scientific procedures with taking four studies about family structures into consideration, all of which were conducted in the same theme at different times in Turkey. To do this, in the fifth chapter, the four surveys Family Structure and Population Problems in Turkey (FSPPT1968), Turkish Family Structure (TFS1988), Research on Family Structure in Turkey 2006 (TAYA2006), and Research on Family Structure in Turkey 2011 (TAYA2011) are briefly described in respect to their documents in the archives, research motivations, samplings, sampling universe, response rates, survey instruments, fieldworks, reliabilities, and relevant literature.[7] In brief, in this chapter, in order to evaluate whether inner magmatic sides of the family structure as correctness suits and accredits the layman's imagination about family as accuracy, and show what are the cornerstones of making up central knowledge of the family structure, I discuss four surveys through three themes including their unit of analysis, research motivation and their quality problems.

6.1. Unit of Analysis Problem

Family is vastly treated as a unit of analysis in many economic and social surveys, although a substantial number of people do not live in family unit but they all have families. This might be a reasonable point but is not enough to point out why family cannot be granted as a unit of analysis, because the numbers of individuals without family relationships of any kind are very few. Moreover, a nationwide survey only deals with the majority of mass/quantity but not minority of few/quality. Besides the sociological corpus behind these kind of surveys always canned "the family, not the physical person, is the true unit of class and class theory [with blood relationship the critical factor, we do not limit ourselves to the parental family here. Hence we use the terms family, clan, tribe as synonymous, though a presentation that went into greater detail would have to make distinction]" (Shumpeter, 1966: 113/[177]). Repetition of scientific investigations of family in social science "these and similar data confirm that the conjugal family remains the units of class fate, class formation and class action" (Goldthorpe,

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[7] For a quick summary of these four surveys across their thematic and geographical coverage, periodicities, goals and units of analysis, please look Table 36-37 in the appendix.

1990: 60). According to Goldthorpe "…it is the family rather than the individual which forms the basic unit of stratification" (1983: 465). The reason behind regarding the family as a unit of analysis rather than the individual seems strong enough, because primarily it underlines the fact that the focus is upon sets and relationships among sets rather than upon systems of occupationally based, individual prestige. Additionally, the scientific emphasis on family would seem to underline the structured nature of such classification and class relationships. It must be taken into account that such an approach does not diminish the tension between psyche and totality but expand it to the relation between individual and family, and family and household in time and space. All four of the mentioned surveys about the family structure seem have a serious pain in terms of classifying the unit of analysis. Is it the family or the household, and which individuals as members of family do constitute the family or the household?

In the former chapters it is explained that in order to frozen and chain down the family between time and space, family as a term must be bordered under a specified dome under the names of home, house and household. Chaining down the individuals and family on a well-defined land enables social scientist to create topos, graphs and topography about the family. In fact, the four surveys have described the unit of analysis as household but not family. FSPPT1968 has defined household as "house members those are eating meals from the same caldron, living together without taking into consideration that they have the same blood agnation or not." Besides this definition, the fieldwork manual of FSPPT1968 directed fieldworkers by defining and exemplifying who are not the members of the house: "individuals having different residents but temporary visitors of the house, individuals living another place and left the house permanently [e.g. single woman or single man of the house having a different resident in different city], even eating meals from the same caldron the individuals residing in different dwelling, individuals eating meals from the same caldron but living in a separate unit of the house, housemaids and house-workers not living in the house" were not enlisted in family/household roster. TFS1988 has defined household likewise FSPPT1968 at first gaze, but in detail its definition of the analysis unit is very different: "household is a community consisting of an individual or more than one individual

living in the same house or in part of the same house, participating household services and management, not reserving their income and expense from the household, living together without taking into consideration that they have the same blood agnation or not." The fieldwork manual of TFS1988 also directed fieldworkers to define individuals in terms of not enrolling them in the family/household roster: "individuals having family connection but living in different houses, individuals having family connections but eating meals from different caldrons and reserving the family budget from others, individuals living in the same house but having different family connections, and eating from different caldrons, and separating their budgets from others" (DPT, 1992: 343) are not assumed to be member of the house. In compare to FSPPT1968 and TFS1988, TAYA2006 and TAYA2011 define their unit of analysis more general and abstract than the formers. In TAYA2006 household is defined as "the group formed by one or more people, who live in the same residence(s) or in a different part of the same residence and who participate in household management and service regardless of being related to each other" (ASPB, 2014a: 16). In TAYA2011 it is defined as "a group comprised of one or more people, who live under one roof or occupying the same housing unit or in the part of the same dwelling, and who takes part in the services and management of the household" (ASPB, 2014b: 21). For all four studies the definition of household, in kernel, has not changed much in terms of its definitive rules including individuals must be 'living together', 'in the same house', 'have the same blood or not', 'eating from same caldron', 'participate in household services' and 'share household income and expense'. However, the embodiment of the definition slightly change through time; while the definition covers the caldron as a symbol of household's melting pot implying a merging category for income and expense between 1968 and 2011. What are the persisting elements and the changing element in the definition of household between 1968 and 2011 is an important question to realize the effect of shifting state's compass for family policy[8]. Living together in the same house is cited as a must rule for family members in all studies that has persisted through time. On the other hand, other repeating elements of the household definition have slightly changed over time. The blood of family members, whether it is the same or not, is extracted

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[8] Please look at Table 36 in the appendix for the elements take part in the definition of household.

from the TAYA2011's household definition. Although it is not discussed in the reports and books of TAYA2011, this extraction may be a result of increasing number of different household types, including student, worker and cohabiting couples' houses.

Another element that repeated in first two surveys, but extracted from latter ones, was eating from the same caldron. This element seems has a strong relation with participating household services. The implied household services in all surveys, according to survey questionnaires, include preparation of dinner table, cooking, washing dishes, paying bills, caring children and elders, earning and spending money for the family. The caldron in two surveys has a symbolic meaning encompasses the all type of household services. However, in time it had lost its ground, because the division of responsibilities and labor spent for the services in the household has changed dramatically. While the household is still assumed to be an economic unit including both production and consumption sides, the latter surveys' focus had shifted to the consumption side resulting in an emphasis on the household services. Hence, it can be claimed that current shift on the social and sociological domain insisting that family has become a unit of consumption more than unit production has maintained in the latter two surveys.

Defining the household as unit of analysis is not enough for scientists in order to chain down the specter of family, to put family into a hood, to create family within a topography between two layers: one is space other is time in terms of counting individuals, freezing family, and making family up in a timeless and a spaceless universe. The scientist also requires defining individual in respect to family so as to land down the individual within familyhood. FSPPT1968 is not defining the individual directly but mentioning how to distinguish the member of the household from others while filling out family/household roster. According to its survey manual, the most important thing to distinguish family members is encoding them according to their blood agnation to the patriarch[9]. The members of the family

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[9] The term patriarch is not operationalized in respect to its gender connotation at all surveys. Its operationalization build up on 'one head' for 'one household' in terms defining the center point of a web of significance and a web of family connection in respect to blood agnation. Although the married males were mostly enlisted as the head of household in the household questionnaires, the

must be encoded in relation to its patriarch as e.g. the patriarch, his wife, his son, his mother, his brother, his brother's wife, his brother's daughter, his uncle, and his housemaid. The patriarch is the breadwinner; in some households s/he may be the eldest of the household members; all the household members in every house is under one head. If the house is consisting non-blood agnation household members [e.g. three friends], one of them will be selected as the patriarch. In the TFS1988 the patriarch is defined as "the person who is responsible for the income and expenditures of the household, and de facto ruler of the household's members" (DPT, 1992: 344). The fieldwork manual defines individual accordingly with the patriarch as spouse, daughter, son, father, mother, uncle, daughter-in-law, and grandchild... Different than FSPPT1968 and TFS1988, TAYA 2006 and TAYA2011 give a clear definition for both individual and household member. TAYA2006 defines "individual as a member of household who is 18 and above years old", and household member as "notwithstanding their age, every member of the household was defined as a person" (ASPB, 2014a: 16-17). TAYA2011 defines individual as "household members to whom questionnaire was applied face-to-face aged 18 and above and available at home during the interview", and household members as "each of the family members without the limitation of any age" (ASPB, 2014b: 21). TAYA2006 and TAYA2011, different than former two studies, also defines neighborhood as "a group of households who live close to each other; depending on their place of residence, who live in the same neighborhood but in separate housing units side by side/on the top of the other and who are in a social relationship" (ASPB, 2014a: 17), (ASPB, 2014b: 21). In FSPPT1968 and TFS1988 there is a definition of patriarch, but in both TAYAs the head of household is defined as reference person. "Reference person in this study [TAYA2006] is an 18+ person who is responsible for the income support of the household. This person was determined upon declaration in the study and was entered as the reference person on the questionnaire" (ASPB, 2014a: 16-17). The TAYA2011 defines reference person as "eighteen years old or older member of the household in charge of the sustenance of the household to whom the questionnaire was applied face-to-face" (ASPB, 2014b: 21). All other members of

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main aim of using the term patriarch is to embody the members of family in the name of single unit as head of household.

the households are well-defined and encoded accordingly with blood agnation to the reference person as spouse, father, mother, father-in-law, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, brother, uncle, cousin, grandmother, grandfather, grandchild, second spouse, stepmother, stepfather, stepsister, not known, not relative, other relative. These surveys, in fact, by conducting household, individual and family roster questionnaires, prepare data at the individual level, and then use aggregates in the analysis. In all four surveys by starting a walk from reference point to blood agnation points, these social scientists create hierarchies of different analysis units in house that a whole topos of family is spawned for statistics in a hierarchical modeling. In order to build up different family typologies in a hierarchical modeling TAYA2006 and TAYA2011 recalculated the types of family according to reference person. The surveys, after the calculations, reconstruct families as nuclear (nuclear family with children, nuclear family without children, extended (transient extended, patriarchal extended), broken (one-person household, single parent, other broken family, non-relative household. What is more interesting in here is that, although these four surveys had conducted in modern times with modern motivations, the Aristotelian spirit is still alive and roaming around while the social scientists building up their unit of analysis about the family through household composition rebuilt in respect to reference person. As I discussed in the third chapter that Aristotle assumes three pillars to make up the topos of family: one head, blood, and milk. For the Aristotle "the rule of a household is a monarchy, for every house is under one head" (Aristotle, quoted in McKeon, 2005: 8), and for these surveys the household is recreated in relation to one patriarch or reference person. For Aristotle "the family, composed of children and grandchildren, who are said to be suckled 'with the same milk' (1995: 9), and for these surveys the household is recreated in relation to eating meals from the same caldron. For Abu-Lughod "shared blood signifies close relations (…), identifies kin with one another. Kin share concerns and honor; ideally they also share residence, property, and livelihood" (1986: 65), and for these surveys shared residence/household is recreated in relation to blood agnation. Upon these three pillars these four studies reconstruct individuals as the members of household as Vico said "to plant oneself for 'to settle down', 'the plants of houses' for their

'foundations', and above all, that of 'family trees', whit their stocks or trunks, certainly arose" (2002: 159).

Furthermore, these surveys define different time periods for individuals whether they are assumed to be members of household or not. At FSPPT1968 all individuals were encoded with absentees, but were asked the duration and reason of the absence. The reasons for the absences cited as worker, soldier etc. In contrast to FSPPT1968, TFS1988 did not ask the duration of the absence but it has more clear reasons for the absence as education, work, military service, in jail, abroad. TAYA 2006 and TAYA2011 define the period of absence as more than six months, and reasons as student in dormitory, student in different house, at military, in jail, in nursing home, in hospital, at another place in the state, another place at abroad. It should be bear in mind that radical imaginary of a layman and a scientist creates a more broader concepts of family that any member of family without the reason of absence is assumed to be the member of family whether its members are living under one roof, eating from the same caldron, living together, participating household services or not. Whereas the social policy makers, through social instituting imaginary, have to capture the current picture of the household by taking absentees into consideration and define a time period for the absence. Such a consideration naturally restricts the comprehension of the family but strengthens the grasp of household. Furthermore, survey's definition of household does not necessarily take changing structure of a unique family into account. For example households including non-blood agnate friends or unmarried couples living together would be coded as nonfamily household, although they might share many characteristics of a family including eating from the same caldron, participating household services, living under one roof.

To put it another way, the unit of analysis as house, family, household, individual, and household member at these survey having their forms between layman's *alētheia* and pure *alētheia*. In other words, in the second chapter I discussed with through the terms of Coledridge, Castoriadis and Bourdieu the imaginative faculty of human fixes and kills layman's family and his/her existence in the family as a member belonging to Heraclitean flux by chaining them down between time and space through intensifying their existence within forms, shapes, units and names

which are scientifically constituted by permanence, duration, eternity and atemporality. At the first gaze, it generally seems that scientific *alētheia* creates *ex nihilio* (not *in nihilio* or *cum nihilio*) by counting all member of the household, but, in detail, it creates rather numerical forms which can be images in in a general sense that cannot cover the total form of a unique family. It creates general forms about family, because while counting the members of the household the surveys assign specific time period [six month] and certain space [house] in order to eliminate the absentees from the 'natural family' in order to form a more solid household as a unit of analysis that can be interchangeably used with house and family. Such a creation by scientific investigation is still a problem for such cross-sectional surveys but it is solved in longitudinal surveys, because in contrast to cross-sectional surveys longitudinal surveys trace individual's living arrangements changing at different stages of life. However, the power of this investigation veils this problem, because, except layman, no*body* can imagine each of those being anymore without the other –family is impossible without house, house is impossible without household, and household is impossible without house and family. Thus, household as a unit of analysis at the surveys 'measures' 'filters', 'forms' and 'organizes' the family, the house and the household, and makes it possible for any being –for itself to *create for* itself an own [or proper] world (*eine Eigenwelt*) 'within' which also posit itself" for further scientific investigations and surveys. The matrix of countless representations and actions occurring in the house and household, which help to reproduce an objective social category, constructs the family as an objective category for the scientific investigation. Furthermore, defining members of the house, e.g. the individuals as wife, husband, son, uncle…, in relation to reference person or patriarch creates *ex nihilio* –a whole host of relations (of simultaneity in space, of succession in space and symmetry in representation of actual family structure) between reference-points at different levels.

6.2. Motivation For Social Research

In the fourth chapter I theoretically discuss the state's motivation behind having social scientists investigating the family structure on a nationwide topos. These four family-structure studies mentioned are not only triggered by personal

curiosities, but also fostered by state institutions, employing many researchers from different disciplines as well as social policy experts, going beyond personal curiosity and reflection. While they are funded by the state and mainly motivated by social policy needs, academic interests and personal commitments are also attached to institutional concerns.

As I mentioned in the fifth chapter the overall purpose of FSPPT1968 is *enable social scientist to study the household and family structure* in diverse settings in quantities –in numerical forms during a period of rapid demographic and socioeconomic change. The survey was managed by Nusret Fişek who was a professional in biomedicine and appointed to undersecretary at the Ministry of Health and became technocrat Minister in the government later between the years 1960-1965. The surveys' particular interest is to collect data on fertility norms and behavior, marriage patterns, and intergenerational transfers of values. It focuses on five broad topic areas: socioeconomic characteristics of couples; migration history and rural connections; family structure and marital relations; fertility and family planning; mass media use, religiosity and tradition. More wider then succeeding three surveys, the FSPPT1968 measured living standards, infrastructure quality, availability of services and facilities, including transportation, school, health, and government services as well (Timur, 1972: 187–189). The TFS1988's primary objective was announced by İlhan Kesici, [both a state officer and a politician who was the undersecretary of DPT between the years 1991-1994 and become a member of parliament later between the years 1995-1999], Beşir Atalay [both a social policy maker and a politician who was the designer of the survey and become deputy prime minister in the government later between the years 2011-2014] and Kemal Madenoğlu [both a sociologist and a state officer who later took charge in as a undersecretary of DPT between the years 2011-2014 and as a undersecretary of Prime Minister between the years 2014-2015], as "*disseminate the information about the family structure to the policymakers for the Five Year Development Programs, to the academic community as a reference survey in Turkey*, and demonstrate that the TFS1988 is an invaluable survey collecting the data on family which were never collected before" (DPT, 1992: XXVII-XXVIII). Different than FSPPT1968, the overarching purpose of the TFS1988 was enabling

policy makers with scientific data on household and family structure in diverse settings in quantities during a period of rapid demographic and socioeconomic change. Hence, it is clear that particular interest of TFS1988 was not only to supply data to the social scientist but also to collect data for policy makers in order to give a new room to family in Five Year Development Programs. Primary motives of the later surveys, TAYA2006 and TAYA2011, are cited as "*to be able to create social policies* on one of the most basic units of social life, the family institution, collecting current data and defining the problems within is importance in terms of determining structural transformation during the process of social change. The purpose of Research on Family Structure in Turkey (TAYA), was devised by Ayşen Gürcan [both a social scientist and a technocrat who took temporally charge in Ministry of Family and Social Policy and chief social policy advisor to the President of Turkey later between the years 2015-2016], is to determine the family structure once every five years in Turkey in respect to lifestyles of individuals in the family, and the their values regarding to family life. "The aim is to understand the current status of families in Turkey by analyzing information gathered on household structures, marriage, domestic relations, relations with relatives, children, elders and perceptions about other social subjects in terms of different variables and obtaining data on determining how these changes take place over time" (ASPB, 2014b: 14; ASPB, 2014c: 18). Cited general motivation for these surveys is constructed in respect to four incentives.

These nationwide surveys' primary motivation is the convergence of the statistical desires to attain scientific body of knowledge –statistical tables, synoptic diagrams for the social policy mastery in order to intervene the family issues through centralizing the knowledge about family structure.

Secondary motivation of these four surveys is united by an academic interest attached to institutional concerns about the family. In other words, involvement in family issues with scientific curiosity and balancing the structures with centralized knowledge go hand in hand are necessary social policy tools for states to deal with the imbalance between structures in trouble cases. Structural functionalists only have to think of the synoptic diagram and tables about family structure, which owes its scientific value specifically to the synchronizing effect it produces by

giving a direct view about family facts –especially in trouble cases which only exists in sequence and so bringing to light relationships of family members that would otherwise go unnoticed on the sight of the state. As I mentioned in the fourth chapter, the sight of the modern state focuses on trouble cases and the response of the structures in a rapidly changing socioeconomic environment through making up statistical diagrams and tables at the internal level by comparing them in regions and at the international level by comparing itself to the other nations. In other words, structural functionalists test the regional differences to their definitions about the family. In order to make up comprehensible diagrams and tables about the family, states needs fix official definitions, common topics, and classifications for understanding norms of family and society. As Hacking claims "(…) statistics is not a human science, but its influence on those sciences has been immense. (…) Statistics has helped determine the form of laws about society and the character of social facts. It helps engendered concepts and classifications within the human sciences. Moreover the collection of statistics has created, at the least, a great bureaucratic machinery. It may think of itself as providing only information, but it is itself part of the technology of power in a modern state" (1991: 181).

In other words, social sciences, statistics and social policy investment on family studies make customary rules and procedures embraceable and maneuverable at the state level, which do not totally solve and eradicate the disputes through sanctions but reinforces and legitimizes the customary rules, morals, and procedures by scientific, statistical and formal iterations and applications.

Third motivation is team leaders of these surveys have distinctive position in terms of unifying their scientific roles [sociologist, economist] with the roles of politics and social policy-making [advisor, undersecretary, and minister]. At these four studies such a distinctive position enables social policy makers to oscillate between the tendency to credit family structure with the capacity to assess objective chances of rationality, and the tendency to credit the self-regulating mechanism of the family structure with the absolute state power to determine preferences, social policy priorities about families, and find involvement points to the households. As I discussed in the former chapters, the motivation to conduct

family surveys is not only for searching scientific alētheia of the subject, but also for involving the subject through governmental alētheia. Governmental alētheia ascribe proper places to the structures within the society by its two agents that later one is held by social policy makers: conducting law so as to draw borderlines between structures, and involving in structures through social policy interventions. Firstly, power or legitimacy of these agents stems from establishing and maintaining sovereignty over land, topos, population and scientific measurement of them. Hence, family structure as a joining subsystem of the state structure is orderly articulated with the whole, within the larger structure of government, at the higher levels of the state. Secondly, devised social policy at the hand of policy makers has a desire for maintaining balance and hemostasis among sets of institutions (e.g. family and work) especially at times of rapid social changes. In other words "social order, democracy, and social justice cannot be developed where one of these sets of institutions is dominant. A balance between them is required for a pluralistic society to be maintained. Moreover, each has to be looked at fresh in the light of contemporary social changes (Giddens, 1998: 56).

Last incentive of these surveys is to understand and to involve in the social structures with respect of dominant discourse/world-views of the survey conductors through dirigisme. Dirigisme is an economic approach where the state employs a strong ordering influence over investment for the social domain. Such an approach, which is animated by social policy makers having the monopoly on the view of social domain, develops an understanding that divide social policy from social domain: Devised social policy for the social domain is held as spiritualist, liberal, teleological, cosmologic, and cosmic while social domain is treated respectively as materialistic, dirigist, mechanist, entropic and chaotic in a totalistic manner. The advantage of totalistic approach of social policy manager is that it creates the practical rationality of family function with diagrams, tables, theories, unit of analysis, methods of surveys, and maps that have been accumulated in the corpus of social policy management and implementation. On the one hand, this practical rationality straightforwardly establishes the objective systematization of family structure on the topos of society enabling social policy experts talking about family structure's schema. On the other hand, by cutting off

the family structure's relation to other structures on the topos of society, it enables them to involve in family structure with dominant ideological view that constitutes stylistic effects over family and household. In here, it should be asked how such kind of a division occurs between schema of family structure and family policy, while this twin involve hand in hand to the social domain. I discussed in previous chapters that the everyday radical imagination of the agents (layman, scientist, social policy expert, social policy manager, politician) about their families works coherently since they are all born into families. However, when it comes to producing a centralized knowledge about family structure social instituting imaginary dissipates this coherence, because each agent has a different motivation in terms of understanding the family structure. Scientists' motivation (sociologist, statistician, philosopher) tends to understand what is happening in the family through categories, measurements, numbers, and diagrams in a time scale between past, present and future that no other agents deal with it. Namely, as Bourdieu said "science has a time which is not that of practice" (Bourdieu, 1990: 81). In contrast to scientific motivation triggering to answer what is happening in the family and what is the changing structure of the family, experts' motivation is triggered (advisor, politician, officer, policy manager) to answer what are the urgent needs of family in terms of balancing the hemostasis among other social institutions. It is clear that ideology and motivation of the social policy experts' have dominated the motivation of scientists at these four family structure surveys, since the state funded these surveys and social policy experts initiated them all. There are a lot of examples in these four surveys reflecting the dominance of ideology over social policy experts, and social policy experts over social scientists. In this dissertation, I take ethnicity as a subject in order to elucidate this ideological dominancy.

Ethnicity is one of the essential parts of understanding the family structure nearly in all longitudinal and cross-sectional surveys about household. The questionnaires include at least one question to define the individual's mother tongue or include more than one question to find out the ethnicity of the individual. Such questions are asked to investigate the divergence and convergence of individuals and families in respect to various subjects, including values and attitudes about child and elderly care, value of children, level of education, ratio of broken family,

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fertility rates, interethnic marriage and socioeconomic status of different families having different ethnic background. On the one hand, scientific curiosity about ethnicity has been always kept alive by social scientist in Turkey, because the state and the Turkish society is a descendant of an empire consists of many ethnic and cultural groups. On the other hand, although social policy experts and politicians have a desire to build up central knowledge about the ethnicity of Turkey, there is a nationalist ideology defining official language as Turkish which hinders to ask individual's mother tongue directly. In Turkey the state funded national surveys on family and household have not been able to directly include ethnicity or mother tongue since 1965, while there is not any legal ban for scientific surveys. However, on the side of social policy expert it seems that, since the state has a single unifying social policy equally affecting all citizens without their ethnicity, language and religion, the ethnicity and language of individuals can be ignored in the nationwide social survey. Before 1965 it had been asked indirectly in six population censuses as "can you speak a language other than Turkish?" In fact the successor of FSPPT1968, an internationally funded Demography and Health Survey have asked; "what is your mother tongue?" first of all, it seems that the finance of the social survey has a decisive effect on fulfilling the scientific curiosity of both social scientists and social policy experts especially on the subject of ethnicity and language in Turkey. Secondly, it can be claimed that a slight change in the ideology of the state about nationalism enables social scientists and social policy experts to fulfill their desire to build up central knowledge about the ethnicity of individual and family, although the survey is funded by the state. Except TAYA2011 any language question took part neither in TFS1988 nor in TAYA2006. The language questions find its place in TAYA2011 questionnaire with ten questions, including "what is your mother tongue," "what is your father's mother tongue", "what is your mother's mother tongue", "what is your kids' mother tongue", "what is your grandchild's mother tongue", "what is your grandmother's mother tongue", "what is your grandfather's mother tongue", "what is your spouse's mother tongue", "which language do you mostly speak in house" and "which language do you mostly speak in public". The set of questions clearly aims both to define the mother tongue of family members and their ethnicity. What makes available to ask language questions in a nationwide family

structure survey that was funded by the state? I argue that a hard Kurdish question between 1960-2010 had affected the Turkish national ideology hindering the scientific curiosity at the state level. Softening political environment about the Kurdish question after 2000s had triggered the curiosity of social scientists and social policy expert on ethnicity. However, why TAYA2006, which was conducted in 2006, did not ask any question about language is a serious question to be answered. Curiosity of social scientist is more enthusiastic on social subject than that of social policy expert working for the state. TAYA2006 was devised and conducted by three institutions of the state TURKSTAT, SPO and ASAGEM. These agents of the state carry on the nationalistic ideology put a bridle on the curiosity of their staff that had shaped the survey instrument neglecting the subject of ethnicity accordingly with the nationalistic ideology. In contrast to TAYA2006, TAYA2011 put language questions into the survey instruments after five years, because the survey was designed by ASAGEM's social policy experts and social scientists from different universities together, and was conducted by a private contractor in a political environment that softening about Kurdish question.

6.3. Reasons Behind Quality Problems of the Surveys

In this section, within the limits of four survey's poor archives, I argue that persistence of four structural problems in these family structure surveys have resulted in destitute central knowledge both for social scientists and social policy expert.

First structural problem for last three family structure surveys is that they were funded only by the state. In developing countries social science is less developed in terms of conducting expensive nationwide surveys, because independent research institutions and universities are not capable of raising enough funds for them. Scientific enquiry requires an independent fund for maintaining the scientific curiosity about its subject and scientific skepticism for its measurements while objectifying its subject. The state's funded social surveys on the case of family structure studies enable the state officials and social policy experts overshadowing works of social scientists ranging from development of survey design to reporting the findings of the surveys.

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This first structural problem has an important impact on the second structural problem that I define as the tension between hubris of the state's officials and the scientific patience. On the one hand, the former one has a limited time and has a hubristic approach –an optimism and confidence for social involvement in terms of finding a proper policy (practice) for eliminating the emergency risks within the structure. On the other hand, the latter one requires a time which is not that of practice, because the social scientists make use of their time mostly for preparation period of the research in terms of finding proper survey instruments to measure the subject and to report it accurately. By holding funds of surveys, officials of the state reduce the fund and limit the time period of surveys for the intension of getting quick results from the research in order to involve in the emergency situations occurred in social structures. State officials limit time and cut budgets mostly for the parts of survey preparation activities, including pretest, test, pilot of survey questionnaires, and training of fieldworkers, data clearing, and imputation. These basic survey phases are very important for social scientists to improve the measurement instruments in terms of finding best correctness for social investigations and best accurateness for statistical operations and social policymaking. In other words, social policy experts tend to build up 'proper/correct' social policy for the family structure for the sake of governmental *alētheia*, but social scientists incline cultivating 'accurate' survey instruments in terms of understanding the family structure for the sake of scientific *alētheia*. Since the state's officials have managed budgets of the family structure surveys, the intension of governmental alētheia about family structure dominates that of scientific *alētheia* over family structure surveys.

Apart from these two structural problems, there exist a serious third structural problem within the family and its members. The layman's 'perception' about everyday family life do not always fit the 'conception' of the scientist, and that of the social policy expert. In other words, the perception of layman's *alētheia* might not always suit with conception of scientific *alētheia* and conception of governmental *alētheia*. Such a discord among two conceptions and one perception cause serious measurement errors in nationwide sample surveys. These measurement errors give rise to both bias and variable errors as a systematic

pattern between the respondents' answer to a question and the true value. To elucidate this measurement error as a result of a discord among different *alētheias*, I analyze a very basic question that has been repeated in these four family structure surveys; 'What is your age?'

FSPPT1968 directed its fieldworkers with a well-defined field manual to extract 'age' information from the respondents. In the manual fieldworkers were warned that getting a true answer for the age question is very difficult because the respondents may not remember his/her date of birth. Hence, if s/he cannot clearly answer this question ask someone else in the household or request an identification card. The TFS1988 field manual warned fieldworkers with a limited precaution. It directed field workers as write down the completed age of the respondent or declared date of birth year. In TAYA2006 and TAYA2011 manuals, the respondents were asked to answer only completed age by directing fieldworkers to collect declared age of respondents or calculate from the identification cards that were shared voluntarily. It is clear that when conducting a survey in households, a respondent in his/her 30s will most likely to answer the question differently than a respondent his 60s. Furthermore, if information table of family roster about other members of household including age, education, marital status, gender, employment is filled by a reference person or a head of household, the respondent most probably may not remember the exact age of the others living in the same household. Because micro datasets were not included in the archives of FSPPT1968 and TFS1988, I could not find the opportunity to investigate the variance error about the age of respondents. In TAYA2006 the ages were collected as a scale variable but were coded as a nominal variable with age intervals in the micro dataset, hence it is also impossible to investigate the variance error about the age in TAYA2006. In TAYA2011 the information about age was collected as a scale variable in household questionnaire (family roster) and codded as a scale variable. Furthermore, there are three questions in individual questionnaire that were asked to married couples; 'What was your age at your first marriage', 'what was your spouse's age at your first marriage' and 'what is the state of your first, second, third and fourth marriages'. I recoded and compared these four questions to investigate whether the age gaps of the couples both living their first marriage

coded in household questionnaire are consistent with the age gaps of the couples both living their first marriage coded in individual questionnaire. According to my calculations 55% of the couples' responses to four questions were coherent. It means that 45% of the couples could not answer at least one of four questions cited above is not coherent. 28% of the couples answered at most one of four questions, 9% of the couples answered at most two of four questions, 4% of the couples answered at most three of four questions, and 4% of the couples answered at least four of four questions. This incoherency or respondent's answer about his/her age (and about spouse's age) and about his/her age at first marriage (and about spouse's age) might be result of poor training of fieldworkers, weak field manual and poor memory of the respondents about their age and age at his/her marriage.

Such a gap between fact and knowledge about married respondents' ages is a serious problem in terms of creating central knowledge about family structure. It is clear that a decision of the state with a misleading body of knowledge about 'age at first marriage' cannot be successful in terms of initiating a social policy for 'early marriages'. For other measurement errors of these four surveys please look at tables between 13-34 in the appendix.

In this chapter I discussed that research motivation is triggered by two groups of people: science/scientists and the state/social policy makers, quality problems of the surveys, and problems in the unit of analysis. Next chapter, as a both final and concluding one, will discuss how the hands of each agent in these two groups are shaping a structural functional family in terms of building up centralized knowledge about the family structure in Turkey.

CHAPTER VII

THE HANDS OF SCIENCE IN THE HANDS OF STATE

After the avalanche of numbers, the incessant counting of social and biological facts, and the almost insanely precise measures of physical quantities, produced too many numbers to leave the Galilean and Newtonian world intact. Everyone had once thought that the Newtonian laws were altogether exact, give or take this or that 'perturbation'. Such a claim is entirely credible in a qualitative universe where one does not in fact count or measure very much. But in a quantitative universe, exactness became impossible, 'deviation form the mean' became 'norm' (Ian Hacking, 1991: 190).

If we turn back to the terms dianoia and noesis, in terms of scientific knowledge production about the family, on the one hand, the epistēmē (I use the term here with two meanings simultaneously: the fundamental body of ideas turn into forms, norms, definitions and the things; and forms, norms and definitions those are structured and ordered to be ruled) the tēchnē and phronēsis under the taxonomy of dianoia, the experts of statistics respectively operationalize epistemological and practical knowledge of family for the state. On the other hand, under the noesis theoretical knowledge of social scientists and everyday knowledge of layman about the family life, the doxa, is institutionalized within the imagination of layman and social scientists for the logically structured raison d'état that embroiders the Leviathan –the totality which is rebutted by the family that affairs of substantive individual in the family constitute a quasi-nature (a nature between magmatic and solid one –or between intangible and tangible one). The individual, the family and the society can be governed in respect to the laws of quasi-nature,

and autonomous capability of family to generate its own order and its own prosperity uniting with other families and structures within the society. This unification requires a topos –a table, a surface enabling individuals and their families to merge or wipe in a melting pot with other individuals and families. By this topos –surface locates the social scientists, statisticians and rulers in a position to analyze, calculate, monitor and intervene the totality of the social flux respectively. The relation of equation between ruling scientific knowledge about subject in totality and individuals in the family and citizens in the nation –whether it suits with the quasi-nature of family makes reality in social world tangible, embraceable, and maneuverable. The ruling scientific knowledge about family and its members are produced in the hands of the man of literature, the man of philosophy, the man of social scientists, the man of statistics and the man of social policy. In short, poet, philosopher, social scientist, statistician, and social policy expert as a worker of the social world shuttle between the real world of family and the world of concepts about the family. The family in everyday social life provides their empirical evidence, and the world of concepts about it provides a scheme or frame for 'making sense' out of the quantity of the real world which they are seeking to count, explain, and predict respectively. Creating certain schemes through vocabularies, concepts, theories, numbers and statistics makes characters, roles, and relations within the family not embraceable but comprehensible. From this point let us look at how family is shaped and become tangible at the hands of different agents in the society.

7.1. Hands of Litterateur

The man of literature –the litterateur creates and circulates vocabulary of the family by locating himself between 'imaginations' –agent of all human reception and 'real' –thing of all human perception. 'Vocabulary' about the family came to be 'the vocabulary' as the man of literature shuttle between imagination and real while dissolving, diffusing, dissipating both, in order to recreate, to fix, to define, to idealize, to unify, to form 'image of family' on one hand, and 'reality of family' on the other hand. In the hands of man of literature imagination is the echo of the reality and reality is the echo of the imagination.

7.2. Hands of Linguists

At the hands of the man of linguistics, vocabulary about the family emerges as a language through grammar. He scrutinizes the correspondence among the words of vocabulary and their grammatical equivalence to social context. In his hands by rolling between language and social context, neither former nor latter one is omnipotent projectile anymore. They are projections purely and absolutely for the reflections of each other converging into a single projectile. Namely, language and social context have a dialectical relation that transforms 'each other' and one cannot exist 'without the other'. "Language is the house of being. In its home, human beings dwell. Those who think and those who create with words are the guardians of this home. Their guardianship accomplishes the manifestation of being insofar as they bring this manifestation to language and preserve it in language through their saying" (Heidegger, 1999: 239).

7.3. Hands of Social Scientist

At first glance, the work of social scientists resulting in categories and theories seems best available allegorical unit that helped him/her to explain that probabilities stitched to vocabulary and concepts representing his/her ignorance rather than any objective reality while s/he structures the concepts about family through theories. In more sophisticated language, the social scientist in the corpus of family literature speaks of/seeks for correspondence between world of concepts about family and world of reality about family in term of degree of isomorphism [equation of forms and of structures between concept, theory and real] between the empirical or object system on one hand and the abstract or model system on the other hand. Namely, social scientist is between the quasi-structure of family and the theoretical structure of the concepts and categories about the family. Until the shuttling of social scientist, roll between the real and the abstract is not started 'family' is not 'the family' –not an empirical thing. As the roll of social scientist starts 'family' enrolled into 'the family', namely it became an empirical unit.

As the family became empirical unit, with the endeavor of social scientist, on the web of social context, characters, roles, morals values of this empirical unit

emerges as comprehensible unit of analysis on the table of scientific examination. The table of scientific examination is innocent at the hand of social scientist but the state's intention to structure legitimate static roles, characters and attitudes for families and its members (especially with the aid of structural functionalist branch of sociology) turn it to a 'chamber of Procrustes'. The table of scientific examination fixes and kills quasi-structure of family belonging to Heraclitean flux by stretching and stitching down it to table through intensifying its existence within forms [hoods] –moulds which is constituted by permanence, duration, eternity and atemporality. Such an intention of the state enables social policy experts to decide principles of legitimate and illegitimate characters and roles in the family by initiating policies for families.

7.4. Hands of Philosopher

The hands of philosopher work for how the convention between things and names about the family take place; how things are stamped with voices and words in everyday practices to human mind; the truth (alētheia) that is to be along the ways of logos as opposed to mere opinion (doxa) that is linked with sense impressions, or imagination. In other words, his hands are between or over social world, and words making things through consensus on the existence and the meaning of things, because referral of 'a word' or 'a voice' to 'a thing' has became significant only by if 'the word', 'the voice', 'the thing' is convened and conveyed into [or in other words, socialized with] 'words', 'voices', 'things' respectively through a 'conventional/instituted' character of language.

7.5. Hands of Statistician

The hand of statistician shuttles between the world of qualities defined by linguists, philosophers and social scientists and the quantities measured by the numbers. Their chief process is to assign numbers to represent qualities of the family and correspondence between quality and quantity of the substantive individual and his family. The assignment of numerals to objects (substantive individual's role, character attitudes and family's property) or events according to rules, namely pinning numbers to things is called measurement. Measurement of a

family property involves the assignment of numbers to systems in order to represent that property. According to Bertrand Russell "measurement of magnitudes is, in its most general sense, any method by which a unique and reciprocal correspondence is established between all or some of the magnitudes of a kind and all or some of the numbers, integral, rational, or real as the case may be" (2010: 176). Definitions all agree in considering that measurement involves the assigning of mathematical symbols to things or to the properties of things according to specified rules and operations. This inkling is very close to what is ordinarily meant by language and, indeed, in the thickest senses, the use of mutual nouns, adjectives, and adverbs for substantive individual and the family is a first step in the development of measurement procedures in nationwide family structure studies. More narrowly, statistician's type of language usually associated with the concept of measurement is that of numerals and, even more narrowly, that of numbers. The mathematical rules among numbers equated with the social rules and norms within the family in the hands of statisticians. The rules connecting the theoretical model of family and the everyday living of family are named rules of correspondence. It is largely with regard to these rules that measurement of family and its members plays its significant role. At their weakest, the rules of correspondence between structures of family in the model and empirical observations of family are critical assumptions on the part of the researcher; the rules take the form of laborious operational definitions that identify the correspondence between the structure of family and the observation of the family and its members. A strong contribution to such labor is possible when the properties of the empirical system can be 'measured' –if family become the family and individual become the substantive individual to permit the expression of the family structure in numerical terms. In order to do this, statisticians, with the aid of social policy experts, use permanent family names of individuals; standardize weight and measures; recreate cadastral surveys for the random selection of households; standardize language for the family concept with the aid of sociologists. In each endeavor, statisticians, social policy experts and state officials register exceptionally complex illegible family practices, and create simple, tangible standard 'frame' whereby it can be centrally recorded, monitored and intervened through social policy.

In each endeavor, it should be kept in mind that measurement of social world with numbers and mathematical equations is more overwhelming than the measurement of physical world. Measurement is concerned with the world of physical objects by their fundamental dimensions including length, weight, and time duration or derived dimensions including density and velocity. In some portions of measuring family and its members, the physical world plays a most important role in social studies including the age, weight of individuals child, type of dwelling, type of heating, income, education, the number of room in the dwelling. However, the social scientist concerns not only with household but also with many other worlds of family including the psychological, sociological, and the economic dimensions of the family and its members. In four nationwide studies in Turkey more than two third of the questions in the survey instruments try to measure relationship between spouses, future expectations of family members, decision making process in the family, domestic violence, ideals and norms about child and elderly care…

The statistician must, inevitably, deal with data from any and all of these dimensions, and therefore s/he must assume that what is to be measured in social study encompasses such things as physical objects, members, and attitudes towards certain events in the family. The unphysical dimensions of family do not have a clear and commonly excepted standard unit of measure. To elucidate it, measuring heat is not the same as measuring length. The length of an object can be measured directly by placing another tangible object such as a foot rule alongside it, but temperature is measured indirectly by nothing the height or length of a column of mercury in a tube. The foot is a small piece –standard unit of length but one degree is not a small piece of temperature in the same direct sense. Although this scientific division of measurement requires a clear unit of measurement, four studies have many errors in their questionnaires. There is no doubt that the space that house settled on must be defined perfectly in order to create a topos of household that facilitates family life. FSPPT1968 has an elaborate set of questions in terms of picturing the space of house, because it includes seven questions: the number of rooms; whether kitchen, bathroom, toilet are in house or not; type of house's roof; type of house's soil material; household efficientes (electricity, clean water, washing machine, telephone, refrigerator…); price of the rent or house; the

condition of house in compare to other houses settled in the same district; whether parent has separate bedroom or not. TFS1988 has a limited set of questions in compare to FSPPT1968 with three questions: net square meter of house, ownership or cost of rent, whether children have their bedroom or not. Interestingly, TAYA2006 does not have any question about the house. TAYA2011 has seven questions about the condition of house: type of dwelling, heating system, household efficientes, number of rooms, kids having separate rooms, elder having separate rooms, house ownership. As seen, the tangible physical facilities and objects of house that can be measured easily had not been measured with standard questions in all three surveys. As an example of unphysical measurement, the domestic violence as a serious part of family structure surveys does not have calibrated questions. In FSPPT1968 and TFS1988 domestic violence as a subject was neglected and never asked. In TAYA2006 and TAYA2011 domestic violence was measured only for kids and spouses but not for elders. In TAYA2006 the physical violence towards spouses and kids was measured with a four level likert scale without assigning a time interval for the violent behaviour –like lifelong or last one year. In TAYA2011 domestic violence questions also neglected measuring violence towards elders, but define a time interval as 'last one year'. The four level likert scale decreased three level one as well. Such a change both in likert scale levels and time intervals make impossible to trace the change about domestic violence within three years. In sum, mutatis mutandis measuring family violence towards women, elders, and children does not have standard unit of measurement likewise condition and facilities of houses.

Moreover, accuracy of the measurement, which is tested through reliability and validity, is very important. However, family as the state intentioned, empirical unit of analysis had not been carefully measured through two nationwide family structure surveys of Turkey showing that empirical investigation processes were not held carefully. The reliability tests of surveys show that some of very simple questions have serious net measurement errors (for all measurement errors please look appendix. Net errors (NE) below 5 point is not cited in here):

A. Net Errors of TAYA2011:

1. access to the Internet (NE=7.4) (Table 34)

2. availability of DVD/VCD/DivX player (NE=8.1) (Table 34)

3. distribution of males 15+ years old by marital status: single (NE=8.9); married – (NE=9.2) (Table 31)

4. distribution of population by household size: 5+ persons (NE=6.1) (Table 29)

5. Number of sampled population by region: Mediterranean (NE=-5.7) (Table 27)

B. Net Errors of TFS1988:

1. distribution of social insurance institution: No insurance (NE=30.79); Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu (NE=20.61) (Table 25)

2. type of marriage by regions: religious (NE=6.21); Civil & religious (NE=8.78) (Table 24)

3. Household effects: colour TV (NE=36.43) (Table 23)

The measurement errors about sampled population stemmed from both statisticians and the contractor firm. Other errors stemmed from lack of field training caused to inefficient calibration of fieldworkers and false responds. In addition, at the archive of TAYA2011 there is an unpublished report on both surveys' statistical validity analysis by Prof. Rauf Nurettin Nişel, arguing that thirty-two questions of TAYA2006 and forty-nine questions of TAYA2011 have errors with overlapping choices, scale level, reduced choices, unbalanced or narrow range scales.

7.6. Hands of Social Policy Expert

The hands of social policy expert shuttle between statistically defined magnitudes of family and substantive individual, and the reason d'état and the homeostasis of the totality monitored by the politicians occurred in schemes. More specifically, they structure the relationship between knowledge about the family and

appropriate policy for the family. While s/he orders the policy for the family or the family for the policy s/he rationalizes and legitimizes both for the 'appropriate state or policy intervention' on family issues. Whether policy expert explicitly rationalizes, legitimizes, standardizes and schematizes particular family issues, and whether families and their members intentionally acclimate and justify their livings accordingly, s/he structures frameworks and sets up the parameters standardizing the family life in legal provisions regulating many issues ranging from parenting, family formation, risks, social benefits systems to social support services. Social policy expert devoted to turn statistical magnitudes into an upper simple abstract form that can be called family hieroglyph (elders, children, women, man…) –a tangible and administratively more convenient format in order to involve in the family matters. The social simplifications thus introduced not only permitted a system of involvement and enrolment of family structure but also augmented state capacity to fulfill its reason d'état. Family hieroglyph made possible quite discriminating intervention of every kind of family matters ranging from care measures for the elders and children to support and tax measures for the poor families. In the mind and at the hands of social policy expert devised or planned family life is inevitably schematic; it always overlooks essential and unique features of any real, functioning family life. Namely, social policy expert ignores the host of informal practices in the family and improvisations of substantive individual in the family that could never be codified and henceforth measured. Therefore, the focus of social policy expert is not 'the quasi-structures of the family' but the simplified rules, norms, characters and justifications animating plans for 'the family structure'. The formal scheme of family structure at the hand of social policy expert is parasitic on informal processes in the families that it can create a simplistic image of family –or makes sense about the family structure but cannot maintain quasi-structure of family –or just touch it. Building a new ontological form [*eidos*] through schemes for the families in the society has become the agency of homogenization and required homeostasis for the causea finalis –as the reason d'état absorbs individual and his family for uniformity and simplification. Such a uniformity and simplification inevitably gives rise to negligence about local differences, uniqueness, and variations in the family.

Nationwide family structure surveys as the subagent of new *eidos* maintains the methodology-driven standardization processes for the family and its members.

7.7. Hands of the State

The new ontological frame of family and the individual at the gaze of the state requires 'virtual time' and 'virtual space' as it is discussed in former chapters. Sedentaring the population is as important as the domiciling individuals in family and doming family in households for the social policy experts in terms of making families legible to arrange the proper social policies for population and families. In modern states, the organization of land tenure at local and the simplification of enumeration addresses of the family at center are well organized in terms of taxation, administrative planning and social policy involvements. However, in Turkey the cadastral registration newly became available for the central control and nationwide family surveys' sampling. In addition, administrative division of provisions had changed through four nationwide family structure surveys. Families were sampled at FSPPT1968 in five regions, at TFS1988 in six regions and at TAYA2006, TAYA2011 in twelve regions. Moreover, the population in the institutional care were neglected in all samplings of family structure surveys, in spite of the fact that this population have known addresses. Nomadic population were also neglected since they were periodically temporal at the national virtual space. Such an omission is compulsory because the totality of the state power and the research instrument of social science cannot grasp the assumed citizens and families on the topos of the state. Namely, the state officials including statisticians, social scientists and social policy experts, at nationwide surveys, are blind to population which has own families but not own households.

It is clear that the work of each discipline's hands mentioned briefly above have their own perception, theory, technology, and terminology erecting different corpuses and set of tools in order to form what are family and its members. They work accordingly with the intellectual ramification through tēchnē and phronēsis under dianoia. Besides, these corpuses have merged within the topos of concepts through reciprocal exchange of vocabulary and theory about family among disciplines on the one hand, and social scientists' own imagination about family

and own practices in their own families as laymen in their everyday lives –doxa under the noesis. Depending on each of the particular mentioned science and family as an area of study, the doxa of family is formed into more or less clearly defined structures and more or less logical relationships or correspondence among the structure on the topos of the society. If the theoretical model relating the social structures is to be convenient, the necessity emerges about identifying rules connecting at least some part of the conceptual system with the family in everyday life. If all works well, these rules enable to passage between the world of 'family' and the imaginary world of the theoretical model for 'the family'. Then, the connections within the theoretical model permit further passage and patterns within family and among the structures. The social policy expert is not just a reductor framing everyday family life into a simple photograph in compare to other hand of disciplines mentioned above. S/he is the agent of reason d'état to realize their plans in terms of maintaining the social homeostasis. In most cases, s/he is powerful official and heads of state. S/he leans to prefer certain forms of planning and social organization by preparing and funding social studies in terms of picturing the current situation of social fact and predicting the future possibilities of the structural change in the society. The FSPPT1968 survey was the first survey of Turkey, at the period of planned development, inclined to picture the contraceptive use of Family in Turkey in order to initiate a family planning program. More than half of the questionnaire tended to measure the knowledge, attitude and practice of contraceptive use in Turkey. In addition, in compare to other disciplines, social policy expert situates him/herself more ideologically biased position while s/he intervenes the social agenda. To put it gently, there is an elective affinity between social agenda and the interests of social policy expert. For example, in TFS1988 social policy experts did not measure anything about the reproduction of families. Several questions with a conservative tendency including religiosity of the individual, leisure time activities in the family, distribution of family inheritance, blood agnation in the family, traditional/modern ideas of individual about the concept family were initiated by social policy expert since they were the most significant matters of planning at time of a relatively conservative government. TAYA2006 and TAYA2011 also did not measure anything about the reproduction, but initiated indirect questions about

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religiosity and ethnicity, the vernacular languages of individuals and the usage of vernacular language in the family as well since the social agenda of Turkey required introducing ethnicity-like questions to the nationwide family surveys. Such fluctuation on the social agenda exemplifies that the social policy expert's focus fluctuates on the particular temporal and social context. Nevertheless, this does not mean that social policy experts run accordingly with social agenda. They have a political/ideological spectrum across from left to right tend to use state power to bring about changes in individual's habits, family life patterns, moral values, and worldview. They desire to animate such a change in family structure in respect to both their layman position in everyday life, in their families and their ideological 'secondary imagination' about family.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

> *"Tyger! Tyger! burning bright*
> *In the forests of the night,*
> *What immortal hand or eye*
> *Could **frame** thy fearful symmetry?*
>
> *In what distant deeps or skies*
> *Burnt the fire of thine eyes?*
> *On what wings dare he aspire?*
> *What the hand dare seize the fire?*
>
> *And what shoulder, & what art,*
> *Could twist the sinews of thy heart?*
> *And when thy heart began to beat,*
> *What dread hand? & what dread feet?*
>
> *What the hammer? what the chain?*
> *In what furnace was thy brain?*
> *What the anvil? what dread grasp*
> *Dare its deadly terrors clasp?*
>
> *When the stars threw down their spears,*
> *And water'd heaven with their tears,*
> *Did he smile his work to see?*
> *Did he who made the Lamb make thee?*
>
> *Tiger! Tiger! burning bright*
> *In the forests of the night:*
> *What immortal hand or eye*
> *Could frame thy fearful symmetry?"*
> (William Blake, 1794)

The main questions I am interested in addressing in this dissertation was how central knowledge about family has been structured by the state through framing it between virtual time and virtual space on the topos of the society. I argue that, family and substantive individual as spectres in the mind and practice of layman are impalpable but tangible to be framed on the topos of society. These spectres are not statistically embraceable and palpable thing to become as objects. To become an object, substantive individual initially must be chained in the body,

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then under the dome, then in the family, then in the society, then in the state, then in the nation. One agent of society does not solely manage this process, but it is run one by one by all agents. The psyche of substantive individual childed, groomed, manned, citified from birth to death. Between birth and death its vibration is enclosed by totalities through agents in the social context. The family can only be imagined and experienced by its members through four layers of social instituting imaginary: (a) structured topos of social instituting imaginary of family is transmitted or contextualized from the topos of human being's unstructured primary imaginations; (b) social instituting imaginary takes primary imaginations as its basis for the relations are between imaginations and transcended to each imagination; (b) it introduces the concept of family showing its reality, tangibility and structure as a knowledge by closing up the circle of family with means of uncanny imaginary supplements; (c) social instituting imaginary projects substantive individual to discover family as a thing in social context with general laws, by both logical induction and logical deduction, which would give family a clear character to be conceptualized. However, it is clear that the family is still not a unit of scientific analysis akin to its contents like mother, father, child, uncle, and house those are denoting concrete projectile associations within a social context and perception. It is rather an embodiment and tangible perception of intuition and a social imaginary emanating from its palpable sub-contents within a social projectile. At the dissertation, in order to argue the embodiment of the family I walk through four paths: the literary, the philosophical, the linguistics and the sociological.

The family and the substantive individual have become things and systematized in the mind of poet and in the logos of philosopher through language. The linguists schematize the vocabulary of family and of substantive individual in the grammar through grammatology. The structural functionalist theory of sociology locates the family and its members as a structuration in the structural formation of the society. Through quantitative national surveys, statisticians measure the qualities of family and its members by turning them into quantities. After all, the social policy experts facilitate whole endowments of all agents mentioned above to grasp and capture the family and its members on the simplified surface of the numerical knowledge.

The whole endowments, except social policy experts, have scientific skepticism whether they grasping the family with imaginations, words, vocabulary, theories and numbers enable them to fluctuate in the flux of reality of family. The social policy experts construct the family as a system assuming it as the pillar of any social stratification, by placing the legitimacy upon it in terms of ordering the substantive individual within the family context and its family among other social institutions on social context. Since the social policy experts intensively deal with simplification of family and of substantive individual on the topos of the state by facilitating statistics and social sciences, they cannot successfully represent the actual structure of the family, but they rather create abridged frames of it. Their primary intention signifying the social institutions as a mode of relation holding together the components of a totality in harmony for the raison d'étre does not create just simple depictions. Social policy experts, allied with state power, rather create each frame enabling much of the family reality they depicted to be remade and reanimate. Thus, family structure which is created by social policy experts to involve in family issues or to initiate a family policy does not merely describe a system of structure; it rather creates such a structure of knowledge through its ability to give its frames, encodings, morals, roles and categories. A poet can frame the ***heart*** of family in the ***art***; a social scientist can frame the ***eyes*** of family in the ***skies***; a philosopher can frame the ***bright*** of family in the ***night***; a statistician can chain the brain of family in the furnace, because each endowments result in partial representations of ontological creations. However, social policy experts *could* [neither] ***frame*** *thy fearful symmetry* of family at the topos of the state [nor] *outline of the* [substantive individual] *body as such* because they bear the guilty of hubris crafting lenses for the family which enables them to look at everything through the same spectacles, and thus, to solve any problems with the same means –***hammer***. In other words, as William Blake wrote for the tiger in its very being of existence, similarly the family and its structure may be reframed and recreated by different social sciences, but cannot be perfectly compiled and recreated as a central knowledge by social policy experts working in the state ideology. On the one hand, *pure alētheia,* using scientific curiosity and skepticism, is for understanding the family structure so that it can recreate knowledge of family structure like a tiger's strips. On the other hand, *governmental alētheia* about the

family desiring to recreate a central knowledge about the family structure in terms of rectifying the family through social policy involvements seems not as successful as social sciences.

In sixth and seventh chapters I argued the main reasons why social policy experts do not able to create a perfect central knowledge about the family. The first reason is tension between psyche and totality. This tension makes it difficult for scientists to find a deferent set among family perception of layman, family conception of social scientist and family conception of the state. The second reason is another tension between hubris of the state and scientific curiosity and skepticism on the creation of central knowledge of family structure. On the one hand, science attempts to build up a body of knowledge with curiosity and skepticism both criticizing its subject and measurements in order to devise better deferent set between perception of a layman about family and conception of a scientist about family. On the other hand, the state needs a central knowledge about the family structure in order to create effective social policy for families. The state as a self-confident (hubristic) body is curious about the problems in the family structure, but it is not skeptic about the ways of problem definitions and social policymaking. As a result, the state crafted lenses for the social policy involvement does not fit with the scientifically crafted lenses for understanding the family in everyday life. The third reason is structural functionalist's anthropomorphological approach homogenizing social structures through direct analogies between body of the state, body of family and body of substantive individual. As I argue in the third chapter, it should be bear in mind that anthropomorphism is only a means of description that cannot be employed as a *drive* for explanation of family structure but can only be a *drive* for description and fix of a problem in the family structure. Why state officials and social policy expert are in favor of using structural functionalist approach in social surveys is that the state and structural functionalism have compromised in drive for fixing social problems through social policymaking. This drive is a kind of yearning to rule that it would like to homogenize all other drives to build up norms for the sake of homeostatic equilibrium among social structures.

It seems that if these three reasons persist as determiners for social structure investigations, it may not be possible to understand family and form a body of knowledge about family structure. Furthermore, the tensions between psyche and totality, and between hubris of the state and skepticism of the science will never end. In addition, because of it nature, the state is not going to get rid of its drive to rule and involve in social structures. In spite of these shortcomings, several arrangements can be beneficial in terms of creating a better knowledge about family structure through nationwide surveys.

First of all, the state has to maintain a better archive for nationwide surveys by including any documents created through survey; survey instruments, fieldwork manuals, sampling, raw data, micro data, imputed data, cleaned data, sample of filled questionnaires, datasets of pre-test, test, and pilot, tabulations, survey reports and articles. Secondly, whole survey documents must be open to social scientist for their further studies and for harsh critics in terms of developing better survey instruments and methods. Thirdly, the state has to allocate enough time and money for the survey preparation period with scientific independence. Fourthly, the management of the nationwide surveys must be shared with an independent scientific board, university and state officials with clear definition of job descriptions. Fifthly, social policy experts working in the state research departments must be trained for all phases of surveys so as to increase their understanding and cooperation with social scientists. Sixthly, unit of analysis must be primarily defined as substantive individual not household or family at the conduct of questionnaire. As it was discussed before, forming up family or household as a coherent unit of analysis in family structure surveys is difficult, because the family is not a palpable 'thing' akin to its contents like mother, father, child, uncle, and house those are denoting concrete projectile associations within a social context and perception. It is rather an embodiment and tangible perception of intuition, and a social imaginary emanating from its palpable sub-contents within a social projectile. Hence, family structure surveys have to collect data by conducting questionnaire with one substantive individual from one household. This will diminish the variance of different answer on single subject collected from different members of family and household. Lastly, as in developed countries

Turkey have to get rid of cross-sectional survey and move on to longitudinal surveys enabling social scientists to observe substantive individual in the family and trace the impact of critical life events to the substantive individual.

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APPENDICES

APPENDICE A: LIST OF MAPS

Map 1. Regions of FSPPT1968
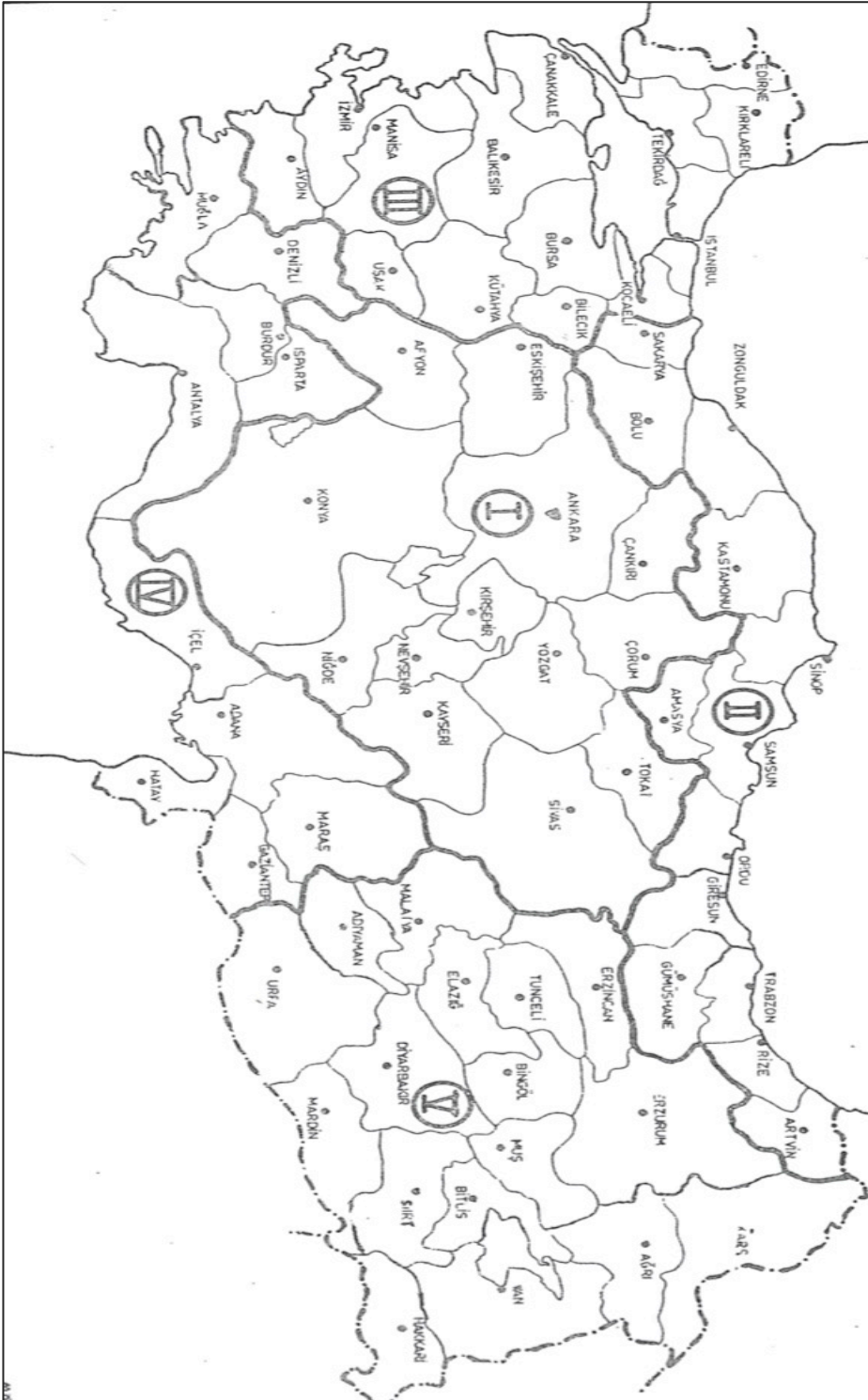
Map 2. Regions of TFS1988
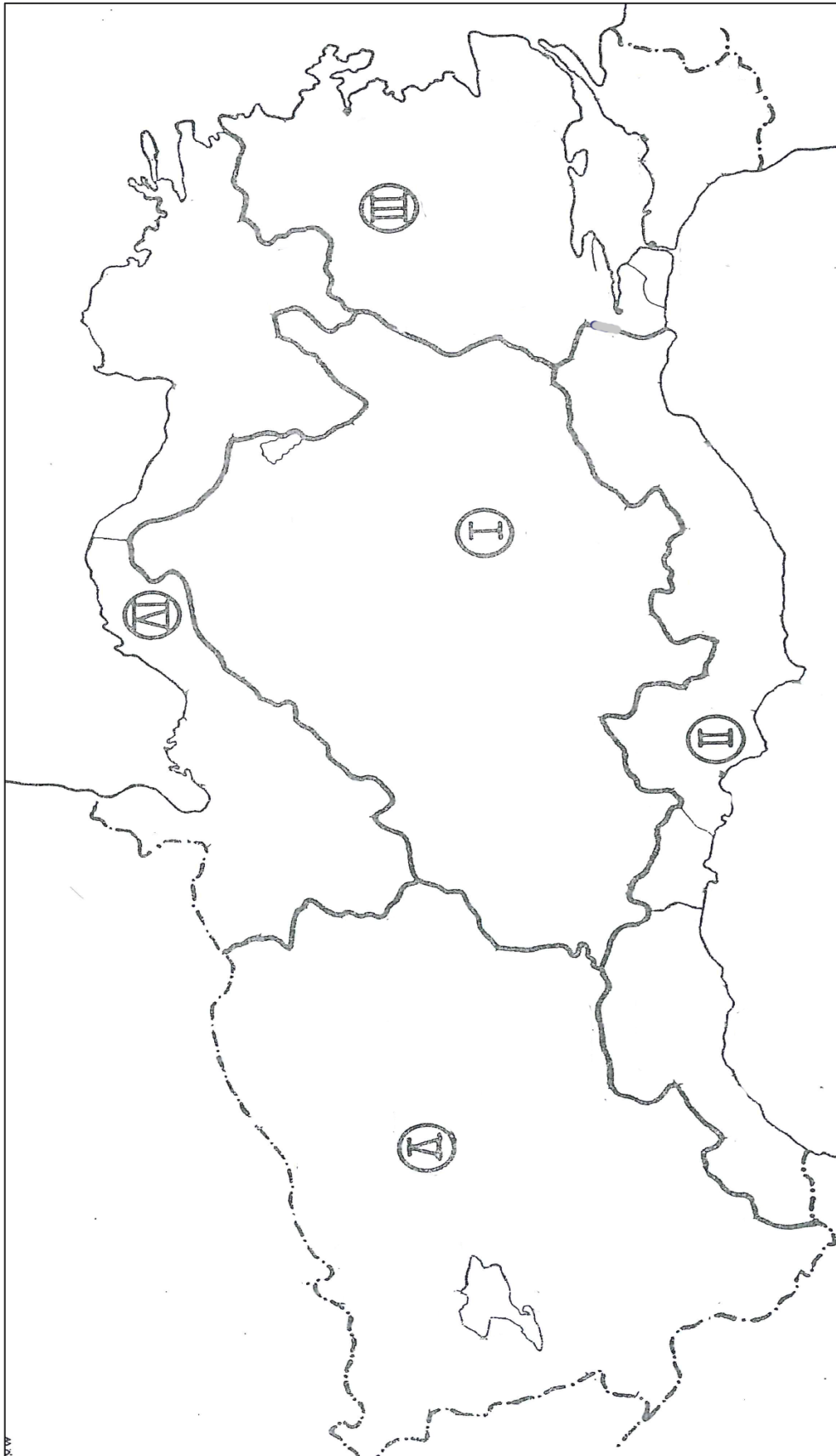
Map 3. Regions of TAYA2006 and TAYA2011
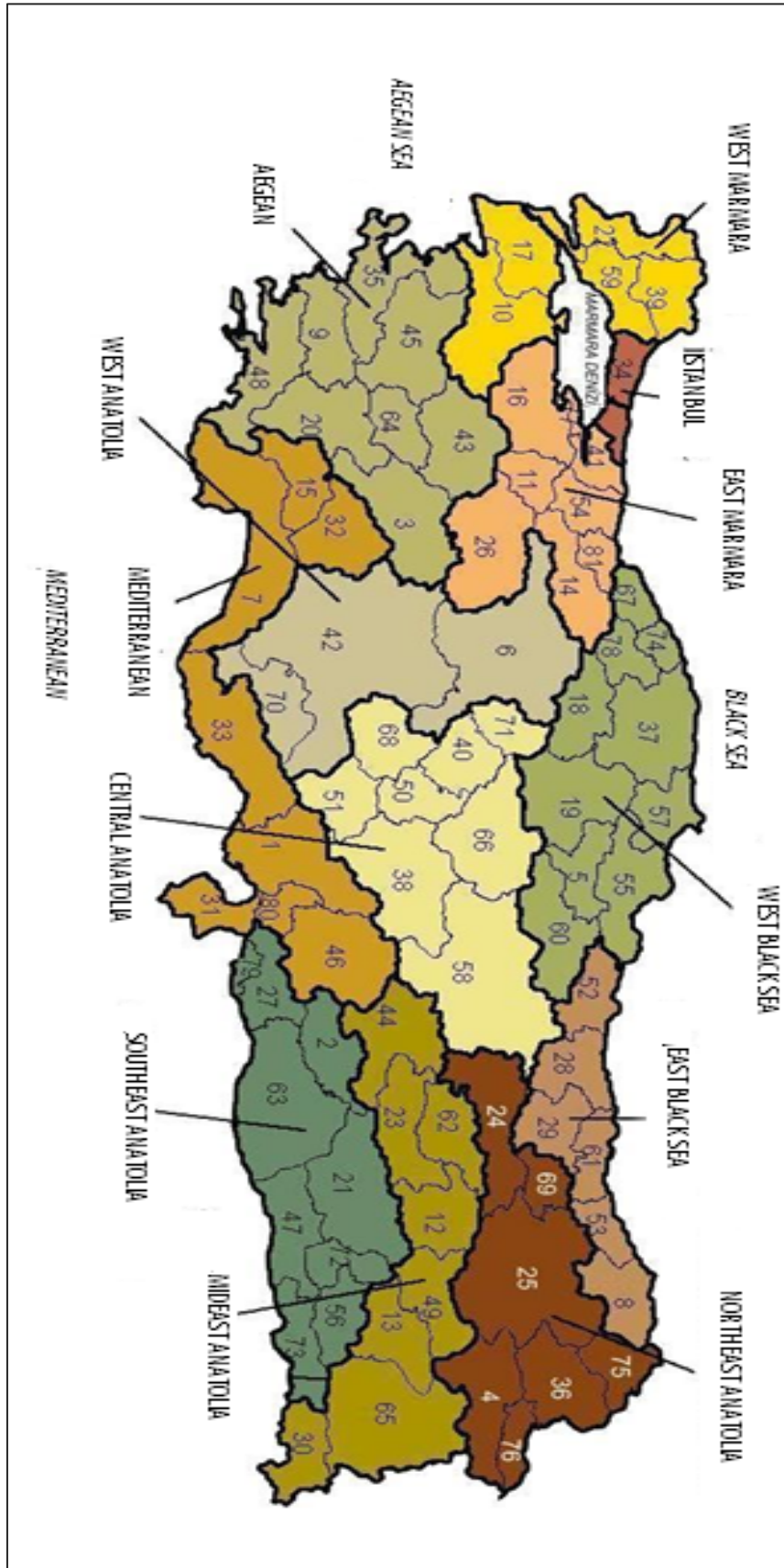
APPENDICE B: LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Number of Locations by Population (FSPPT1968)

Region	City	Small Town	Town	Village
Central Anatolia	**6**	**14**	**4**	**35**
Black Sea Coast	4	8	4	35
Aegean-Marmara Coast	**8**	**14**	**10**	**30**
Mediterranean Sea Coast	9	6	4	20
Eastern-Southeastern Anatolia	**5**	**8**	**3**	**30**
Total	32	50	25	150

Table 2. Number of Locations by Population (TFS1988)

Region	+ 200,000	50,001 200,000	20,001 50,000	10,001 20,000	5,001 10,000	2,001 5,000	501 2,000	- 500
Central Anatolia	**3**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**4**	**18**	**20**
Black Sea Coast	1	3	2	2	1	3	17	12
Aegean-Marmara Coast	**3**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**4**	**16**	**14**
Mediterranean Sea Coast	3	3	2	1	1	2	13	9
Eastern-Southeastern	**3**	**6**	**7**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**38**	**19**
Total	13	16	15	10	11	19	102	74

Table 3. Number of Sampled Population by Region (TAYA2006)

	f	*%*
İstanbul	**4,920**	**10.20**
West Marmara	2,636	5.46
Aegean	**5,943**	**12.32**
East Marmara	3,947	8.18
West Anatolia	**4,878**	**10.11**
Mediterranean	4,600	9.54
Central Anatolia	**3,388**	**7.02**
West Black Sea	3,666	7.60
Northeast Anatolia	**2,858**	**5.93**
East Black Sea	2,616	5.42
Mideast Anatolia	**3,408**	**7.07**
Southeast Anatolia	5,375	11.14
Total	**48,235**	**100**

Table 4. Number of Sampled Population by Region (TAYA2011)

	f	*%*
İstanbul	**7,288**	**15.01**
West Marmara	2,209	4.55
East Marmara	**3,100**	**6.38**
Aegean	1,888	3.89
Mediterranean	**3,410**	**7.02**
West Anatolia	1,070	2.20
Central Anatolia	**2,960**	**6.10**
West Black Sea	3,336	6.87
East Black Sea	**2,449**	**5.04**
Northeast Anatolia	2,991	6.16
Mideast Anatolia	**3,548**	**7.31**
Southeast Anatolia	5,508	11.34
Ankara	**5,045**	**10.39**
İzmir	3,759	7.74
Total	**48,561**	**100**

Table 5. Number of Sampled Population by Residential Area (TAYA2006)

		f	*%*
Urban (population with 20,001 +)		**26,579**	**55.1**
Rural (population with 20,000 -)		21,656	44.9
	Total	**48,235**	**100**

Table 6. Number of Sampled Population by Residential Area (TAYA2011)

	f	*%*
Urban	**35,731**	**73.6**
Rural	12,830	26.4
Total	**48,561**	**100**

Table 7. Response Rates (FSPPT1968)

Reasons for Non-	Household Questionnaire		**Woman Questionnaire**		Man Questionnaire	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Completed case	**4,505**	**89.7**	**3,303**	**88.8**	**2,787**	**74.8**
Temporarily away	338	6.7	212	5.7	651	17.5
Not found (3rd call)	**40**	**0.8**	**7**	**0.2**	**40**	**1.1**
Refused	44	0.9	27	0.7	38	1.0
Other reasons	**97**	**1.9**	**174**	**4.6**	**207**	**5.5**
Non-Turkish citizen	10	Excluded				
Non-Residential units	**341**	**Excluded**				
Total	5,375	100	3,723	100	3,723	100

Table 8. Response Rates by Place of Residence (FSPPT1968)

Locations	% of Household Questionnaire Completed
Metropolitan Cities (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir)	**78.7**
Cities Above 50,000	85.4
Towns 15,000-50,000	**88.8**
Small Towns 2,000-15,000	91.4
Villages	**96.8**

Table 9. Response Rates by Regions (FSPPT1968)

Region	% of Household Questionnaire Completed
Central Anatolia	**88.2**
Black Sea Coast	92.8
Aegean-Marmara Coast	**98.1**
Mediterranean Sea Coast	88.8
Eastern-Southeastern Anatolia	**93.8**

Table 10. Response Rates (TAYA2011)

	Total %	Rural %	Urban %
Completed	**73.10**	**84.30**	**70.40**
Rejected	9.10	2.80	10.80
House cannot be found	**1.40**	**1.00**	**1.50**
An eligible household member not found in the house	4.80	1.00	4.90
None of the household members are at home in the time of survey	**4.90**	**2.10**	**5.80**
The house is not inhabited	3.80	3.10	4.30
Address is not a dwelling	**1.60**	**1.60**	**1.70**
Compelling reason	1.30	4.10	0.60
Total	**100,0**	**100**	**100**

Table 11. Response Rate by Region and Gender (TAYA2011)

	Woman	Man	**Total**	Urban	Rural
İstanbul	**83.1**	**67.4**	**69.1**	**68.5**	**93.3**
West Marmara	85.4	75.5	**74.7**	68.7	85.0
Aegean	**88.7**	**75.3**	**76.5**	**71.5**	**90.2**
East Marmara	88.0	73.8	**73.9**	70.9	90.6
West Anatolia	**82.1**	**66.1**	**69.2**	**68.2**	**78.3**
Mediterranean	92.1	78.8	**74.7**	71.2	90.2
Central Anatolia	**87.6**	**79.4**	**78.6**	**75.4**	**85.9**
West Black Sea	79.3	71.5	**80.1**	74.4	88.5
Northeast Anatolia	**81.3**	**65.0**	**67.3**	**57.9**	**78.7**
East Black Sea	79.6	66.8	**77.4**	71.3	85.3
Mideast Anatolia	**81.3**	**57.6**	**68.0**	**67.5**	**68.8**
Southeast Anatolia	88.9	63.2	**83.2**	79.0	92.4
İzmir	**81.5**	**72.6**	**69.2**	64.4	**88.4**
Ankara	85.7	72.9	**65.4**	67.3	85.5
Turkey	**84.9**	**70.3**	**73.1**	69.6	84.4

Table 12. FSPPT1968 and Population Census 1965 by Population

	Population
Population Census 1965 (de facto count)	31,391,421
Intercensal Estimated Population in 1968	33,483,000
Estimate of Population of FSPPT1968	33,840,000
Standard Error	1.350
95% Confidence Interval	
Lower Limit	32,490,000
Upper Limit	35,190,000

Table 13. FSPPT1968 and Census 1965 by Distribution of Population by Regions (%)

Region	FSPPT1968	Census 1965	Net Error
Central Anatolia	**23.49**	**23.44**	**0.05**
Black Sea Coast	19.40	17.55	1.85
Aegean-Marmara Coast	**25.95**	**27.17**	**1.22**
Mediterranean Sea Coast	14.59	14.70	0.11
Eastern-Southeastern Anatolia	**16.57**	**17.14**	**0.57**
All Regions	100	100	0.76

Table 14. Number of Married Women Under 45 Years Old (FSPPT1968)

	Population
Census 1965	4,976,000
FSPPT1968	5,268,000
Census 1970	5,752,000
Intercensal Estimation of Census 1965 for 1968	5,403,000
Standard Error	0,250
95% Confidence Interval	
Lower Limit	4,768,000
Upper Limit	5,768,000

Table 15. FSPPT1968 and Census 1965 on Distribution of Population by Location (%)

Locations	FSPPT1968	Census 1965	Net Error
Cities (İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir)	**10.22**	9.75	0.4
Cities Above 50,000	9.14	8.81	0.3
Towns 15,000-50,000	**6.76**	7.47	0.7
Smal Towns 2,000-15,000	13.81	14.17	0.4
Villages	**60.07**	59.81	0.3
Total	100	100	0.4

Table 16. Distribution of Population by Household Size (FSPPT1968) (%)

Household Size	FSS1968	Census 1965	Net Error
One	**2.7**	**2.5**	**0.2**
Two	9.3	8.5	0.8
Three	**11.3**	**10.7**	**0.6**
Four	15.3	14.8	0.5
Five	**16.0**	**16.1**	**0.1**
Six	14.6	14.4	0.2
Seven	**11.7**	**11.1**	**0.6**
Eight	7.6	7.8	0.2
Nine	**4.6**	**4.9**	**0.3**
Ten and More	6.9	9.3	2.4
Total	100	100	0.5

Table 17. Distribution of Male/Female over 14 Years Old by Marital Status (FSPPT1968) (%)

Status	FSPPT1968	Census 1968	Net Error
Females			
Single	15.8	14.6	1.2
Married	72.7	72.8	0.1
Widowed	11.2	11.8	0.6
Divorced	0.3	0.9	0.6
Males			
Single	24.4	26.5	2.1
Married	72.8	70.5	2.3
Widowed	2.6	2.3	0.3
Divorced	0.2	0.7	0.5

Table 18. Distribution of Female over 14 Years Old by Age Groups (FSPPT1968) (%)

Age Groups	FSPPT1968	Census 1965	Net Error
15-19	**6.4**	**5.6**	**0.8**
20-24	14.1	14.2	0.1
25-29	**14.1**	**16.6**	**2.5**
30-34	14.4	16.4	2.0
35-39	**15.1**	**13.3**	**1.8**
40-	35.9	33.9	2.0

Table 19. Distribution of Households by Number of Rooms (FSPPT1968) (%)

Age Groups	FSPPT1968	Census 1965	Net Error
One	**18.7**	**23.8**	**5.1**
Two	38.0	38.3	0.3
Three	**24.8**	**20.4**	**4.4**
Four	13.0	10.6	2.4
Five and more	**5.5**	**4.8**	**0.7**
Don't know	0.0	2.3	2.3

Table 20. TFS1988, Intercensal Census 1988, TPHS 1988 by Population

TFS1988 (1)	Intercensal Census in 1988 (2)	Intercensal Census in 1988 (3)	1988 TPHS (4)
52,343,039	**54,283,461**	**53,268,000**	**55,252,000**
Net Error	3.57	1.74	5.26

Source: (1) DPT (1992: 17); (2); DPT (1992: 17); (3) TÜİK (2012), Mid-year population estimations and projections, 1986 - 2025; (4) HÜNEE (1989: 148-150).

Table 21. Distribution of Household Members by Age Groups (TFS1988) (%)

	TFS1988 (1)	1988TPHS (2)	Net Error
15-19	**15.34**	**10.70**	**4.64**
20-24	12.82	9.55	3.27
25-29	**11.15**	**8.05**	**3.10**
30-34	9.32	7.20	2.12
35-39	**8.20**	**5.85**	**2.35**
40-44	6.67	4.80	1.87
45-49	**6.21**	**3.90**	**2.31**
50-54	6.03	4.00	2.03
55-59	**5.65**	**3.90**	**1.75**
60-64	4.24	3.00	1.24
65+	**5.97**	**4.45**	**1.52**
Unknown	0.25	0.25	0.00

Source: (1) DPT (1992: 25); (2) HÜNEE (1989: 135)

Table 22. Distribution of Household Size in Regions by Surveys (TFS1988) (%)

	TFS1988 (1)	1988TPHS (2)	Net Error
Central Anatolia	4.72	4.67	0.05
Black Sea Coast	4.97	5.61	0.64
Aegean-Marmara Coast	4.03	4.01	0.02
Mediterranean Sea Coast	4.96	5.26	0.30
Eastern-Southeastern Anatolia	6.24	6.22	0.02
Turkey	4.75	4.82	0.07

Source: (1) DPT (1992: 48); HÜNEE (1989: 140)

Table 23. Household Effects by Surveys (TFS1988) (%)

	FSS1988 (1)	1988TPHS (2)	Net Error
Video	**11.25**	**11.60**	**0.35**
Telephone	32.15	34.40	2.25
Colour TV	**79.14**	**42.80**	**36.34**
B&W TV	49.62	49.80	0.18
Washing Machine	**48.26**	**47.10**	**1.16**
Refrigerator	77.87	82.50	4.63
Vacuum Cleaner	**38.72**	**42.10**	**3.38**
Sewing Machine	58.09	62.70	4.61

Source: (1) DPT (1992: 79); (2) HÜNEE (1989: 145)

Table 24. Type of Marriage by Regions (TFS1988) (%)

	FSS1988 (1)			**1988TPHS (2)**			Net Error		
	Urban	**Rural**	**Total**	Urban	Rural	Total	**Urban**	**Rural**	**Total**
Civil	13.59	5.11	9.56	13.20	7.50	10.70	0.39	2.39	1.14
Religious	**3.09**	**6.89**	**4.89**	**4.50**	**13.10**	**8.30**	**1.80**	**6.21**	**3.41**
Civil & Religious	82.70	87.38	84.92	81.90	78.60	80.50	0.80	8.78	4.42
Other	**0.63**	**0.62**	**0.62**	**0.40**	**0.70**	**0.50**	**0.23**	**0.08**	**0.12**

Source: (1) DPT (1992: 42); (2) HÜNEE (1989: 28)

Table 25. Distribution of Social Insurance Institution (TFS1988) (%)

	FSS1988 (1)	1988 TPHS (2)	Net Error
Emekli Sandığı	**16.48**	**22.16**	**5.68**
Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu	30.84	51.45	20.61
Bağ-Kur	**18.99**	**22.32**	**3.33**
Other	0.68	1.90	0.68
No Insurance	**32.96**	**2.17**	**30.79**
Not Known	0.06	-	-

Source: (1) DPT (1992: 64); (2) HÜNEE (1989: 139)

Table 26. Number of Sampled Population by Region (TAYA2006) (%)

	TAYA2006	TÜİK (1)	Net Error
İstanbul	**16.9**	**17.8**	**-0.9**
West Marmara	4.5	4.3	0.2
Aegean	**14.1**	**13.2**	**0.9**
East Marmara	9.0	9.1	-0.1
West Anatolia	**10.3**	**9.4**	**0.9**
Mediterranean	13.1	12.6	0.5
Central Anatolia	**5.7**	**5.3**	**0.4**
West Black Sea	6.6	6.3	0.3
Northeast Anatolia	**2.9**	**3.1**	**-0.2**
East Black Sea	4.5	3.5	1.0
Mideast Anatolia	**4.7**	**5.1**	**-0.4**
Southeast Anatolia	7.7	10.2	-2.5
Total	**100**	**100**	

Source: (1) TÜİK, Turkey's Statistical Year Book 2008

Table 27. Number of Sampled Population by Region (TAYA2011) (%)

	TAYA2011	TÜİK (1)	Net Error
İstanbul	**15.0**	**18.2**	**-3.2**
West Marmara	4.5	4.3	0.2
Aegean	**10.6**	**13**	**-2.4**
East Marmara	6.4	9.3	-2.9
West Anatolia	**12.6**	**9.6**	**3.0**
Mediterranean	7.0	12.7	-5.7
Central Anatolia	**6.1**	**5.1**	**1.0**
West Black Sea	6.9	6.0	0.9
Northeast Anatolia	**7.3**	**5.0**	**2.9**
East Black Sea	5.0	3.4	1.6
Mideast Anatolia	**7.3**	**5.0**	**2.3**
Southeast Anatolia	11.3	10.5	0.8
Total	**100**	**100**	

Source: (1) TÜİK, Turkey's Statistical Year Book 2012

Table 28. Distribution of Household Members by Age Groups (TAYA2011) (%)

Age Groups	TAYA2011	TÜİK (1)	Net Error
'0-4'	**7.1**	**8.3**	**-1.2**
'5-9'	8.4	8.1	0.3
'10-14'	**10.0**	**8.8**	**1.2**
'15-19'	9.5	8.5	1.0
'20-24'	**8.2**	**8.3**	**-0.1**
'25-29'	7.6	8.4	-0.8
'30-34'	**7.7**	**8.7**	**-1.0**
'35-39'	7.1	7.5	-0.4
'40-44'	**6.6**	**6.4**	**0.2**
'45-49'	6.5	6.4	0.1
'50-54'	**5.3**	**5.1**	**0.2**
'55-59'	4.8	4.6	0.2
'60-64'	**3.3**	**3.4**	**-0.1**
'65-69'	2.6	2.5	0.1
'70-74'	**2.2**	**1.9**	**0.3**
'75-79'	1.6	1.5	0.1
'80-84'	**1.0**	**0.9**	**0.1**
'85-89'	0.4	0.4	0.0
'90+'	**0.2**	**0.1**	**0.1**
Total	100	100	

Source: (1) TÜİK, Turkey's Statistical Year Book 2012

Table 29. Distribution of Population by Household Size (TAYA2011) (%)

Number of Individual	1	2	3	4	5+
TÜİK (1)	11.8	18.4	19.8	22.4	27.7
TAYA2011	9.9	23.1	22.0	23.4	21.6
Net Error	**1.9**	**-4.7**	**-2.2**	**-1.0**	**6.1**

Source: (1) TÜİK, Population and Housing Census 2011

Table 30. Distribution of Households by Number of Rooms (TAYA2011) (%)

	1	2	3	4	5	6+
TÜİK (1)	1.0	7.3	39.9	45.1	4.9	1.7
TAYA2011	1.0	8.7	42.8	40.9	5.2	1.4
Net Error	**0.0**	**-1.4**	**-2.9**	**4.2**	**-0.3**	**0.3**

Source: (1) TÜİK, Population and Housing Census 2011

Table 31. Distribution of Males and Females 15+ Years Old by Marital Status (TAYA2011) (%)

Status	TAYA2011	TÜİK (1)	Net Error
Females			
Single	29.1	33.1	4.0
Married	59.1	58.9	-0.1
Widowed	9.3	4.5	-4.8
Divorced	2.5	3.5	1.0
Males			
Single	37.1	45.9	8.9
Married	60.1	50.9	-9.2
Widowed	1.8	1.0	-0.7
Divorced	1.1	2.2	1.1

Source: (1) TÜİK, Population and Housing Census 2011

Table 32. Households by Heating Type of Dwelling (%)

	Stove (Natural gas stove included)	Central heating for one dwelling	Central heating for one or more buildings	Air conditioner, electric heater and other systems	No heating system
TÜİK (1)	57.1	25.6	11.4	5.9	0.1
TAYA2011	60.8	22.5	12.6	3.8	0.3
Net Error	**-3.7**	**3.1**	**-1.2**	**2.1**	**-0.2**

Source: (1) TÜİK, Population and Housing Census 2011

Table 33. Households by Ownership Status of the Dwelling (TAYA2011) (%)

	Owner	Rented	Owned by governmental or private organizations	Not owner-but no rent is paid
TÜİK (1)	67.3	23.8	1.5	7.3
TAYA2011	62.9	27.3	0.8	8.9
Net Error	**4.4**	**-3.5**	**0.7**	**-1.6**

Source: (1) TÜİK, Population and Housing Census 2011

Table 34. Availability of Devices in Households (TAYA2011) (%)

	Desktop computer	Portable computer	Access to Internet	Mobile phone	Fixed line telephone	Digital camera	DVD/VCD/ DivX player
TÜİK (1)	34.3	22.6	42.9	91.9	51.4	27.8	40.5
TAYA2011	30.3	22.1	35.5	90.5	53.3	33.5	32.4
Net Error	**4.0**	**0.5**	**7.4**	**1.4**	**-1.9**	**-5.7**	**8.1**

Source: (1) Information and Communication Technology Usage Survey in Households and Individuals, 2004 - 2014

Table 35. Description and Goals of TAYA, TFS1988, FSPPT1968

Characteristic	TAYA2006/2011	TFS1988	FSPPT1968
Description	It gathers information about household characteristics, marriage, relations within the family, kinship relations, values regarding children, elderly and other social values as well as family problems; analyzing these factors across a number of variables, and collecting data that will allow identifying what changes are taking place over time. It was run by ASAGEM, ASPB and TÜİK.	It is a survey Research that provides the information about the family structure to the policymakers for the Five Year Development Programs, to the academic community as a reference survey in Turkey. It was run by DPT and DİE.	FSPPT1968 aimed to analyze population movements accordingly with regional, rural and urban classifications. The overall purpose of the survey was enable social scientist to study the household and family structure in diverse settings in quantities during a period of rapid demographic and socioeconomic change. It was conducted by HUNEE
Goal	Studying the family structure in Turkey, the life style of individuals in the family setting, and their value judgments regarding family life.	It aimed to determine basic characteristics of the Turkish family structure in a changing cultural, economic environment	Its particular interest was to collect data on fertility norms and behavior, marriage patterns, and intergenerational transfers of values.

Table 36. Elements in the Definition of Household in TAYA, TFS1988, FSPPT1968

FSPPT1968	The same house	Living together	Blood (the same or not)	The same caldron	-	-
TFS1988	The same house	Living together	Blood (the same or not)	The same caldron	Household services	Shared income and expense
TAYA2006	The same house	Living together	Blood (the same or not)	-	Household services	
TAYA2011	The same house	Living together	-	-	Household services	

Table 37. Main Characteristics of Surveys

		TAYA2006/2011	TFS1988	FSPPT1968
Thematic coverage		Demographic characteristics (gender, age, marital status, place of birth, relation to reference person, family members living in the dwelling for last 6 months, schooling, literacy, employment, occupation, and health insurance)	Demographic characteristics: (names, number of household members, relation to the head of household, absentees, gender, age, education, marital status, age at first marriage, number of marriages, type of marriage, employment, duration of employment, reason for temporarily living abroad, type of social security system)	Demographic characteristics (names, relation to the head of house-hold, gender, age, marital status, absentees, number of given births, family migration, type of family production and employment status)
		General housing condition and family relation (number of room, type of heating, type of house floor, kinds of household object and utilities owned and used, type of house ownership, income, expenditure, distance to relatives, family vacation, domestic socialization, internet connection, television, child, handicapped and elderly care, distribution of housework, decision-making process for important family issues, loans and savings)	Relations and value of elders and child in the family: (relations in the family, expectations on the number, gender, and the value of children, relations between children and parents, educational, occupational and future expectations for the children, condition of elders in the family, expectations about the family)	General housing condition (number of room, condition of kitchen, toilet and bathroom, type of house floor and roof, kinds of household object and utilities owned and used, estimated value of the house, type of house ownership)
		Migration history: (place of birth, migration, relations with the place of origin)	Migration history: (place of birth, migration, relations with the place of origin)	Migration history and rural connections (Trends and stages of migration, reasons of migration, relations with the place of origin)

Table 37. (Continued) Main Characteristics of Surveys

	TAYA2006/2011	TFS1988	FSPPT1968
Thematic coverage	Domestic violence: (between spouses and children)	Socioeconomic status of the family: (type of house ownership, investments of savings, property ownership, eating behaviors, spaces at house, spaces of gender, kinds of household object and utilities owned and used, sources and amount of income)	Family structure and marital relations (family type, residence and family type at the time of marriage, residence and family type for patrilocal families that are currently nuclear, time and reason for leaving the parental house, type of marriage, spouse selection, age at marriage, resident after marriage, marital history, bride price payment, amount of bride price paid, relationship with the natal family, whether spouse was related (kin), ideals and norms on family structure, status and roles of different family members, authority structure in the family, decision making process, husband-wife relations, relationship with the children, attitudes towards fertility, and child spacing)
	Parent-child relationships, relations within family. Relations between spouses. Desire to be a foster family (not included in TAYA2011)	Relations, authority, and communication between man and wife: (expectations between spouses, the degree of husband-wife communication, authority structure, roles of men and wife, leisure time activities)	Socioeconomic status of woman: (age, literacy, educational attainment, educational expectation for the children, occupational history, occupational history of husband and father, occupational expectation for the children, income, sources of income, land holdings, place of birth, residential community background)
	Health including smoking and alcohol use	Marriage: (spouse selection, values about marriage, proper age for marriage, bride price payment, approach to endogamy)	Fertility and family planning (pregnancy history, age, education, location, and gender of the children, desires and expectations about family size and gender of children, degree of husband-wife communication, agreement and expectations on the number of children, knowledge and usage of past and current family planning methods)
	Other topics: (religiosity, everyday language other than Turkish, mass media usage, life satisfaction, leisure time activities)	Blood Agnation: (distribution of deceased's estate, perception of blood agnation, distance between family house and relatives' houses)	Other Topics: (religiosity, everyday language other than Turkish, mass media usage)

Table 37. (Continued) Main Characteristics of Surveys

	TAYA2006/2011	TFS1988	FSPPT1968
Unit of study	Individuals above 17 years old. Household	Individuals above 12 years old. Household	Married women between 15-45 year old; married men without any age limitation. Household
Sample size	TAYA2006 14,380 households. 12,208 were interviewed; TAYA2011 16,500 households. 12,056 were interviewed	18,210 households. All were interviewed	5,375 households. 4,505 were interviewed
Non-Response	Non-response rates for the household at TAYA2006 were 15.1% and 26.9% for TAYA2011.	Not applicable	Non-response rates for the household were 10.3%; 11.2% for women and 24,2% for men
Type of Interview	TAYA2006 conducted via CAPI; TAYA2011 conducted via PAPI	Paper-assisted personal interviewing technique (PAPI)	Paper-assisted personal interviewing technique (PAPI)
Periodicity	Five year, the first one was executed in 2006 and the second in 2011	Not periodical	Five year, the first one executed in 1968 and last one in 2013
Geographical coverage	Turkey, representative at the national and NUTS1 level	Turkey, representative at the national level, five geographical regions and GAP region	Turkey, representative at the national level and five geographical regions
Number of questions	130	125	553

APPENDICE C: CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION
Surname, Name: Turğut, Mustafa
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 14/04/1977, Elazığ
Marital Status: Married
Phone: +90 312 705 55 20
Fax: +90 312 705 55 19
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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	FIRAT Sociology	2007
BS	BOUN Sociology	2003
High School	Elazığ Anadolu High School	1996

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2013-Present	Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı	Head of Department
2006- 2013	Başbakanlık Aile ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Genel Müdürlüğü	Research Expert

FOREIGN LANGUAGES
English

COMPLETED RESEARCH PROJECTS
Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2006, ASAGEM

İnternet Kullanımı ve Aile Araştırması 2007, ASAGEM

Çocuk Programları ve Bu Programlarda Yayınlanan Reklâmların İçerik Analizi 2008, ASAGEM

Türkiye Ergen Profili Araştırması 2008, ASAGEM

Medya Profesyonelleri ve Medyanın Aile Algısı 2007, ASAGEM

Türkiye Boşanma Nedenleri Araştırması 2008, ASAGEM

Türkiye'de Aile Eğitimi İhtiyaç Analizi Araştırması 2009, ASAGEM

Aile Eğitimi Müfredat Programı 2009, ASAGEM

Aile Eğitimi Materyal Geliştirme Programı 2010, ASAGEM

Tek Ebeveynli Aileler Araştırması 2010, ASAGEM

Türkiye Aile Değerleri Araştırması 2010, ASAGEM

Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2011, MFSP

Aile Eğitim Programı Yaygınlaştırma ve Uygulama Projesi 2012, ASPB

Aile Sosyal Destek Programı (ASDEP) Pilot Uygulama Çalışması 2012, MFSP

Türkiye Ergen Profili Araştırması 2013, MFSP

Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması: Bulgular ve Öneriler 2013, MFSP

Türkiye'de Doğurganlık Oranlarının Düşmesi, Potansiyel Etkiler ve Sosyal Politika Önerileri 2013, MFSP

Yerel Halkın Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Dair Algıları I 2013, MFSP

Yerel Halkın Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Dair Algıları II 2014, MFSP

Yerel Halkın Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Dair Algıları III 2014, MFSP

Nesiller ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Öntest 2014, MFSP

12-19 Yaş Arası Eğitime Devam Eden Öğrencilerde Sigara ve Zararlı Madde Kullanımı (ESPAD) Öntest 2014, MFSP

Türkiye Boşanma Nedenleri Araştırması 2014, MFSP

Yerel Halkın Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Dair Algıları IV 2015, MFSP

Yerel Halkın Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Dair Algıları V 2015, MFSP

Nesiller ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Test 2015, MFSP

12-19 Yaş Arası Eğitime Devam Eden Öğrencilerde Sigara ve Zararlı Madde Kullanımı (ESPAD) Test 2015, MFSP

Avrupa'da Geçici Koruma Rejimi Örnekleri 2015, MFSP

Türkiye'de Sosyal Hizmet ve Yardımların Yeniden Organizasyonu 2015, MFSP

Aile Yazıları/7 2015, MFSP

Aile Yazıları/8 2015, MFSP

Aile Dostu Kentler Araştırması 2015, MFSP

Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2016, MFSP

Yerel Halkın Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Dair Algıları VI 2016, MFSP

Yerel Halkın Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Dair Algıları VII 2016, MFSP

Türkiye Üniversite Öğrencileri Profil Araştırması 2016, MFSP

Sosyal Sağlık, Yaşlılık ve Emeklilik Araştırması (SHARE) Öntest 2016, MFSP

Suriyeli Mültecilerle Türk Vatandaşlarının Evlilik İlişkileri Araştırması 2016, MFSP

Mardin Bilge Köyü Olayı ve Olay Sonrası Bilge Köylülerin Kırklareli'ne İskanı 2016, MFSP

Türkiye'de Yaşlı Bakım Hizmetlerinin Proaktif Yönü ve Mali Yük Analizi 2016, MFSP

Kapalı Alanlarda Sigara Yasağı Politikasının Etki Analizi 2016, MFSP

HOBBIES

Swimming, chess, woodwork

APPENDICE D: TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

AİLEYE DAİR MERKEZİ BİLGİNİN KURULUŞU: TÜRKİYE'DE DEVLET DESTEKLİ AİLE YAPISI ARAŞTIRMALARIN ANALİZİ 1968, 1988, 2006, 2011

Bu tezde, devletin toplumsal bir topoloji üstünde aileyi zaman ve mekan içerisinde istatistik teknolojileri, yapısal işlevselci teoriyi ve sosyal politika eğilimlerini kullanarak nasıl bir bağlama yerleştirdiğine ve bu bağlamın aile yapısına dair merkezi bilgiyi nasıl inşa ettiği analiz edilmektedir. Ampirik olarak aileye dair merkezi bilginin inşasını örneklendirebilmek için özellikle devlet tarafından desteklenen ülke geneli temsile sahip niceliksel dört araştırmaya odaklanılmıştır. Bu araştırmalar Hacettepe Üniversitesi Nüfus Etütleri Enstitüsü tarafından 1968 yılında yapılan Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı ve Nüfus Problemleri Araştırması, Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı ve Devlet İstatistik Kurumu tarafından 1988 yılında yapılan Türk Aile Yapısı Araştırması, Başbakanlık Aile ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Genel Müdürlüğü ile Türkiye İstatistik Kurumunun yaptığı Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması ve Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığının 2011 yılında yaptığı Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırmasıdır.

Türkiye'de ülke temsili sosyal bilim araştırmaları genellikle devlet tarafından desteklenmekte ve devlet kurumlarınca yapılmaktadır. Sosyal bilim araştırmalarının bir kolu olan yapısal araştırmaların sayısı ise ülke tarihinde oldukça azdır. Bu nedenle bu tezdeki iddialar 1960'tan bu yana ifa edilen aile yapısına dair sadece dört araştırmayı ampirik örnek olarak sunabilmektedir. Bu tez aileye dair merkezi bilginin istatistik, yapısal işlevselcilik, sosyal politika eğilimleri ve ülke temsili araştırmalarla nasıl inşa edildiğini sorgulamaktadır. Bununla birlikte tezde, ayrıca, devletin bu inşa aygıtlarıyla aileye dair merkezi bilgiye doğru bir form verebilip veremediği ve inşa edilen bu bilginin aileyi ve yapısını doğru temsil edebilip edemediği sorgulamaktadır. Hem 2006 yılından bu yana 'devletin içinde' devletin aileye dair sosyal politika eğilimlerini gözlemleyen biri olarak, hem sosyal bilimci olarak 'devletin dışında' kalabilmem hem de sıradan bir insan olarak 'aile içinde' yaşıyor

olmam devletin aileye dair merkezi bilgi inşasını anlamak ve eleştirmek için bana benzersiz bir konum sağlamaktadır. Bu üçlü konum bana özellikle devlette çalışan sosyal politika uzmanlarının aile yapısını sosyal politika yapmak amacıyla nasıl sarmaladıklarını anlatabilmem için önemli bir imkan sağlamaktadır.

Türkiye'de aile yapısını anlamak için teorik ve ampirik hem ülke temsili, hem de yerel olmak üzere birçok niteliksel ve niceliksel araştırmanın yapıldığı söylenebilir. Yerel araştırmalar (örneğin: Duben and Behar, 1991; Berkes, 1942; Kongar, 1972; Yasa, 1957; 1966; 1969; Kıray, 1964; Delaney, C. 1991; Stirling, 1965; McCarty, 1979; White, 1994; Magnarella, 1974; Merter, 1990) ülke temsili araştırmalara göre sayı olarak daha fazladır. Yerel araştırmalar çeşitli sosyoloji metotlarını kullanmasına, ailenin farklı yönlerine odaklanmalarına ve çeşitli teorik yaklaşımları aynı anda barındırmalarına rağmen bu tezin konusu yapılmamıştır. Sosyal politika uzmanlarının Türkiye'de daha çok ulusal düzlemde bütüncül planlamalar yapıp bu planlamaları ülke geneline genişletme arzusuyla yerel çalışmaları dikkate almamalarından ve temel amacımın sosyal politika uzmanlarının aileye dair merkezi bilgi inşasını tartışmak istememden dolayı onların referans verdikleri ülke temsili araştırmaları tezime ampirik örnekler olarak aldım. Bununla birlikte yerel çalışmaların her birinin farklı metotlara, araştırma enstrümanlarına, ölçme türlerine ve örneklemlere sahip olması aile yapısına dair kapsamlı ve karşılaştırmalı bir sorgulamanın yapılmasını ve de her birinin bulgularını ülke geneline genişletebilecek politikaları oluşturmakta neredeyse imkansız kılmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, ülke temsili çok az sayıdaki aile yapısı araştırmalarını incelemeyi seçmemin bir diğer nedeni ise bu araştırmaların merkezi bilgi inşasında kullandıkları yöntem, araştırma enstrümanları, bilimsel yaklaşımları ve motivasyonları üzerine neredeyse hiç bir çalışmanın yapılmamış olmasıdır.

Türkiye'de 1968 ile 2011 yılları arasında ülke temsili sadece dört araştırma yapılmış ve bu araştırmaları eleştiren herhangi bir çalışma da yapılmamıştır. Bunula birlikte, bu araştırmaları kullanarak devletin aile yapısıyla ilgili merkezi bilgiyi sosyal politika uzmanları vasıtasıyla nasıl inşa ettiğine dair de herhangi bir çalışma yapılmamıştır. Bu dört araştırma, devletin aileye ve araçlarına dair yaklaşımları ile aileyi bir bilgi olarak nasıl ideal bir forma dönüştürdüğüne dair önemli ipuçlarına sahiptir. Bu nedenle, bu tez dört araştırmanın henüz üzerine analiz yapılmamış

sonuçlarından çok araştırmaların hazırlık, yönetim ve uygulama süreçlerine odaklanmaktadır. Ortalama her beş yılda bir yapılması amaçlanmış olsa da son elli yıl içerisinde sadece dört kez yapılabilen bu kesit araştırmalardan son ikisinde yer almış olmak bana üniversitelerde öğretilen tüm araştırma süreçleriyle –araştırma enstrümanlarının geliştirilmesi, alan uygulama rehberlerinin hazırlanması, örnekleme, pilot testler, kodlama, alan uygulama kontrolleri ve raporlama– devlet destekli araştırmaların araştırma süreçlerinin eleştirisini yapma imkanı sağlamaktadır.

Bu dört araştırma, uygulamalı araştırmalar ya da aileye dair sosyal politikalara bilgi sağlamak amacındaki sosyal politika araştırmaları olarak tasnif edilebilir. Bu araştırmaları merkezi bilgi inşası bağlamında incelerken, tez, daha çok epistemolojik yaklaşımdan destek almıştır. Epistemolojik yaklaşım beş başlıkta tezin kendi inşa sürecini oluşturmuştur. Bunlardan birincisi, araştırmaların kendi bağlamları içerisinde, aile yapısını nasıl inşa ettiklerini eleştirel olarak anlatabilmeyi sağlamıştır. İkincisi, her bir araştırmanın bir diğeriyle yapısal ilişkisini gözler önüne sermeyi sağlamıştır. Üçüncüsü, aileye dair sosyal politika araştırmalarının yapısal, tarihsel ve ideolojik kökenlerini takip edebilmeyi sağlamıştır. Dördüncüsü, farklı araştırma deneyimleri vasıtasıyla aile yapısını sosyal bir gerçeklik olarak tarif edebilmeyi sağlamıştır. Beşincisi, sadece farklı araştırma deneyimlerinin aile yapısı inşasında önemini anlamayı değil aynı zamanda devletin farklı araştırma deneyimlerini devlet yararına nasıl birleştirebildiğini de anlamı sağlamıştır.

Araştırma için devletin çeşitli kurumlarındaki arşivlerinden bu araştırmalara ait araştırma enstrümanları, örnekleme, analiz birimleri, operasyonel tanımlar, kitaplar, araştırma raporları, var olan mikro-veri-setleri toplanmış ve incelenmiştir. Bu nedenle tez daha çok arşivlerin incelenerek ve araştırma soruları bağlamında toplanan materyallerin masa başı çalışma ile değerlendirilmesi yoluyla oluşturulmuştur.

Genel olarak, tez bu dört aile yapısı araştırmasının aile yapısını anlamaya çalışan saf bilimsel eğilimlerden ziyade üç parçanın, devlet destekli sosyal politika oluşturmak amacıyla birbiriyle kombin edildiğini tartışmaktadır. Bu bir araya getirilen parçalar; istatistik teknolojiler, yapısal işlevselci teori ve devletin aileye dair sosyal

politikalarını kapsayan ve müdahaleleri meşrulaştıran eğilimdir. Tez bu parçaların birbirleriyle, modern devletin soyut merkezi bir bilgiyi inşa etmesini sağlayan güçlü bir ilişkiye sahip olduğunu savunmaktadır. Bu ilişki, aileye dair merkezi bilginin inşasını müteakip aileyi bir yapı içerisinde yönetimsel bir düzene sokmaktadır. Bu parçalar modern devletin sosyal politika yapımında, aile refahının ve birey saadetinin muhafazası için modern yönetişimin tipik araçları haline gelmektedir. Bu araçlar yan yana gelerek bir bütün oluşturduğunda devletin bireyle olan vatandaşlık ilişkisini kavramakta ve sosyal refahın sosyal politikalar vasıtasıyla ailelere ve bireylere nasıl dağıtılacağına dair temel şemaları çizmektedir.

Birinci parça, istatistik teknolojiler, aileye dair merkezi bilgi inşasında kitleleri ve toplumsal yapıları soyutlayabilme gücü itibariyle günümüzde modern devletin en önemli aygıtı haline gelmiştir. İstatistiğin tartışılması güç rakamlar ve hesaplamalar yoluyla şekillendirdiği bu merkezi bilgiyle devlet sosyal yapılarla ilgili 'doğru' yönetimsel kararlarını daha kolay meşrulaştırabilmektedir. Buna ek olarak sosyal olguları anlatan rakamların ve istatistiklerin hükümetler, toplum ve sosyal politika uzmanları üzerinde tarafsız bir etki yaratması hükümetlerin yönetimsel kararları almadaki meşruiyetlerini artırmakta ve kolaylaştırmaktadır. Örneğin çeşitli sosyal olguların –boşanma, doğurganlık, aile içi şiddet, aile büyüklüğü, birlikte yaşam, istihdam, aile geliri gibi aile içerisindeki değişimlerini rakamlar ve oranlar yoluyla hükümetler tarafından ölçerek kontrol edilmesi ve yönetilmesi sosyal politika önlemlerinin alınmasını meşru hale getirmektedir.

İkinci parça ise daha çok sosyoloji disiplini altında tasnif edilen yapısal işlevselci teoridir. Bu tez yapısal işlevselci yaklaşımın bu dört araştırmayı nasıl şekillendirdiğini anlatmaktadır. Tez, aile yapısını merkezi bir bilgi olarak kavramaya çalışırken yapısal işlevselciliğin toplumsal olanı yönetmedeki özgüveninin ve bu yaklaşımı kullanan sosyal politika uzmanlarının geliştirdikleri araçların, kendi işlerini kolaylaştıran aileye dair her şeye aynı bakış açısıyla benzer çözümler üretebilen düzenlemelerin bilgi olarak nasıl inşa edildiğini tartışmaktadır. Tez, devlet katında yapısal işlevselci yaklaşımın toplumun kendisi için bilimsel ve teknik gelişmenin güçlü bir versiyonu olduğu, insanların artan ihtiyaçlarını karşılarken doğayı ve insan doğasını yönetebileceği, sosyal yapılar ile sosyal düzen arasındaki dengeyi kuran devlet aklıyla uyumlu olduğu iddialarıyla kavranması gerektiğini iddia

etmektedir. Diğer bir deyişle yapısal işlevselci yaklaşımın topluma dair temel anlayışı ile devletin varoluş sebepleri arasında üç temada güçlü bir ortaklıkları vardır; gerçekliğin tanımlanması (aile), gerçeklik üzerinde sosyal politikaların geliştirilmesi (aile politikaları) ve gerçeklik için kanunlar koyma (ailenin ekonomisini etkileyecek vergi kanunlarından evlilik yönetmeliklerine; aile içi ebeveyn otoritesinden çocuklara dair hukuki velayetlere; aile mirasının paylaşımından çocukların evlat edinilme şartları ve gözetimine; ailenin bir kurum olarak diğer sosyal kurumlar arasındaki yerinden sosyal değişimin kurumlar arası yarattığı yeni etkileşimlere; aile içi şiddetin tespitinden önlenmesine ve ulusal düzeyde tartışılmasına vb.)

Tezde yapısal işlevselci yaklaşımın, her ne kadar modern dönemlerin teorisi gibi görense de kendisinin modern öncesi zamanlardan gelen güçlü bir kökene sahip olduğu savunulmaktadır. Yapısal işlevselci teorisinin kökenleri antik dönemlerden Yunanistanlı doktor Hippocrates, İonyalı Pythagoras, Sicilyalı Empedocles, Romalı Galenus, Makedonyalı Aristotale, Tunuslu İbn-Rüşd ve Kuzey Afrikalı İbn-Haldun vasıtasıyla uzanıp modern dönemlerde Fransız Emile Durkheim ve Amerikalı biyolog-sosyolog Talcott Parsons'a kadar uzanır. Yapısal işlevselcilik gelişmeci modernleşme teorisinin ana bileşenlerinden birisi olarak sosyal bilimlerde son yüzyılda toplumu anlamada ve araştırma yöntemlerinin geliştirilmesinde oldukça etkili olmuştur. Bu teori toplumsal kurumlar arasında çatışmadan ziyade uyuşum ve denge olduğunu iddia eder. Bu iddiasını anlatırken de dünyadaki elementlerin, insan bedenindeki organların ve sıvıların birbiriyle rasyonel uyuşumu benzetmelerinden yola çıkarak toplumun ve devlet organlarının da birbirleriyle denge ve uyuşma halinde olacağını, dolayısıyla bu organ ve organlara dair kavramların anlaşılabileceğini öne sürmektedir. Devlet katında sosyal politika uzmanlarınca bu teorinin geçmişe göre daha geçer akçe görülmesinin arkasında ise rasyonel anlayışın şimdilerde toplumlarda daha gelişmiş ve yaygın olması ile toplumsal kontrolü ve dengeyi ön planda tutan sosyal politika uzmanlarının uzmanlıklarının istatistik ve sosyal araştırmalarda daha da derinleşmesi faktörlerinin olduğu söylenebilir. Ancak bilimsel uygulamalar için yol gösterici nitelikteki bu teori, sosyal politika uzmanlarının elinde sadece bu yönüyle kullanılmamaktadır. Sosyal politika uzmanları bu teoriyi kullanmayı daha çok teorinin bilimsel olanın meşruiyetine ve

teknik olanın da sosyal politikaların oluşturulmasında ve yönetilmesindeki doğruluğuna olan bağlılığı sebebiyle tercih etmektedirler. Sosyal politikacının elindeki bu teori, kapsayıcı ve pozitif aile politikalarına imkan sağlayacağı beklentisiyle, bilim insanın elindeki teoriden başkalaşarak çalışma öznesi üzerinde kesin ve tartışmasız yöntemlere sahipmişçesine hareket etmektedir. Yapısal işlevselciliğin yöntemlerini benimseyen sosyal politika uzmanları devlet içinde bulmayı arzuladıkları rasyonel düzen ve uyumu aynı şekilde toplumsal kurumlar arasındaki rasyonel düzen ve uyuma teşmil etmeyi de arzulamaktadırlar. Bu uzmanlar için etkili bir şekilde rasyonel olarak organize olmuş yönetim, şehir, hane, aile ve bireyler matematik ve istatistiki gözlenebilen, yönlendirilebilen, ayarlanabilen ve düzene sokulabilen bir bütünlüğün parçalarıdır. Dolayısıyla sosyal politika uzmanlarına göre bu teorinin çerçevesinde aile, hane, aile üyeleri, toplumsal yapılar matematik, istatistik ve sosyal araştırmalar vasıtasıyla merkezi bilgi inşası için toplumun parçalarını teşkil eden soyut minyatürlere dönüştürülebilir. Diğer bir ifadeyle bu teorinin araçlarıyla aileye dair olan şeylerin gözlemlenebilir, dokunulabilir, müdahale edilebilir temsillerinin yaratılabiliyor olması yapısal işlevselci teoriyi sosyal politika uzmanları için çekici kılmaktadır.

Üçüncü parça ise sosyal politika uzmanlarının sosyal olgulara ve yapılara yaklaşımlarının yapısal işlevselci teorinin yaklaşımıyla uyuşması durumudur. Devlet bütün kurumlarıyla ve tüm gücüyle rasyonel bir toplumsal yapıyı sosyal politika uygulamalarıyla yaratmak arzusundadır. Bu arzunun toplumsal kurumlarda en etkili karşılık buluşu ise genellikle hükümet değişimleri, toplumsal erozyon ve ekonomik kriz durumlarında görülmektedir. Bu durumların baş gösterdiği zaman ve mekan dilimlerinde sosyal politika uzmanları toplumdaki ve devletteki bozulan düzeni dengeye oturtmak ve acil önlemler alabilmek için hem değişimleri anlamak hem de sosyal yapılardaki etkileşimleri görmek için sosyal yapı araştırmaları yapmaktadırlar. Örneğin bu tezde incelenen dört araştırmanın yapılma dönemleri Türkiye'deki toplumsal yapıda yaşanan ciddi değişimlerin veya kırılma noktalarının hemen sonrasına denk gelmektedir: 1960 yılındaki askeri darbeden sonra planlı gelişmeyi hem toplum hem devlet için önceleyen hükümetlerin desteğiyle 1968 yılında yapılan Türkiye Aile Yapısı ve Nüfus Sorunları Araştırması, 1980 yılındaki askeri darbeden sonra yükselen muhafazakar hükümet bürokratlarının 1988 yılında yaptığı Türk Aile

Yapısı Araştırması, 2002 yılında yaşanan ekonomik kriz sonrası 2006 yılında ve 2008 yılı ekonomik krizi ardından 2011 yılında yeni liberal muhafazakar hükümetlerin gerçekleştirdiği Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırmaları.

Askeri darbeler ve ekonomik krizler sonrası devletin ve toplumun kendisini toparlama dönemlerinde yapılan bu araştırmalar sosyal politika uzmanlarının ve devlet bürokrasisindeki çalışanların, devletin aile de dahil olmak üzere kuruluşundaki kurumlarını yeniden ele almasını kolaylaştırmıştır. Bu araştırmalardan yola çıkarak modern sosyal bilimlerin olağan dört teması aile ve bireyler üzerinde devlet adına yeniden hükümran olmuştur: en düşük efor ile en yüksek dolayısıyla 'etkin' aileye dair sosyal politikaları inşa etmek, gelecekte aile yapısının nasıl değişebileceğini 'tahmin' etmek, istatistik marifetiyle aileye dair olguları rakamsallaştırarak 'hesaplamak' ve sosyal bilimler ile istatistik teknolojilerini bir kontrol aracı olarak kullanıp devlet katında merkezi bilginin inşası adına aile ve bireyleri 'kimliksizleştirmek'.

Bu dört ampirik aile yapısı araştırması üzerinden yola çıkarak bu tez bir adet birincil ve beş adet ikincil tartışmayı yapmaktadır. Ana tartışma konusu devletin sosyal politika yönetimini, istatistiği, sosyal bilimleri ve yapısal işlevselci teoriyi kullanarak aile ve bireyleri toplumsal mekan ve zamanda hapsetmek suretiyle aileye dair merkezi bilgiyi nasıl ve neden inşa etmekte olduğudur. Birbiriyle bağlantılı olan ikincil beş adet tartışma konusu ise toplamda devletin bu merkezi bilgiyi inşa etme arzusuna rağmen aileye dair yapısal bilgiyi Türkiye'de neden inşa edemediği üzerinedir.

Aileye dair merkezi bilginin sosyal politika uzmanlarınca inşa edilememesinin beş sebebi vardır. Birincisi, birçok sosyal teori birey ile toplum arasındaki öznelerarasılığı (intersubjectivity) birbirleri arasındaki gerilime odaklanarak anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Bu tez ise gerilimin birbirlerine hiçbir zaman indirgenemeyecek olan 'toplumun bütünlüğü (totality)' ile 'bireyin tini (psyche)' arasında bir öznelerarasılık olduğunu savunmaktadır. Bu her iki özne arasında birbirine indirgenemeyen ancak birbirine benzeştirme çabasının kökeninde ise devlet aklı ile ereğinin olduğu söylenebilir. Bu erek ve akıl bir yandan tinsel bireyin bedenini devletin organlarına benzeştirerek genişletirken diğer yandan da devletin

organlarını tinsel bireyin organlarına benzeştirerek daraltmaktadır. Bu bir nevi benzeştirmeyi antropomorfoloji (insan-form-akıl) yöntemiyle yapmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle insanın bir organı devletteki bir organa, devletteki bir organ ise insandaki bir organa tekabül ettirilmektedir. Bu iki özne (devlet-birey) arası benzeştirme mesafesi ise aile ve diğer toplumsal kurumların yapısal benzeşimleri yoluyla kapatılmaktadır. Bu argümanı tartışmak üzere tezde Samuel Taylor Coleridge'nin birincil tasavvur, ikincil tasavvur ve hayal kavramları ile Cornelius Castoriadis'in radikal tasavvur ve sosyal kurucu tasavvur kavramları kullanılarak ailenin bir kavram olarak bir sezgiden kuruma, bir tayftan silüete, bir bedenden yapıya ve bir organdan organizasyona doğru ete kemiğe nasıl büründürüldüğü anlatılmaktadır.

Aileye dair başarılı bir merkezi bilginin inşa edilememesinin ikinci sebebi ise devletin gözünde ailenin birçok yüzünün olduğu ve yapılaşmasının çok katmanlı olduğu ön kabullerinden dolayı ona dair merkezi bilginin de çok katlı olarak inşa edilmesi gerektiği ön kabulüdür. Bilginin inşasına dair bu ön kabul sadece edebiyat, felsefe, sosyoloji, dilbilim, psikoloji, hukuk, istatistik ve sosyal politika dallarının her birinin kendi içinde aile kavramına dair tutarlı ancak birbirlerine göre genellikle tutarsız tanımlamalarıyla sınırlanmaz, aynı zamanda aileye dair merkezi bilginin inşasına dair kurallar sıradan insanın gündelik aile hayatı pratiklerine, bilim adamlarının sorgulama alışkanlıklarına ve sosyal bilimlerdeki yeni araştırma yöntem ve teknolojilerine göre esnetilerek genişletilir. Ancak tanımlanmış katmanlar arası ve de katmanlar içindeki kavramların birbirleriyle ilişkisi mekanik olarak ve bilimsel alışkanlıklarla bütüncül olarak birleştirilerek aile veya aile yapısı kavramlarına basitçe dönüştürülebilecek nitelikte değildir. Diğer bir deyişle sıradan insanın ailesi ve toplum içindeki konumu 'onu' ve içinde 'bulunduğunu' tanımlamak için oldukça önemlidir, çünkü onun ailesine ve kendisine dair tasavvuru dikey olarak yataydaki farklı bilimsel disiplinlerin ona ve ailesine dair kavramlarını delerek birbirine bağlar. Her bir bilim dalı insanı doğal olarak gündelik hayatta sıradan insanın aile rollerini taşıdıklarından, bilimin aileye dair kavramsallaştırmasından ziyade bilim insanının hem sıradan insan olması hem de bilim insanı olması yönüyle farklı bilimsel katmanlardaki aile kavramları arasında anlaşmaya ya da en azından iletişimlerine sebep olur. Ancak devlet her ne kadar antropomorfizmle kendisini bireye, bireyi de

kendisine benzeştirmeye çalışsa da, devletin kendisi aileye dair merkezi bilgiyi inşa ederken katmanlar arası kavramların ilişkilerini kurabilecek bir tinden yoksundur.

Bilgi inşasının başarısızlığının üçüncü sebebi ise aile kendisini oluşturan üyelerine nazaran daha soyut bir varlığa sahiptir, dolayısıyla devletin sosyal politika uygulamaları için dokunulabilir bir nesne değildir. Yerel seviyede varlığını nesne olarak sürdüren aile ve üyeleri ancak merkezi seviyede devletin varlığı ve varoluş sebepleriyle uyuşan bir bilgiye soyutlandığında, sosyal politikalar için dokunulabilir ve yönetilebilir bir hale gelebilir. Sonuç olarak, tekrarlanırsa, aile bir yapı olarak dokunulabilir ve yönetilebilir bir nesne haline toplum içinde devlet ereğinde ve devlet varlığında ancak ve ancak yapısal işlevselci teorinin kısıtlı imkanlarıyla, istatistik teknolojileriyle ve yukarıda eleştirilen bilgi inşası süreçleriyle gelebilir. Aileye dair bilginin inşası süreçlerinde aile yapısı araştırmaları vasıtasıyla aile kavramı şu dört temel üzerinde yükselmektedir: 'tinsel bireyin bedeni', 'ailenin bedeni' bu iki bedenin zaman ve mekanda dondurulduğu 'sanal zaman' ve 'sanal mekan'. Devlet katında bu temellerin birer bilgi olarak inşa edilebilmesi için bilginin sadece ve sadece kişinin deneyimlerinden oluşması gerekmektedir. Ancak ne kişinin kendisine ne de ailesine dair bilgisi sadece deneyimlerden değil aynı zamanda muhayyilelerinden de oluşur. Bu bağlamda yapısal işlevselciliğin ve istatistik teknolojilerinin imkanları ancak kişinin kendisine ve ailesine dair deneyimlerini bilimsel bir bilgiye çevirebilir, kendisine ve ailesine dair muhayyilelerini ülke temsili niceliksel araştırmalarla ölçemez, dolayısıyla bütüncül bir merkezi bilgiyi inşa edemez. Tez bu argümanı savunurken Yunancadan doğrudan epistemolojiye geçen 'dianoia', 'noesis', 'epistēmē', 'tēchnē' ve 'phronēsis' kavramlarının aile ve bireylerin merkezi bilgi inşasındaki rollerinden faydalanmıştır.

Devletin aileye dair merkezi bilgi inşasının başarısız olmasının dördüncü sebebi ise devlet görevlilerinin ve sosyal politika uzmanlarının aile için geliştirilen gözlem ve müdahale araçlarına aşırı güvenine rağmen, dört aile yapısı araştırmasında da araştırma enstrümanlarının geliştirilmesinde ve aile yapısı ölçümlerinde bilimsel aşamalara ve kurallara riayet edilmemesinden kaynaklanan çok ciddi araştırma hatalarının bulunmasıdır. Bu hatalar, yapısal işlevselci teorinin Türkiye'de aileye dair merkezi bilgiyi inşa edip edemeyeceğine dair epistemolojik bir ihtimali ortaya koymaktadır. Sosyoloji ve istatistik, aile yapısını daha iyi anlamak ve tasvir etmek

için sürekli yeni araştırma teknikleri ve enstrümanları geliştirmektedir. Bununla birlikte sosyal politika uzmanları ve devlet görevlileri yöntem değiştirmede bilim adamları kadar özgür, ölçme teknikleri için de bilim adamları kadar kuşkucu değillerdir. Ayrıca, devlet görevlileri ve sosyal politika uzmanları bilimsel sorgulamanın kurallarını katı bir şekilde uygulamada ve sistematik veri toplama faaliyetlerinde de bilim adamları kadar hevesli de değildir. Bütün bu olumsuz durumlar olmasaydı, diğer bir deyişle, bu araştırma hataları yapılmamış olsaydı yapısal işlevselci teoriyle şekillenen bu dört adet yapı araştırması Türkiye'deki aile yapısının kusursuz bir fotoğrafını çekebilecek miydi sorusu epistemolojik olarak belki diye cevaplanabilirdi. Ancak bunun yanında bu tez Türkiye'de yapısal işlevselci teorinin ülke temsili tasarladığı bir aile yapısı araştırmasının aile yapısının kusursuz bir fotoğrafını çekmesinin ontolojik olarak imkansız olduğunu savunmaktadır. Bu imkansızlığın kaynakları dört, beş ve altıncı bölümlerde araştırma enstrümanlarının kritikleri yapılarak ayrıntılı bir şekilde anlatılmıştır.

Son sebep ise hem ailenin hem de aileye dair merkezi bilginin sosyal politikacının gözünde çok katmanlı olarak inşa edilmiş olmasından kaynaklanan devletin farklı katmanlardaki bilgilere ve yapılara farklı değerler atfetmesi ve bu atıfların dönemler içerisinde hükümetlere göre değişmesidir. Bu değişim tezin altıncı bölümünde özellikle anket sorularının bazılarının (özellikle, doğurganlık ve etnisite konularında) farklı hükümetler döneminde nasıl eklenip çıkarıldığı ve soruların nasıl dönüştürüldüğü incelenmiştir.

Özet olarak toplam altı argüman ile bu tez devletin tüm kapasite, imkan ve aygıtlarını kullanmasına rağmen 1960-2010 yılları arası bir dönemde Türkiye'de aile yapısının kusursuz bir fotoğrafını dört araştırma yapmasına rağmen çekemediğini savunmaktadır. Özet olarak daha da daraltılacak olursa, devlet görevlileri ve sosyal politika uzmanlarının aileye dair merkezi bilgiyi inşa edememelerinin üç ana sebebi vardır. Bunlar: bilimsel disiplini takip etmemek, aileyi, aile içindeki bireyi ve aile yapısını özenli anlamamak ve bilimsel kuşkuya sahip olmamaktır. Bu üç özelliğe sahip olmayan devlet görevlilerinin ve sosyal politika uzmanlarının sosyal politika müdahaleleri için kurmaya çalıştıkları aile yapısına dair merkezi bilginin, gerçeklik ile tutarsız olduğundan sosyal politika uygulamaları için de faydasız hale geldiği

söylenebilir. Bu nedenle bu dört çalışmanın ne sonuçlarından ne de mikro-veri-setlerinden bilim dünyasında yeterince faydalanılmamıştır.

Bu tez aileye dair başarılı –aile gerçekliğini daha iyi temsil edebilecek bir merkezi bilginin inşası için bu dört araştırmanın ortak yöntemi olan kesit araştırmadan çok aile ile ilgili uzamsal araştırmalarının yapılmasını önermektedir. Dönemler halinde farklı aileler ve bireylerle anket uygulanarak 'zamansızlaştırılan ve mekansızlaştırılan' soyut değişimlerin ölçülmesindense, uzamsal araştırmalarla aynı aileden aynı bireylerin periyodik olarak takip edilmesinin takip edilen bireyin kritik aile olayları döngüsünde –evlilik, doğum, ölüm, evden ayrılma, eğitim, istihdam, gelir artışı ve düşüşleri vb. somut tutum ve algılarının ölçülmesi bizlere aile yapısına dair daha gerçekçi bilgiler sağlayacaktır. Bununla birlikte tez sadece kesit araştırmadan uzamsal araştırmaya geçmenin sağlıklı bir bilgi inşası için tek başına yeterli olmayacağını, kesit araştırmalardaki hataların uzamsal araştırmalarda da tekrarlanmaması gerektiğini savunmaktadır. Bu hataların tekrarlanmaması için bilimsel özgürlüğün bu araştırmalar için sağlanması, devlet finansmanın gözden geçirilerek araştırmaların devlet içinde değil bağımsız enstitülerce gerçekleştirilmesi, sağlıklı araştırma arşivlerinin tutulması ve tüm verilerin bilimsel kritiğe açık hale getirilmesi, devlet görevlisi, sosyal politikacı, istatistikçi ve sosyal bilimcilerin araştırmadaki iş bölümlerinin ve görev tanımlarının netleştirilmesi gerekmektedir.

Tezdeki argümanlar tartışılırken ve yapısal işlevselci yaklaşım eleştirilirken başka bir sosyolojik teoriyi kullanmaktan ziyade birbirlerine katmanlar halinde bağlı olan kavramsallaştırmalardan faydalanılmıştır. Hem sosyal politika uzmanlarının aile yapısına dair merkezi bilginin ülke temsili araştırmalarla inşasında, hem de gündelik hayatta sıradan insanın kendisine ve aileye dair kavrayışının ortaya çıkmasında, diğer bir deyişle ailenin bir kavram olarak nasıl ete kemiğe büründürüldüğünü sorgulamak için tezde özellikle *dianoia* (aklın duyulardan bağımsız olarak algılama yetisi), *noesis* (aklın sezgileri yakalama yetisi), *epistēmē* (sadece kendisi için ulaşılmak istenen bilgi), *tēchnē* (bir şey üretmek için kullanılan bilgi) ve *phronēsis* (nasıl davranılacağını gösteren bilgi) kavramları kullanılmıştır. Bütün argümanlar *topos* (yer, uzam), *logos* (tindeki akıl, düzenleyici ilke, akıl, us)*, alētheia* (hakikat, hikmet), *raison d'*étre (var olma sebebi), *raison d'état* (kendisini oluşturan sebeplerden bağımsız olarak varlığın sürdürülmesi), *telos* (ulaşılacak hedef, erek), *causea*

efficientes (etkileyici nedenler), ve *causea finalis* (kendi uğruna varılmak istenen hedefe ulaştıran, ancak sonunda nedene dönüşen sonuç) kavramlarının çizdiği alan üzerinde tartışılmıştır. Bununla birlikte birey-aile, aile üyesi-toplum, toplum-devlet öznelerarası (intersubjectivity) ilişkilerde ailenin bir olgu olarak bu ikili kümeler arası nasıl şekillendiğini göstermek için *fancy* (hayal), *primary imagination* (birincil tasavvur), *radical imagination* (radikal tasavvur), *secondary imagination* (ikincil tasavvur), *social instituting imaginary* (sosyal kurucu tasavvur) kavramları kullanılmıştır. Burada değinilen her bir kavram çok katmanlı düzeylerde ve birbirleriyle ilişki içerisinde aile ve aile yapısı kavramlarının vücuda gelişini incelemek için düzenlenmiştir.

En alt ve en geniş katmanda (1) *noesis* kümesindeki *fancy*, *primary imagination*, *radical imagination* and *secondary imagination* kavramları sıradan insanın ve bilim insanın aileye dair ilk ve ani sezgileri sağlayan ve ilk kavramsal şekillendirmeleri yapan kavramlar olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu katmanın hemen üstünde başka bir katman olan (2) *dianoia* kümesindeki *tēchnē* ve *phronēsis kavramları* ise sezgilerden bağımsız olmayan ancak tüm sezgileri alternatif biçimlerde akıl ile karşılaştırıp tutarlı hale getiren ve aileye dair epistemolojik bilginin rakamlar ve istatistik yoluyla vücuda getirilmesine yarayan kavramlardır. Birinci ve ikinci katmanlar arası ilişkiyi sağlayan ve noesis ile dianoia katmanlarını sosyal bilimler vasıtasıyla, devletin bakışı ve sosyal politika uzmanlarının politik müdahaleleri için, yan yana birleştiren veya birbirinden ayıran ince katman ise (3) *social instituting imaginary* kavramıdır. Bu üç katmandaki kavramların ve bunlara karşılık gelen toplumsal olguların varlık/oyun alanı ise en geniş küme olan (4) *topos* katmanındadır. Aileye dair tüm kavramlar ve gündelik hayatta bu kavramlara karşılık gelen olgular, bu varlık/oyun alanı üstünde toplumsal var oluş hedefinde *telos* toplumsal ihtiyaçlar ve devlet aygıtı tarafından yönetilerek sürekli yerleşir ve yer değiştirir. Bu dört katman sosyal politika müdahaleleri için gerekli olan aileye dair merkezi bilginin inşasında (5) *logos* marifetiyle varlık/oyun alanında görevlendirilir. *Causea efficientes* ve *causea finalis* kavramları tarafından tetiklenen *logos* ise aileye dair merkezi bilgiyi bir yapı olarak ancak ve ancak, *raison d'*étre, *raison d'état* kavramlarınca tetiklenen (6) hikmet-i hükümetin –*governmental alētheia* çizdiği sınırlar içerisinde gerçekleştirebilir.

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